

THE  ELEBAETHAN

A Journal of History



Volume 51 (2024)

California State University, Fullerton  
Department of History

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



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A Journal of History

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

## Contents

Editors' Preface.....	viii
Articles and Essays	
<b>Trevor Arcadipane</b> <i>A Tale of Intrigue and Alliances:</i> <i>Cleopatra's Complex Relationships with Julius Caesar and Mark Antony</i> .....	1
<b>Natalya Rowe</b> <i>Women of the Republic:</i> <i>Female Influences in the Social History of Ancient Rome</i> .....	9
<b>Otis Clarke</b> <i>"Si concordés fuissent":</i> <i>The Italian Merchant Communities during the Siege of Acre (1291)</i> .....	18
<b>Amanda Stone</b> <i>Joan of Arc:</i> <i>The Evolving Image of Heroic and Female Agency</i> .....	35
<b>Richard M. McGee</b> <i>Religion, War, and Native America:</i> <i>The Causes of the 1692 Salem Witchcraft Trials</i> .....	43
<b>Scott Terlouw</b> <i>"Among our own selves":</i> <i>Molly Houses and the Formation of Georgian England's Queer Community</i> .....	53
<b>Connor Etheridge</b> <i>Warping the Black Cross:</i> <i>The Ideological Portrayal of the Teutonic Knights from 1190 until Today</i> .....	68
<b>Sarah Snyder</b> <i>Lesbians in Modern England:</i> <i>Escaping Legislation Through Indefinability</i> .....	76
<b>Rielly K. Orrell</b> <i>"Those Children Did Not Reach Home":</i> <i>The British Empire's Legacy in Canada's Residential Schools from 1830 until Today</i> .....	90
<b>Jillian Devine</b> <i>Communism in Art and Religion in Squares:</i> <i>Kazimir Malevich's Suprematism in Russia since 1915</i> .....	103
<b>Isaiah Colton Thompson</b> <i>"Sanctorum Communio" Abroad:</i> <i>Dietrich Bonhoeffer's Vision of a Transnational Church in Rome, Barcelona, and New York</i> .....	114

<b>Benjamin Kiler</b>	
<i>Hood Politics:</i>	
<i>The Panthers, the Police, and the History of Guns as Tools of Black Resistance</i> .....	159
<b>Michael Salazar</b>	
<i>On the Absence of Latino Participation in Aquatics:</i>	
<i>Historic and Socioeconomic Barriers at Municipal Pools in Southern California</i> .....	175
<b>Monique Garcia</b>	
<i>A Stain on Sweden’s History:</i>	
<i>Compulsory Sterilization and the Eradication of Misfits</i> .....	187
<b>Rachel Jensen</b>	
<i>Something Rotten:</i>	
<i>The Danish Government’s Shift toward</i>	
<i>Restrictive and Xenophobic Policies in the Twenty-First Century</i> .....	196
<b>Editions</b>	
<b>Hannah Park, Amanda Stone, and Mel Vigil (editors)</b>	
<i>Prayers, Planners, and Psalms:</i>	
<i>Illuminated Latin Manuscript Fragments from Late Medieval Europe</i> .....	209
<b>Elijah Aguilar, Louis Choi, and Kevin W. Harper (editors)</b>	
<i>Keeping up with the Havens:</i>	
<i>Letters on Midwestern Family Affairs (1850–1875)</i> .....	223
<b>Vincent de la Torre, Ashley Munson, and Karina Serrato (editors)</b>	
<i>Sowing Seasons and Rural Reflections:</i>	
<i>Young Edwin Haven’s 1868 Diary</i> .....	270
<b>David Castillo, Andrew M. Coleman-Brown, Sebastian Hoang, Leslie Ramirez (editors)</b>	
<i>Administrative Frustrations and Linguistic Explorations:</i>	
<i>Panama (1889) and Malaysia (1914) in European Letters</i> .....	312
<b>Adam Estes and Mitchell Granger (editors)</b>	
<i>Hollywood “Pret[en]d Indian”:</i>	
<i>Iron Eyes Cody on and off the Silver Screen (1971)</i> .....	322
<b>Madison Hardrick and Natalie Melgoza (editors)</b>	
<i>Coexisting with the Indigenous:</i>	
<i>Mary Chamberlain and the Paiute of Central California (1973)</i> .....	356
<b>Michael Armand and Eli Wolcott (editors)</b>	
<i>The Highway to Nowhere:</i>	
<i>Recollections of Newport Beach “Freeway Fighter” Howard Rogers (1976)</i> .....	382
<b>Jeremy Casil and Elizabeth Macias (editors)</b>	
<i>“Today, you can go next door and they don’t know you”:</i>	
<i>John LaRue’s Memories of Fullerton, California (1991)</i> .....	413



## Reviews

## B o o k s

- Bren, Paulina.  
*The Barbizon: The Hotel That Set Women Free.*  
Reviewed by **Madison Hardrick**.....444
- Elkins, Caroline.  
*Legacy of Violence: A History of the British Empire.*  
Reviewed by **Sebastian Hoang**.....448
- Lewis, John, Andrew Aydin, Nate Powell, and L. Fury.  
*Run: Book One.*  
Reviewed by **Mel Vigil**.....452
- Oun, Leth and Joe Samuel Starnes.  
*A Refugee's American Dream: From the Killing Fields of Cambodia to the U.S. Secret Service.*  
Reviewed by **Mitchell Granger**.....456
- Park, Eugene Y.  
*Korea: A History.*  
Reviewed by **Louis Choi**.....459
- Pike, David L.  
*Cold War Space and Culture in the 1960s and 1980s: The Bunkered Decades.*  
Reviewed by **Mitchell Granger**.....462
- Proffitt, Aaron P., and Dōhan.  
*Esoteric Pure Land Buddhism.*  
Reviewed by **David Castillo**.....466
- Ramirez, Janina.  
*Femina: A New History of the Middle Ages through the Women Written out of It.*  
Reviewed by **Mel Vigil**.....468
- Miller Renberg, Lynneth.  
*Women, Dance, and Parish Religion in England, 1300–1640: Negotiating the Steps of Faith.*  
Reviewed by **Natalie Melgoza**.....471
- Rothera, Evan C.  
*Civil Wars and Reconstructions in the Americas: The United States, Mexico, and Argentina.*  
Reviewed by **Jeremy Casil**.....474
- Wilson, Ben.  
*Metropolis: A History of the City, Humankind's Greatest Invention.*  
Reviewed by **Aixa Guadalupe Martinez Tello**.....476

## E x h i b i t i o n s

- The Art of Moviemaking: The Godfather.* Academy Museum, Los Angeles, CA.  
Reviewed by **Elizabeth Macias**.....481
- The Banning Museum and the Drum Barracks Civil War Museum.* Wilmington, CA.  
Reviewed by **Adam Estes**.....483

<i>Defining Courage</i> . Go For Broke National Education Center, Los Angeles, CA. Reviewed by <b>Marian Stefany Navarro</b> .....	487
<i>Eugène Atget</i> . The Getty Center, Los Angeles, CA. Reviewed by <b>Leslie Ramirez</b> .....	490
<i>The Gold Emperor of Aventicum</i> . The Getty Villa Museum, Pacific Palisades, CA. Reviewed by <b>Natalie Melgoza</b> .....	493
<i>Keith Haring: Art Is for Everybody</i> . The Broad, Los Angeles, CA. Reviewed by <b>Madison Hardrick</b> .....	496
<i>Printed in 1085</i> . The Huntington Library, San Marino, CA. Reviewed by <b>Amanda Stone</b> .....	500
<b>F i l m s / D o c u m e n t a r i e s / T V S h o w s</b>	
<i>All Quiet on the Western Front [film]</i> . Directed by Edward Berger. Reviewed by <b>Sebastian Hoang</b> .....	504
<i>Babylon [film]</i> . Directed by Damien Chazelle. Reviewed by <b>Andrew M. Coleman-Brown</b> .....	507
<i>Chevalier [film]</i> . Directed by Stephen Williams. Reviewed by <b>Hannah Park</b> .....	511
<i>The English Game [TV series]</i> . Directed by Birgitte Stærmosé and Tim Fywell. Reviewed by <b>Michael Armand</b> .....	516
<i>Hansan: Rising Dragon [film]</i> . Directed by Kim Han-min. Reviewed by <b>Louis Choi</b> .....	519
<i>Impeachment: American Crime Story [TV series]</i> . Directed Ryan Murphy et al. Reviewed by <b>Elizabeth Macias</b> .....	522
<i>My Best Friend Anne Frank [film]</i> . Directed by Ben Sombogaart. Reviewed by <b>Karina Serrato</b> .....	526
<i>Operation Mincemeat [film]</i> . Directed John Madden. Reviewed by <b>Jeremy Casil</b> .....	529
<i>Oppenheimer [film]</i> . Directed by Christopher Nolan. Reviewed by <b>David Castillo</b> .....	531
<i>RRR (Rise Roar Revolt) [film]</i> . Directed by Srisaila Sri Rajamouli. Reviewed by <b>Elijah Aguilar</b> .....	534
<i>Welcome to Wrexham [TV series]</i> . Produced by Drew Palombi et al. Reviewed by <b>Michael Armand</b> .....	537
<b>G a m e s</b>	
<i>Assassin's Creed Mirage</i> . Developer: Ubisoft Bordeaux. Reviewed by <b>Vincent de la Torre</b> .....	540
<i>Call to Arms - Gates of Hell: Ostfront</i> . Developer: Barbedwire Studios, Digitalmindsoft. Reviewed by <b>Eli Wolcott</b> .....	543



*Gerda: A Flame in Winter*. Developer: PortaPlay, BirdIsland.  
Reviewed by **Ashley Munson** .....547

*Mount & Blade II: Bannerlord*. Developer: TaleWorlds Entertainment.  
Reviewed by **Vincent de la Torre** ..... 549

*Synaxarion: Acts Part 1*. Developer: Ignatios Productions.  
Reviewed by **Jacob Nikolson** .....553

*Total War: Rome Remastered*. Developer: Feral Interactive, Creative Assembly.  
Reviewed by **Kevin W. Harper** .....556

Department of History (Awards) 2023/2024 ..... 559

Phi Alpha Theta (Theta-Pi Chapter) 2023/2024.....560

Submission Guidelines for Volume 52 (2025) .....561

## *Editors' Preface*

It is with great joy that we present Volume 51 (2024) of *The Welebaethan: A Journal of History*, brimming with a multitude of articles, essays, editions, and reviews. Since its establishment, *The Welebaethan* has consistently featured a diverse array of contributions from both graduate and undergraduate historians, with this volume featuring fifteen articles and essays covering a plethora of topics across time and space, including (but not limited to) Cleopatra's complex relationship with Julius Caesar and Mark Antony; the development of queer urban spaces in eighteenth-century London; the cultural genocide of First Nation peoples in Canadian residential schools; the racialized motivations behind gun control laws in the United States; the historic and socioeconomic barriers faced by Latinos in Southern California's municipal pools; and the paradox of Denmark's progressive reputation in light of its xenophobic twenty-first-century laws.

We are delighted that, in addition to work submitted by CSUF's students, two articles—one discussing the Salem Witch trials and the other examining the ideological portrayal of the Teutonic Knights—hail from scholars at Roger Williams University in Rhode Island and the University of Florida, respectively. The diversity of topics is represented in our cover art, brilliantly created by Dominic Cervantes on the basis of an inspiring idea by Elizabeth Macias. Our thanks to them both! As we see conversations about censorship and book banning taking center stage in the United States, it becomes ever more vital to recognize the indispensable role that reading and books play in fostering critical thinking, empathy, and the preservation of the diverse perspectives that are essential for society to thrive.

Volume 51 marks the sixth digital volume of our journal, a transition that has enabled us to incorporate editions and reviews, many of which originate in CSUF's "History and Editing" seminar. This year, *The Welebaethan* showcases eight editions of previously unpublished documents and oral histories from CSUF's University Archives and Special Collections (UA&SC) and the Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History (COPH). For the first time ever, we present illuminated Latin manuscript fragments from late medieval Europe; furthermore, there are nineteenth-century letters from the midwestern Haven family; the 1868 diary of young Edwin Haven; and two letters reflecting France's and Britain's imperial interests.

Also featured in this year's journal are four verbatim transcripts of oral interviews: actor Iron Eyes Cody's reflections on his time in Hollywood and his work with Indigenous communities (1971); Mary Chamberlain's contemplations on growing up and coexisting with the Paiute in California's Owens Valley

(1973); Howard Rogers's recollections of the "Freeway Fighters" and their successful prevention of an expansion of the Pacific Coast Highway in Newport Beach (1976); and John LaRue's ruminations about growing up and living in Fullerton (1991).

The volume's final section contains thirty-five reviews of different recent media—books, films, TV shows, documentaries, exhibitions, and video games—that are of interest to scholars as well as those with a passing interest in the humanities and social sciences. These reviews range from films like *Oppenheimer* and *All Quiet on the Western Front* to museums and exhibitions like *The Banning Museum* in Wilmington, California, and *Defining Courage* in Los Angeles. And they range from books on the role of the Barbizon Hotel in New York and esoteric Pure Land Buddhism to games like *Assassin's Creed Mirage* and *Gerda: A Flame in Winter*. Volume 51 also features the (for us) first review of a graphic novel, *Run: Book One*. It must be noted that the opinions expressed in this volume's articles, essays, editions, and reviews belong, of course, to the individual authors and do not necessarily reflect those of the journal's editors.

This year's publication of *The Welebaethan* could not have been completed without the unwavering support of so many individuals, especially among the faculty members and staff of CSUF's Department of History, the College of Humanities and Social Sciences, and the Pollak Library. Thus, we, the editors, extend our heartfelt gratitude and immense thanks—

—to Jochen Burgtorf, our faculty advisor: thank you for your continual guidance throughout the process and for placing your trust in us as editors for this volume. Your expertise and encouragement have been invaluable, and we are grateful for your untiring support every step of the way.

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—to CSUF's Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta: thank you for your generous backing of our journal.

—to Lisa Tran, Chair of CSUF's Department of History: thank you for your constant and enthusiastic support of *The Welebaethan*.

—to Patrisia Prestinary (University Archivist & Special Collections Librarian) and Garrett Fritz (Archives Specialist) in CSUF's University Archives and Special Collections (UA&SC), and to Natalie Navar Garcia (Archivist) in the Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History (COPH): thank you for identifying such fascinating manuscripts and oral histories and granting us access to the materials featured in this edition.

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—to Anette Löffler, an expert on medieval liturgical calendars at the Julius-Maximilians-Universität in Würzburg, Germany: thank you for your sage advice regarding the illuminated Latin manuscript fragments edited in this volume.

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—and to you, who has opened the digital pages of *The Welebaethan*: thank you, for what is a journal without a reader? Read all that you can, and let the contents ignite your imagination and broaden your horizons. We, the editors, are thrilled to give you Volume 51 (2024) of *The Welebaethan: A Journal of History*.

Fullerton, June 28, 2024

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Trevor Arcadipane

## *A Tale of Intrigue and Alliances: Cleopatra's Complex Relationships with Julius Caesar and Mark Antony*

**ABSTRACT:** *This historiographical essay considers Cleopatra VII's complex relationships with two prominent Roman figures, Julius Caesar and Mark Antony. Drawing from an array of scholarly perspectives, including historical narratives and biographical accounts, it progresses chronologically to assess the evolving academic viewpoints on these relationships. Central to the discussion is the interplay of political alliances, romantic entanglements, and strategic motives, situated within the broader context of power dynamics, gender, and imperialism during the late Roman Republic. The author argues that the intricate connections between Cleopatra, Caesar, and Antony defy monolithic interpretations and demand a nuanced and multifocal examination.*

**KEYWORDS:** *ancient history; late Roman Republic; Egypt; Cleopatra VII; Julius Caesar; Mark Antony; political alliances; romantic entanglements; imperialism; historiography*

### *Introduction*

The allure of Cleopatra VII (70/69–30 BCE), the last pharaoh of Egypt, has captivated historians, artists, and filmmakers alike for more than two millennia. Shrouded in mystery and romanticized by mythology, her life was a tableau of power, intelligence, and impassioned relationships. Chief among these relationships were her entanglements with two of Rome's most powerful men, Julius Caesar (100–44 BCE) and Mark Antony (83–30 BCE), which bore significant implications for her reign and the fate of Ptolemaic Egypt (305–30 BCE). Cinema, a powerful storytelling medium, has played a crucial role in molding the public perception of Cleopatra's relationships with Caesar and Antony. An example of this is the 1963 epic *Cleopatra*, featuring Elizabeth Taylor, Richard Burton, and Rex Harrison.<sup>1</sup> This film dramatized the account of Cleopatra's life and significantly influenced the respective narrative for subsequent generations.

Following the death of her father, Ptolemy XII, Cleopatra VII became queen of Egypt in 51 BCE. She initially served as co-ruler alongside her brother, Ptolemy XIII (62–47 BCE), which was in keeping with the Egyptian tradition of sibling marriage. However, their relationship was fraught with power struggles, and Cleopatra was driven into exile in 48 BCE.<sup>2</sup> Her alliance with Julius Caesar began in the same year, when she sought his support to regain the Egyptian throne. Charmed by her wit and intelligence, Caesar backed Cleopatra's claim, and they became lovers. Their relationship yielded a son, Caesarion (Ptolemy XV). In 47 BCE, Caesar defeated Ptolemy XIII's forces at the Battle of the Nile, and Cleopatra was reinstated as queen. Cleopatra and her other younger brother, Ptolemy XIV

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<sup>1</sup> *Cleopatra*, directed by Joseph L. Mankiewicz, featuring Elizabeth Taylor, Richard Burton, and Rex Harrison (20th Century Fox, 1963).

<sup>2</sup> Michael Grant, *Cleopatra* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2011; originally published 1972), chap. 2, Kindle.



(59–44 BCE), were deemed joint rulers of Egypt from 47 until 44 BCE.<sup>3</sup> Cleopatra and Caesarion visited Rome in 46–44 BCE, where they were controversially housed in Caesar's villa, however, after Caesar's assassination in 44 BCE, Cleopatra returned to Egypt. Cleopatra then began a liaison with Mark Antony, Antony was a member of the Second Triumvirate, alongside Octavian (63 BCE–14 CE) and Marcus Aemilius Lepidus (c. 89 BCE–c. 13/12 BCE), which had been established to maintain order in Rome after Caesar's murder. During this time, Ptolemy XIV was killed, and Cleopatra installed her son Caesarion as co-ruler. Antony spent the winter of 41–40 BCE with Cleopatra in Alexandria, and their relationship resulted in the birth of three children, namely, the twins Alexander Helios and Cleopatra Selene, and another son, Ptolemy Philadelphus. Antony's alliance with Cleopatra was seen as a betrayal by his fellow Triumvir, Octavian (later known as Augustus), who was Caesar's adopted son and heir. In 31 BCE, Antony's and Cleopatra's combined forces fought against Octavian in the naval Battle of Actium but were decisively defeated; thereupon, Antony and Cleopatra retreated to Alexandria. In 30 BCE, following false reports of Cleopatra's suicide, Antony took his own life.<sup>4</sup> Cleopatra, grief-stricken and unwilling to be paraded in defeat through Rome, then famously committed suicide herself, allegedly by allowing an asp (an Egyptian cobra) to bite her. After her death, Egypt became a province of the Roman Empire, marking both the end of Ptolemaic rule and the end of the Hellenistic Period.

This historiographical essay analyzes scholarly accounts chronologically, investigating the intricate and evolving academic viewpoints on Cleopatra's relationships with Julius Caesar and Mark Antony. Through a temporal exploration, it illuminates the changing interpretations of these relationships as political alliances, romantic entanglements, and strategic maneuvers, thereby drawing attention to the wider interplay of power, gender, and imperialism during the late Roman Republic.

### *I. Primary Sources*

Academic scholarship on Cleopatra's relationships with Julius Caesar and Mark Antony draws from a rich array of surviving primary sources. These sources, which include biographical accounts, historical narratives, and original documents, provide a multifaceted perspective on these historical figures and the era in which they lived. Among the most significant primary sources for this topic are *Plutarch's Lives*,<sup>5</sup> specifically his biographies of Julius Caesar, Mark Antony, and Cleopatra. As one of the most influential biographers of antiquity, Plutarch (c. 46–119 CE) offers detailed accounts of the lives of these individuals, their

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<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives: The Translation Called Dryden's*, ed. A. H. Clough, trans. John Dryden (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1906), vol. 4, "Caesar," [online](#).

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives*, vol. 5, "Antony," [online](#).

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives*, vol. 4, "Caesar;" Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives*, vol. 5, "Antony."

relationships, and their roles in Roman history. Although his writing is often shaped by moral and philosophical considerations, Plutarch's accounts provide invaluable insights into the personal dynamics, political alliances, and power struggles that characterized Cleopatra's relationships with both Caesar and Antony. Cassius Dio's *Roman History*<sup>6</sup> is another crucial, albeit later, source for the study of this period. As a senator and historian of Rome, Dio (c. 165–c. 235 CE) presents a comprehensive account of Roman history, with particular emphasis on political and military events. His narrative provides a context for understanding Cleopatra, Caesar, and Antony's relationships as part of the broader canvas of Roman and Mediterranean politics. Dio's account is invaluable for its detail and scope. As for the Egyptian perspective, Cleopatra's own "Royal Decree"<sup>7</sup> from 33 BCE, preserved in the Berliner Papyrusdatenbank, offers a rare glimpse into Cleopatra's self-presentation and political agenda. As one of the few surviving documents issued by Cleopatra herself, the decree constitutes direct evidence of her political acumen and strategies. However, like all official documents, it reflects the image that the queen wished to project and should be interpreted in its political and rhetorical context. Scholars utilize primary sources such as these to form their assessment of Cleopatra's relationship with two of the most powerful men in Rome.

## II. Historiographical Perspectives

Michael Grant's monograph *Cleopatra*, originally published in 1972, is a fine example of this primary-source-based approach, as it gives a detailed biography of Cleopatra's life, including her interaction with both Caesar and Antony.<sup>8</sup> Grant (1914–2004), a classicist, appears to tackle the topic in a somewhat non-traditional manner: while utilizing well-known primary sources such as the works of Plutarch, Cicero, and Suetonius, as many scholars had done before, he remains mindful of their particular biases. This is not to say that these primary sources are not dependable, because without them we would have next to nothing on Cleopatra. Grant attempts a "true" biography, and he seems to question why Caesar chose to align himself with Cleopatra instead of her younger brother, Ptolemy XIII. Siding with Cleopatra caused more hassle for Caesar, as she did not have the backing of the Egyptian army or the support of Alexandria's political leadership that her brother had. Grant suggests that Caesar chose to support Cleopatra not just for her beauty but also for her intellect, diplomatic skill, and overall ability to lead. Caesar was so infatuated with her that he even erected a statue of her in Rome – not a popular thing to do in the Eternal City at that time.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Dio Cassius, *Dio Cassius: Roman History*, trans. Earnest Cary, vol. 5 (Books 46–50) (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1917), [online](#); Dio Cassius, *Dio Cassius: Roman History*, trans. Earnest Cary, vol. 6 (Books 51–55) (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1917), [online](#).

<sup>7</sup> Cleopatra VII, "Royal Decree," [33 BCE], P. 25239, *Berliner Papyrusdatenbank*, [online](#).

<sup>8</sup> Grant, *Cleopatra*, "Contents."

<sup>9</sup> Grant, *Cleopatra*, chaps. 3–4.

Grant then highlights that, after Caesar's death, Cleopatra swayed another important man of Rome, Mark Antony, who, alongside Octavian, was controlling Rome. Antony, just like Caesar, fell for Cleopatra despite being married to Octavia, Octavian's younger sister. Grant states that Antony essentially put his life, career, and all of Rome on the line for Cleopatra.<sup>10</sup> So how and why did two of Rome's most powerful men fall for Cleopatra? Grant explains that Cleopatra was incredibly smart and resourceful. Despite her young age, she knew how to play the game of politics and was willing to do whatever it took for her kingdom to prosper.

Speaking of Octavian, J. H. C. Williams's 2001 chapter, "Spoiling the Egyptians: Octavian and Cleopatra," highlights Octavian's ability to sense that Cleopatra was politically astute.<sup>11</sup> Williams, a numismatist, approaches Cleopatra's relationships with Caesar and Antony through the eyes of Octavian after Caesar's death, utilizing the accounts left by Cicero, Suetonius, and Dio. Williams claims that Octavian viewed Cleopatra as a manipulator, as she had manipulated Antony to abandon Rome for Alexandria and transfer the seat of power to herself. Williams emphasizes that Octavian labeled Cleopatra – and not Antony – as the "enemy of Rome" due to her seductive "powers."<sup>12</sup>

While Williams chooses to step into a historical character's (i.e., Octavian's) shoes to compose his narrative, Hellenistic historian Stanley Mayer Burstein (b. 1941) employs a more traditional biographical approach in his twenty-first-century account of Cleopatra. Burstein's monograph *The Reign of Cleopatra* (2004) focuses on her reign as a whole, using a variety of primary sources while making sure to keep her at the center of attention regarding her relationships with Caesar and Antony.<sup>13</sup> Unlike Grant, Burstein tends to be taken in by the primary sources' Roman bias. Burstein briefly mentions Cleopatra's relationship with Caesar, stating that – during her visit to Rome while exiled by her brother/husband Ptolemy XIII – "Cleopatra had one of her followers smuggle her into the royal palace concealed in a role of bedsheets."<sup>14</sup> Whether this happened or not is up for scholarly debate, but Burstein notes that, if this were true, it would have been the moment Julius Caesar became captivated with her. No one but Cleopatra would make such a theatrical entrance to plead her case as the rightful heir to the Egyptian throne. Burstein then turns our attention to the start of Cleopatra's relationship with Mark Antony. In 41 BCE, Antony ordered Cleopatra to Tarsus (in today's southern Turkey) to clarify her allegiance after Caesar's assassination.

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<sup>10</sup> Grant, *Cleopatra*, chaps. 6 and 11.

<sup>11</sup> J. H. C. Williams, "Spoiling the Egyptians: Octavian and Cleopatra," in *Cleopatra of Egypt: From History to Myth*, ed. Susan Walker and Peter Higgs (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 192.

<sup>12</sup> Williams, "Spoiling the Egyptians," 192–199.

<sup>13</sup> Stanley Mayer Burstein, *The Reign of Cleopatra* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004).

<sup>14</sup> Burstein, *Reign of Cleopatra*, 18.

Burstein highlights that, on her way there, Cleopatra was working out a way to take advantage of Antony as she knew his weakness. The two had met before in a Roman palace during her previous visits to Rome, as Antony had been Caesar's legal counsel and chief aide. Here, Burstein uses Plutarch as a source for Cleopatra's awareness that Antony equated himself with the Greek god Dionysos and states, "Cleopatra made good use of her knowledge of Antony's personality. Instead of playing the part of a humble suppliant like other eastern rulers and dynasts, she boldly assumed the role of the Egyptian royal goddess Isis in the guise of the Greek goddess Aphrodite coming to visit her husband Osiris in his manifestation as Dionysos."<sup>15</sup>

Emily Haug's 2008 journal article, "Local Politics in the Late Republic: Antony and Cleopatra at Patras," takes a different approach to the topic and does not mention Cleopatra's relationship with Caesar.<sup>16</sup> Employing a political perspective, Haug focuses on why certain Greek city-states, such as Athens and Patras, minted coins with Cleopatra and Antony's faces on them and what this reveals about their relationship in general. Haug mentions that the unique coinage issued by Athens—with the imagery of Zeus, a bearded Dionysus, and an eagle on a thunderbolt—is believed to represent Antony and Cleopatra. Athens did this despite its love for Octavia (Antony's Roman wife) and Cleopatra's earlier lack of popularity. Haug suggests that Athens may have referred indirectly to the kingdom of Egypt and Cleopatra as the new Isis to avoid directly honoring Cleopatra until 32 BCE.<sup>17</sup> Haug then discusses the coins minted at Patras, which seem to honor Cleopatra specifically. She suggests that Antony, as a patron of Greek cities, was taking the initiative to spread his and Cleopatra's influence in Greece, and this is reflected in the coinage. The Patras coin, featuring Cleopatra, suggests that the family of Agias, a leading family in the East, had shifted their allegiance from Rome to Alexandria, where Cleopatra and Antony were residing at the time.<sup>18</sup> In this regard, Antony's and Cleopatra's relationship was not just a personal romance; it was a political alliance between two powerful individuals. Their bond allowed them to present a united front against their enemies, most notably Rome. The coinage from different Greek cities bearing the likenesses of Dionysus (who was often associated with Antony) and Isis (with whom Cleopatra was identified) may symbolize this joint political influence.

Joyce Tyldesley's 2008 monograph, *Cleopatra: Last Queen of Egypt*, offers a biographical account of Cleopatra based on primary sources by authors such as

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<sup>15</sup> Burstein, *Reign of Cleopatra*, 23.

<sup>16</sup> Emily Haug, "Local Politics in the Late Republic: Antony and Cleopatra at Patras," *American Journal of Numismatics* 20 (2008): 405.

<sup>17</sup> Haug "Local Politics," 412–413.

<sup>18</sup> Haug "Local Politics," 413–414.

Appian, Lucan, and Virgil.<sup>19</sup> Tyldesley (b. 1960), a British archaeologist, turns her attention to the different views ancient scholars took concerning Cleopatra's and Caesar's son, Caesarion. Tyldesley states that there was disagreement among Caesar's contemporaries about Caesarion's paternity. While some believed Caesar to be the father, others, including the historian Dio, claimed that Cleopatra only pretended that Caesar was the father. Suetonius, another historian, was neutral on the matter. Tyldesley then goes on to claim that Julius Caesar never publicly acknowledged Caesarion as his son. This silence has been interpreted in various ways: some of the ancient scholars speculate that the relationship was insignificant to him; others believe that Caesarion was not his son; still others speculate that Caesar was protecting his son by not acknowledging him publicly due to the potential political fallout. Cleopatra, too, neither confirmed nor denied the rumors concerning Caesarion's paternity.<sup>20</sup> Tyldesley explains that, as far as the children of Cleopatra and Mark Antony are concerned, they were acknowledged by both Cleopatra and Mark Antony himself, and ancient scholars were in agreement on that.<sup>21</sup> Overall, Tyldesley concludes that whether Cleopatra's offspring (fathered by Caesar and Antony) was for political or romantic ambition is a topic of extensive debate among historians.

Erich S. Gruen's 2011 anthology chapter, "Cleopatra in Rome: Facts and Fantasies," is a departure from the previous biographical accounts.<sup>22</sup> Gruen (b. 1935), a scholar specializing in ancient history, sheds light on what transpired during Cleopatra's first stay in Rome, focusing on her meeting and relationship with Caesar. Gruen approaches this topic in a way that argues that Cleopatra's relationship with Caesar was purely political and not for romance. Gruen claims that Cleopatra's stay in Rome is presented as a diplomatic mission, in line with historical instances of other Hellenistic rulers visiting Rome to secure an acknowledgment of their legitimacy. Gruen suggests that Cleopatra's presence in Rome was more about political and diplomatic maneuvering than personal ties with Caesar. Gruen challenges the commonly held view that Cleopatra stayed in Rome for an extended period of eighteen months. He suggests that Cleopatra may have returned to Egypt shortly after securing the alliance and only reverted to Rome when it became necessary to reiterate her claims and discuss the fate of her kingdom amidst Caesar's plans for reorganizing the empire. Gruen concludes that

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<sup>19</sup> Joyce Tyldesley, *Cleopatra: Last Queen of Egypt* (New York: Basic Books, 2008), ProQuest Ebook Central.

<sup>20</sup> Tyldesley, *Cleopatra*, 101–105.

<sup>21</sup> Tyldesley, *Cleopatra*, 164.

<sup>22</sup> Erich S. Gruen, "Cleopatra in Rome: Facts and Fantasies," in *Cleopatra: A Sphinx Revisited*, ed. Margaret M. Miles (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 37–53, ProQuest Ebook Central.



Cleopatra was not a mere “sexual predator” or “plaything of Caesar” but a shrewd ruler advancing her interests and those of her kingdom.<sup>23</sup>

Cecilia M. Peek’s 2011 journal article, “The Queen Surveys Her Realm: The Nile Cruise of Cleopatra VII,” continues the focus on Cleopatra’s relationship with Caesar.<sup>24</sup> Peek, a historian and archaeologist, questions the authenticity of a supposed cruise Cleopatra and Caesar took in the spring of 47 BCE. Peek examines the accounts by Appian and Suetonius, which mention that the cruise happened, but highlights that there is no mention of the cruise in Julius Caesar’s own commentaries, particularly his *Bellum Alexandrinum*. Peek explains that some scholars view the cruise as unlikely, considering it an act of irresponsibility on Caesar’s part given the ongoing political and military tensions. Others, however, argue that the trip may have taken place, as there are plausible reasons why the author of the *Bellum Alexandrinum* might have chosen to omit it, such as protecting himself (i.e., Caesar) from criticism that he might have been neglecting his duties.<sup>25</sup> If the cruise did indeed happen, Peek suggests that it might have served multiple purposes for both Cleopatra and Caesar. For Caesar, it would have been a chance to relax after a series of battles and to strengthen his bond with Cleopatra, which was crucial to his influence over Egypt. For Cleopatra, it would have been an opportunity to reassert her power and secure her pro-Roman regime after her recent deposition and exile. Peek mentions that the archaeological discovery of a boat shrine at the Egyptian Temple of Geb in Koptat has been interpreted by some as a commemoration of this Nile journey, adding some weight to the argument in favor of the cruise.<sup>26</sup>

The final voice in this historiographical essay focuses on Cleopatra’s relationship with Mark Antony. Sheila L. Ager’s 2013 journal article, “Marriage or Mirage? The Phantom Wedding of Cleopatra and Antony,” continues to challenge the traditional historical narratives.<sup>27</sup> Ager (b. 1956), a Hellenistic historian, aims to determine whether Antony and Cleopatra got married in the winter of 37/36 BCE. The question of Antony and Cleopatra’s marriage is inherently complicated due to the different societal and legal understandings of marriage in Roman, Egyptian, and Hellenistic Graeco-Macedonian societies. Ager explains that, from a Roman legal standpoint, their relationship would not have been recognized as a lawful marriage (*iustum matrimonium*), especially considering that Antony remained married to Octavia until 32 BCE and that Roman law did not permit marriage to a foreigner. Cleopatra was a foreigner from the Roman perspective,

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<sup>23</sup> Gruen, “Cleopatra in Rome,” 50–53.

<sup>24</sup> Cecilia M. Peek, “The Queen Surveys Her Realm: The Nile Cruise of Cleopatra VII,” *The Classical Quarterly* 61, no. 2 (2011), 595–607.

<sup>25</sup> Peek, “Queen Surveys Her Realm,” 595–602.

<sup>26</sup> Peek, “Queen Surveys Her Realm,” 603–607.

<sup>27</sup> Sheila L. Ager, “Marriage or Mirage? The Phantom Wedding of Cleopatra and Antony,” *Classical Philology* 108, no. 2 (2013): 139–155.

which would have rendered any alleged marriage to a Roman legally problematic. On the other hand, from the perspective of Hellenistic royalty, a marriage between Cleopatra and Antony could have been considered legitimate. The Ptolemaic monarchs were accustomed to marrying within the family, but Cleopatra's brothers were dead by 44 BCE, which might have made her marriage to a powerful foreigner like Antony an acceptable option.<sup>28</sup> Ager concludes that the evidence for a formal marriage between Antony and Cleopatra is shaky at best, and there is no concrete evidence of a wedding ceremony. She argues that Antony's political interests in Rome would not have been served by a bigamous and unlawful marriage, and that Cleopatra, who was in control of her dynasty, would not have accepted a marriage without public rituals and ceremonies.<sup>29</sup> This suggests that, while Antony and Cleopatra may have had a deeply romantic and political relationship, they likely did not go through a formal marriage ceremony that would have been recognized by their respective societies.

### *Conclusion*

This historiographical essay has traced the rich tapestry of scholarship on Cleopatra's relationships with Julius Caesar and Mark Antony, highlighting the complexity of their entanglements and the evolving perspectives that have emerged over the last few decades. It becomes clear that interpretations have shifted from viewing these relationships as purely political alliances or pure romance to recognizing the multifaceted nature of their connections, encompassing romantic elements and strategic maneuvers. This temporal exploration provides an opportunity to appreciate the nuance and dynamism inherent in these relationships, as well as the broader implications they carry for understanding power, gender, and imperialism during the late Roman Republic.

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<sup>28</sup> Ager, "Marriage or Mirage," 139-145.

<sup>29</sup> Ager, "Marriage or Mirage," 149-153.

Natalya Rowe

*Women of the Republic:  
Female Influences in the Social History of Ancient Rome*

**ABSTRACT:** *This essay examines women's often hidden, yet nonetheless essential roles in the late Roman Republic from a social-history perspective. On the basis of interdisciplinary scholarship referencing ancient primary sources, it endeavors to present a more nuanced account of women's quality of life, as well as their social and legal standing in this highly patriarchal society. The author argues that, despite the male-dominated narratives that have come down to us from the late Republic and early Empire, women wielded considerable influence.*

**KEYWORDS:** *ancient history; late Roman Republic; citizenship; women; Vestal Virgins; Agrippina the Younger; pater familias; social history; gender history; scholarship*

*Introduction*

The late Roman Republic was an era marked by political turmoil and instability in the Senate, which ultimately spilled over into the nonpolitical spheres of life. Both ancient writers and modern scholars have primarily attributed the Republic's downfall and the Empire's subsequent rise to the actions of particular men, while disregarding any female influences during this dramatic transition. Despite the lack of female-authored primary sources, women were rather influential in the evolution of late Republican culture and aided in the formation of the Empire. Renowned authors of this period, such as Cicero, Caesar, and Livy, excluded the narrative of women as equals and, instead, relegated them to their roles as nurturers and submissive caretakers of the home. In addition, the Roman honorific naming system perpetuated a disparity between women and men, as men were given the liberty to have a family name or a chosen name to represent their character, while women were simply named after their father with no reference to personal agency or identity outside of their patriarchal lineage.

Definitions of Roman citizenship vary and are, at times, vague with regard to specific legal ramifications. Women were largely excluded from *civitas*, the Latin noun denoting "citizenship." However, as we shall see, civic participation and the related benefits were not confined to male members of the *civitas*. Generally speaking, *civitas* referred to a Roman man's civic participation in and his responsibilities to the Republic.<sup>1</sup> As a *civis* (i.e., "citizen"), a man had numerous obligations, including *tributum* and *stipendium*, namely, tax contributions to Rome's military economy (which relied on crowdfunding). Such taxes were based on land ownership and the related income; therefore, women were inherently exempt from them. Military service, if applicable, was required of men only.

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Aude Chatelard and Anne Stevens, "Women as Legal Minors and Their Citizenship in Republican Rome," *Clio: Women, Gender, History* 43 (2016): 25–26. Unless otherwise specified, the terms "man" and "woman" in this essay refer to free individuals who had been born to Roman families.

Lastly, any direct civic involvement, including the attendance at and participation in various assemblies in the *forum* (i.e., Rome's central public space), was seen as a duty for men but not open to women.

### I. Religious Roles

While the aforementioned obligations were key elements of *civitas*, women did have a few select duties in Roman society. Their largest area of influence pertained to the *iura sacrorum*, namely, Rome's official religious practices.<sup>2</sup> In this polytheistic religion with its clearly defined gender roles, women routinely served as priestesses and performed other independent roles. According to Cicero's mid-first-century BCE speech *Pro Balbo* (i.e., "For/in favor of Lucius Cornelius Balbus"), documented accounts of *civis Romana*—the female equivalent of a Roman citizen—included the religious rituals performed by a Greek priestess of the cult of Ceres (i.e., the Roman goddess of agriculture) who had to be made a Roman citizen to perform her rituals in the city of Rome.<sup>3</sup> As primary agents in religious rituals, women were considered highly honorable and expected to behave similarly to their male counterparts, engaging in an intense interest and compassion for all aspects of Roman life, even those traditionally outside of the female influence, such as politics and the military.

In both the Republic and the Empire, the Vestal Virgins<sup>4</sup> were rare examples of true female autonomy who acted outside the control of a *pater familias*, the Latin term used to denote the senior male figure and head of the Roman household. The female-centered state cult of Vesta (i.e., the Roman goddess of home and hearth) afforded a small group of women the rare opportunity to wield public influence as caretakers of the sacred fire. Serving Vesta was considered a highly prestigious duty.<sup>5</sup> While confined to a minority of women who hailed from the city's patrician families, the existence of the Vestal Virgins in Roman society showcases a highly respected and exclusively female space.

According to historian and Classical Studies scholar Celia E. Schultz, religious cults were among the key factors in maintaining stability and order in ancient Rome, as they were permeated by a sentiment of order that was meant to "encourage political stability," especially during the tumultuous years of the late Republic and the early Principate.<sup>6</sup> These groups' protected sacred activities aided in the advancement of women's rights, since women, while not enjoying the same religious and political rights as men, played an active role in these faith

<sup>2</sup> Chatelard and Stevens, "Women as Legal Minors," 28, 41.

<sup>3</sup> Cicero, *Pro Balbo*, referenced in Chatelard and Stevens, "Women as Legal Minors," 39.

<sup>4</sup> On these, see Robin Lorsch Wildfang, *Rome's Vestal Virgins: A Study of Rome's Vestal Priestesses in the Late Republic and Early Empire* (London: Routledge, 2006); Inge Kroppenber, "Law, Religion, and Constitution of the Vestal Virgins," *Law & Literature* 22, no. 3 (2010): 418–439.

<sup>5</sup> Paul Chrystal, *Women in Ancient Rome* (London: Amberley Publishing, 2013), 138.

<sup>6</sup> Celia E. Schultz, *Women's Religious Activity in the Roman Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 4.

communities and their cultic practices.<sup>7</sup> This suggests that women found unique personal and spiritual connections within Rome's religious spheres. Piety was greatly encouraged, and it appears that observing and engaging in religious practices offered comprehensive advantages to women.

## II. Legal Status

Normative texts, such as laws, reflect a desired state of things, but not necessarily reality. Accordingly, in the late Roman Republic, the legally mandated code of conduct and the actual daily occurrences were not always congruent. The notion of *infirmitas sexus* (i.e., the alleged "weakness of the [female] sex") provided the basis for gendered inequality in ancient Rome and manifested itself in multiple forms of institutional and systemic misogyny.<sup>8</sup> Trends toward gender equality came gradually and often accidentally, as Rome's male senators were not particularly interested in female empowerment or liberation. Nonetheless, by the second and first centuries BCE, women of status and wealth could receive an education, thus becoming qualified, at least technically, to represent themselves in a court of law.<sup>9</sup> These women developed a greater sense of autonomy and freedom beyond the legal codes of their time.

To a certain extent, women benefited from the late Republic's political instability, as their male counterparts focused less on preserving the gendered status quo and more on the daily politics of the *forum*. For instance, the legal concept of *propter animi levitatem* (i.e., "because of the [alleged] lightness [or fickleness] of the [female] mind") mandated legal guardianship for all Roman women, regardless of their age or marital status.<sup>10</sup> However, in some cases—for example following the death of the *pater familias*—women were granted the liberty to inherit land *sui iuris* (i.e., "in their own right"). During the Second Punic War against Carthage (218–201 BCE), many Roman men were physically apart from their wives for long periods of time or lost their lives in battle. Either of these scenarios enabled a Roman woman to become her own guardian or be assigned a male guardian of lesser authority, such as a son or nephew not yet old enough to fulfill the requirements of military service. Thus, women—while facing tremendous legal disadvantages in a system designed to oppress their entire gender—occasionally managed to gain a sense of autonomy and self-determination.

There were, however, instances of accidental gender equality in Roman law. For example, the *civitas* of a Roman man was equally dependent on his maternal and paternal lineage. Consequently, women of high economic status wielded

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<sup>7</sup> Schultz, *Women's Religious Activity*, 5.

<sup>8</sup> See, for example, Suzanne Dixon, "Infirmitas Sexus: Womanly Weakness in Roman Law," *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis / Revue d'histoire du droit / The Legal History Review* 52, no. 4 (1984): 343–371.

<sup>9</sup> Chatelard and Stevens, "Women as Legal Minors," 30–31.

<sup>10</sup> Chatelard and Stevens, "Women as Legal Minors," 29.



considerable influence over their children, rendering them inherently more valued in society. Yet, while the status of women improved over time, obvious signs of inequality remained.<sup>11</sup> The intersection between gender and class in Roman legal codes is remarkable, but it is impossible to assess whether gender or class had a greater impact on women's lives due to a lack of detailed information pertaining to the lower social classes.

While the power of the *pater familias* impacted both men and women, legal and social barriers prevented women in particular from gaining estate rights.<sup>12</sup> The concept of *pater familias* is frequently cited by modern social historians to explain ancient Rome's gendered inequalities, but the concept certainly transcends the traditional scope of social history; in fact, it was especially prominent in legal texts. As described by Pliny the Younger, Cicero, and Cato, the *pater familias* (i.e., "the father of the family") was the senior male figure and head of the Roman household, which extended beyond the nuclear biological family to include servants and slaves, and he was the owner of the family's estate, namely, its property, assets, and wealth. Thus, a *pater familias* had to have the capacity to own land, which required *civitas*, wealth, and independence from any guardian or other *pater familias*. Accordingly, the age of an estate holder could vary considerably, as it depended on familial circumstances. When an estate holder died without an adult male heir, a decision had to be made as to who would become the beneficiary and serve as the next estate holder. While the law was intended to uphold Rome's patriarchal society, in such a case the spouse or, for example, a minor was eligible to be appointed as estate holder *sui iuris*.

The role of the *pater familias* was intrinsically intertwined with the rights and responsibilities of *civitas*, and, as we have seen above, *civitas* was a highly masculinized concept in the Roman world.<sup>13</sup> However, it appears that male legal authors were intentionally vague with the language pertaining to the role of the *pater familias*, as neither women nor minors were entirely excluded from being estate holders *sui iuris*. Rather, it was the responsibility of an all-male jury to determine the outcome in each case. While this state of suspense was harmful to women, as there was no predetermined outcome due to their inferior legal status, it stands to reason that women were able to influence the outcome of their respective cases by means of persuasion.

### III. Literary Works

While much less frequent, there are instances in which the idea or the term of *pater familias* appears in non-legal texts of the period. In the works of Cato, Pliny the

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<sup>11</sup> See F. E. Adcock, "Women in Roman Life and Letters," *Greece and Rome* 14, no. 40 (January 1945): 1-11.

<sup>12</sup> Richard P. Saller, "'Familia, Domus', and the Roman Conception of the Family," *Phoenix* 38, no. 4 (Winter 1984): 336-355.

<sup>13</sup> See Helen E. Wieand, "The Position of Women in the Late Roman Republic: Part I," *Classical Journal* 12, no. 6 (March 1917): 378-392.

Younger, and Cicero, there is ample evidence of the term employed vaguely to denote an estate holder, yet with no reference to *patria potestas* (i.e., the title holder's dominion over his family). However, misogyny was a constant due to its firm anchoring in language, as evidenced by the abovementioned term *infirmitas sexus*.<sup>14</sup> This term, based on pre-Roman and Greek notions of the alleged "weakness" of the female sex, was another way to internalize sexism in the structures of government and public life. The social construct of *infirmitas sexus* ensured that women were considered perpetually inferior to men, regardless of what legal loopholes might be found, for example with regard to jury-approved estate holding. *Infirmitas sexus* ultimately meant that women, even if they were granted certain rights that were normally reserved for the *pater familias*, could never "be" anything like a *pater familias*, particularly since the ideal *civis* was a *diligens pater familias* (i.e., a reasonable and good head of the household), which was solely used in a masculine context. By implication, responsible estate holding was as unattainable for women as military service.

It is worthwhile here to note the politicized nature of the field of linguistics. The interpretation of words and expressions depends on the translator, who is, of course, expected to consider the cultural contexts in which words are being used. For, if not handled with discretion and sensitivity to bias, original meanings may be lost in translation. That said, modern philology seeks to distance itself from linguistic approaches that continue to uphold the patterns of patriarchy.

The *Love Poems (Amores)* of the Roman poet Ovid (43 BCE–c. 17 CE) are texts that exemplify the kind of misogyny described by Eve D'Ambra, a scholar of ancient Roman art.<sup>15</sup> Ovid's works reflect a time of great transformation in the late Roman Republic, and his writings on love and prosperity reflect the ideals of his time. In his *Love Poems (Amores)* and *Art of Love (Ars Amatoria)*, Ovid certainly implements groundbreaking poetic devices to separate his work from past Hellenistic poets, but translating his works—and thus his mindset—from 2000-year-old Latin into modern English poses immense challenges.<sup>16</sup> For example, while his writings communicate disturbing examples of "toxic masculinity,"<sup>17</sup> Ovid was a master of the literary technique of irony;<sup>18</sup> in other words: Ovid's writings affirm that misogyny was omnipresent in his world, but the question remains (and is perhaps impossible to answer) to what extent Ovid himself embraced or, alternatively, mocked misogyny in Roman society.

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<sup>14</sup> See Dixon, "Infirmitas Sexus," 343–371.

<sup>15</sup> Ovid, *The Love Poems*, trans. A. D. Melville (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990). See Eve D'Ambra, *Roman Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

<sup>16</sup> A. D. Meville, "Translator's Note," in Ovid, *Love Poems*, xxx–xxxiii.

<sup>17</sup> Melissa Marturano, "Ovid, Feminist Pedagogy, Toxic Manhood, and the Secondary School Classroom," *The Classical Outlook* 95, no. 4 (2020): 147–151.

<sup>18</sup> Ioannis Ziogas, "Stripping the Roman Ladies: Ovid's Rites and Readers," *The Classical Quarterly*, n.s., 64, no. 2 (2014): 735–744.

While seemingly insignificant, such a distinction is important, as these small and often disregarded caveats can fundamentally alter the perception of the experience of Roman women as well as the general discourse around the female identity of the time. With each new interpretation or exploration of the few female-centered documents dating back to the Roman Republic, historians and sociologists can better piece together the lived experience of the scores of women whose stories have been silenced for too long.

#### *IV. Historiography*

An ongoing issue in social history is the relative underrepresentation of diverse researchers, which sustains an internal bias and an echo chamber of previously accepted ideas. Granted, works such as Richard P. Saller's 1999 article "*Pater Familias, Mater Familias, and the Gendered Semantics of the Roman Household*" remain highly valuable to facilitate our understanding of the origins of widely used Latin expressions pertaining to issues of gender,<sup>19</sup> but his—much like most other past contributions to the field—is the work of a male scholar. With regard to the history of women in ancient Rome, the Classics are still largely a male-dominated field, with authors such as Eve D'Ambra (focusing on art) and Celia E. Schultz (focusing on religion) being notable exceptions. D'Ambra's 2007 monograph *Roman Women* highlights themes of female identity, ensuring that vital points such as classism and private-versus-public spheres of influence are addressed.<sup>20</sup> While striving to remain fair in her assessments, D'Ambra openly admits her bias in favor of the plebeians and her anti-classism, thus inviting her readers to distinguish fact from personal opinion.

As a case study of the ancient world, the Roman Republic is especially worthwhile to examine due to the unusual abundance of preserved works. The Romans' astounding recordkeeping may be attributed to the prioritization of literacy and the proliferation of copyists (both ancient and medieval), which allows modern historians and archaeologists, for example, to identify trends in the development of religion. Indeed, in addition to investigating the Roman family through legal documentation, religion as a tool for female autonomy has been on scholars' radar for some time. As early as 1945, Classical historian F. E. Adcock addressed the limited spheres of female influence in his article "Women in Roman Life and Letters."<sup>21</sup> Adcock qualifies his initial statement that—according to a speech written by Tacitus (c. 56/58–c. 120 CE) for Valerius Messalinus—Roman women enjoyed domestic life by acknowledging the formal right of women to be involved in the Roman state's religious activities.<sup>22</sup> Schultz's 2006 monograph

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<sup>19</sup> Richard P. Saller, "*Pater Familias, Mater Familias, and the Gendered Semantics of the Roman Household*," *Classical Philology* 94, no. 2 (1999): 182–197.

<sup>20</sup> D'Ambra, *Roman Women*.

<sup>21</sup> Adcock, "Women in Roman Life and Letters," 1–11.

<sup>22</sup> Tacitus, *Annales*, referenced in Adcock, "Women in Roman Life and Letters," 1.

*Women's Religious Activity in the Roman Republic* offers a key example of a “female first” history—a work written about women by a woman with both academic merit and empathy.<sup>23</sup> Schultz demonstrates that Roman women, while still affected by class and wealth, generally took part in public life more than one might expect in ancient civilizations; this was largely due to their ability to participate in national religious holidays and events. The divided gender roles in the Roman *cultus deorum* (i.e., the divine service) benefitted women: since it was deemed immodest for men to lead in women's spaces, independent female leadership was required in these particular spaces.

An important caveat when studying Roman women's rights and identities is the notion of class structure and the stark divide between patricians and plebeians. While freeborn Roman women were, in principle, deemed citizens (*cives*), albeit without most of the rights and responsibilities associated with men's *civitas* (e.g., voting and military service), women of higher status were afforded privileges not traditionally granted to lower-class women. In a 1970 article “Cicero, Livy and Educated Roman Women,” Classicist Edward E. Best references a story told by Livy (c. 59 BCE–c. 17 CE) about a plebeian woman named Virginia that appears to suggest that plebeian women were literate and could calculate basic mathematics.<sup>24</sup> Since patricians outranked plebeians in Rome's societal hierarchy, Livy's story would imply that patrician women would have at least the same—if not an even greater—level of education, especially due to their access to formal tutoring or mentorship.

The elevated education of Roman women is evident in the lives of several influential individuals who played a role in the downfall of the Republic. As Plutarch (c. 46–c. 125 CE) relates, Pompey the Great's wife Cornelia was a highly educated patrician woman: “She was widely read, she played the lyre, was good at mathematics, and [she was] capable of making a useful contribution to philosophical discussion.”<sup>25</sup> Married in times of considerable political strife and social unrest, Cornelia's life was one of great tragedy: for example, she was forced to witness her husband's murder in Egypt in 48 BCE. Despite this, she proved loyal to her nation. Cornelia's life may reflect how Roman women were taught to endure tragedy and adversity as a fundamental part of life. While the vast majority of women were not of her status, the importance of enduring tragedy and oppression, as well as creating a life of beauty and meaning, is a theme that connects all Roman women, regardless of status or class.

By modern standards of gender equality, Roman women were oppressed. However, Rome was—in a few select cases pertaining to wealthy women—also a

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<sup>23</sup> Schultz, *Women's Religious Activity*.

<sup>24</sup> Edward E. Best, “Cicero, Livy and Educated Roman Women,” *Classical Journal* 65, no. 5 (1970): 202.

<sup>25</sup> Plutarch, “The Life of Pompey,” quoted in Best, “Cicero, Livy and Educated Roman Women,” 200–201.

forerunner for female equality. Agrippina the Younger (15–59 CE) is an example for the understated power wealthy women could wield in Rome during the early Empire. Born shortly after the death of Augustus, Agrippina helped lay the foundation for the future of the Empire, and it is difficult to imagine the Julio-Claudian dynasty without her contributions.<sup>26</sup> She also serves as a reminder of the reality of many Roman women, as she was faced with a great deal of scrutiny for assuming a dominant role in the process of appointing her son, Nero, as emperor instead of remaining a passive *matrona* (i.e., a freeborn, married woman of impeccable reputation). While it did not serve her legacy that she was accused of poisoning her husband Claudius (after the latter had adopted her son Nero), her political maneuvering certainly forced men to reconcile themselves to the idea of an independent, educated, and powerful woman that was capable of transforming Rome.

The concept of the female identity of Rome “herself” is a central theme in a 2017 article, “Roma(na) Matrona,” by Classicist E. V. Mulhern. Mulhern analyzes the epic poem *Bellum Civile* by Lucan (39–65 CE), which explores the relationships between Pompey, Cato, Caesar, and their respective wives.<sup>27</sup> Mulhern argues “that Lucan’s logic is circular: because the poet identifies *Roma* [i.e., Rome, both the political entity and its divine manifestation] and the *res publica* [i.e., the Republic] with the Roman *matrona*, a man who rejects either one is not truly Roman; conversely, a good Roman man loves a virtuous Roman woman because she embodies Roman virtues and, by extension, *Roma* herself.”<sup>28</sup> The analogy is designed to assess the morality of each politician’s actions in the context of the fall of the Republic as well as highlight Lucan’s understanding of the divine female as an example of Rome as a political entity. Lucan’s work criticizes Caesar’s lack of marriage to a respectable woman of Roman lineage; the Egyptian queen Cleopatra is not a suitable wife, but her role in Caesar’s life explains his ultimate failure as well as the Republic’s demise. The connection that Lucan makes between women and the health of the Republic is an excellent illustration of how Roman men were expected to protect and defend what was considered “theirs” by their own cultural and gender norms, namely, women and Rome herself.

### *Conclusion*

This essay has discussed a variety of themes pertaining to the lives of women in the late Roman Republic, showcasing both their agency and their resilience. Reexamining the lives of the Roman Republic’s many forgotten women does not come without its challenges. While striving to establish an accurate account, social historians also have to dismantle the traditional bias and prejudice that permeates

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<sup>26</sup> Anthony Barrett, *Agrippina: Sex, Power, and Politics in the Early Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 190.

<sup>27</sup> E. V. Mulhern, “Roma(na) Matrona,” *The Classical Journal* 112, no. 4 (2017): 432–459.

<sup>28</sup> Mulhern, “Roma(na) Matrona,” 433.



older works. The field of Classics has been defined by male and female contributions for less than a century – barely twenty percent of the duration of the Roman Republic. Despite their contributions, women have been neglected in the academic discourse of the most influential civilizations. Great strides have been made, with more women than ever before writing about their ancient predecessors, but the need for an even more diverse academic research space remains.

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Otis Clarke

“*Si concordēs fuissent*”:

*The Italian Merchant Communities during the Siege of Acre (1291)*

ABSTRACT: This article reexamines the roles of the Italian merchant communities – the Venetians, Genoese, and Pisans – during the siege of the Crusader city of Acre in 1291. Primarily through the use of contemporary histories based on eyewitness accounts, it investigates characterizations of the Italian communities, the actions of these individuals during the siege, and what these accounts reveal about the identities of the Italian merchants. The author argues that medieval writers mischaracterize the Italian merchant communities in the context of the siege of Acre by not accounting for how their professional, civic, and religious identities affected their actions.

KEYWORDS: medieval history; Crusader states; kingdom of Jerusalem; Acre; Italian merchant communities; Venetians; Genoese; Pisans; identity; agency

*Introduction*

Writing about the fall of the Crusader city of Acre, the anonymous author of the *Excidium Aconis* blames the city’s leaders for the loss: “if they had been of the same mind [*si concordēs fuissent*],” he argues, “the city might have held out and breathed in full health.”<sup>1</sup> Acre – the final capital and last major territorial possession of the Crusader kingdom of Jerusalem – had fallen to the forces of the Mamluk sultan al-Ashraf Khalil in May 1291, and by the summer of that same year, the nearly 200-year-long Frankish presence in Palestine had ended.<sup>2</sup> Acre had served as an important port city since its initial conquest by the Crusaders in 1104, and it had developed into the kingdom’s political and religious center after 1191 (i.e., after the original capital, Jerusalem, had been lost to Saladin in 1187).<sup>3</sup> During this time, the kingdom mostly comprised the coastal strip of the Levant (i.e., the eastern edge of the Mediterranean Sea) from Ascalon in the south to Beirut in the north.<sup>4</sup>

Communities of Italian merchants from the cities of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa had established themselves throughout the Crusader states, particularly in port cities like Acre and Tyre.<sup>5</sup> In the second half of the thirteenth century, each of the

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<sup>1</sup> “*Excidium Aconis*,” in *Excidii Aconis Gestorum Collectio*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2004), 62: [*Si concordēs fuissent*...*civitas subsisteret et plena valitudine respiraret*].

<sup>2</sup> Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. John Gillingham (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), 285–286.

<sup>3</sup> David Jacoby, “Aspects of Life in Frankish Acre,” *Crusades* 4 (2005): 75; Roger Crowley, *Accursed Tower: The Crusaders’ Last Battle for the Holy Land* (New York: Basic Books, 2019), 10–11.

<sup>4</sup> Crowley, *Accursed Tower*, 10.

<sup>5</sup> David Jacoby, “Les communes italiennes et les ordres militaires à Acre: Aspects juridiques, territoriaux et militaires (1104–1187, 1191–1291),” in *Etat et colonisation au Moyen Age et à la Renaissance*, ed. Michel Balard (Lyon: La Manufacture, 1989), 193–198; Olivia Remie Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 226–227; Jacoby, “Aspects of Life in

Italian communities in Acre controlled their own quarter, as did each of the military orders, namely, the Templars, the Hospitallers, and the Teutonic Knights.<sup>6</sup> The Venetians even had jurisdiction over those living in their quarter in Acre, giving their community a quasi "extraterritorial status."<sup>7</sup> Citizens of all three merchant republics (Venice, Genoa, and Pisa) were present in Acre until its conquest by the Mamluks in 1291 and played various roles during its siege and fall.

Evidence for the actions of the Italian merchant communities during the siege of Acre comes from two major contemporary accounts of the event, namely, the anonymous *Excidium Aconis* and the *Ystoria de desolatione et conculcatione civitatis Acconensis et tocius Terre Sancte*, written in Messina in 1291 by Thadeus, a citizen of Naples.<sup>8</sup> Bartholomaeus of Neocastro's *Historia Sicula*, also written in Messina around 1291, contains another valuable contemporary account of the siege and the Italian communities' role therein.<sup>9</sup> A final contemporary history with important details about the Italian communities is the chronicle of the so-called Templar of Tyre, written by an associate of the Templar order who had most likely been born on Cyprus and had lived in various cities of the Levant during the last decades of Frankish rule.<sup>10</sup> Each of these early contemporary sources was presumably based on eyewitness accounts, and the Templar of Tyre was probably present at the siege itself in 1291.<sup>11</sup>

While these accounts are especially valuable because of their temporal proximity to the events, slightly later authors offer additional details concerning the role of the Italian communities during the siege. Such later sources include the

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Frankish Acre," 79; Thomas S. Asbridge, *The Crusades: The Authoritative History of the War for the Holy Land* (New York: Ecco, 2010), 547.

<sup>6</sup> Jacoby, "Communes italiennes," 194. The leaders of these factions were included in the group of leaders criticized by the author of the *Excidium Aconis*; see "Excidium Aconis," ed. Huygens, 62.

<sup>7</sup> David Jacoby, "The Venetian Privileges in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Interpretations and Implementation," in *Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar, Jonathan Riley-Smith, and Rudolf Hiestand (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), 158–159, 171; David Jacoby, "Migration, Trade, and Banking in Crusader Acre," in *The Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean, 12th–17th Centuries*, ed. Lenos Mavromatis (Athens: Ethniko Hidryma Ereunōn, Institutouto Vyzantinōn Ereunōn, 1998), 110–111.

<sup>8</sup> "Excidium Aconis," ed. Huygens; Magister Thadeus, civis Neapolitanus, "Ystoria de desolatione et conculcatione civitatis Acconensis et tocius Terre Sancte," in *Excidii Aconis Gestorum Collectio*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2004), 97–164.

<sup>9</sup> Bartholomeus de Neocastro, "Historia Sicula [aa. 1250–1293]," in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores: Raccolta degli Storici Italiani dal Cinquecento al Millecinquecento*, ed. L. A. Muratori, Giosuè Carducci, and Vittorio Fiorini, ed. Giuseppe Paladino (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, n.d.), 8:1–141.

<sup>10</sup> *The 'Templar of Tyre': Part III of the 'Deeds of the Cypriots'*, trans. Paul Crawford (New York: Routledge, 2016); Paul Crawford, introduction to *Templar of Tyre*, trans. Crawford, 2–4.

<sup>11</sup> R. B. C. Huygens, introduction to *Excidii Aconis Gestorum Collectio*, ed. Huygens, 9; Crawford, introduction to *Templar of Tyre*, trans. Crawford, 4; Iris Shagrir, "Thadeus of Naples on the Fall of Acre," in *Acre and Its Falls: Studies in the History of a Crusader City*, ed. John France (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 148–149, 151.

Venetian statesman Marino Sanudo Torsello (c. 1270–1343) and Ludolph of Suchem, a German traveler to the Levant who wrote around the year 1350.<sup>12</sup> Two chroniclers of Genoese affairs, namely, the thirteenth-century annalist Iacobus Auria and the late medieval writer Christophorus Cyprius, also include important accounts of the role of the Genoese in their respective texts.<sup>13</sup>

I argue that medieval writers mischaracterize the Italian merchant communities in the context of the siege of Acre by not accounting for how their professional, civic, and religious identities affected their actions. Firstly, I look at how the Italians' contemporaries characterize them. Next, I analyze specific actions that members of the Italian communities undertook in the context of the siege and show how the evidence for these actions is affected by biased characterizations. Finally, I investigate how the Italians' own various identities informed their actions. Viewing their actions in this way – through the lens of self-perception – refutes some of the charges the Italian merchants' contemporaries level against them.

### *I. Historiography*

Early scholarly works on the Italian communities in Acre from the beginning of the twentieth century to the 1960s generally concentrate on their economic history and mercantile role.<sup>14</sup> Published in 1910, the monograph *Venice in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* by the British historian Francis Hodgson addresses the actions of Italian merchants in thirteenth-century Outremer. A reader gets the occasional glimpse of the identities and motivations of members of the Italian communities, such as when Hodgson indicates that the majority of Venetians were probably not harmed substantially by the loss of Acre. Otherwise, Hodgson's account of the Italian city-states focuses on their political actions and interactions with other groups in the Levant.<sup>15</sup> British scholar Steven Runciman continues this

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<sup>12</sup> Marino Sanudo Torsello, *The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross: Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis*, trans. Peter Lock (New York: Routledge, 2003); Ludolph von Suchem's *Description of the Holy Land, and of the Way Thither: Written in the Year A.D. 1350*, trans. Aubrey Stewart (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

<sup>13</sup> Iacobus Auria, "Annales Ianuenses," in *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori dal MCCLXXX al MCCLXXXIII*, ed. Cesare Imperiale di Sant'Angelo (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1929), 5:3–176; Christophorus Cyprius, "Chronicae rerum gestarum Genuensium" [excerpt], in *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Francescano*, ed. P. Girolamo Golubovich (Quaracchi: Collegio di S. Bonaventura, 1913), 2:200–208.

<sup>14</sup> F. C. Hodgson, *Venice in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: A Sketch of Venetian History from the Conquest of Constantinople to the Accession of Michele Steno, A.D. 1204–1400* (London: George Allen & Sons, 1910); Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 3, *The Kingdom of Acre and the Later Crusades* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954); Steven Runciman, "The Crusader States, 1243–1291," in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, vol. 2, *The Later Crusades, 1189–1311*, ed. Robert Lee Wolff and Harry W. Hazard (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 557–598.

<sup>15</sup> Hodgson, *Venice*, 199, 249–250.

focus on the Italian communities' economic role in the Levant in his three-volume *History of the Crusades*, originally published in 1951, as well as his chapter on the late Crusader states, published in 1969.<sup>16</sup> Runciman is more forthright than Hodgson in presenting his own opinions of the Italian merchants' actions, writing that the Mamluks were "justified" in besieging Acre after Italian Crusaders brought over by Venice in 1290 had broken the kingdom's truce with the Mamluk sultan, opining that the merchant communities "showed a selfish anxiety about their own property."<sup>17</sup> In addition to the merchant communities' economic role, Runciman discusses material conditions in Western Europe in his 1969 chapter, connecting them to a decline in people taking the Crusading vow.<sup>18</sup> This represents another early hint at the mentalities and motivations of members of these communities, although here Runciman is discussing Western Europe in general rather than Italy exclusively.

Works published in the 1970s and early 1980s by American historian Frederic Lane and Israeli scholar Eliyahu Ashtor continue the trend of analyzing the Italian merchants in the Levant primarily within economic-history parameters.<sup>19</sup> However, in 1972, another Israeli historian of the Crusades, Joshua Prawer, published *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages*, which investigates the Crusading movement as a whole, including the Italian communities in the kingdom of Jerusalem, from a colonial-theory perspective.<sup>20</sup> Prawer views the Crusades as the beginning of European colonialism.<sup>21</sup> He is also among the first scholars to address the issue of identity among the Italian groups, in addition to writing about their role in the establishment of the Crusader states and their economy. For example, he notes the geographical separation of the different communities in Acre and hypothesizes about their religious and professional identities.<sup>22</sup>

The Israeli historian Sylvia Schein's 1986 essay on the Italian communities is the first analysis devoted to the interplay between the characterization of the Italian communities in the Crusader states by contemporary Western writers and the Italians' own identities and agency as merchants.<sup>23</sup> In works published in the

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<sup>16</sup> Runciman, *History of the Crusades*; Runciman, "Crusader States."

<sup>17</sup> Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 410, 415.

<sup>18</sup> Runciman, "Crusader States."

<sup>19</sup> Frederic C. Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973); Eliyahu Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); Eliyahu Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014; originally published 1983).

<sup>20</sup> Joshua Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972).

<sup>21</sup> Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, ix.

<sup>22</sup> Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, 412, 484.

<sup>23</sup> Sylvia Schein, "From 'Milites Christi' to 'Mali Christiani': The Italian Communes in Western Historical Literature," in *I Comuni Italiani nel Regno Crociato di Gerusalemme: Atti del Colloquio "The*

late 1980s and early 1990s, Schein, her Israeli colleague David Jacoby, and the German medievalist Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie continue to analyze the identities, mentalities, and actions of members of the Italian communities within a social-history framework.<sup>24</sup> Jacoby and Favreau-Lilie, in particular, are among the first scholars to focus intensely on the social lives and environment of the Italian merchants in the Crusader states. During this same period, however, monographs by British historian Norman Housley and American historian Steven Epstein continue earlier theoretical approaches by looking into the Italian merchants' political, military, and economic actions.<sup>25</sup>

As signaled by the 1996 publication of a comprehensive essay collection on the fall of Acre, edited by the Italian medievalist Francesco Tommasi, scholars were now conducting in-depth investigations into the Italian merchants' mentalities and motivations. For example, the Swiss historian Rudolf Hiestand emphasizes a line of thought explored by Schein in her monograph *Fideles Crucis* regarding the fact that the fall of Acre was not viewed as inevitable or final by contemporaries.<sup>26</sup> Meanwhile, an essay by the Italian historian Paolo Pirillo explores the apparent contradiction between the Italians' actions at Acre and their attitudes toward the Crusading project as reflected in Florentine wills from the late thirteenth century.<sup>27</sup> Further articles by Jacoby and a monograph by the American medievalist Olivia Remie Constable published in the late 1990s and early 2000s continue to examine the Italian communities in Acre and the Levant within a social-history framework, while articles from the same period by the American historian John Dotson are reminiscent of scholarship from earlier decades in their focus on military history.<sup>28</sup>

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*Italian Communes in the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem*" (Jerusalem, May 24–May 28, 1984), ed. Gabriella Airaldi and Benjamin Z. Kedar (Genoa: Università di Genova, Istituto di Medievistica, 1986), 681–689.

<sup>24</sup> Jacoby, "Communes italiennes;" Sylvia Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274–1314* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie, "The Military Orders and the Escape of the Christian Population from the Holy Land in 1291," *Journal of Medieval History* 19, no. 3 (1993): 201–227; David Jacoby, "Three Notes on Crusader Acre," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 109, no. 1 (1993): 83–96.

<sup>25</sup> Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Steven Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese, 958–1528* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

<sup>26</sup> Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, 1, 73; Rudolf Hiestand, "Castrum Peregrinorum e la fine del dominio crociato in Siria," in *Acri 1291: La fine della presenza degli ordini militari in Terra Santa e i nuovi orientamenti nel XIV secolo*, ed. Francesco Tommasi (Perugia: Quattroemme, 1996), 23–42.

<sup>27</sup> Paolo Pirillo, "Terra Santa e ordini militari attraverso i testamenti fiorentini prima e dopo la caduta di San Giovanni d'Acri," in *Acri 1291: La fine della presenza degli ordini militari in Terra Santa e i nuovi orientamenti nel XIV secolo*, ed. Francesco Tommasi, (Perugia: Quattroemme, 1996), 121–136.

<sup>28</sup> Jacoby, "Venetian Privileges;" Jacoby, "Migration, Trade and Banking;" David Jacoby, "The Trade of Crusader Acre in the Levantine Context: An Overview," *Archivio storico del Sannio*, n.s., no. 3 (1998): 103–120; John Dotson, "Fleet Operations in the First Genoese-Venetian War, 1264–1266," *Viator* 30 (1999): 165–180; John Dotson, "Venice, Genoa and Control of the Seas in the

As of the early decades of the twenty-first century, there are two discernible parallel trends in the scholarship on the Italian communities. One, based on pioneering works from the earlier twentieth century, addresses their role in the Levant in terms of political, military, and economic history. The other, which had first surfaced in the 1970s and gained traction over the subsequent decades, focuses on the communities' social history in an attempt to gain insight into their identities, mentalities, and motivations. Recent monographs on the Crusades by British historians Christopher Tyerman and Thomas Asbridge analyze the Italians' military and economic roles in the Levant.<sup>29</sup> A 2008 essay by Favreau-Lilie on the Venetians in the Holy Land combines the two aforementioned trends by focusing on the economic history of the Venetian communities while also investigating their ethnic, linguistic, and cultural identities.<sup>30</sup> Likewise, Dotson's 2008 essay on the first Genoese-Venetian war combines his previous military history approach with an examination of how Genoese and Venetian attitudes affected the conflict.<sup>31</sup> American historian Thomas Madden mentions the Venetian communities in Outremer in his 2012 monograph on Venice. Like Schein, Madden hypothesizes about the effect that the loss of Acre may have had on the Venetians but comes to the opposite conclusion, calling it "devastating, not just spiritually and emotionally, but economically as well."<sup>32</sup>

Madden's reflections about the Italian merchants' attitudes and mentalities exemplifies a clear trend in recent scholarship. A 2018 chapter by Favreau-Lilie investigates the Italian communities' self-perception on the basis of medieval annals.<sup>33</sup> In three PhD dissertations completed between 2019 and 2021, the Pisan, Venetian, and Genoese communities take center stage:<sup>34</sup> Eva Wolynes's work on

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Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," in *War at Sea in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. John B. Hattendorf and Richard W. Unger (Rochester: Boydell Press, 2003), 119–135; Constable, *Housing the Stranger*; Jacoby, "Aspects of Life in Frankish Acre."

<sup>29</sup> Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (London: Allen Lane, 2006); Asbridge, *Crusades*.

<sup>30</sup> Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie, "Die Venezianer im Heiligen Land," in *Venezia, incrocio di culture: Percezioni di viaggiatori europei e non europei a confronto: Atti del convegno, Venezia, 26–27 gennaio 2006*, ed. Klaus Herbers and Felicitas Schmieder (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2008), 47–70.

<sup>31</sup> John Dotson, "Naval Strategy in the First Genoese-Venetian War, 1257–1270," in *Medieval Ships and Warfare*, ed. Susan Rose (New York: Routledge, 2016; originally published 2008), 403–409.

<sup>32</sup> Thomas F. Madden, *Venice: A New History* (New York: Viking, 2012), 180.

<sup>33</sup> Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie, "The Fall of Acre (1291): Considerations of Annalists in Genoa, Pisa, and Venice (13th/14th–16th Centuries)," in *Acre and Its Falls: Studies in the History of a Crusader City*, ed. John France (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 166–182.

<sup>34</sup> Matthew E. Parker, "Sinking Pisa: The Decline of a Commercial Empire in the Thirteenth Century" (PhD diss., Saint Louis University, 2019); Eva C. Wolynes, "Migrant Mentalities: Reconstructing the Community, Identity and World of Venetian Merchants in the Late Medieval Mediterranean" (PhD diss., University of Notre Dame, 2020); Padraic Rohan, "Transforming Empire: The Genoese from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, 1282–1492" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 2021).

Venetian merchants focuses primarily on mentalities, whereas Matthew Parker's and Padraic Rohan's works incorporate analysis of identities and mentalities into discussions of military and economic agency. Scholarship on the Italian communities has investigated the link between their identities and their roles in the Crusader states. In this article, I focus narrowly on the question of how identity affected these communities' actions during the 1291 siege and fall of Acre.

## II. Characterization

The majority of the contemporary sources – the *Excidium Aconis*, Bartholomaeus of Neocastro's *Historia Sicula*, the Templar of Tyre, and Marino Sanudo's *Liber Secretorum* – portray the Italian communities as inherently factious and discordant. Bartholomaeus of Neocastro, alongside Thadeus of Naples, characterizes the Italian merchants as worldly and greedy. Christophorus Cyprius and the author of the *Excidium Aconis* are ambivalent, viewing at least some of the Italians' actions as Christian. Most of these characterizations tell us more about their respective authors' biases than the actual nature of these communities (which, after all, consisted of diverse individuals).

The author of the *Excidium Aconis*, Bartholomaeus of Neocastro, the Templar of Tyre, Ludolph of Suchem, and Marino Sanudo all dwell on the Italian merchants' antagonistic nature before and during the siege of Acre. The latter three authors describe in detail the conflicts between the Venetians and Pisans on the one side, and the Genoese on the other, leading up to the siege.<sup>35</sup> Ludolph of Suchem's criticism is the strongest, going so far as to accuse the Pisans and Genoese of making peace with the Mamluks to "better fight against one another within the city."<sup>36</sup> It resembles Thadeus's criticism of the Venetians' and Pisans' actions (to be discussed below) in trading war materials with the Mamluks, although Ludolph ties it directly to his characterization of the Italian communities as inherently quarrelsome. Marino Sanudo and the Templar of Tyre provide more succinct descriptions of the military conflicts between the three communities: these authors' banal descriptions of the infighting between members of these city-states demonstrate that they viewed a factious nature as characteristic of the Italians.

Bartholomaeus of Neocastro, Ludolph of Suchem, and the author of the *Excidium Aconis* focus on the Italians' propensity for conflict even as the Mamluks began to besiege the city.<sup>37</sup> In his *Historia Sicula*, Bartholomaeus of Neocastro writes that the Venetians and Pisans did not heed the commands of the three military orders.<sup>38</sup> The author of the *Excidium Aconis* is even more direct in his characterization of the Italians (and other factions in the city), writing that they

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<sup>35</sup> Ludolph of Suchem, trans. Stewart, 54; Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Book of Secrets*, 353; *Templar of Tyre*, trans. Crawford, 29.

<sup>36</sup> Ludolph of Suchem, trans. Stewart, 54.

<sup>37</sup> Bartholomeus de Neocastro, "Historia Sicula," 132; Ludolph of Suchem, trans. Stewart, 57–58; "Excidium Aconis," ed. Huygens, 71–72.

<sup>38</sup> Bartholomeus de Neocastro, "Historia Sicula," 132.



refused to work together for the city's defense due of their "contempt" (*contemptum*) for one another.<sup>39</sup> Ludolph of Suchem corroborates this characterization, writing that "one party would not defend the castle or palace belonging to the other."<sup>40</sup>

Indeed, in his chapter on the later Crusader states, Runciman concurs that the military orders were just as divided as the Italian communities.<sup>41</sup> In an article about the military orders during the siege of Acre, the American historian Paul Crawford argues that blame shifted from the military orders to the Italian communities over time.<sup>42</sup> Writing about the conflicts between Venice and Genoa in the decades leading up to the fall of Acre, Dotson and Epstein note that, in 1291, Venice and Pisa were allied against Genoa for reasons not wholly related to their trading presence in the Crusader kingdom, while the Canadian historian Anne Gilmour-Bryson and Housley agree that disunity among the Italian communities strengthened the Mamluk position but that other (external) forces also contributed to the fall of Acre.<sup>43</sup> Among the major characteristics ascribed to the Italian communities, the claim of excessive division is the one most strongly supported by concrete examples. When comparing them to other groups in the city, Ludolph of Suchem and Bartholomaeus of Neocastro disproportionately place blame on the Italians.

Thadeus of Naples, Bartholomaeus of Neocastro, and Christophorus Cyprius all allude to the Italians' lack of Christian piety and characterize them as worldly and greedy. Describing the Italian Crusaders brought over by Venice in 1290, Christophorus Cyprius is ambivalent, acknowledging that they might have been motivated by faith, but alternatively suggesting that they might have been "impelled by a diabolical spirit."<sup>44</sup> In the contemporary sources, Thadeus's criticism of the Italian communities is the strongest, calling them "Christians in name only" and comparing their piety negatively with that of the Muslims.<sup>45</sup> Bartholomaeus of Neocastro also characterizes the Italians as lacking in Christian piety, alluding to classical mythology to relate their behavior during the siege.<sup>46</sup> For example, he describes them as "calling out to Bacchus," saying that, "Mars

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<sup>39</sup> "Excidium Aconis," ed. Huygens, 72.

<sup>40</sup> Ludolph of Suchem, trans. Stewart, 57.

<sup>41</sup> Runciman, "Crusader States," 593–598.

<sup>42</sup> Paul Crawford, "Did the Templars Lose the Holy Land? The Military Orders and the Defense of Acre, 1291," in *Acre and Its Falls: Studies in the History of a Crusader City*, ed. John France (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 114.

<sup>43</sup> Dotson, "Naval Strategy," 405–407; Dotson, "Venice, Genoa and Control of the Seas," 146; Anne Gilmour-Bryson, "The Fall of Acre, 1291, and Its Effects on Cyprus," in *Acre and Its Falls: Studies in the History of a Crusader City*, ed. John France (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 119–120; Housley, *Later Crusades*, 8–9.

<sup>44</sup> Christophorus Cyprius, "Chronicae," 205: *diabolico spiritu suasi*.

<sup>45</sup> Magister Thadeus, "Ystoria," 133: *solo nomine Christiani*.

<sup>46</sup> Bartholomeus de Neocastro, "Historia Sicula," 132.

having been disregarded, they did not release their heart and arms from the embraces of Venus."<sup>47</sup> Such allusions to pagan deities represent a striking contrast to what Bartholomaeus believes should have been the Italians' priority, namely, fighting for the "victory of the Cross."<sup>48</sup>

In an article on trade in Crusader Acre, Jacoby notes that the Venetians continued to provide war materials to the Mamluks even after this had been prohibited (one of the primary actions of the Venetians and Pisans criticized by Thadeus of Naples).<sup>49</sup> Writing about the establishment of the Italian mercantile communities in the Holy Land, Praver notes that there was always an "ambiguous balance between religious aspirations and cupidity."<sup>50</sup> Their strong religious bias led most medieval authors to seek a religious explanation for the fall of Acre: thus, they accuse the Italian communities of a lack of Christian piety without considering the complexities of faith and other forms of identity.

However, a few accounts actually praise the Italian merchants' Christian virtues. Christophorus Cyprius and the author of the *Excidium Aconis* characterize at least some of the Italians' actions as Christian. In his chronicle recounting the deeds of the Genoese, Christophorus Cyprius states that the Genoese sailors rescued refugees from Acre out of "the zeal of the faithful and charity."<sup>51</sup> Similarly, he relates that the actions of the Italian Crusaders might have been "animated by zeal of faith, without discernment or reason."<sup>52</sup> The author of the *Excidium Aconis* quotes the patriarch as praising the sailors for rescuing the city's merchandise and women from the Mamluk soldiers.<sup>53</sup> Jacoby notes that "religious affiliation was the basic criterion" of identity in the Crusader states, and the members of the Italian communities would have identified as Latin Christians (at least nominally, as in Thadeus's characterization).<sup>54</sup> Christophorus Cyprius's characterization of the Genoese sailors as faithful and charitable is clearly influenced by his bias toward the Genoese, as he is writing a chronicle of their deeds. The other evidence is very ambivalent, and Christian faith either appears secondary to other characterizations or is viewed as lacking (as in the case of the Italian Crusaders who had broken the truce).

The characterization of the Italian communities in the context of the siege of Acre differs between contemporary histories, but is largely negative. Authors like Thadeus of Naples, Bartholomaeus of Neocastro, Marino Sanudo, and Ludolph of

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<sup>47</sup> Bartholomeus de Neocastro, "Historia Sicula," 132: *Baccho vacabant...Marte postposito, ab amplexibus Veneris pectus et brachia non solvebant.*

<sup>48</sup> Bartholomeus de Neocastro, "Historia Sicula," 132: *victoria crucis.*

<sup>49</sup> Jacoby, "Trade of Crusader Acre," 116.

<sup>50</sup> Praver, *Latin Kingdom*, 484.

<sup>51</sup> Christophorus Cyprius, "Chronicae," 207: *fideliū zelo et caritate.*

<sup>52</sup> Christophorus Cyprius, "Chronicae," 205: *zelo fidei sine discretione ac ratione animati.*

<sup>53</sup> "Excidium Aconis," ed. Huygens, 77.

<sup>54</sup> Jacoby, "Aspects of Life in Frankish Acre," 86.

Suchem are writing from a religious perspective and thus characterize the Italians as insufficiently Christian. Other chroniclers, like Christophorus Cyprius, view at least certain Italians, in his case the Genoese, as pious Christians because his chronicle is intended to celebrate the deeds of the Genoese. In most cases, these characterizations are sweeping generalizations of communities composed of many individuals with different senses of identity and varying motivations. Nevertheless, they affect how the Italian communities' agency is portrayed.

### III. Agency

One year before the siege of Acre, a force of Italian Crusaders, who had arrived on Venetian ships to defend the city, massacred a group of Muslims. This action provided the Mamluk sultan with the pretext for besieging the city. Two contemporary historians, the Templar of Tyre and the author of the *Excidium Aconis*, along with the later chronicler Christophorus Cyprius, recount this episode with slightly different details. Thadeus of Naples, Bartholomaeus of Neocastro, and the author of the *Excidium Aconis* are either highly critical of the Italians' actions after the beginning of the siege, or ambivalent, while the Templar of Tyre commends the Pisan community in particular for their defense of a portion of the city walls. Unsurprisingly, the Genoese chroniclers praise the actions of the Genoese during the siege and its aftermath. The narratives of all these discrete actions are again shaped by the authors' biases and the characteristics they attribute to the Italian communities.

Three chroniclers – the author of the *Excidium Aconis*, the Templar of Tyre, and Christophorus Cyprius – all place the blame for the siege of Acre on the Italian Crusaders brought over by the Venetians in 1290.<sup>55</sup> In the *Excidium Aconis*, the Italian Crusaders are presented as aggressors, exiting the city and killing Muslim peasants in their homes.<sup>56</sup> By contrast, the Templar of Tyre and Christophorus Cyprius recount that these Muslims were merchants who had come into the city to trade.<sup>57</sup> Housley blames the recruitment of the Italian Crusaders on Pope Nicholas IV's preaching, calling it a "grave error."<sup>58</sup> Jacoby notes that a large volume of pilgrims continued to travel through Acre up until its fall in 1291. He and Lane agree that the Venetians were very involved in transporting pilgrims to the East, including Acre, throughout the Crusader period.<sup>59</sup> While the primary

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<sup>55</sup> Thadeus of Naples refers to Crusaders, whom he describes as virtuous, but claims that they hailed from all over the world; he does not describe them as Italians or connect them to Venice: Magister Thadeus, "Ystoria," 108. The *Templar of Tyre* confirms that they were Italians transported by the Venetian captain Jacopo Tiepolo to Acre: *Templar of Tyre*, trans. Crawford, 101–102.

<sup>56</sup> "Excidium Aconis," ed. Huygens, 49–50.

<sup>57</sup> *Templar of Tyre*, trans. Crawford, 102; Christophorus Cyprius, "Chronicae," 205.

<sup>58</sup> Housley, *Later Crusades*, 16.

<sup>59</sup> Jacoby, "Aspects of Life in Frankish Acre," 73; David Jacoby, "Ports of Pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Eleventh-Fourteenth Century: Jaffa, Acre, Alexandria," in *The Holy Portolano: The Sacred*

sources draw the obvious conclusion between the culpability of the Italian Crusaders and the ultimate siege and fall of the city, the Venetian merchants who transported them must have believed that they would be aiding the city, however misguided their attempt would ultimately prove to be. Even if it was motivated in part by financial reasons, the Venetians' transporting of Crusaders demonstrates their continued interest in the maintenance of Frankish rule in the Holy Land.

Thadeus of Naples and Bartholomaeus of Neocastro both claim that the Venetians and Pisans abandoned the city due to greed and laziness. In his characterization of the Italians as un-Christian, Thadeus describes them as possessing a "cowardly [*ignava*] fear of dying."<sup>60</sup> The Latin adjective *ignava* can be translated as "cowardly" in this context but also connotes laziness or idleness. In recounting their flight from the city while it was under attack, Thadeus shows, by contrast, that the Italians fled "hastily [*festinanter*]" toward the ships where they had secured all their valuable merchandise.<sup>61</sup> In Thadeus's view, it was un-Christian to fear dying, especially for a cause as worthy as the defense of the Holy Land. The fact that the Venetians and Pisans then demonstrated haste in fleeing with their material goods made their flight all the more contemptible. Bartholomaeus of Neocastro makes this connection even more explicitly, writing that "while we might believe that they would give [their] souls over for the victory of the Cross," because of their status as Christians in the Holy Land, in actuality they failed to heed the call to arms.<sup>62</sup>

The author of the *Excidium Aconis* is more ambivalent than Thadeus and Bartholomaeus. He notes that members of the Italian communities provided weapons for the defense, but also writes that they took up arms "cautiously [*pedetentim*]."<sup>63</sup> The Latin adverb *pedete[mp]tim* can be translated as "cautiously" in this context, but like the adjective *ignava* used by Thadeus it can also connote sloth. Similarly, the author of the *Excidium Aconis* implies that some abandoned the city after rescuing their merchandise, which also parallels Thadeus's account.<sup>64</sup> By contrast, the Templar of Tyre singles out the Pisan community for praise, recounting that they had "great engines," which aided in the city's defense.<sup>65</sup>

In his monograph on the Crusades, Tyerman notes that the Venetians and Pisans helped defend the city during the siege.<sup>66</sup> In contrast to Tyerman's

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*Geography of Navigation in the Middle Ages*, ed. Michele Bacci and Martin Rohde (Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2014), 55; Lane, *Venice*, 180.

<sup>60</sup> Magister Thadeus, "Ystoria," 124.

<sup>61</sup> Magister Thadeus, "Ystoria," 123.

<sup>62</sup> Bartholomeus de Neocastro, "Historia Sicula," 132: *dum crederemus pro victoria crucis animas tradere*.

<sup>63</sup> "Excidium Aconis," ed. Huygens, 72–73, 75.

<sup>64</sup> "Excidium Aconis," ed. Huygens, 68–69.

<sup>65</sup> *Templar of Tyre*, trans. Crawford, 110.

<sup>66</sup> Tyerman, *God's War*, 820.

assertion, Favreau-Lilie argues, in an article on the military orders, that many of the Italian merchants would have planned their escape and left Acre before the siege began.<sup>67</sup> Thadeus of Naples, in particular, portrays the Italian merchants as a monolith—all shamefully abandoning the city because of a worldly desire for material wealth and a lack of Christian piety. This monolithic view of the Italians is echoed in the *Excidium Aconis*, where the communities are never singled out by name but only described as *communes* among the other factions in the city. However, the author of the *Excidium Aconis* at least acknowledges, perhaps unintentionally, that members of the Italian communities undertook a variety of actions during the siege. Some may have fled, but others remained and aided in the defense of the walls.

While Thadeus of Naples and the author of the *Excidium Aconis* characterize the Italian merchants as greedy for rescuing merchandise and relics, the Templar of Tyre and both Genoese chroniclers note that they also rescued those fleeing the city after its capture by the Mamluk army. All three of these latter texts recount the Venetians or Genoese rescuing people fleeing the city after its fall. While Iacobus Auria and Christophorus Cyprius only mention the actions of the Genoese, given the focus of their chronicles, the Templar of Tyre indicates that both Venetian and Genoese ships rescued refugees.<sup>68</sup> Christophorus Cyprius is more general in his praise of the Genoese, simply writing that "they entered the port of Acre courageously, and those whom they could gather up they carried down to the same ships."<sup>69</sup> The Templar of Tyre and Iacobus Auria more specifically single out a Genoese captain—Andrea Peleau—for praise. In his annals, Iacobus Auria indicates that the captain even overrode the complaints of the captains of other ships and forced them to take on refugees.<sup>70</sup> This further exemplifies the diverse reactions within the Italian community to identical events.

In his monograph on the siege of Acre, *The Accursed Tower*, British historian Roger Crowley relates how dangerous the rescue by Genoese galleys would have been, whereas Runciman notes that the Genoese were only coincidentally in the harbor the day the city fell, as their presence in the city had been reduced following their conflicts with Venice.<sup>71</sup> Favreau-Lilie highlights that the Genoese annalists were sure to include this anecdote because of how it portrayed their city in a positive light.<sup>72</sup> While the Genoese chroniclers' bias affects their presentation of the events, the fact that the same narrative occurs in the contemporary Templar of

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<sup>67</sup> Favreau-Lilie, "Military Orders," 212–214.

<sup>68</sup> Iacobus Auria, "Annales Ianuenses," 130; Christophorus Cyprius, "Chronicae," 207; *Templar of Tyre*, trans. Crawford, 115–116.

<sup>69</sup> Christophorus Cyprius, "Chronicae," 207: *animose portum Aconis intraverunt, et quos recolligere potuerunt ad ipsas naves deportaverunt.*

<sup>70</sup> Iacobus Auria, "Annales Ianuenses," 130.

<sup>71</sup> Crowley, *Accursed Tower*, 183; Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 415.

<sup>72</sup> Favreau-Lilie, "Fall of Acre," 167–168.

Tyre's chronicles demonstrates its reliability, even if the courage and piety of the Genoese are slightly exaggerated in the Genoese chronicles.

When contemporary historians like Thadeus of Naples and Bartholomaeus of Neocastro recount the actions of members of the Italian communities during the siege, their accounts are colored by their characterization of the Italians as un-Christian, greedy, factious, or some combination thereof. Similarly, when the Genoese annalists relate the actions of the Genoese, they attempt to portray them in a positive light. What these authors fail to do is see the actions of the Italians outside of their own perspectives. Looking at how members of the Italian communities themselves identified helps explain some of their actions in the context of the siege.

#### IV. Identity

The Italian merchants' actions during the siege should be viewed in light of their identities as merchants, as citizens of their own cities in Italy as well as Acre, and as Christians. While the evidence for how identity affected their actions in the context of the siege comes from the same biased sources as the evidence for their agency, a close reading offers hints at how members of the Italian communities viewed themselves. More importantly, it demonstrates the motivations for some of their actions. These motivations offer an alternative explanation to the religious characterizations found in these contemporary accounts.

The strongest sense of identity that emerges in the *Excidium Aconis*, as well as in the histories of Thadeus of Naples and Christophorus Cyprius, is the Italians' sense of identity as merchants. This professional identity appears even stronger than specific ethnic or territorial identities. In his criticism of the Italian merchants' greed, Thadeus of Naples lists some of the things most important to them, namely their "goods, arms, naval equipment, and other necessary things."<sup>73</sup> Similarly, even when praising the Genoese sailors' actions, Christophorus Cyprius states that they were not "withdrawn from [their] love of trade."<sup>74</sup> The author of the *Excidium Aconis* makes reference to the leaders (*capitanei*) and the different communities (*communes*) but does not ever name them by territory or city of origin.<sup>75</sup> While Thadeus's bias against the Italian merchants' occupation is evident, the fact that Christophorus Cyprius finds it necessary to mention the Genoese sailors' "love of trade" – even when praising them for rescuing refugees – highlights its centrality in their self-identification. Likewise, the fact that the Italian communities are only ever *communes* in the *Excidium Aconis* hints at the lower importance of their individual cities of origin to their identities.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Magister Thadeus, "Ystoria," 133: *victualibus, armis, vasis navalibus et aliis necessariis*.

<sup>74</sup> Christophorus Cyprius, "Chronicae," 207: *nec amore mercium retracti*.

<sup>75</sup> "Excidium Aconis," ed. Huygens, 71–72, 75.

<sup>76</sup> While the author of the *Excidium Aconis* is generally vague when referencing the different factions within Acre, he does mention some of the military orders by name, as well as other Frankish military leaders.

In fact, in an article on identity in the medieval Mediterranean, American historian Kathryn Reyerson gives examples of Italian merchants who passed themselves off as citizens of other cities, noting that, in the medieval world, identity could easily be mistaken.<sup>77</sup> Writing about the military orders, Favreau-Lilie characterizes the Italians as "business-oriented" rather than oriented toward religion, while Jacoby notes that, in Crusader Acre, the merchant class was dominated by Italians, but French remained the common language.<sup>78</sup> Evidence for the strength of the Italian communities' identification with their occupations as merchants, as opposed to being citizens of specific cities or even Christians, comes through in even the most critical and praiseworthy accounts of their actions during the siege of Acre. The authors' religious bias means that their identity as merchants is framed in relation to religious piety, but glimpses of their own self-perception emerge nonetheless.

Despite the fact that the strongest evidence for identity concerns the Italians' occupations, the Templar of Tyre, Marino Sanudo, and Ludolph of Suchem also reveal how the Italian communities identified both with their cities of origin and as citizens of Acre, and how these identities were malleable. In their accounts of the years leading up to 1291, the Templar of Tyre and Marino Sanudo provide detailed descriptions of the Venetians, Pisans, and Genoese acting on behalf of their metropoleis in Italy, as well as their physical separation within the city of Acre. For example, Marino Sanudo relates how the Venetians and Pisans were reconciled in the years leading up to 1291 due to their common enemy, the Genoese.<sup>79</sup> Both he and the Templar of Tyre describe how, together, Venetians and Pisans destroyed the Genoese quarter in Acre.<sup>80</sup>

Ludolph of Suchem demonstrates how their individual possessions in Acre remained important to the Italian communities, even late into the siege, writing that "for the first time they would have willingly defended themselves, could they have come together."<sup>81</sup> In his dissertation on the rise of Genoese sea power, Rohan argues that the division of responsibility between the Italian communities did hinder the defense of the city.<sup>82</sup> By contrast, Jacoby notes that, despite the communities' spatial separation, there is evidence for their cooperation in daily life in thirteenth-century Acre.<sup>83</sup> As the evidence from the actions of the members of the Italian communities leading up to and during the siege makes clear, identification with their home cities in Italy was secondary to their identities as

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<sup>77</sup> Kathryn Reyerson, "Identity in the Medieval Mediterranean World of Merchants and Pirates," *Mediterranean Studies* 20, no. 2 (2012): 138–142.

<sup>78</sup> Favreau-Lilie, "Military Orders," 216–218; Jacoby, "Aspects of Life in Frankish Acre," 84.

<sup>79</sup> Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Book of Secrets*, 349.

<sup>80</sup> Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Book of Secrets*, 350; *Templar of Tyre*, trans. Crawford, 29.

<sup>81</sup> *Ludolph of Suchem*, trans. Stewart, 54–58.

<sup>82</sup> Rohan, "Transforming Empire," 65.

<sup>83</sup> Jacoby, "Aspects of Life in Frankish Acre," 82.

merchants. Nevertheless, it was still important, especially as these cities were so frequently in conflict with one another.

Members of the Italian communities identified as Christian as well, but they employed their Christian identity in ways that show that a religious identity remained subsidiary to a mercantile and even ethnic or territorial identity. Evidence for how the Italians did and did not identify with a Christian religious identity emerges from the two primary accounts of the siege of Acre, Thadeus's *Ystoria* and the anonymous *Excidium Aconis*. Thadeus of Naples devotes an entire section of his *Ystoria* to criticizing the Venetians' and Pisans' willingness to trade war materials with the Mamluk sultans of Egypt. Separately, he criticizes them for being less devoted to the Christian faith than the Muslims were to their own "impious worship."<sup>84</sup> The author of the *Excidium Aconis* praises the merchants for transporting "sacred relics" by ship from the city after it had fallen, but—in the same sentence—he criticizes them for abandoning the city's defense.<sup>85</sup>

As Ashtor notes in a monograph on Levantine trade, the Italian merchants were not the only Christians to trade war materials with Muslim states, which had been prohibited by a treaty in 1283.<sup>86</sup> On the other hand, Jacoby describes that some Venetians left money for the defense of Crusader cities in their wills, demonstrating a concern for the maintenance of Christian rule in the Latin East, which Pirillo echoes in his essay on Florentine wills.<sup>87</sup> Favreau-Lilie argues that, from the time of the First Crusade, Venetian interest in the Holy Land was both religious and economic, whereas Wolynes contends that Venetian migrants maintained separate religious and political identities from their mercantile identity.<sup>88</sup>

In her monograph on the recovery of the Holy Land after the thirteenth century, Schein emphasizes that contemporaries did not view the fall of Acre as final, permanent, or the end of the Crusading movement.<sup>89</sup> Nevertheless, the loss of Acre was particularly devastating for the Venetian and Pisan communities, who, as Parker notes, had centered their operations in the Levant in Acre.<sup>90</sup> Pirillo shows that there was ambivalence toward aid for the Holy Land in Florentine wills from the late thirteenth century. On the one hand, money was being given explicitly for the aid of the Crusader states; on the other hand, there is evidence that "hope for a definitive defeat of the infidels" was decreasing.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Magister Thadeus, "Ystoria," 124: *cultum sacrilegum*.

<sup>85</sup> "Excidium Aconis," ed. Huygens, 68–69: *sacrosanctis reliquiis*.

<sup>86</sup> Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 8–9; P. M. Holt, "Qalāwūn's Treaty with Acre in 1283," *The English Historical Review* 91, no. 361 (October 1976): 807.

<sup>87</sup> Jacoby, "Three Notes on Crusader Acre," 93–96; Pirillo, "Terra Santa," 121–124.

<sup>88</sup> Favreau-Lilie, "Venezianer," 50; Wolynes, "Migrant Mentalities," 10.

<sup>89</sup> Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, 1, 73.

<sup>90</sup> Parker, "Sinking Pisa," 171.

<sup>91</sup> Pirillo, "Terra Santa," 122: "la speranza di una definitiva sconfitta degli infideles."



The status of the Italian communities' inhabitants as merchants meant that their interest in the kingdom changed from the time of its establishment to the fall of Acre, which was reflected in contemporary opinions of them.<sup>92</sup> Despite their authors' bias, evidence from Thadeus's *Ystoria* and the *Excidium Aconis* indicates that, while members of the Italian communities identified as Christians, their religious identities were often secondary to their identities and motivations as merchants. For example, they were willing to rescue sacred relics from the city but unwilling to sacrifice themselves for its defense when the loss of the city to the Mamluk forces had become clear. Other markets for trade existed, and there was no indication at the time that the loss of the Holy Land was final. As Hiestand argues, "[t]he total collapse was not inevitable, nor was it seen that way by all."<sup>93</sup>

Ultimately, the contemporary Venetians, Pisans, and Genoese were among those who did not see the loss of Acre as synonymous with an inevitable collapse of the Crusader presence in the Levant. Their strong sense of identity as merchants first led them to make the rational choice to save themselves and their goods, when it became clear that the city was about to fall in May 1291. While Ashtor does show how the fall of Acre ended Venetian and Genoese trade with the Mamluk sultans due to Pope Nicholas's decree, and Charles Connell argues that the reality of a new Crusade to reclaim Acre was more of an ideal than "a matter of real political action," this conclusion would not have been apparent to the Italian merchants in the city at the time of the siege.<sup>94</sup>

### Conclusion

The major contemporary chroniclers of the fall of Acre in 1291, including Thadeus of Naples and the author of the *Excidium Aconis*, write from a religious perspective that strongly identifies with the Crusading project. While they may not see the loss of the city as the ultimate end of Frankish rule in the East, they recognize it as a grave setback. Another near-contemporary writer, Marino Sanudo, advocates in his *Liber Secretorum* for the recuperation of the Holy Land. Even if later chroniclers like Christophorus Cyprius do not identify as strongly with the Crusading movement, they maintain their own biases, such as identification with the European city whose history they are, in fact, chronicling. The religious perspectives of many of these writers mean that they often misunderstand the actions of the Italian merchants in the context of the siege of Acre because they mischaracterize them as greedy, lazy, or un-Christian.

Members of the Italian communities identified as Christians, but their religious identity was often less important than other forms of identity. A strong

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<sup>92</sup> Schein, "From 'Milites Christi'," 681, 685.

<sup>93</sup> Hiestand, "Castrum Peregrinorum," 37: "Il collasso totale non era inevitabile, né fu visto da tutti come tale."

<sup>94</sup> Ashtor, *Social and Economic History*, 298; Charles W. Connell, "The Fall of Acre in 1291 in the Court of Medieval Public Opinion," in *Acre and Its Falls: Studies in the History of a Crusader City*, ed. John France (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 143.

professional identity as merchants meant that they were willing to make pragmatic choices during the events of the siege. This does not mean that they were necessarily lazy or cowardly, or even that they did not identify with the Crusading cause. Rather, their strong identification with their professions allowed them to make rational economic choices during a time of crisis.

The Italians are not the only groups that contemporary sources, like the author of the *Excidium Aconis*, single out for criticism. An interesting avenue for further research would be to apply a similar methodological framework to other groups present in the city during the siege. This could include military or religious groups, of which the military orders were both, or even segments of Acre's population divided along ethnic or class lines. Similarly, it would be interesting to research if and how the forms of identity explored in this article for the Italian communities evolved over time. Were they similar over the course of Crusader rule in the Levant, or did they change greatly from the time of the initial establishment of Italian merchant communities in the states of the Latin East until the fall of Acre?

I do not claim that members of Italian communities acted unimpeachably during the siege of Acre. There is much evidence that the charges of Ludolph of Suchem and the author of the *Excidium Aconis*, among others, are accurate that the Italians were overly divisive. While these accusations may be exaggerated, and other groups may have been equally prone to division, the quarrels between these communities cannot have helped the situation in Acre in 1291. Nevertheless, the characterization evoked most vividly by Thadeus of Naples and echoed in the accounts of his contemporaries, namely, that the Italians were faithless and completely undevoted to the Crusading cause, does not stand up to scrutiny when one analyzes the various identities and motivations for their actions during the siege. Instead, one sees a diverse group of individuals whose rational actions during a time of crisis were informed in part by their professional and personal identities and by the roles that had helped shape their worldviews.

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Amanda Stone

*Joan of Arc:  
The Evolving Image of Heroic and Female Agency*

**ABSTRACT:** *This essay examines how the image of Joan of Arc (a.k.a. the Maid of Orléans) has evolved – alongside the progression of societal views on women in general – since her execution in 1431. By means of a chronological analysis of literary and scholarly works pertaining to Joan from the early modern period to the present, the author demonstrates that, as society’s gender norms and standards change, so too does the image of historical figures like the Maid of Orléans, including the respective notions of agency and heroism.*

**KEYWORDS:** *medieval history; Hundred Years’ War; France; England; Joan of Arc; Charles VII of France; literary works; historiography; agency; heroism*

*Introduction*

Joan of Arc (c. 1412–1431) would be remembered as a heroine, a witch, and ultimately a saint. Throughout her tragically short lifetime and the centuries following her death, this brazen young woman’s courage could often only be explained as an act of God or the work of the devil. In fact, the many bold actions that earned her these two polarizing characterizations remain the subject of public and scholarly fascination up until the present day.

By the time Joan of Arc was born in or around 1412, France had been engaged in the Hundred Years’ War with England for well over seven decades, and England continued to be a very real threat to the French monarchy.<sup>1</sup> When Joan was sixteen years old, she felt compelled by the voices she heard in her head to cut her hair short, dress in men’s clothing, and journey to Chinon to seek out Charles VII (b. 1403; r. 1422–1461), the Dauphin (i.e., the heir apparent) of France, to tell him about her God-given mission.<sup>2</sup> Charles sent her to be interrogated and to have her purity verified.<sup>3</sup> After passing the tests put before her, which seemingly provided sufficient proof that she had been sent by God, Joan was granted troops and sent to Orléans, which was, at that time, under siege by the English (October 12, 1428–May 8, 1429). Regaining control over Orléans was integral to Joan’s mission of manifesting Charles’s claim to the crown of France. At Orléans, Joan, a young girl with no military experience, led her men to victory. Of the thirteen battles in which Joan of Arc participated, the French triumphed in nine. In mid-

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<sup>1</sup> For the struggle for power between France and England, see Daniel Rankin and Claire Quintal, eds./trans., *The First Biography of Joan of Arc, with the Chronicle Record of a Contemporary Account* (before 1515; Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 1964), 14.

<sup>2</sup> For an explanation of Charles VII’s royal status, see Régine Pernoud and Marie-Véronique Clin, *Joan of Arc: Her Story*, trans. Jeremy duQuesnay Adams, ed. Bonnie Wheeler (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999), 167–168.

<sup>3</sup> Charles T. Wood, “Joan of Arc’s Mission and the Lost Record of Her Interrogation at Poitiers,” in *Fresh Verdicts on Joan of Arc*, ed. Bonnie Wheeler and Charles T. Wood (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996; Routledge, 2021), 20. In this essay, citations from this work refer to the Routledge edition.

July 1429, Charles was crowned king of France, just as the Maid's inner voices had told her he would. Joan subsequently continued her mission to liberate France from the English. When attempting to win the French capital of Paris back from the Burgundians (who were, at that time, allied with the English) and leading her troops to assist in the defense of the town of Compiègne, Joan was captured by the enemy.<sup>4</sup> The Burgundians sold her to the English, who then put her on trial. She was convicted of heresy, idolatry, and dressing in men's clothing. After a year of imprisonment, she was burned at the stake in Rouen as a relapsed heretic. Twenty-five years after this execution, a nullification trial was held (1455/1456), in which the original convictions were reversed.<sup>5</sup> Almost five centuries later, in 1920, Joan was canonized as a saint of the Roman Catholic Church by Pope Benedict XV.

This essay focuses on Joan of Arc's evolving image as an icon of feminine courage. One of history's most prevalent and enduring heroines, Joan of Arc has been subjected to the changing societal standards placed upon women. This essay seeks to show that, as gender norms and standards evolve, so do the images of historical characters in both literary and scholarly works. This is especially true when analyzing historical characters like Joan of Arc, who defied the gender norms of their time.

A number of primary sources highlight the contrasting views of Joan of Arc and the bold actions she took in the last few years of her life. The poem *Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc*, written by one of Joan's contemporaries, the poet Christine de Pisan (1364–1431), provides the French perspective of Joan as a prophet of God.<sup>6</sup> It also serves as an early example of feminist literature, comparing male biblical heroes to the Maid, who, according to Christine, surpassed them all.<sup>7</sup> Toward the beginning of the sixteenth century, an anonymous author wrote *The First Biography of Joan of Arc*, including copies of legal documents and letters sent between members of the clergy and aristocracy regarding Joan's capture.<sup>8</sup> An English translation of the original Latin court documents (first edited by Jules Quicherat in the mid-nineteenth century), was published in 1902 by T. Douglas Murphy as *Jeanne d'Arc, Maid of Orléans*.<sup>9</sup> The documents continued in these latter two sources provide a somewhat unvarnished view of Joan of Arc and her story. Meanwhile,

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<sup>4</sup> Gail Orgelfinger, *Joan of Arc in the English Imagination, 1429–1829* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019), 19, ProQuest Ebook Central.

<sup>5</sup> Jane Marie Pinzino, "Speaking of Angels: A Fifteenth-Century Bishop in Defense of Joan of Arc's Mystical Voices," in *Fresh Verdicts on Joan of Arc*, ed. Bonnie Wheeler and Charles T. Wood (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996; Routledge, 2021), 161.

<sup>6</sup> Christine de Pisan, *Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc*, ed. Angus J. Kennedy and Kenneth Varty (1429; Oxford: Society for the Study of Mediaeval Languages and Literature, 1977).

<sup>7</sup> Pisan, *Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc*, 15.

<sup>8</sup> Rankin and Quintal, *First Biography*.

<sup>9</sup> T. Douglas Murray, ed., *Jeanne d'Arc, Maid of Orléans, Deliverer of France: Being the Story of Her Life, Her Achievements, and Her Death, as Attested on Oath and Set Forth in Original Documents* (New York: McClure, 1902).

literary and scholarly works have often been biased against the Maid, either minimizing or outright mocking her image after her death.

### *I. Literary Perspectives*

Toward the end of the sixteenth century, the famous playwright William Shakespeare (1564–1616) wrote *Henry VI*, a trilogy of plays centered around the Wars of the Roses.<sup>10</sup> *Henry VI, Part I* offers an insight into the English view of Joan of Arc during Shakespeare's time. Upon learning that the combined forces of Joan of Arc and Charles the Dauphin have arrived to end the English blockade, the character of Lord Talbot vows to stop her, proclaiming, "Pucelle or Puzzel, dolphin or dogfish / Your hearts I'll stamp out with my horse's heels."<sup>11</sup> This was a slight directed against Joan of Arc, who referred to herself as Jehanne la Pucelle ("Joan the Maid"). In Elizabethan times, the term "Puzzel" could be used to denote a whore.<sup>12</sup> Of course, given that Shakespeare himself hailed from England, "Puzzel" could be perceived as an insult to the French people as a whole, but it certainly would have been recognized as a derogatory term directed specifically against a woman. It would have been especially offensive to Joan of Arc, who took her vow of chastity very seriously, viewing it as a testament to her personal dedication to her mission from God. Granted, Shakespeare's play was written for entertainment purposes, but literary works do communicate the prevailing societal standards for men and women. In this case, Joan, as a woman, was mocked for her celibacy.

Thomas Fuller (1608–1661), an English churchman and historian, wrote about Joan of Arc in his 1642 work *The Holy State and the Profane State*.<sup>13</sup> Fuller outright dismisses the exemplary qualities that made the Maid a heroine, stating that the French made "her [Joan of Arc] pretend that she had a revelation from Heaven to be the leader of an army."<sup>14</sup> The author alludes to Joan and her divine mission as part of a grand conspiracy on the part of the French. However, he does not outright accuse any other conspirators of what he refers to as "complotting."<sup>15</sup> Fuller only seems to be comfortable with naming Joan as engaged in the plot. Regardless of whether there was any kind of French scheme to rally the nation against the English, Fuller completely dismisses Joan's agency. He believes Joan of Arc's only contribution to turning the tide of the Hundred Years' War was "being a

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<sup>10</sup> William Shakespeare, *Henry VI, Part I*, in *The Tudor Shakespeare*, ed. William Allan Neilson and Ashley Horace Thorndike, vol. 10, *The First Part of Henry the Sixth*, ed. Louise Pound (1591; New York: Macmillan, 1911).

<sup>11</sup> Shakespeare, *Henry VI, Part I*, 26.

<sup>12</sup> For more context on the term "Puzzel," see James A. Freeman, "Joan of Arc: Soldier, Saint, Symbol—of What?" *Journal of Popular Culture* 41, no. 4 (2008): 601.

<sup>13</sup> Thomas Fuller, *The Holy State, and the Profane State*, ed. James Nichols (1642; London: Thomas Tegg, 1841).

<sup>14</sup> Fuller, *Holy State*, 349.

<sup>15</sup> Fuller, *Holy State*, 349.

handsome, witty, and bold maid (about twentie [sic] years of age)."<sup>16</sup> Fuller later shares what he believes would have been a suitable punishment for Joan after she had been captured and tried, asserting, "[I]et them make her the laundress to the English, who was the Leader to the French army," a statement that underscores his misogynistic view of the Maid.<sup>17</sup>

It may seem that the negative takes on Joan of Arc stem from the ongoing rivalry between the French and the English, but Joan did have French detractors as well. For example, Voltaire (1694–1778) wrote about Joan of Arc in an unfavorable satirical poem called *La Pucelle d'Orléans* (first published 1752).<sup>18</sup> As it was a successful piece of literature, it does reflect Joan's image (or at least one of her images) in eighteenth-century France.<sup>19</sup> *La Pucelle d'Orléans* depicts Joan of Arc not so much as a heroine, but as a woman who constantly needs to have her virginity guarded. In his version of the story, Voltaire replaces Joan's saints (i.e., her inner voices) with St. Denis (i.e., the patron saint of France and Paris), whose role seems to be to protect her from being "seduced" by several characters, including a golden ass. Voltaire mocks Joan of Arc and her status as a virgin, making the latter one of the main themes of *La Pucelle d'Orléans*. This focus on Joan's chastity communicates that eighteenth-century society put a great deal of value on women's purity, but did not have similarly high standards for men.

By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, Joan of Arc was increasingly portrayed as a temporal heroine. One of the first examples of this is a 1801 play by the German author Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805), *Die Jungfrau von Orléans*, subsequently published in English as *The Maid of Orléans: A Romantic Tragedy*.<sup>20</sup> Schiller depicts the Maid as a martyr, who falls in love with her enemy, Lionel, the Duke of Clarence, and later dies on the battlefield. In the play, when Joan is presented with the opportunity to slay Lionel, she does not and states, "What have I done? Woe's me! I have broke[n] my vow."<sup>21</sup> In Schiller's play, Joan does die valiantly as a heroine, but she is also romanticized due to her love interest, whom she puts before her holy mission.

Scottish historian, poet, and novelist Walter Scott (1771–1832) offered a brief take on the Maid of Orléans in his book *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft*,<sup>22</sup> which was published in 1830. Scott highlights the contrasting views on Joan's perceived holiness, particularly the views of the French versus those of the English

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<sup>16</sup> Fuller, *Holy State*, 349.

<sup>17</sup> Fuller, *Holy State*, 352.

<sup>18</sup> Voltaire, *La Pucelle, the Maid of Orléans: An Heroic-Comical Poem in Twenty-One Cantos*, trans. W. H. Ireland (1752; London: Printed for the Lutetian Society, 1899).

<sup>19</sup> For more detail on the success of Voltaire's poem, see Pernoud and Clin, *Joan of Arc*, 238.

<sup>20</sup> Friedrich Schiller, *The Maid of Orléans: A Romantic Tragedy*, in *The Maid of Orléans, and Other Poems*, trans. and ed. William Peter (1801; Cambridge: John Owen, 1843).

<sup>21</sup> Schiller, *Maid of Orléans*, 137.

<sup>22</sup> Walter Scott, *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft* (New York: J & J Harper, 1830).

(who portrayed her as a sorceress). His own perspective is made very clear when he states that “the wise on both sides [English or French] considered her as neither the one nor the other, but [as] a tool used by the celebrated Dunois, to play the part which he assigned her.”<sup>23</sup> Thus, according to Scott, Joan was a mere pawn used by the French military leader Jean of Orléans, count of Dunois.<sup>24</sup> Scott denies Joan’s personal agency, viewing her simply as a tool to be used by the French aristocracy to further their own interests and regain power from the English. Scott describes Joan of Arc as “innocent,” “high-minded,” and an “amiable enthusiast,” believing her to possess high morals.<sup>25</sup> He attributes the Maid’s fate not to witchcraft, but, rather, to the long-held hostility between the French and English, describing it as “a cruel instance of wicked policy.”<sup>26</sup>

## II. Scholarly Perspectives

One of the earliest modern scholarly works on the Maid of Orléans is a biography, titled *The Life of Joan of Arc*, authored by the French journalist, poet, and novelist Anatole France (1844–1924) and published in 1908.<sup>27</sup> It is thoroughly researched and uses a plethora of sources, including original documents and other works written on Joan of Arc. Both in the introduction and in the conclusion, France presents his own perspective on Joan of Arc: he believes that Joan did indeed have visions and that she did hear voices, but he also points out that she did, at times, defy the instructions of these voices.<sup>28</sup> In addition, France compares the Maid of Orléans to other “prophets” of her time – all male – who also claimed to have holy missions to share with their respective kings. According to France, these prophets ultimately failed in their efforts,<sup>29</sup> and “while they failed miserably, she [i.e., Joan] grew in strength and flowered in legend.”<sup>30</sup> France does recognize that Joan was guided by her visions, but that she alone chose when to follow them, thus granting her the agency that so many writers and influential voices had denied her in the past. He concludes his book by discussing other representations of Joan and surmises that everyone is liable to view Joan according to their own frame of mind.<sup>31</sup> This supposition certainly holds true of most past interpretations: some view Joan as a heroine, others view her as a girl and subject her to the societal

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<sup>23</sup> Scott, *Letters*, 172.

<sup>24</sup> For information on Dunois, see Orgelfinger, *Joan of Arc*, 70.

<sup>25</sup> Scott, *Letters*, 173.

<sup>26</sup> Scott, *Letters*, 173.

<sup>27</sup> Anatole France, *The Life of Joan of Arc*, trans. Winifred Stephens (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1908).

<sup>28</sup> France, *Life of Joan of Arc*, xxxvi.

<sup>29</sup> France, *Life of Joan of Arc*, xxxvi.

<sup>30</sup> France, *Life of Joan of Arc*, xxxvi.

<sup>31</sup> France, *Life of Joan of Arc*, 476.

scrutiny that has surrounded women for most of history and that includes questioning her control over her own free will and her sexual purity.

Perhaps “the” modern authority on Joan of Arc is a work by the late French medievalist Régine Pernoud (1909–1998) and her colleague Marie-Véronique Clin (b. 1954), a museum curator.<sup>32</sup> Pernoud’s and Clin’s book *Joan of Arc: Her Story*, originally published in French in 1986, was translated and revised in 1999 by the American medievalist Jeremy duQuesnay Adams (1933–2016) and edited by Bonnie Wheeler, another American medievalist.<sup>33</sup> In their work, Pernoud and Clin present Joan of Arc and her story in three parts: the first part examines the events from when Joan sets out on her mission; the second part provides information on all known individuals who interacted with Joan; and the final part discusses the continuing debate on Joan’s image, the many rumors surrounding the Maid, and the literary portrayals by authors such as Shakespeare, Voltaire, Schiller, and others. The image of Joan of Arc that Pernoud and Clin strive to convey is very clearly a factual, primary-source-based, and comprehensive one, and they emphasize that “[h]istorians have not always made this fact clear: Prototype of the glorious military heroine, Joan is also the prototype of the political prisoner, of the hostage, and of the victim of oppression.”<sup>34</sup>

Just one year after the English-language release of Pernoud’s and Clin’s work, the literature scholar Deborah A. Fraioli (b. 1942) published another new monograph, titled *Joan of Arc: The Early Debate*.<sup>35</sup> Fraioli discusses how texts from Joan’s own time reflect the respective views of the French and the English. She pays very close attention to “relationships” in Joan’s story, both between individuals and between documents. Her primary focus is what she refers to as “the early debate,” namely, whether Joan was indeed sent by God on her holy mission.<sup>36</sup> Based on the documents, Fraioli argues, two perspectives arise: either people were fully supportive of Joan and her divine mission or they did not believe that a woman who heard voices and who dressed in men’s clothing could possibly be doing God’s will. When put on trial by the English, Joan defended her cross-dressing as ordered by God and initially denied hearing voices; however, she eventually recanted and admitted to hearing them. As for the Maid’s agency, Fraioli quotes Joan herself (from the court documents): “She said she came from God and had no business here, in this trial, and asked to be sent back to God from Whom she came.”<sup>37</sup> Regardless of the theological debate on whether she was sent by God, Joan stood by her actions.

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<sup>32</sup> The majority of works cited in this essay list Pernoud and Clin, *Joan of Arc*, as a source.

<sup>33</sup> Pernoud and Clin, *Joan of Arc*.

<sup>34</sup> Pernoud and Clin, *Joan of Arc*, xiii.

<sup>35</sup> Deborah A. Fraioli, *Joan of Arc: The Early Debate* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2000).

<sup>36</sup> Fraioli, *Early Debate*, 193.

<sup>37</sup> Fraioli, *Early Debate*, 198.



In 2019, the American medievalist Gail Orgelfinger published *Joan of Arc in the English Imagination*,<sup>38</sup> thus offering an analysis of the Maid's image from the perspective of her most prominent historical adversaries and their descendants, and considering a wide range of genres and contexts.<sup>39</sup> According to Orgelfinger, there were, of course, English authors who wrote negatively about the Maid, but there were also those who celebrated her as a *virago*.<sup>40</sup> *Viragos* (or *viragoes*) were women warriors who were seen as mystical, a characterization that seems to have made past societies more comfortable with women's ability to meaningfully participate in a male-dominated act such as war.<sup>41</sup> Regardless of whether such *viragos*, including Joan, were viewed favorably (or not), they were considered to be just as capable as male warriors—in fact, many of them outperformed their male counterparts—but they were held to stricter standards of conduct due to their gender. Chastity (or even virginity) played a major role in whether (or not) these *viragos* were perceived as honorable.<sup>42</sup> Thus, *viragos* could be celebrated as mystical and pure, but not as real women.

In *Fresh Verdicts on Joan of Arc*, a collection published in 2021, the aforementioned Bonnie Wheeler and Charles T. Wood (1933–2004) have assembled essays on the Maid of Orléans by a number of scholars, covering various aspects of her life, trial, and legacy.<sup>43</sup> These essays delve deeply into the story and apply methodologies from a wide range of disciplines. In one of the essays, “A Woman as Leader of Men: Joan of Arc's Military Career,”<sup>44</sup> the American military historian Kelly DeVries (b. 1956) shows that Joan's troops were entirely loyal to her (there were allied soldiers who paid her no mind, an issue she duly confronted): “They [i.e., her troops] seemed to draw nearer to her when fighting by her side, and after her death, they remembered her military activities with a legend-building fealty.”<sup>45</sup> Joan of Arc was a heroine in the eyes of the men she commanded. She may not have initially had the respect of all soldiers, but, as DeVries demonstrates, she earned their loyalty, and her men would testify to her ability as a military leader even after her death. DeVries also addresses what he believes to be Joan's most impressive “miracle,” namely, that her fellow soldiers

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<sup>38</sup> Orgelfinger, *Joan of Arc*.

<sup>39</sup> Orgelfinger, *Joan of Arc*, 4.

<sup>40</sup> Orgelfinger, *Joan of Arc*, 78.

<sup>41</sup> Orgelfinger, *Joan of Arc*, 45.

<sup>42</sup> Orgelfinger, *Joan of Arc*, 78.

<sup>43</sup> *Fresh Verdicts on Joan of Arc*, ed. Bonnie Wheeler and Charles T. Wood (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996; Routledge, 2021).

<sup>44</sup> Kelly DeVries, “A Woman as Leader of Men: Joan of Arc's Military Career,” in *Fresh Verdicts on Joan of Arc*, ed. Bonnie Wheeler and Charles T. Wood (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996; Routledge, 2021), 3–18.

<sup>45</sup> DeVries, “Woman as Leader,” 12.

testified to having no feelings or arousal toward her.<sup>46</sup> This, it seems, allowed them to look at her not (just) as a woman, but as the heroine she proved herself to be.

### *Conclusion*

Joan of Arc's incredible story was plagued by misogyny from the moment she chose to embark on her holy mission. Though she did have the support of France, she was condemned to death by the English and—beyond death—mocked in literary and scholarly works for the next few centuries. Though she did receive a rehabilitation trial twenty-five years after her execution, her image continued to be subjected to the oppression of late medieval, early modern, and even modern society's patriarchal systems. Before the twentieth century, Joan's image was frequently reduced to a holy virgin or a heretic or a powerless pawn of the French. As women attained more autonomy over the course of the twentieth century, Joan's image was transformed as well. Contemporary scholars continue to utilize the surviving documentary record to assess and retell Joan's story, and they create new images of the Maid by applying different methodologies. The ultimate conclusion about Joan and the different aspects of her story may be unclear or differ from scholar to scholar, but it is evident that Joan was a valiant female heroine, and her achievements are no longer held back by her gender.

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<sup>46</sup> DeVries, "Woman as Leader," 12.

Richard M. McGee

*Religion, War, and Native America:  
The Causes of the 1692 Salem Witchcraft Trials*

**ABSTRACT:** *This article revisits the early modern buildup to the 1692 witchcraft hysteria in Salem, Massachusetts, from a historiographical perspective. Based on scholarly works, including those by Mary Beth Norton and Elaine G. Breslaw, as well as firsthand narratives and trial records, it discusses European Christian witchcraft beliefs; how Puritans viewed Native Americans in this regard; how warfare erupted between settlers and the Indigenous; and why these factors collided in Salem. The author argues that the Salem trials resulted from a combination of early modern Euro-America's paranoid religious worldview, two decades of colonial warfare, and an Indigenous confession validating preexisting perceptions of witches.*

**KEYWORDS:** *early modern history; Massachusetts Bay; colonialism; Puritanism; paganism; Wabanaki; Tituba Indian; Parris family; King Philip's War; King William's War*

*Introduction*

In early 1692, the Devil finally infiltrated the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Located in the northeastern region of the modern-day United States of America, bordering the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Maine, Massachusetts became the place where colonial religious fervor reached its zenith. Two young girls mysteriously began to contort, utter deafening shrieks, and claim to feel agonizing pain: nine-year-old Betty Parris (1682–1760) and twelve-year-old Abigail Williams (1680–?), respectively the daughter and niece of Reverend Samuel Parris (1653–1720), all of them residents of the small village of Salem, situated in Essex County in the northeast of Massachusetts. Rather than the “pure Christian utopia” it was intended to be, Salem was riddled with refugees, rivalrous neighbors, property disputes, and unholy levels of superstition.<sup>1</sup> When Samuel Parris had moved to Salem in 1689, he had found it in disarray. The failed merchant-turned-preacher reasoned that the Devil was to blame for the village's troubles. Three years later, when his daughter and niece began to experience inexplicable torment, Parris believed that the only logical answer was witchcraft. By the time the Salem witch trials concluded in May 1693, one hundred and eighty-five people had been accused, sixty-one tried, and nineteen (i.e., fourteen women and five men) executed.<sup>2</sup>

Conventional scholarship posits that the Salem trials resulted from the “bewitchment” of a pious reverend's family. However, the story is far more

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<sup>1</sup> *America's Hidden Stories*, episode 1, “Salem's Secrets,” aired December 30, 2020, *Smithsonian Channel*, [online](#); Robert Detweiler, “Shifting Perspectives on the Salem Witches,” *The History Teacher* 8, no. 4 (1975): 597.

<sup>2</sup> Charlotte Carrington-Farmer, “Witchcraft in the Atlantic World: Indigenous Witchcraft in the Seventeenth Century – Tituba Case Study,” lecture, Roger Williams University, January 2, 2022.

complex and multifaceted.<sup>3</sup> This article argues that the Salem witch-hunt occurred due to a combination of early modern Euro-America's paranoid religious worldview, two unstable decades of warfare with the Indigenous, and one confession that ignited a larger conspiracy that validated preexisting racist perceptions of the Native American peoples of New England.<sup>4</sup>

### *I. Early Modern European Christianity and Witchcraft*

The witchcraft hysteria that exploded in Salem was not unfamiliar to Euro-American colonizers in the New World, as religious beliefs pertaining to the occult had existed long before 1692. Known as the "Age of Witch-Hunts," the early modern period between 1450 and 1750 contextualized everyday life with superstition. In these three centuries, over 100,000 individuals throughout Europe and North America were accused of witchcraft. Half of the accused—mostly women—died from torture, imprisonment, or execution.<sup>5</sup> The belief in witchcraft generally allowed people to explain otherwise inexplicable phenomena. As Richard Godbeer argues in "How Could They Believe That," early modern people "were convinced that they inhabited an enchanted world where supernatural forces constantly interacted with and shaped the physical reality that could be experienced with the five senses."<sup>6</sup> While cultural understandings of magic differed throughout the Atlantic World, most people believed that witches were influencing mystic forces through *maleficia*—harmful magic—to negatively affect reality. In a pre-Enlightenment world devoid of advanced sciences, witchcraft provided easily understandable and seemingly logical explanations for particularly unusual or calamitous events.<sup>7</sup>

In the ancient past, religious dogmas and witchcraft practices had often coexisted on the same divine spectrum, and witchcraft was not considered inherently evil. In classical Greco-Roman societies, for example, those considered demigods employed magic to produce rain for crops or increase wealth. Magic could be used for evil, but its main function in classical and medieval societies, so people thought, was to serve human needs. As the Middle Ages transitioned into

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<sup>3</sup> Jane Kamensky, "Salem Obsessed; Or, 'Plus Ça Change': An Introduction," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 65, no. 3 (2008): 393–394; Benjamin C. Ray, "'The Salem Witch Mania': Recent Scholarship and American History Textbooks," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 78, no. 1 (2010): 40–41.

<sup>4</sup> In this article, the term "New England" denotes the modern-day areas of Connecticut, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island.

<sup>5</sup> Charlotte Carrington-Farmer, "Witchcraft in the Atlantic World: Witchcraft in the Atlantic World—Intellectual Foundations," lecture, Roger Williams University, December 31, 2022.

<sup>6</sup> Richard Godbeer, "'How Could They Believe That?': Explaining to Students Why Accusations of Witchcraft Made Good Sense in Seventeenth-Century New England," *OAH Magazine of History* 17, no. 4 (2003): 28–29.

<sup>7</sup> *Witches of the Atlantic World: A Historical Reader & Primary Sourcebook*, ed. Elaine G. Breslaw (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 1–3; Mary Beth Norton, *In the Devil's Snare: The Salem Witchcraft Crisis of 1692* (New York: Vintage Books, 2002), 6.

the early modern period, European Christians came to believe that witchcraft operated as an antithesis to God, capable of causing catastrophe.<sup>8</sup>

This novel perspective was articulated by members of an educated elite. Obsessed with apostasy (i.e., the renunciation of previously held religious beliefs), heresy, and illicit relationships between witches and demons, they were determined to bring attention to demonic collusion, mainly to preserve their own power. Demonological theory—the belief that evil spirits cause individuals to commit crimes or sins—operated as a method of intellectual superiority and climaxed in 1486 when Dominican priests and inquisitors Heinrich Krämer (c. 1430–1505) and James (Jakob) Sprenger (1435–1495) published a witch-hunting guidebook, *Malleus Maleficarum* (i.e., “The Hammer of Witches”).<sup>9</sup> Krämer and Sprenger reconceptualized witchcraft by explaining that it occurred when “the Devil asks whether [witches] will abjure the Faith and forsake the holy Christian religion [...] and never venerate the Sacraments.”<sup>10</sup> *Malleus Maleficarum* increased the prevalence of anti-Devil ideologies in Europe as well as Christianity’s control over the notion of evil magic. Convinced of their divine right of legitimacy, both secular and ecclesiastical governments linked witchcraft with heresy. Those practicing magic or even denying witchcraft’s existence were considered disobedient to God and their rulers, even though occult methodologies had profoundly permeated religious and secular life prior to the publication of *Malleus Maleficarum*.<sup>11</sup> Krämer and Sprenger explained their papally sanctioned treatise by claiming that women’s “intellectual feebleness,” “sexual passion,” and “moral weakness” was spreading the Devil’s temptation, thereby intensifying the European witch-hunts whenever and wherever women were attempting to claim agency for themselves.<sup>12</sup>

*Malleus Maleficarum*’s denunciation of witchcraft prevailed even after the 1534 secession of King Henry VIII (r. 1509–1547) – and thus England – from the Roman Catholic Church. Henry’s split from Catholicism caused substantial unrest throughout his realm. New laws requiring English subjects to join the Anglican Church or face increased taxes outraged Catholics because they were prevented from worshiping in their own community. In 1553, when Queen Mary I ascended the English throne after the death of King Edward VI, Protestants feared a Catholic

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<sup>8</sup> Nachman Ben-Yehuda, “The European Witch Craze of the 14th to 17th Centuries: A Sociologist’s Perspective,” *American Journal of Sociology* 86, no. 1 (1980): 2–3.

<sup>9</sup> Brian P. Levack, *The Witchcraft Sourcebook*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2015), 59–60.

<sup>10</sup> Heinrich Krämer and James Sprenger, “The Methods of the Devil,” in *The Malleus Maleficarum*, trans. Montague Summers, in *Witches of the Atlantic World*, ed. Breslaw, 24.

<sup>11</sup> David D. Hall, “Witchcraft and the Limits of Interpretation,” *The New England Quarterly* 58, no. 2 (1985): 253–254; Lyndal Roper, “Witchcraft and the Western Imagination,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 16 (2006): 121–123.

<sup>12</sup> Malcolm Gaskill, “The Pursuit of Reality: Recent Research into the History of Witchcraft,” *The Historical Journal* 51, no. 4 (2008): 1077–1079; Elizabeth Reis, “The Devil, the Body, and the Feminine Soul in Puritan New England,” *The Journal of American History* 82, no. 1 (1995): 15–17.

uprising that would reverse their progress. Amidst this religious turmoil, however, the belief that witchcraft equated to Devil worship remained strong on both sides. This notion crossed the Atlantic when separatist groups, such as the Puritans, split from the Anglican Church to establish their own utopian commonwealth in North America.<sup>13</sup>

## II. Puritan Witches, Indigenous Peoples, and Settlement

In “Salem Witchcraft and Spiritual Evil,” R. D. Stock asserts that the Puritans’ worldview was “primed in every malevolent superstition that could commend itself [...] They looked for the Devil round every corner [...] They were obsessed with hell and damnation.”<sup>14</sup> While Puritans were by no means the sole inhabitants of early modern New England, their belief in the Devil’s prominence throughout the North American wilderness was quite common amongst the general population, especially in Massachusetts Bay.

As was the case in Europe, New Englanders viewed their world from a religiously fueled supernatural perspective.<sup>15</sup> As Richard Weisman argues in “Witchcraft and Puritan Beliefs,” God and the Devil constantly struggled over humanity’s loyalty and its fate. Consequently, Anglo-American colonizers firmly believed that both divine and diabolical elements were influencing their destinies in the unfamiliar New World.<sup>16</sup> As Weisman explains, “the category of witchcraft was incorporated within the mainstream of Puritan ideas [...] [and] belief in witchcraft was anchored upon belief in Satan.”<sup>17</sup>

New Englanders’ superstitiously paranoid worldview thus permeated their establishment in the New World, especially their relationship with neighboring Native Americans. As settlers viewed the Natives as barbaric, uncivilized, and inherently devilish, Puritans concluded that the Devil’s actions were manifesting themselves through the Indigenous people. For instance, Reverend Cotton Mather of Massachusetts (1663–1728) wrote in his 1689 treatise “On Witches and Witchcraft” that the Devil and witches appear where Native Americans reside, in “the *wigwams* of Indians, where the pagan *Powaws* often raise their masters [...] of evil spirits.”<sup>18</sup> Similarly, William Bradford (1590–1657), who served as the

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<sup>13</sup> Charlotte Carrington-Farmer, “Witchcraft in the Atlantic World: The Dynamics of Witch-Hunting in Early Modern Europe – Impacts of Location, Age, Gender, Socioeconomics, and Martial Status on Witch-Hunting,” lecture, Roger Williams University, January 1, 2022.

<sup>14</sup> R. D. Stock, “Salem Witchcraft and Spiritual Evil: A Century of Non-Whig Revisionism,” *Christianity and Literature* 42, no. 1 (1992): 144.

<sup>15</sup> Godbeer, “How Could They Believe That,” 29.

<sup>16</sup> Richard Weisman, “Witchcraft and Puritan Beliefs,” in *Witches of the Atlantic World*, ed. Breslaw, 79.

<sup>17</sup> Weisman, “Witchcraft and Puritan Beliefs,” 78–79.

<sup>18</sup> Cotton Mather, “On Witches and Witchcraft,” in *Memorable Providences Relating to Witchcrafts and Possessions* (1689), in *Witches of the Atlantic World*, ed. Breslaw, 44. The term *wigwam* denotes the

governor of Massachusetts (on and off) for thirty years, claimed in his historical account of Plymouth Colony that the Native Americans “got all the *Powachs* of the country [...] in a horrid and devilish manner, to curse and execrate [the Puritans] with their conjurations, which assembly they held in a dark and dismal swamp.”<sup>19</sup> Even the founder of Massachusetts’ neighboring colony of Rhode Island, Roger Williams (c. 1603–1683), who was an ally to the Narragansett Natives and sympathetic to Indigenous independence, wrote that the Native shamans were “no other than [...] English witches [...] the Devill [...] drives their worships [...] I durst never bee an eye witness, spectator, or looker on, lest I should have been a partaker of Satan’s inventions and worships.”<sup>20</sup>

Not only did these beliefs contribute to an increase in public hysteria, they also informed the contentious interactions between Anglo-Americans and Native Americans, thus causing the New Englanders’ ruthless colonization and missionary efforts to intensify. Settlers firmly believed that their arrival in America would bring God’s word to a heathen land previously ruled by the Devil.<sup>21</sup> As Nathaniel Philbrick argues in *Mayflower*, “the result of this stubborn insistence on rectitude was to dehumanize the Indians so that they seemed the wanton and senseless instruments of God’s will.”<sup>22</sup> At the same time, European colonization resulted from rulers’ ambitions to control the legendarily lush North American territory. The English Crown, in particular, intended to dominate the natural resources to strengthen its realm’s socioeconomic prowess via the fur and timber trades. Unlike Indigenous people who believed in preserving the Earth as a natural, shareable landscape in the direct image of their gods, the English believed that Native territory had to be colonized. Because it was undeveloped, Native land encouraged primitivity in the English’s eyes, and the Devil was allowed to roam free without God’s “civilizing” word.<sup>23</sup> English settlers required the Crown’s permission to claim territory. In return, the king, especially James I (r. 1603–1625), expected the conversion of all Natives to Christianity because conversion was regarded as God’s deliverance to “savage peoples” and an expulsion of the Devil from North America. Through colonization, the English settlers combined their

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semi-permanent dwellings used by the Indigenous. The term *Powaws* (also *Powachs*) denotes the so-called “medicine men” of the Indigenous.

<sup>19</sup> William Bradford, quoted in Alfred Cave, “Indian Shamans and English Witches,” in *Witches of the Atlantic World*, ed. Breslaw, 197. For the term *Powachs*, see note 18 above.

<sup>20</sup> Roger Williams, quoted in Cave, “Indian Shamans and English Witches,” 197.

<sup>21</sup> Heike Paul, *The Myths That Made America: An Introduction to American Studies* (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2014), 154–155.

<sup>22</sup> Nathaniel Philbrick, *Mayflower: Voyage, Community, and War* (New York: Penguin Random House, 2020), 231.

<sup>23</sup> James A. Warren, *God, War, and Providence: The Epic Struggle of Roger Williams and the Narragansett Indians against the Puritans of New England* (New York: Scribner Simon & Schuster, 2018), 9–37.

economic desires with their religious dogma, justifying their expansionism through a sociocultural superiority complex.<sup>24</sup>

### III. *The Indian Wars and Colonial Inefficacy*

These endeavors directly contributed to decades of territorial warfare throughout Massachusetts Bay and in the abutting northern regions of Maine and New Hampshire. Encroaching Anglo-American settlers continually forced Native peoples, especially the Wabanaki, into choosing whether they would convert to Christianity and allow the English to urbanize the landscape or, alternatively, defend their territories. As Mary Beth Norton's *In the Devil's Snare* contends, King Philip's War (1675–1678) and King William's War (1688–1697) "would not have erupted in the region had it not been for [...] the English [...] making peaceful relationships nearly impossible to sustain."<sup>25</sup> While the Wabanaki would have preferred neutrality during King Philip's War, the distrust they received from their Anglo-American neighbors eliminated their ability to sustain even a semi-peaceful relationship. The Wabanaki were also part of the overarching Algonquin people of New England, and their fellow Wampanoags, Nipmucks, and Narragansetts in southern New England desperately sought assistance and shelter. As Wabanaki and English settlers in Maine and New Hampshire captured and executed both combatants and civilians from their respective opponents, reconciliation seemed impossible. While a treaty was signed in 1678, sporadic violence continued because Wabanaki *sachems* (i.e., leaders or chiefs) disagreed with each other regarding the promises of the English. Indeed, the *sachems'* distrust toward the English proved justified. In 1688, King William's War erupted in northern New England when the English continued to disregard Indigenous sovereignty and land claims. Bay Colony authorities, especially Reverend Mather, claimed that the wars brought God's wrath upon New England because the Natives' unrepentant disregard for English law expounded the Devil's presence.<sup>26</sup>

As Alfred Cave notes in "Indian Shamans and English Witches," "outbreaks of witchcraft hysteria in New England villages in the late seventeenth century [...] often coincided with war scares or Indian hostilities [...] New England villagers facing possible Indian attack sometimes mistook illusions for real enemies."<sup>27</sup> As the Wabanaki successfully attacked densely populated areas during warfare, they avoided colonial troops, thus highlighting the ineffectiveness of English defense tactics. The Wabanaki's ransacking of homes then forced settlers to flee throughout Maine and New Hampshire. Traumatized refugees scattered to surrounding settlements, the most central of which was Salem. With Salem's proximity to the

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<sup>24</sup> Malcolm Gaskill, "Witchcraft and Evidence in Early Modern England," *Past & Present*, no. 198 (2008): 42–43; Warren, *God, War, and Providence*, 9–37.

<sup>25</sup> Norton, *In the Devil's Snare*, 86.

<sup>26</sup> Norton, *In the Devil's Snare*, 99–129; Bryce Traister, *Female Piety and the Invention of American Puritanism* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2016), 170–173.

<sup>27</sup> Cave, "Indian Shamans and English Witches," 196.



wars, the overall fear of Natives that was prevalent in New England at this time leached its way into the witch trials. For instance, refugees claimed that they had witnessed the Devil appearing as a “black man” during the wars. This heightened anxieties that the Wabanaki were allied with the Devil, as the word “black” was often used interchangeably with “Indian” during the colonial period. Thus, the English description of Satan corresponded to the Indigenous presence that, as New Englanders believed, was threatening society.<sup>28</sup>

Various factors were now converging. The supernatural worldview of New England residents worsened the skirmishes with the Indigenous. This, in turn, led to the Salem witch-hunt hysteria via the scattering of intimidated refugees who blamed invisible forces, working alongside the Indigenous, for their misfortune and then understood Native peoples as the embodiment of the Devil.<sup>29</sup> And this, in turn, was solidified by a confession that embraced the context of New England’s religious conflicts and increased the fear of witches in an already dysfunctional society.

#### *IV. Religious Insecurity and the Reluctant Witch of Salem*

When Betty Parris and Abigail Williams first experienced their fits of “demonic possession,” Salem Villagers immediately believed that a witch was conjuring demons to enter the girls’ bodies and take control of their physical and mental capacities. Reverend Parris’s hopes that prayers and household fasting would break the bewitchment proved to no avail, until his Indigenous slave woman, Tituba Indian (1674-?), baked a “witchcake” made of rye meal, ash, and the victims’ urine as a form of counter-magic to reveal the culprit.<sup>30</sup> As Richard Slotkin explains in “Witchcraft: The ‘Captivity to Spectres,’” “the more experience the Puritans acquired in the New World, the more they had to recognize the power of the Indian [...] The longer they stayed in the Indian’s world, the more they felt themselves succumbing to the Indian mind.”<sup>31</sup> New Englanders, believing the Indigenous to be witches in collusion with the Devil, argued that all forms of magic were evil. Even if magic was used to “counter” possible bewitchment—as witnessed in Tituba’s cake-baking at the suggestion of Parris’s neighbor Mary Sibley (1660–c. 1761)—it was still considered an engagement with the Devil.<sup>32</sup> Subsequently, Betty and Abigail were both terrified by their inadvertent participation in devilish ways. Their symptoms worsened. Furthermore, two teenagers—Ann Putnam Jr. (1679–1716) and Elizabeth Hubbard (1675–?)—also

<sup>28</sup> Norton, *In the Devil’s Snare*, 82–114.

<sup>29</sup> Roger Thompson, “Salem Revisited,” *Journal of American Studies* 6, no. 3 (1972): 319.

<sup>30</sup> Elaine G. Breslaw, “Tituba’s Confession: The Multicultural Dimensions of the 1692 Salem Witch-Hunt,” *Ethnohistory* 44, no. 3 (1997): 538–540; Brian P. Levack, “The Horrors of Witchcraft and Demonic Possession,” *Social Research* 81, no. 4 (2014): 924–925.

<sup>31</sup> Richard Slotkin, “Witchcraft: The ‘Captivity to Spectres,’” in *Witches of the Atlantic World*, ed. Breslaw, 280.

<sup>32</sup> Cave, “Indian Shamans and English Witches,” 202.

began experiencing fits and claimed to see the specters of murder victims. Believing Tituba's magic had been effective, Parris demanded that the girls reveal their tormentors.<sup>33</sup>

Tituba was accused of witchcraft along with Sarah Goode (1653–1692) and Sarah Osborne (1643–1692), who were two (somewhat) elderly social outcasts who mirrored the stereotypical witch. While she initially denied the accusations, claiming she would never wish to hurt Parris's family, Tituba soon thereafter changed her story. She admitted to witchcraft in a revealing confession laced with widely held European ideals regarding magic as well as Indigenous and African cultural notions. Tituba's confession synthesized multiethnic witchcraft beliefs with sophisticated manipulations of Puritanism's deepest fears, thus lending credence to the Salem Villagers' beliefs with regard to Native witchcraft.<sup>34</sup> As Tituba herself stated, "the Devil came to me and bid me serve him [...] he said he would hurt me and then he looks like a man and threatens to hurt me [...] this man had a yellow bird that kept with him."<sup>35</sup> By then accusing Goode, Osborne, and seven other individuals from all over Essex County, Tituba confirmed Salem's fear that a larger conspiracy with the Devil was threatening to destroy God's New England. While the credence given to a Native slave's confession was outlandish for this time, Tituba's credible ethos made her more convincing.<sup>36</sup>

An Arawak Native from Guiana, a region in northern South America bordered by the Atlantic Ocean, who had been transported to the Caribbean Island of Barbados in the West Indies and then sold as a slave in New England, Tituba had experienced English, African, and Indigenous concepts pertaining to the occult. Before coming to Barbados, as Elaine Breslaw surmises in *Tituba, Reluctant Witch of Salem*, Tituba had most likely practiced Arawak protective rituals. Once she arrived in Barbados, she learned the Creole culture's witch mythologies that reformulated English witchcraft without violating its own African worldview. In Barbados, slaves also introduced white Europeans to new magical practices. This concept transferred to Salem, as "Tituba's Caribbean beliefs reflected and distorted learned European notions of a pervasive Satanic presence."<sup>37</sup>

Tituba's confession—which described the Devil as a man who threatened to harm her, seduced her to join a pact, and had a bird on his shoulder, as well as a coven of people who resided outside of Salem—combined all three cultures' beliefs in witchcraft. The English believed that the Devil often appeared as a seductive man threatening to harm witches if they did not sign his book at the

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<sup>33</sup> Breslaw, "Tituba's Confession," 540.

<sup>34</sup> Levack, *Witchcraft Sourcebook*, 285.

<sup>35</sup> "Examination of Tituba," in *Witches of the Atlantic World*, ed. Breslaw, 378–379.

<sup>36</sup> James West Davidson and Mark Hamilton Lytle, *After the Fact: The Art of Historical Detection*, 3rd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1992), 23, 36.

<sup>37</sup> Elaine G. Breslaw, *Tituba, Reluctant Witch of Salem: Devilish Indians and Puritan Fantasies* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 153.

group meeting labeled the “Witches’ Sabbath.” African cultures also subscribed to the concept of malevolency from faraway lands and that the “Evil One” always resided outside one’s own community. Guianese beliefs featured the *Kenima*, a devilish being who relied on animal familiars, such as the yellow bird in Tituba’s confession.<sup>38</sup>

Salem officials listened to Tituba’s confession, and her words matched their own ideas. Additionally, Tituba remained consistent with subsequent testimonies. Martha Corey (c. 1620–1692) was accused of witchcraft and “of having familiarity with the Devil in the time of examination in the shape of a black man whispering in her ear. [The victims] affirmed that her yellow bird sucked betwixt her fingers in the assembly.”<sup>39</sup> Abigail Hobbs (c. 1675–?) also confessed that she had “sold her selfe boddy & Soull to the...divell’ [in the shape of a ‘black man’] and... made a covenant or bargin with him” while she was living in Maine during King William’s War.<sup>40</sup> Her stepmother Deliverance Hobbs (c. 1642–?) confessed that she had attended a “witch meeting ‘in the Pasture by Mr Parris’ house’ [...] [and] ‘a Man in a long crowned white hat... prest them to bewitch all in the Village.’”<sup>41</sup> Validated by other confessions, Tituba convinced the Puritans that the Devil had indeed invaded Salem.

The Anglo-Americans’ religious knowledge and fear of Indigenous people after the Indian Wars only intensified their notion of the Natives as Devil-worshippers. The Salem elite trusted Tituba upon hearing her confession, as they equated her Amerindian identity with their common perception of the Devil. Having indicated wider conspiracies involving multiple participants, Tituba’s confession not only drew attention away from Salem Village, it also justified the English’s idea that the Devil was running rampant in the New World. To the English, the only logical explanation for the Devil’s presence was the Natives’ presence throughout the region. With a new witch-hunt underway, Salem’s paranoia proved itself as the capstone of a long-standing history of supernatural religious doctrines that not only instilled racism in the population but also ensured decades of war with the Indigenous in the process. When Tituba’s proficiency in the English language conveyed an eloquent and thoughtful confession that united her familiarity with her master’s religious devotion, an understanding of

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<sup>38</sup> Carrington-Farmer, “Indigenous Witchcraft in the Seventeenth Century—Tituba Case Study.”

<sup>39</sup> Deodat Lawson, “Narrative of the Salem Events,” in *A Brief and True Narrative of Some Remarkable Passages Relating to Sundry Persons Afflicted by Witchcraft, at Salem Village, Which Happened from the Nineteenth of March to the Fifth of April, 1692*, in *Witches of the Atlantic World*, ed. Breslaw, 391.

<sup>40</sup> Norton, *In the Devil’s Snare*, 79, 81.

<sup>41</sup> Norton, *In the Devil’s Snare*, 138.

multiethnic mysticism, and her position as a community outcast, Anglo-Americans' inherent beliefs and deepest fears coalesced.<sup>42</sup>

### *Conclusion*

Colonizers perceived Native civilization as a primitive barbarism that lacked the enlightening word of God. In the absence of God's word, the Devil had taken over in the form of the Indigenous. The Indigenous were then labeled witches, and their retaliation against ongoing colonization efforts embodied the English's fears that the Devil was working with Natives to destabilize God's New World. With the diffusion of traumatized refugees and the stresses of warfare, Salem's perspective on witchcraft became worse than in previous instances of occultism. The "victims" of Salem thus directed attention away from their own inadequacies in defending themselves by blaming magic, but simultaneously truly believed in the presence of demons. Only when Tituba's confession arose did Salem have the necessary vehicle to successfully sustain its response to the First and Second Indian Wars. As warfare was an unfortunate phenomenon, Salem relied on the early modern period's prevailing belief that the only logical explanation for unusual, calamitous, or generally inexplicable phenomena was witchcraft. According to Puritan logic, the more brutal the warfare, the more malevolent the witchcraft and the enemy. With darker magic came heightened anxiety. With Tituba's affirmation of the Salem Villagers' fear of magic came the need for witch trials. Through their amalgamation of religious mysticism, deadly warfare, racism, and confirmed hysteria, the Salem witch trials marked one of the darkest times in colonial America.

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<sup>42</sup> Breslaw, *Tituba*, 152-175; Carrington-Farmer, "Indigenous Witchcraft in the Seventeenth Century – Tituba Case Study."

Scott Terlouw

*“Among our own selves”:*

## *Molly Houses and the Formation of Georgian England’s Queer Community*

**ABSTRACT:** *This article focuses on the role of molly houses in the creation of an urban queer community in eighteenth-century London. “Molly house” was a term used in Georgian England to refer to taverns, coffeehouses, and inns used as meeting places by queer men. At a time when homosexual contact between men was punishable by death, molly houses provided safe spaces for queer men to congregate and express themselves openly. Using Old Bailey trial records, prisoner testimonies, and eighteenth-century accounts of molly houses, this article emphasizes the formative role these spaces played in the development of England’s queer community.*

**KEYWORDS:** *modern history; British history; England; London; eighteenth century; molly house; Margaret Clap; identity; homosexuality; queer history*

### *Introduction*

On a cold Sunday night in February 1726, a home in the London neighborhood of Holborn was raided. Forty men, several dressed as women, were arrested and hauled away to Newgate Prison. The home was owned by Margaret Clap, better known as “Mother Clap,” and had been staked out by London police and social reformers for well over a year. Several months earlier, in November 1725, the reform-minded constable Samuel Stevens had opened the door to this same private home and had been shocked by the sight of men dancing, carousing, kissing, and making love, not with “loose women” or Holborn’s local prostitutes, but with one another. Stevens described the spectacle inside the home as follows:

I found between 40 and 50 Men making Love to one another, as they call’d it. Sometimes they would sit on one another’s Laps, kissing in a lewd Manner, and using their Hands indecently. Then they would get up, Dance and make Curtsies, and mimic the voices of Women...Then they’d hug, and play, and toy, and go out by Couples into another Room on the same Floor, to be marry’d, as they call’d it.<sup>1</sup>

The raid on Mother Clap’s home would set London newspapers ablaze with tales of men in drag, dancing and speaking effeminately, and engaging in sodomy and other profanities. While none of the men were “caught in the act,” so to speak, dozens were arrested and tried for attempted sodomy and gross indecency; several were fined, imprisoned, and pilloried. Three men were hanged at Tyburn Gallows, west of Newgate Prison. Mother Clap herself was fined and pilloried before disappearing from the historical record.<sup>2</sup>

Mother Clap owned and operated a “molly house,” an establishment that catered to the social and sexual needs of London’s eighteenth-century gay

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<sup>1</sup> Samuel Stevens, “Testimony at the Trial of Thomas Wright, April 1726,” in Rictor Norton, *Mother Clap’s Molly House: The Gay Subculture in England, 1700–1830* (London: GMP Books, 1992), 55.

<sup>2</sup> Norton, *Mother Clap’s Molly House*, 66.

subculture. Most molly houses were a social club, brothel, and dancehall rolled into one; queer men gathered clandestinely to drink, socialize, and "be marry'd," a common euphemism among mollies for sexual intercourse.<sup>3</sup> Prior to the eighteenth century, one could hardly speak of a "gay community" in England; that is not to say that gay men did not congregate before the eighteenth century, but material evidence and archival records of a definitive subculture of gay men did not emerge until the first few decades of the eighteenth century.<sup>4</sup> The 1726 raid on Mother Clap's molly house brings to light the oppressive circumstances under which gay men gathered in the eighteenth century. Reforming societies, a draconian criminal code, and long-held social discrimination toward homosexual men and gender non-conforming individuals created an atmosphere of violence and suspicion that dominated the lives of England's queer community, necessitating a place to meet secretly and safely. Molly clubs, "with their rituals, mimicry, and satire" filled this role as a safe space, a "home" for England's urban gay community.<sup>5</sup> In the eighteenth century, queer men gathered in molly houses for freedom of sexuality and gender expression, safety from social and legal violence, and to form a close-knit community through rituals and traditions that allowed them to both partake in and satirize heterosexual life.

Following a historiographical overview of the works of scholars of queer history in the Georgian era, this article explores three themes that assert the centrality of molly houses to the creation of an eighteenth-century queer subculture, namely, privacy, safety, and community. This article refers to the patrons of molly houses as "mollies," the term they used to describe themselves. "Molly" is thought to originate as a pet form of the name "Mary," or from "moll," a slang term for London's prostitutes.<sup>6</sup> I use the term "queer," rather than "gay," to refer to the "men" who frequented molly houses, as I believe "queer" better encapsulates the varied sexualities and gender identities of the molly community. The use of the word "men" to describe *every* molly must also be taken with a grain of salt; while most mollies appeared to identify as men, even when dressed in drag, the mollies' use of "maiden names" and their variety of gender and sexual expressions make the presence of transgender and gender non-conforming mollies more likely than not.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Samuel Stevens, "Testimony at the Trial of Thomas Wright, April 1726," 55.

<sup>4</sup> Norton, *Mother Clap's Molly House*, 32–52.

<sup>5</sup> Annie Harrison, "[A] place to take off the mask': Georgian Molly Houses as Homes" (unpublished manuscript, 2018), 15, [online](#).

<sup>6</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "molly, n. 1;" Rictor Norton, "Homosexuality," in *The Georgian Underworld: A Study of Criminal Subcultures in Eighteenth-Century England* (self-published 2012), [online](#).

<sup>7</sup> Trial of Thomas Gordon, July 5, 1732, *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, [online](#).

### I. Historiography

Difficulties arise when studying queer and gay identities across history. Modern scholars of queer history have relied almost entirely upon court records and trial testimonies to reconstruct a narrative of an era of queer life that was often clandestine, repressed, and unwritten. In large part, to study queer history is to study "archival silence."<sup>8</sup> In *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive*, historian Marissa J. Fuentes utilizes a methodology that seeks to recreate the lives of enslaved women in colonial Barbados despite a dearth of archival and material records. By studying the perpetuation of violence through archival silence, Fuentes seeks to "stretch archival fragments by reading *along the bias grain* to eke out extinguished and invisible but no less historically important lives."<sup>9</sup> Fuentes operates "from the premise that history is a production as much as an accounting of the past, and that our ability to recount has much to do with the conditions under which our subjects lived."<sup>10</sup> Studying queer history requires a similar methodology, as the same archival silence that renders invisible the lives of the enslaved also clouds the lives of homosexual, gender non-conforming, and queer individuals.

Trial records and court records make up the bulk of what is known about England's eighteenth-century queer community. London's Central Criminal Court, better known as the Old Bailey, has digitized its collection of court proceedings dating from 1674 to 1913, thereby providing historians with a valuable window into the legal system of several past centuries. Rictor Norton, perhaps the foremost expert in the study of molly houses and the eighteenth-century homosexual subculture, extolls the value of the Old Bailey's court and trial records as providing ample evidence of a "collective gay identity in the 'molly houses' of eighteenth-century London."<sup>11</sup> Norton also describes the need to modernize and update queer studies, critiquing "the constructionist model of homosexuality" espoused by the French historian and philosopher Michel Foucault, who claimed "that the concept of sexual 'orientation' was invented in the late nineteenth century, mainly through medical discourse."<sup>12</sup> Norton instead favors an essentialist model of queer history, which advocates that the "'essence' or core of homosexual desire is innate, congenital, constitutional, stable, and fixed

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<sup>8</sup> Marisa J. Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 146.

<sup>9</sup> Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives*, 7.

<sup>10</sup> Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives*, 12.

<sup>11</sup> Rictor Norton, "Recovering Gay History from the Old Bailey," *The London Journal* 30, no. 1 (2005): 39-54.

<sup>12</sup> Michel Foucault, paraphrased in Rictor Norton, "F-ck Foucault: How Eighteenth-Century Homosexual History Validates the Essentialist Model," presentation (expanded version), May 27, UCLA Mellon Sawyer Seminar "Homosexualities: From Antiquity to the Present," [online](#).

rather than fluid."<sup>13</sup> To this end, Norton's research into the eighteenth-century homosexual subculture supports essentialist views of queerness by proving that queer communities and identities existed long before the codification of the modern term "homosexual."<sup>14</sup>

Masculinity and eighteenth-century conceptions of "manhood" are critical to understanding why molly houses at once disgusted, scared, and intrigued British society. Molly house gatherings – with their cross-dressing and bawdy behavior – reflected the heights of Georgian sexuality and decadence. These parties also posed a threat to British ideals of manhood and social order. Historians Michael Roper and John Tosh have theorized that historical concepts of masculinity have "always been defined in relation to 'the other';" in Georgian London, the presence of numerous private, domestic spaces where "sodomitical practices" were encouraged threatened the social stability of the Georgian home.<sup>15</sup> Heteronormativity was more than just the statistical and societal norm; it was the bedrock of the British social order. In their collection *Sexual Underworlds of the Enlightenment*, historians G. S. Rousseau and Roy Porter argue that one should not study the eighteenth century as an "age of erotic pleasure" but as "a new era of sexual anxiety."<sup>16</sup> The theme of "sexual anxiety" adds nuance to the persecution of homosexuals in the Georgian era, as the respective behaviors were not just considered an affront to traditional notions of masculinity and social stability, but were also a manifestation of the era as a period of sexual re-evaluation. I use the word "re-evaluation" as opposed to "revolution," since, as Rousseau's and Porter's collection reveals, the eighteenth century was a period of *both* sexual liberation and repression.

Historical research into Georgian domestic life is also relevant to understanding the appeal of molly houses to queer men. Molly houses were often private, domestic spaces where gay men and gender non-conforming individuals could express themselves authentically without social rebuke or legal reprisal. Like Norton, Annie Harrison uses several examples of mollies living at Mother Clap's to suggest that many queer men "felt comfortable enough in that environment to make it their place of residence as well as their place of entertainment."<sup>17</sup> Scholar of Georgian domestic history Amanda Vickery reinforces the importance of the home as a reflection of social and personal identity that provided a safe space away from the watchful eyes of society. In *Behind Closed*

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<sup>13</sup> Norton, "F-ck Foucault," [online](#).

<sup>14</sup> Norton, "F-ck Foucault," [online](#).

<sup>15</sup> Michael Roper and John Tosh, "Historians and the Politics of Masculinity," in *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, ed. Michael Roper and John Tosh (London: Routledge, 1991), 1.

<sup>16</sup> G. S. Rousseau and Roy Porter, *Sexual Underworlds of the Enlightenment* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 1-16.

<sup>17</sup> Harrison, "[A] place to take off the mask," 14-15.



*Doors: At Home in Georgian England*, Vickery discusses contemporary perceptions of masculinity, femininity, and domesticity, as well as the role that fashion, art, and consumer goods played in the formation of culture. Vickery argues that gentlemen's social clubs, prominent "theatres of masculine performance," were vital in the creation of British male identity.<sup>18</sup> In the Georgian social landscape, molly houses fashioned a community for queer men by meeting many of the same social needs that gentlemen's clubs met for heterosexual men.

The most relevant historiographical discussion this article touches upon pertains to the formation of an English gay subculture in the eighteenth century, a theory pioneered in the 1990s by historians like Randolph Trumbach and Rictor Norton.<sup>19</sup> In his seminal work, *Mother Clap's Molly House: The Gay Subculture in England 1700–1830*, Norton lists five characteristics of a subculture:

- (1) social gatherings attended exclusively by members sharing the "significant factor;"
- (2) a network of communication between members which is not generally recognized by the larger society;
- (3) specialized vocabulary or slang, used to reinforce a sense of membership in the group or establish contact secretly;
- (4) self-identification with other members in the group, reinforced by common patterns of behavior which distinguish the members from society at large; and
- (5) a self-protective community of shared sympathy caused by being ostracized by society for being "different."<sup>20</sup>

As Norton notes, England's eighteenth-century queer community meets each and every one of these requirements. The unique slang, or "cant," of the mollies is of particular interest to historians studying the formation of a gay subculture. Jes Battis describes queer slang in the eighteenth century as originating from the lexicon of a "shared vocabulary among thieves, prostitutes, and mollies," noting that these groups "often ran in the same circles;" thus, molly slang provided a secret, shared language for queer men in the eighteenth century to both speak privately and reinforce community ties.<sup>21</sup> Historians have also focused on the rituals and traditions of the mollies (such as "molly-marriages," "mock childbirth," and "maiden names"), which satirized heterosexual norms and life milestones while also allowing queer men to participate in heterosexual life.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 52.

<sup>19</sup> Amanda Bailey and Randolph Trumbach, "Welcome to the Molly-House: An Interview with Randolph Trumbach: The Gay Male Subculture of Eighteenth-Century London," *Cabinet*, no. 8 (2002), [online](#).

<sup>20</sup> Norton, *Mother Clap's Molly House*, 9–10.

<sup>21</sup> Jes Battis, "Molly Canons: The Role of Slang and Text in the Formation of Queer Eighteenth-Century Culture," *Lumen: Selected Proceedings from the Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 36 (2017): 131.

<sup>22</sup> Harrison, "[A] place to take off the mask; Norton, *Mother Clap's Molly House*; Norton, "Recovering Gay History from the Old Bailey."

## II. Freedom of Sexual and Gender Expression

The first purpose of molly houses was to provide safe, private spaces for sexual freedom and gender expression. Molly houses attracted queer men with the promise of privacy, intimacy, and sex, as well as the freedom to express their gender and sexuality in ways forbidden by Georgian society. Molly houses, with the freedom and privacy they provided for sex, contributed to the rise of an urbanized queer subculture by fostering a network of intimate connections between members of these clubs, as well as by providing gay hustlers and sex workers with a safe location to ply their trade. Historians have struggled with the extent to which molly houses functioned as brothels; while Mother Clap's establishment was apparently not used as a brothel, many mollies were known to work in the sex trade.<sup>23</sup> "Cruising," far from being a modern feature of gay sexuality, was rampant in eighteenth-century urban centers like London; theaters and public latrines were common places for cruising.<sup>24</sup> Cruising London streets, latrines, or taverns for sex would have been far from community building; molly houses, by contrast, provided pseudo-domestic spaces for queer men to have sex, privacy, and even intimacy. Mollies referred to sexual coupling as "marrying" or "being married," perhaps a plea for their relationships, whether sexual or romantic, to be legitimized as equal in worth to heterosexual unions.<sup>25</sup> Mollies dignifying their coupling as "marriage" echoes Georgian ideals of marriage as a divinely-ordained foundation of social order.<sup>26</sup>

The scenes of raucous sex and sexuality in molly houses also upheld Enlightenment values of bodily autonomy and sexual and social liberation. As previously noted, the eighteenth century was a period of sexual anxiety, where the secularizing influence of the Enlightenment provided a new rational, ethical framework by which to explore sex and sexuality. While the Enlightenment was largely an upper-class movement, many mollies on trial for sodomy echoed the ideals of privacy and bodily autonomy. In the 1718 trial of John Bowes and Hugh Ryly, Bowes defended his alleged actions by defiantly retorting to their accuser, "Sirrah what's that to you, cant [sic] I make use of my own Body? I have done nothing but what I will do again."<sup>27</sup> Perhaps surprisingly, both men were acquitted. In William Brown's trial for attempted sodomy, Brown boldly proclaimed, "I think there's no Crime in making what use I please of my own

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<sup>23</sup> "Trial of Thomas Wright, April 1726," in *Homosexuality in Eighteenth-Century England: A Sourcebook*, ed. Rictor Norton (self-published 1999, updated 2008), [online](#); Norton, *Mother Clap's Molly House*, 54–59.

<sup>24</sup> Norton, "Homosexuality," [online](#).

<sup>25</sup> Trial of Gabriel Lawrence, April 20, 1726, *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, [online](#).

<sup>26</sup> Mike Rendell, *Sex and Sexuality in Georgian Britain* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword History, 2020), chap. 12 ("Sodomites").

<sup>27</sup> Trial of John Bowes and Hugh Ryly, December 5, 1718, *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, [online](#).

Body."<sup>28</sup> As Norton notes, these men touched upon John Locke's theory that "every man has a property in his own person: this 'no body has any right to but himself' was something that could be asserted even by ordinary homosexuals."<sup>29</sup>

In molly houses, sexual freedom extended to expressions of gender. Mollies were known for their habit of dressing in drag and affecting the manners and speech of women. Court proceedings relied heavily on charges of effeminacy and cross-dressing to both identify and convict queer men as violating public decency.<sup>30</sup> Cross-dressing was a social taboo in Georgian England; like other taboos, however, reports of mollies' scandalous behavior sold to an audience eager for a glimpse into London's underbelly. In his 1709 account of London's molly clubs, Ned Ward scandalized readers with tales of men cross-dressing and "giving birth" to wooden effigies, stories that challenged every Georgian social norm surrounding masculinity.<sup>31</sup> James Dalton's 1728 narrative of London street crime includes tales of thieving mollies, drag queens calling themselves "Nurse Ashcraft" and "Fish Hannah," and mock "lying-in" ceremonies that culminated in the birth of a wooden "jointed Baby."<sup>32</sup> These tales of cross-dressing and gender non-conformity were widely read precisely because of the social taboo against effeminacy in men. The Georgian public was in equal parts horrified and intrigued by the inversion of the social order with its strict division between "man" and "woman."

The individual who best captures the fluidity of gender that flourished among London's mollies was Princess Seraphina, born John Cooper. Called "Princess" by her friends and neighbors even when not dressed as a woman, Seraphina appears in the historical record, like so many mollies, through court testimony. Unlike many of her sisters, however, Princess Seraphina was the plaintiff. In May 1732, Seraphina was robbed at knifepoint by one Thomas Gordon, who threatened the Princess that, should she report him to authorities, he would in turn accuse her of attempted sodomy.<sup>33</sup> Gordon's implication was that Seraphina's obvious effeminate and feminine presentation left her vulnerable to blackmail. Seraphina, however, managed to secure Gordon's apprehension with the help of several bystanders. The aggrieved and headstrong molly took Gordon to court for the theft of her clothes, personal effects, and pocket money. The court transcript includes testimonies of character witnesses in support of both Princess Seraphina

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<sup>28</sup> Trial of William Brown, July 11, 1726, *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, [online](#).

<sup>29</sup> Rictor Norton, "A Defence of Homosexuality, 1718," in *Homosexuality in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Norton, [online](#).

<sup>30</sup> Trial of Julius Cesar Taylor, October 16, 1728, *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, [online](#).

<sup>31</sup> Edward Ward, *Satyrical Reflections on Clubs* (London: J. Phillips, 1710; originally published 1709), 284–300 (chap. XXV, "Of the Mollies Club").

<sup>32</sup> James Dalton, *A Genuine Narrative of All the Street Robberies Committed since October Last, by James Dalton and His Accomplices, Taken from the Mouth of James Dalton* (London: J. Roberts, 1728), 35–40.

<sup>33</sup> Trial of Thomas Gordon, July 5, 1732, *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, [online](#).

and Gordon, and while ultimately Gordon was found not guilty, the trial record is remarkable in the readiness with which Princess Seraphina's gender expression is discussed, as well as the lack of public and legal condemnation for her being a known molly who openly engaged in cross-dressing. It is through the testimonies of character witnesses that we learn of Seraphina's royal nickname. One witness referred to Seraphina with female pronouns and as "Princess," and when the magistrate sought clarification, the witness answered: "he goes by that Name." The use of both male and female pronouns reflects the fluidity of Seraphina's gender expression, with two local women, Mary Ryler and Mary Robinson, referring to Seraphina as a member of the community who nursed ill neighbors and gossiped with women at the neighborhood dressmaker. Notably, Mary Ryler and fellow witness Mary Poplet referred to Seraphina as both "he" and "she" throughout their recorded testimonies, with Ryler saying: "Sometimes we call her Princess, and sometimes Miss." Princess Seraphina's occupation as a "gentleman's servant" (most likely as a messenger between homosexual men) was openly discussed, with one of the defense's witnesses, Margaret Holder, openly declaring that Seraphina was "one of them as you call Molly Culls, he gets his Bread that way; to my certain Knowledge he has got many a Crown under some Gentlemen, for going of sodomiting Errands."<sup>34</sup> In other courtrooms, such an accusation would have constituted a charge of indecency or even intent to commit sodomy.<sup>35</sup> Princess Seraphina, however, despite losing her case against Gordon, remained free to express her gender identity on her own terms due, in large part, to the safety and security afforded to her by her membership in the molly community.

### *III. Protection from Social and Legal Violence*

The threat of legal and social violence was ever-present in the lives of eighteenth-century queer men, and numerous examples of prosecution and punishment permeate the archival record. Contemporary testimonies make clear that mollies knew to conceal their sexual activity from the watchful eye of society and the law in the comfort and privacy of molly clubs. Patrons of molly houses were bound by both their intimacy with one another as well as concerns for their safety. Sodomy – even the accusation of "attempted sodomy" – was an offense often met by social ostracism, mob violence, and harsh legal reprisals, ranging from the pillory to the gallows at Tyburn. In the public sphere, queer men were not safe to outwardly express themselves for fear of physical violence and social exclusion. Riots triggered by political or economic turmoil were a common feature of Georgian London, and such riots often turned against brothels, prostitutes, religious

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<sup>34</sup> Trial of Thomas Gordon, July 5, 1732, *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, [online](#).

<sup>35</sup> Trial of Gabriel Lawrence, April 20, 1726, *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, [online](#); "Trial of George Whittle, April 1726," in *Homosexuality in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Norton, [online](#); Trial of John Ashford, September 6, 1732, *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, [online](#).

minorities, and homosexuals.<sup>36</sup> Mob violence was often random, yet it existed in a culture of homophobia supported by pamphlets and newspapers that published sermons and editorials condemning queer and effeminate men. In May 1726, several anonymous letters sent to *The Weekly Journal* echoed the prevailing social attitude toward homosexuality, claiming that mollies "exceed[ed] the very Beasts of the Fields in the Filthiness of their Abominations." These letters, written under the pseudonym "Philogynus" (or "lover of women" in Greek), referred to the common "Principles of Vertue, and Morality" and the biblical tale of Sodom and Gomorrah to condemn the crime of sodomy; the second letter, sent a week after the first, bemoaned Parliament's failure to take "prudent Measures to suppress such base and irregular Actions."<sup>37</sup> In his account of London street crime in the late 1720s, James Dalton referred to mollies as "Villains" with "damnable, unnatural, and beastly Appetites," and he included in his record a list of known mollies with the hope that the "Intelligence which is here given, will be a Means to have some of them detected."<sup>38</sup> British print culture actively sought the exposure and removal of mollies and sodomites from public and private life. In 1721, the *Ipswich Journal* denigrated the fifty "Abominable Wretches" who had been arrested during a raid on a molly coffee house in Leicester Square; the newspaper condemned the "Club of Sodomites" and their "beastly Actions...not fit to mention" in print.<sup>39</sup> Queer men were also susceptible to entrapment at popular cruising grounds. In 1726, Thomas Dalton attempted to cruise a man sleeping on a park bench in St. James' Park. The man, one Joseph Yates, guessed Dalton's intentions and feigned interest in Dalton, luring him to a local tavern where Dalton was detained until local authorities could be summoned. Dalton was arrested and found guilty of "assault with sodomitical intent."<sup>40</sup>

At the time, English common law proceeded in the treatment of homosexuals according to the "Buggery Statute" of 1533, which condemned sodomy as a capital offense.<sup>41</sup> Thus, in the case of a conviction, the charge of sodomy carried the death penalty. More frequently, however, the archival record lists charges like Dalton's, namely, of "assault with sodomitical intent." This charge, often labeled "attempted sodomy," was levied far more often than the actual charge of sodomy. Proving that penetration had taken place was difficult; charges of "attempted

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<sup>36</sup> Roy Porter, *English Society in the 18th Century*, 2nd ed. (London: Penguin Books, 1990), 100–101.

<sup>37</sup> "Letters from Philogynus, May 1726," in *Homosexuality in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Norton, [online](#).

<sup>38</sup> Dalton, *Genuine Narrative*, 36–37.

<sup>39</sup> Excerpt from *Ipswich Journal*, July 29, 1721, in *Homosexuality in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Norton, [online](#).

<sup>40</sup> Trial of Thomas Dalton, August 31, 1726, *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, [online](#).

<sup>41</sup> Edward Bullingbrooke, *The Duty and Authority of Justices of the Peace and Parish-Officers for Ireland* (Dublin: Grierson, 1766); Henry Dagge, *Considerations on Criminal Law* (Dublin: Saunders, 1772).



sodomy," however, facilitated the prosecution of any man caught in an implied sexual situation with another man.<sup>42</sup> While numerous trials for sodomy and related offenses fill the archival record, a majority of them resulted in acquittal due to a lack of sufficient evidence.<sup>43</sup> Most convictions required queer men to be "outed" by accusers who had their own motivations and firsthand knowledge of the accused's culpability. The role that insider information played in the conviction of sodomites is evidenced by the trial and conviction of Charles Hitchin, London's Deputy City Marshall, for the charge of sodomy. Hitchin was immediately replaced by his chief accuser and rival, the notorious thief-taker Jonathan Wild, who had spearheaded the accusations against Hitchin.<sup>44</sup> Male hustlers also targeted known homosexuals.<sup>45</sup> Laws directed against queer men meant that molly houses were essential in protecting the anonymity and physical safety of their patrons; like Mother Clap's, molly houses were often private residences and known only by a select clientele, providing queer men with greater protection from local authorities.

During the early decades of the eighteenth century, the power and influence of England's "Societies for the Reformation of Manners" reached its zenith. These reforming groups acted as vice squads and attempted to rid London of indecency and crime, frequently targeting brothels, gambling dens, and molly houses. In 1707, London's "Society for the Reformation of Manners" "entrapped nearly 100 sodomites," though many were not brought to trial.<sup>46</sup> While reforming groups succeeded in pushing homosexual expression even further underground, this had an unintended effect on the formation of a queer subculture. In *Mother Clap's Molly House*, Norton writes that the "attempt to suppress vice actually may have facilitated the expression of homosexuality," as London's queer community "coalesced under the pressure of this reforming environment," and the "publicity given to homosexuals by the Societies must have made gay men aware of the cruising grounds where they could pick one another up."<sup>47</sup> To avoid violence and legal persecution, queer men realized "that it would be in their interest to form associations to meet in less public places," giving rise to the numerous molly

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<sup>42</sup> Rictor Norton, "The Buggery Statute," in *Homosexuality in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Norton, [online](#); Trial of Thomas Dalton, August 31, 1726, *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, [online](#).

<sup>43</sup> Trial of George Duffus, December 6, 1721, *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, [online](#); Trial of Thomas Poddy, September 6, 1710, *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, [online](#); Trial of William Mayly, January 14, 1715, *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, [online](#).

<sup>44</sup> Jonathan Wild, *An Answer to a Late Insolent Libel* (London: T. Warner, 1718); Norton, "Homosexuality," [online](#).

<sup>45</sup> "Trial of George Whittle, April 1726," in *Homosexuality in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Norton, [online](#).

<sup>46</sup> Norton, *Mother Clap's Molly House*, 51.

<sup>47</sup> Norton, *Mother Clap's Molly House*, 52.

houses in 1720s London. As Norton summarizes, "self-preservation is a powerful impetus to the formation of a subculture."<sup>48</sup>

Despite molly houses' apparent safety and secrecy, they routinely attracted attention. As the archives prove, molly houses were frequent targets of police raids and media coverage.<sup>49</sup> Gatherings of mollies, with their loud, flamboyant manners, obvious effeminacy, and unique slang, often drew the immediate attention of society and the law. Rather than hide themselves away, however, many mollies boldly came and went from molly clubs, using them as boarding houses and brothels.<sup>50</sup> Far from concealing themselves from the public eye, they displayed their effeminacy and cross-dressing loudly, valuing their freedom of expression ahead of personal safety considerations. As illustrated by the colorful life of Princess Seraphina, many mollies were known in their local communities by their preferred pronouns and treated as eccentric neighbors.<sup>51</sup>

#### IV. Forming Community in Molly Houses

Molly houses were essential to the development of England's queer subculture by providing spaces of community. The shadow of social and legal violence loomed large over the jovial atmosphere of molly clubs. The need for secrecy – dictated by strict social and legal repression – meant that sex between mollies necessitated the formation of extremely close-knit communities of lovers, ex-lovers, and friends. The need for communal spaces, particularly among men, transcended socio-economic notions of class in Georgian England. In the eighteenth century, London was home to hundreds of gentlemen's clubs, coffeehouses, and fraternal societies.<sup>52</sup> Marked by the "new spirit of secular hedonism," these clubs gave heterosexual men a place to congregate, socialize, and escape from their domestic worries.<sup>53</sup> Or, as Amy Milne Smith notes in her study of gentlemen's clubs, these social groups may have been evidence of a "flight to domesticity" rather than an escape. Men who were seeking domestic "homosociality" "embraced the concept of domesticity in such a way as to provide for their own comforts while undermining the influence of the home."<sup>54</sup> For queer men, who would have felt repressed or unwelcome in these heterosexual masculine spaces, molly houses offered the same social intimacy as gentlemen's clubs.

By providing both physical safety and community, molly houses enabled queer men to support and uplift one another, and such emotional support permitted

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<sup>48</sup> Norton, *Mother Clap's Molly House*, 52.

<sup>49</sup> Dalton, *Genuine Narrative*, 32–43; "Letters from Philogynus, May 1726," in *Homosexuality in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Norton, [online](#).

<sup>50</sup> Norton, "Homosexuality," [online](#).

<sup>51</sup> Trial of Thomas Gordon, July 5, 1732, *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, [online](#).

<sup>52</sup> Ward, *Satirical Reflections*.

<sup>53</sup> Norton, "Homosexuality," [online](#).

<sup>54</sup> Amy Milne-Smith, "A Flight to Domesticity? Making a Home in the Gentlemen's Clubs of London, 1880–1914," *Journal of British Studies* 45, no. 4 (October 2006): 818.

queer men like John Cooper to utterly transform into Princess Seraphina.<sup>55</sup> The story of Seraphina paints the portrait of a queer person representing themselves authentically with the support of various neighbors and friends. When Seraphina brought the man who had robbed her before a court that openly discussed her own lifestyle and manner of dress, it may very well have been the support provided by her social network, several of whom testified in her defense, which protected her from the scornful eye of the court. Mother Clap, the proprietress of London's most notorious molly house, was herself responsible for the acquittal of several mollies charged with indecency. Clap acted as a character witness for a molly named Derwin, and fondly, even jokingly, recounted the story of Derwin's acquittal to her patrons in the months leading up to her own arrest.<sup>56</sup> Although Norton notes Mother Clap's motives as being "more mischievous than mercenary," her support of Derwin went above and beyond the conduct of most molly house owners. While the historical record assumes Margaret Clap's heterosexuality, she was, in her own way, a pivotal member of the molly community. Regardless of her own identification, Mother Clap's legacy of supporting her patron from legal conviction underscores the affection and fellowship felt between members of the molly subculture.

In molly houses, the bonding and intimacy between mollies transcended mere sex to include a variety of unique traditions and rituals. Molly house traditions that contributed to the development of a uniquely queer space included drag, effeminacy, and cross-dressing; the use of "maiden" or "sister names;" as well as rituals that satirized marriage and childbirth. As investigative journalist Edward "Ned" Ward noted in his 1709 work *Satyrical Reflections on Clubs*, mollies frequently adopted female mannerisms and speech, gossiping amongst each other and "imitating all the little Vanities that Custom has reconcil'd to the Female Sex, affecting to Speak, Walk, Tattle, Cursy, Cry, Scold, and to mimick all Manner of Effeminacy."<sup>57</sup> "Maiden names," such as "Orange Deb," "Nel Guin," and "Flying Horse Moll," were commonplace among the sisterhood of molly houses.<sup>58</sup> These names reflect Norton's third and fourth criteria for a subculture. The use of slang and secret names reinforced a sense of membership in the group and allowed for self-identification with other members of the same subculture. "Molly marriages," which encompassed both one-night stands and long-term partnerships, solidified bonds between lovers and friends, establishing what today's queer community calls a "chosen family."

During his journalistic exploration of the molly house, Ned Ward was most struck by scenes of "mock childbirth." In his 1709 satirical assessment of London's molly scene, Ward salaciously reports that mollies, dressed as women and acting

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<sup>55</sup> Trial of Thomas Gordon, July 5, 1732, *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, [online](#).

<sup>56</sup> Norton, *Mother Clap's Molly House*, 56.

<sup>57</sup> Ward, *Satyrical Reflections*, 284.

<sup>58</sup> Trial of Julius Cesar Taylor, October 16, 1728, *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, [online](#).



as "midwives," cushioned the bellies of one of their "Sisters, as they commonly call'd themselves," and went through the motions of labor and childbirth.<sup>59</sup> After a period of melodramatic recreation, the molly's labor would culminate in the "birth" of the wooden effigy of an infant which was subsequently christened and baptized in a bizarre parody of church ritual and rural village traditions.<sup>60</sup> Norton theorizes that rituals of "mock childbirth" were a "variation of the scapegoat motif, wherein one person undergoes pain for the sake of the tribe," arguing that these rituals of "mock childbirth" bonded mollies by "blunting the end of heterosexual prejudice" through the production of a scapegoat in the form of the wooden infant.<sup>61</sup>

Through "molly marriages" and "mock childbirth" rituals, mollies both satirized and expressed a desire for belonging to heterosexual society by parodying important heterosexual milestones (courtship, marriage, and childbirth); the presence of these rituals "illustrates not only a satirization of heterosexual society, but a desire to take part in it as homosexual men."<sup>62</sup> As bizarre as many of these rituals may appear, anyone who has attended a drag show in a modern gay club can attest to the enduring queer tradition of making fun of heterosexual life. By engaging with heterosexual life through parody, mollies were able to create a community of their own by fulfilling heteronormative social roles on their own terms. By playing the bride, the expectant mother, or the midwife, mollies bonded in more than their shared ostracism from society. Rather, the queer scene that formed in these molly houses was tied together by shared humor, traditions, dress, speech, sex, love, and a longing to belong to a familial community.

Like gentlemen's clubs and coffeehouses, molly houses acted as both formative and performative spaces. These social spaces allowed for the formation of subcultures of men through the performance of gender. In gentlemen's clubs, performances of masculinity permitted gossip and close friendships among heterosexual men, fulfilling the needs of "homosocial domesticity" through the production of a male-only pseudo-domestic space.<sup>63</sup> In social clubs, the stoicism and restraint demanded by society fell away, and men were free to "let their hair down." For queer men, molly houses fulfilled many of the same homosocial needs for male closeness, with mollies often boasting of a "sisterhood," and many indeed often bickered and fought like siblings.<sup>64</sup> Much has been made of how mollies performed *femininity* in molly houses, but when mollies "let their hair down" (or, in the case of many eighteenth-century patrons, their wigs), themes of *masculinity*

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<sup>59</sup> Ward, *Satirical Reflections*, 285.

<sup>60</sup> Ward, *Satirical Reflections*, 285–286.

<sup>61</sup> Norton, *Mother Clap's Molly House*, 97–100.

<sup>62</sup> Harrison, "[A] place to take off the mask," 14.

<sup>63</sup> Milne-Smith, "Flight to Domesticity," 799.

<sup>64</sup> Ward, *Satirical Reflections*, 285.

were also performed and challenged. Mollies, always in on the joke, knowingly satirized heterosexual men by playing the role of the blushing bride or expectant mother. In these roles, queer men could refute the social ostracism they were facing by engaging with heteronormativity in a satirized, ritualized, and highly theatrical manner. The satirization of gender and traditional family milestones created an atmosphere of levity and humor where mollies could, for a short time at least, forget about the judgment and dangers of an intolerant, repressive society. Molly "sisters" often had working-class jobs, even wives, and lived an outwardly heterosexual lifestyle.<sup>65</sup> What if, then, these performances of effeminacy and gender-bending in molly houses were just as *expressive* as they were *performative*? Rather than places of disguise, what if molly houses were instead spaces where queer men and gender non-conforming people could reveal who they *really* were, removing the mask of society in the community of a chosen family?

### Conclusion

Charting the formation of a queer subculture in eighteenth-century London grants us a deeper understanding of queer culture today. From drag queens, camp humor, and vulgar slang to raucous dancing and sex, one could be forgiven for believing that the scene in an eighteenth-century molly house was not all that different from a modern gay club. Norton goes as far as to say that "modern gay men recognizably come from the same stock as sodomites and mollies and endorsers."<sup>66</sup> England's queer subculture blossomed in the eighteenth century due to a myriad of economic, intellectual, and cultural factors, but the role of the physical space in which this community formed is far less nebulous. Molly houses were critical in forming spaces of sexual freedom, safety from violence and persecution, and close community bonds. The sisterhood of mollies was more than a network of survival; rather, it was a highly intimate emotional and social bond that, coupled with its unique slang, humor, and traditions, developed into a subculture all of its own.

In 1726, the disguised reforming constable Samuel Stevens, whose lurid account of Mother Clap's molly house was quoted in this article's introduction, was scandalized by the way mollies were dancing, singing, and making merry. While we will never know the full range of queer joy that flourished in molly clubs, we have a record of one of the songs to which men like Gabriel Lawrence, William Griffin, and Thomas Wright (all arrested during the raid on Mother Clap's and sentenced to death by hanging) may have drunk and danced. In his *Genuine Narrative* of street crime in eighteenth-century London, James Dalton, as "an Amusement to the Reader," included the lyrics to a song sung by mollies. This song, sung by "that charming warbler, Miss Irons," begins as follows:

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<sup>65</sup> Trial of Gabriel Lawrence, April 20, 1726, *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, [online](#).

<sup>66</sup> Norton, "Recovering Gay History from the Old Bailey," 5.

Let the Fops of the Town upbraid  
Us, for an unnatural Trade,  
We value not Man nor Maid;  
*But among our own selves we'll be free.*<sup>67</sup>

In eighteenth-century England, queer men, through the privacy, safety, and community provided in molly houses, exemplified the personal freedom that underpinned the Age of Enlightenment. Pressured by social intolerance and legal persecution, mollies, like modern queer men, created a space where they could express themselves authentically and create bonds of friendship, intimacy, and community, and where even for one night, *among their own selves*, they were free.

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<sup>67</sup> Dalton, *Genuine Narrative*, 42–43.

Connor Etheridge

*Warping the Black Cross:  
The Ideological Portrayal of the Teutonic Knights from 1190 until Today*

**ABSTRACT:** *This essay examines the historiography of the Teutonic Knights (established 1190) with a particular emphasis on their “association” with the SS (i.e., the Nazi “Schutzstaffel”). It uses medieval depictions, such as the “Livonian Rhymed Chronicle,” the writings of Enlightenment historian Gottfried Herder and modern historian William Urban, as well as popular fictional portrayals, such as the 1938 Soviet film “Alexander Nevsky” by Sergei Eisenstein. The author argues that the Teutonic Knights have frequently been interpreted on ideological grounds, especially in the twentieth century.*

**KEYWORDS:** *European history; Germany; Teutonic Knights; Livonian Rhymed Chronicle; Gottfried Herder; William Urban; SS; Sergei Eisenstein; ideology; historiography*

*Introduction*

Adorned with swastikas, burning cities along the way, the barbaric Germans are coming to commit atrocities against the common folk of Russia, and they can only be stopped by a charismatic leader, a peasant-loving “man of the people.” While this description may evoke an image of the Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin heroically confronting the forces of Nazi Germany during their invasion of the Soviet Union via Poland, we are, in fact, dealing with the plot of a cinematic classic. The 1938 film *Alexander Nevsky*, a Soviet propaganda piece directed by Sergei Eisenstein (1898–1948), draws explicit parallels between the Nazi pursuit of eastward expansion and the 1242 attempt by the Livonian Order – a branch of the Teutonic Knights – to invade Novgorod, a medieval republic stretching from the Gulf of Finland to north central Russia.<sup>1</sup> But how can such a cinematic interpretation of the Teutonic Knights be significant for the study of history? Is it possible that historians, misled by presentism, have made undue comparisons between the members of this Christian community and the neo-pagan soldiers of Adolf Hitler’s Schutzstaffel (SS), Nazism’s elite protective guard?<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the conflation of the Teutonic Knights with Nazism, particularly the SS, has not been restricted to Stalinist propaganda films. There has been an urge in the historiography of the Teutonic Knights to write this misinterpretation into their history. What is more, the Teutonic Knights’ demonization began long before Stalin and has survived after the crumbling of the so-called “Iron Curtain,” the line that once divided Europe between countries under Western influence and countries dominated by the Soviet Union. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Enlightenment critiques of the Teutonic Knights became associated with anti-Germanic

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<sup>1</sup> *Alexander Nevsky*, directed by Sergei Eisenstein (1938; West Long Branch: Corinth Video, 1990). The “Black Cross” in this essay’s title refers to the Teutonic Knights’ religious symbol.

<sup>2</sup> Scholars continue to debate how much Christianity and “neo-paganism” played a role in Nazism generally and the SS especially. See Eric Kurlander, *Hitler’s Monsters: A Supernatural History of the Third Reich* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017).

nationalist history writing, and, in the twentieth century, the Teutonic Knights' image was warped further by Marxist Eastern European scholars who identified them with Nazism. In this essay, I argue that the Teutonic Order has been subjected to ideologically motivated historiographical distortion from the Enlightenment until today; I explore how and why this happened; and I acknowledge the recent pushback against these ideas and the current trend toward analyzing the Teutonic Order within its proper historical context.

This essay builds on the idea that the "medieval mentality," as historian of the Middle Ages Kurt Villads Jensen puts it, was fundamentally different.<sup>3</sup> Rather than seeing the Teutonic Knights' agency as a thinly veiled socio-economic or ethno-nationalist conquest, theirs was a penitential war, and they were primarily concerned with their relationship with God—both their own and their enemies'. Following an assessment of the Teutonic Order's medieval self-portrayal and its Enlightenment critiques, I trace its historiographical journey through the era of Romantic nationalism and then into, during, and beyond the paired dictatorships of Stalinism and Nazism. The Nazis themselves were complicit in the Teutonic Order's historiographical portrayal as a precursor and parallel to Nazism. Thus, to take at face value the Nazis' notion of themselves as heirs of the Teutonic Order is to happily digest their propaganda.

### *I. The Teutonic Order and Its Association with the "Ancien Régime"*

The Teutonic Order's early history itself is replete with biases and historical tinkering, as can be observed in the chronicles of the Middle Ages. A good example of this is the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, an anonymous work written in Middle High German in the 1290s: utilizing a Christian religious framework, it covers the German conquest of Livonia—a region on the Baltic Sea's eastern shores—in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Most likely written by a militarily experienced member of the Teutonic Order for his own community, the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* is unflinchingly biased toward the Teutonic Knights, but its author also criticizes, at times, members of the clergy, and he routinely depicts the brutal realities of warfare.<sup>4</sup> One would, of course, expect a medieval chronicler who is detailing the supposed history of his own community to paint said community in a positive light. Yet, the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, regardless of its "insider" bias, remains a historical work that is not (yet) filtered through a presentist ideological framework.

Well over a century before the Enlightenment, the Teutonic Order—an institution with historic ties to the Crusades and still considerable territorial influence—was targeted in an anti-Catholic (and thus rather presentist) fashion by Martin Luther (1483–1546), the influential German theologian and leader of the

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<sup>3</sup> Kurt Villads Jensen, introduction to *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier 1150–1500*, ed. Alan V. Murray (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2001), xxi.

<sup>4</sup> *The Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, trans. Jerry C. Smith and William L. Urban (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1977), xxi–xxii.

Protestant Reformation.<sup>5</sup> However, it was not until the Enlightenment itself that the Teutonic Order was confronted by the full disdain directed against any and all institutions associated with the so-called “ancien régime.” Initially, the term “ancien régime” had been used to denote the French absolutist state from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century as a “rubbish heap of chaos, illogicality, routine, waste, and injustice,”<sup>6</sup> but the “Enlightened” soon launched similar critiques against all “ancient” European “feudal” systems born in the Middle Ages. Thus, the Age of Enlightenment marked the true beginning of the Teutonic Order’s demonization, and the Enlightenment thinkers’ blanket critiques of medieval ideas and systems became strongly associated with the institution. However, as historian Michael Burleigh points out, the Teutonic Order was subjected to critiques of a unique nature. Regarding the German “philosophic historian” Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), Burleigh writes that

his [i.e., Herder’s] lack of sympathy for the Crusades and military religious orders stemmed from both an intense detestation of anything that conquered and crushed other communities and an almost childlike impressionability and sensitivity to peoples very different from those of his own time.<sup>7</sup>

Thus, while critiques of the Teutonic Order can generally be correlated with Enlightenment invectives against the Middle Ages, there was already something deeper at play. According to Herder, the Germans were those “by whom” the “peaceful people” of the Baltic region had been “oppressed and subdued,”<sup>8</sup> and the Germans—as a people—were, of course, fundamentally tied to the Teutonic Order. Herder wrote that “humanity shudders at the blood spilled by” their (i.e., the Teutonic Knights’) “barbarities,” which “nearly extirpated” the native Prussians (i.e., the Indigenous inhabitants of Prussia, a German medieval region that eventually became important to the nineteenth-century German nation state) and left the native “Lettonians reduced to a state of slavery.”<sup>9</sup> Yet, Herder did have some admiration for Christianity, which had fostered a “genuine bond of friendship and brotherly love,”<sup>10</sup> as well as for the Germans, who had been “the foundation of the civilization, freedom and security of Europe.”<sup>11</sup> Herder’s multifaceted critical appraisal represents a unique strand of the Enlightenment

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<sup>5</sup> See Sven Ekdahl, “Crusades and Colonisation in the Baltic: A Historiographic Analysis,” in *The North-Eastern Frontiers of Medieval Europe: The Expansion of Latin Christendom in the Baltic Lands*, ed. Alan V. Murray (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 12.

<sup>6</sup> William Doyle, *The Ancien Régime*, 2nd ed. (New York: Palgrave/St. Martin’s Press, 2001), 31.

<sup>7</sup> Michael Burleigh, “The Knights, Nationalists and the Historians: Images of Medieval Prussia from the Enlightenment to 1945,” *European History Quarterly* 17, no. 1 (1987): 37–38.

<sup>8</sup> Johann Gottfried Herder, *Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man*, trans. T. O. Churchill (1784; New York: Bergman Publishers, 1966), 476–477.

<sup>9</sup> Herder, *Outlines of a Philosophy*, 476–477.

<sup>10</sup> Herder, *Outlines of a Philosophy*, 495.

<sup>11</sup> Herder, *Outlines of a Philosophy*, 482.

critiques of Germans in general and the military religious orders in particular, one that shares many commonalities with later ideas.

## II. "National Awakenings" and the Reappraisal of the Teutonic Order

During the nineteenth century's "national awakenings," nations rose from their slumber and began to justify their existence by molding history. Thus, the Teutonic Order found itself further fictionalized in accordance with the aims of Romantic nationalists. There were two opposites, though: on the one hand, there was Germany; on the other hand, there were the "Slavic" states, Germany's eastern neighbors, including Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Russia. Both sides formulated their ideas in response to Enlightenment concepts, yet both sides also eventually devolved into equally irrational and ideological schools of thought. With regard to those who were sympathetic to the Teutonic Order, German historian Johannes Voigt (1786–1863) is a good starting point. Placing the Teutonic Knights in context, Voigt advanced Herder's earlier arguments toward a more favorable conclusion, arguing that—although their deeds committed against the natives had been wrong—the Teutonic Knights had done quite a lot of good for civilization as well.<sup>12</sup> Thus, the idea of the civilization-bearing German (via the Teutonic Order) was planted into the modern mind, also referred to as the "culture-carrier theory." The German historian and nationalist Heinrich von Treitschke (1834–1896) subsequently took up this idea and cleansed it of its Enlightenment remnants. According to historian Sven Ekdahl, Treitschke "let no obstacle prevent him from stressing Germanic superiority over the Slavic race and the marvels of German-ness and the great Prussian past."<sup>13</sup>

The Teutonic Order's reappraisal occurred in the context of German nation-building. Yet, there were regions and peoples that had once been under the Teutonic Order's dominion, including Poland and Lithuania, that were intentionally excluded from nation-building and history-writing by virtue of being under the dominion of either Germany or Russia. The historical novel *The Knights of the Cross* by Henryk Sienkiewicz (1846–1916) illustrates a turn-of-the-century Polish—and generally Eastern European—Romantic nationalist interpretation of the Teutonic Order. It was the clear purpose of Sienkiewicz's work to stir up the Polish nationalist spirit by countering the Teutonic Order's traditional narrative with the Romantic narrative of the Polish people. To do so, the idea of the Polish nation was explicitly projected back into the historic conflict between the Polish (and Lithuanian) people and the Teutonic Knights, particularly the latter's crushing defeat at the 1410 Battle of Grunwald. Assessing this momentous event, Sienkiewicz exclaimed that, "not only was the perfidious Order of the Knights lying there, stretched at the feet of the [Polish] king, but all the German might, which up to that battle had been flooding unfortunate Slav lands like a sea, had

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<sup>12</sup> For Johannes Voigt, see Burleigh, "Knights, Nationalists and the Historians," 39.

<sup>13</sup> Ekdahl, "Crusades and Colonisation," 13.

broken itself against Polish breasts on that great day, that day of purification and redemption.”<sup>14</sup> Thus, Sienkiewicz fundamentally linked the Teutonic Order to the German nation as it stood opposed to the Polish kingdom and the other Slavic realms with their modern dreams of statehood. *The Knights of the Cross* was deeply rooted in the late-nineteenth-century context of German unification and expansion, which were themselves tied to the “culture-carrier theory.” Sienkiewicz’s novel received rave reviews outside of Poland, a clear sign that its message was resonating with many.<sup>15</sup>

### III. Ideological Manipulation and Its Consequences

In the 1930s, the interpretation of the Teutonic Order’s history was warped into something far more sinister. As had been the case before, the distortion was polarized, and it took place on a battleground that saw the ideological forces of Nazism and Communism facing off against each other. Indeed, things took such a dark turn that modern historiography is still recovering from the fallout. To the Nazis, and to Hitler himself, the German military had to emulate the Teutonic Order’s practices in order to succeed in bringing German culture and influence into the East. In this ideology, the Teutonic Order’s original ideals disappeared, it was reduced to a propagandistic symbol (including its Black Cross), and it was instrumentalized as a Romantic appeal to the German national past. Shortly after they had banned whatever was left of the Teutonic Order in Austria and Czechoslovakia, in 1938 and 1939 respectively, the Nazis recovered its banners for ideological purposes, and Nazi historians played their part in the Teutonic Order’s symbolic glorification as well.

As for the Soviets, they distorted their initially more neutral historical approach into an ideological tool against Nazi propaganda. While he had still panned the Teutonic Order’s ideological dramatization in the 1920s, Soviet historian M. N. Pokrovskii (1868–1932) soon saw to it that the Teutonic Order became the ultimate villain in both Soviet historiography and popular imagination.<sup>16</sup> Sergei Eisenstein’s 1938 film *Alexander Nevsky* is a prime example for the Teutonic Order’s weaponization to fit ideological aims. The film is drenched with symbolism that draws parallels between the Teutonic Knights and Nazism on the one hand and their medieval and modern opponents – Alexander Nevsky (1221–1263) and Joseph Stalin – on the other hand. The symbols range from explicit to more subtle. A swastika adorns the clothing of the bishop, who crosses himself and the knights with his hand raised, as if imitating a Nazi salute. Also “on the nose” is the hand in a perfect Nazi salute that sits atop the helmet of one of the higher-ranking knights. Then there are more implicit parallels, such as

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<sup>14</sup> Henryk Sienkiewicz, *The Knights of the Cross*, trans. Jeremiah Curtin (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1900; originally published 1899), 343–344.

<sup>15</sup> Sienkiewicz, *Knights of the Cross*, 347.

<sup>16</sup> See Ekdahl, “Crusades and Colonisation,” 14–18.



the depiction of the knights as robotic killers who commit barbaric acts without flinching; juxtaposed with this is Nevsky, a steadfast man of the collective Russian people and a strong leader – like Stalin.<sup>17</sup> Film scholar David Bordwell explains Eisenstein’s groundbreaking use of contrast: Nevsky and his forces appear in dark hues, representing the soil of Russia, while the Teutonic Knights are depicted white as icy death, reflecting their eventual defeat on the frozen lake.<sup>18</sup> Initially released before the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact (1939), a non-aggression agreement between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany, Stalin pulled the film when it seemed that he and Hitler were on good terms. In 1941, after Nazi Germany had invaded the Soviet Union, Stalin ordered the film immediately re-released.

The legacy of the Teutonic Order’s polarized ideological interpretation has rippled throughout the historiography ever since, mostly in national and anti-German strands. In Lithuania, according to Ekdahl, “the evaluation of the [Teutonic] Order is [still] mostly negative,” and the “image of the knight-brothers in fairy tales and children’s books is also dark,” even though scholarly assessments of the Teutonic Order have become more nuanced and less Marxist. There has been resistance of varying degrees against ideological distortion in many places in Central and Eastern Europe, including Germany, Latvia, Estonia, and Russia.<sup>19</sup> Yet, the scholarly battle about the Teutonic Order’s history rages on, and remnants of previous political manipulations can still be felt.

Fortunately, this is not the end of the story, and, fittingly, serious academic pushback has been discernible from within the Teutonic Order’s own modern historiography. Written in 1987, Michael Burleigh’s article “The Knights, Nationalists and the Historians” traces the Teutonic Order’s historiography from the Enlightenment to 1945. Burleigh ends with an analysis of the twisting of the Teutonic Order’s mission and legacy by the Nazis, particularly by Heinrich Himmler, the Reichsführer of the SS.<sup>20</sup> Meanwhile, Sven Ekdahl’s 2014 chapter “Crusades and Colonisation in the Baltic” goes beyond 1945, tracing the historiography of the Teutonic Knights well into the early twenty-first century. Ekdahl assesses how the ideological warping of the Teutonic Order has left its mark on the historiography, and he shows that there has been a recent – ironically somewhat controversial – trend toward analyzing the Teutonic Order on its own merits in order to divorce it from distortion and misinterpretation. Concluding on a hopeful note, Ekdahl writes that “in years to come the discussion over Crusades and colonisation in the Baltic will certainly be greatly invigorated. In short, future historiography promises to be extremely interesting and informative.”<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> *Alexander Nevsky*, directed by Sergei Eisenstein.

<sup>18</sup> David Bordwell, commentary, on *Alexander Nevsky*, directed by Sergei Eisenstein (1938; West Long Branch: Corinth Video, 1990).

<sup>19</sup> Ekdahl, “Crusades and Colonisation,” 25–29.

<sup>20</sup> Burleigh, “The Knights, Nationalists and the Historians,” 48–50.

<sup>21</sup> Ekdahl, “Crusades and Colonisation,” 29.

Two centuries after the Enlightenment's politically motivated ideological warping, the Teutonic Order's historiography has finally entered a place of clarity from which to produce objective analysis. A premier example of this is historian William Urban's 2011 monograph *The Teutonic Knights: A Military History*. Instead of opening with a long historiographical discussion concerning the dangers and problems of writing the history of the Teutonic Knights, Urban briefly summarizes the issue in a three-page introduction. He writes that "there is much history to be learned here, or perhaps re-learned: the Teutonic Knights were once powerful and respected in Central Europe, but their reputation has suffered in recent times at the hands of propagandists, nationalists, Protestants, and secularists [...] these perceptions are now being rethought." As for his own intentions for writing the monograph, Urban posits that "for understanding the military history of the Teutonic Order, it is best for us to drop the Hollywood stereotypes [...] the true stories about the Teutonic Knights are sufficiently interesting that we do not have to distort them."<sup>22</sup> In light of the past few centuries' twists and turns, there is something almost incomprehensible here, namely, a complete and utter rejection of the idea that the Teutonic Order should be studied on anything but its own terms and merits. I am of a mind to agree with Sven Ekdahl that the future looks promising.

As for my own interpretation, I offer a single comparison, namely, the contrast between the oaths sworn, respectively, by new members of the Teutonic Order and by new members of the SS. The juxtaposition is striking, especially when considering the concept of the fundamentally different "medieval mentality."<sup>23</sup> New members of the Teutonic Order swore as follows:

I promise the chastity of my body, and poverty, and obedience to God, Holy Mary, and you, to the master of the Teutonic Order, and your successors, according to the rules and practices of the Order, obedience unto death.<sup>24</sup>

New members of the SS swore as follows:

I swear to you, Adolf Hitler, as Führer and Reich Chancellor, loyalty, and bravery; I vow to you, and to those you have named to command me, obedience unto death, so help me God.<sup>25</sup>

Note that the new SS member's oath is the complete structural inverse of the new Teutonic Knight's oath. In the Teutonic Order's oath and its promises, God comes first, Holy Mary second, and the master of the Order and his successors last. In the SS's oath, Hitler comes first, adorned with both state and party titles, while God is tacked on as a mere afterthought. The new SS member promises nothing to God;

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<sup>22</sup> William L. Urban, *The Teutonic Knights: A Military History* (Barnsley: Frontline, 2011), xii.

<sup>23</sup> Jensen, introduction to *Crusade and Conversion*, ed. Murray, xxi.

<sup>24</sup> Urban, *Teutonic Knights*, quote located on the back cover of the 2011 Frontline paperback edition.

<sup>25</sup> *Waffen-SS, The SS Calls You*, quoted in *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, 14 November 1945–1 October 1946*, vol. 4, *Proceedings 17 December 1945–8 January 1946* (Nuremberg: International Military Tribunal, 1947), 183.

he just shallowly and thoughtlessly invokes Him. There is a deeper meaning beyond the structure as well. The new member of the Teutonic Order promises to act virtuously: to keep his body chaste, to remain in poverty, and to render obedience. What “virtues” does the new SS member swear—not promise—to Adolf Hitler? Only loyalty, bravery, and obedience. The new SS member does not promise to uphold any particular rules or practices, for Nazism violates any and all standards of those. All he swears to uphold are the commands of Hitler and those appointed under him. The lone similarity between the newly initiated Teutonic Knight’s oath and the new SS member’s oath is a religiously oriented pledge of “obedience unto death.” This is a microcosm of the problem: SS sucked the Christian religious life out of the Teutonic Order, inhabited its corpse, and flipped it upside down, filling it instead with neo-pagan religious devotion to a man and the racialized nation under him.

### *Conclusion*

The Teutonic Order’s historiography is indeed a complicated and troubled subject. The story of the Teutonic Knights is complex enough; needing to parse through a range of different and frequently distorted interpretations only adds to the scholar’s burden. Needless to say, the Teutonic Order is not the only historical phenomenon whose mission and legacy has been subjected to politically motivated critiques and ideological distortions. Yet, though strongly related to the changes in thinking associated with philosophical and political movements like the Enlightenment and nationalism, the Teutonic Order seems to be in an interpretive class all of its own. The slow progression of critical ideas eventually culminated in the Teutonic Order’s demonization before, during, and after World War II—a legacy that is still alive in the historiography today. Fortunately, recent scholarship has exhibited a tendency toward analyzing the Order without employing the use of presentism. Though there is still much work to be done, this is a promising development.

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Sarah Snyder

## *Lesbians in Modern England: Escaping Legislation Through Indefinability*

**ABSTRACT:** *This article explores the mystifying absence of references to same-sex intimacy between women in English legislation. Through an exploration of primary sources, including newspaper articles, diary entries, and court transcripts, as well as a comparison of previous work done by historians, it discusses ideas established in the late nineteenth century. The author argues that heteronormative societal attitudes in conjunction with sexism were bolstered by the oppressive institution of marriage and created an atmosphere that the English legislatures deemed efficient enough to discourage lesbianism, thus eliminating the “risk” of exposing the public to the idea of homosexuality between women by promulgating criminalizing legislation.*

**KEYWORDS:** *modern history; England; legislation; lesbians; identity; homophobia; heteronormativity; marriage; Radclyffe Hall; queer history*

### *Introduction*

After the publication of Radclyffe Hall’s lesbian novel *The Well of Loneliness* (1928), an uproar concerning the story’s “obscene content” spread across England. An anonymous journalist writing for *The Sunday Express* declared that he “would rather give a healthy boy or girl a phial of prussic acid than this novel. Poison kills the body, but moral poison kills the soul.”<sup>1</sup> However, despite the strong opinions articulated concerning lesbianism, there was no major push for legislation targeting same-sex intimacy between women. Instead, the Home Secretary (i.e., the head of the Home Office) banned the book and had all printing of it terminated. This action resulted in a backlash from major authors and those employed in the field of journalism. Rather than outlawing lesbianism—a dangerous moral deficiency believed to be capable of spreading throughout society—the Home Secretary risked an extremely adverse response for limiting the freedom of the press. Why?

From the nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries, lesbianism was not subject to legal prohibition in England because men did not perceive it as a threat. Contrary to the experience of gay men, sex was not associated with close relationships between women. Even when women lived together for most of their lives, members of the community attributed their relationship to one of convenience. This article argues that lesbians did not face direct legislative targeting comparable to that experienced by gay men due to the intersection of heteronormative culture and sexism, which delegitimized relationships between women. Additionally, the institution of marriage limited opportunities for lesbians, while the legal definition of sex excluded sexual acts between two non-men.

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<sup>1</sup> Anonymous, “A Book That Must be Suppressed,” in *The Lesbian History Sourcebook: Love and Sex Between Women in Britain from 1780–1970*, ed. Alison Oram and Annmarie Turnbull (New York: Taylor and Francis, 2013; originally published 2001), 187.

Throughout this article, I use the term “lesbian” to refer to women who participated in romantic and/or sexual relationships with other women. As a lesbian myself, I would not use the term as liberally if I were writing about figures today. When referring to women who engage in relationships with other women today, if a person has not identified themselves as a lesbian, they would be described as “queer” or “sapphic” (which is another term that can be used to describe a woman who is romantically and/or sexually attracted to other women). These terms encompass a range of sexualities, such as lesbianism, pansexuality, and bisexuality, without assuming the attraction or unattraction to other genders. Nonetheless, given the impossibility of knowing for certain how people in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries would have identified, I use the term “lesbian” broadly to refer to women who engaged in relationships with other women. In other words, I use the word as it was used then rather than now. My use of the word should not invoke associations with the modern usage, which narrows and broadens the definition of a lesbian as being a non-man attracted to non-men. English literature scholar Jodie Medd goes as far as extending the use of the word “lesbian” to refer to “forms of female deviance or deviant femininity,”<sup>2</sup> the reason being that women were often accused of lesbianism for acting in ways that challenged patriarchal standards, but not for desiring other women sexually. However, this article uses the term “lesbian” in a manner similar to how it has been used by Alison Laurie, a prominent LGBTQIA+ activist from New Zealand, who explains that applying modern identities to historical figures would be ahistorical, and thus – since lesbian is “the oldest word consistently used to denote same-sexual relations between women” – it is the most pragmatic.<sup>3</sup>

### *I. Historiography*

Historian Rebecca Morgan discusses legislation that targeted homosexual behavior between men in England, pointing out that none of it mentioned women.<sup>4</sup> When Frederick Macquisten (1870–1940), a British politician, proposed criminalizing lesbianism on the grounds that it was a “deep-seated evil and [that] it is only right that this House [i.e., Parliament], which has the care of the law and to a large extent the morals of the people, should consider it to be its duty to do its best to stamp out an evil which is capable of sapping the highest and the best in civilization,” legislators refused, believing a law regarding the subject would just disseminate the idea of same-sex desire between women and cause it to become

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<sup>2</sup> Jodie Medd, *Lesbian Scandal and the Culture of Modernism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 9, ProQuest Ebook Central.

<sup>3</sup> Alison J. Laurie, “Foreword: Special Issue: A History of Lesbian History,” *Journal of Lesbian Studies* 14, no. 4 (2010): 284.

<sup>4</sup> Rebecca Jane Morgan, “The Lesbian Paradox: Homophobia, Empire, and the Law in 1950s Britain,” *Medium*, June 11, 2020, [online](#).

more of an issue.<sup>5</sup> Even in the 1950s, when legislating homosexuality between men was becoming a matter of public debate, British politician Quintin Hogg (1907–2001) argued that sex did not exist in lesbian relationships and that it was thus not fair to compare the latter to relationships between men. Lesbians were perceived to be less of a threat to traditional gender roles than gay men, with some Members of Parliament even arguing that “lesbian relationships in many cases supply a social purpose, because they tend to be much more lasting or permanent than homosexual associations.”<sup>6</sup> This point is interesting given that butch-femme relationship binaries were and are a manifestation of lesbianism and directly challenged the behavior expected of women.

Historian Barry Reay disagrees with histories that attempt to identify sexual identities before the late nineteenth century. He believes that doing so limits the scope of research by only searching for modern structures and imposing them onto the past, although he admits that some aspects of homosexuality are transhistorical. As a result, Reay only analyzes authors who write queer histories without attempting to identify and label actions using a modern framework. In a section that discusses female same-sex histories, Reay explains that the emphasis on homosocial environments in the nineteenth century aided in normalizing close relationships between women. Reay discusses English literature scholar Sharon Marcus’s scholarship on the subject, noting that these relationships often continued despite a woman’s marriage to a man. While the trial of Oscar Wilde, the famous nineteenth-century Irish poet and playwright, as well as the trial of Thomas Boulton and Frederick Park, two Victorian cross-dressers, associated effeminate behavior with homosexuality, similar observations regarding associations between lesbianism and masculinity were not made regularly until Radclyffe Hall’s novel *The Well of Loneliness* was banned in England. Reay also discusses the use of the word “lesbian,” which did not appear regularly amongst the public until the 1950s; however, it was the term used in legal discussions and amongst the elite. Some women continued to describe their domestic and sexual relationships with other women as “friendships,” even when these partnerships resembled what was expected of a typical heterosexual marriage. Reay emphasizes that this history is messy and should not be examined with the intention of creating a timeline for the evolution of an identity.<sup>7</sup>

Sharon Marcus addresses all aspects of relationships between women, including friendships, romantic relationships, and the dynamics between mothers and daughters. Marcus focuses almost exclusively on the timeframe between 1830 and 1880. In addition to analyzing bonds between women, she poses questions

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<sup>5</sup> House of Commons, “Parliamentary Debates, Criminal Law Amendment Bill, 4 August 1921,” in *Lesbian History Sourcebook*, ed. Oram and Turnbull, 167.

<sup>6</sup> Morgan, “Lesbian Paradox,” [online](#).

<sup>7</sup> Barry Reay, “Writing the Modern Histories of Homosexual England,” *The Historical Journal* 52, no. 1 (2009): 213–233.

regarding the role of fashion and dolls in conditioning women to participate in behaviors that were present in pornography, which included depictions of lesbians. She specifically emphasizes the common occurrence of “aggression, hierarchy, objectification, and voyeurism” within representations of bonds between women.<sup>8</sup> Additionally, Marcus distances herself from previous scholars by choosing to exclude discussions concerning whether sexual relationships occurred between certain women and instead examines what other aspects made a marriage.

English literature scholar Martha Vicinus’s approach to lesbian history is unique in that she emphasizes the sexual aspects of romantic friendships between women. Vicinus’s work involves discussions about the validity of sources, as most women wrote in code or used figurative language to convey their feelings for other women in order to avoid losing social capital if someone were to intercept their correspondence.<sup>9</sup> She also addresses the way class and race impacted the behavior of women, as women were “economically and socially dependent upon male relations” throughout the eighteenth century, and thus typically only educated, white women with the financial resources necessary to support themselves could afford to pursue relationships with women and forgo marriage to a man.<sup>10</sup> Vicinus echoes points raised by Reay regarding the lack of association between masculinity in women and lesbianism until the twentieth century—although Vicinus points out that “mannish” behavior did raise suspicion. As a result, silence and denial serve as indications of lesbianism for historians poring over court cases and newspaper articles. Women accused of lesbianism stood to lose more than they could hope to gain from a sapphic relationship and thus avoided any kind of public admission of their intimacy. However, as Vicinus points out, most circumstances involved everybody knowing and nobody telling. In other words, even if people suspected that a relationship had evolved to include “inappropriate behavior” between women, no one would bring it up for fear of making it real.

English literature scholars Suzanne Raitt and Claire Buck analyze the works of both Vicinus and Marcus, comparing their two approaches to lesbian history given that their books were published only three years apart. Marcus prefers drawing distinctions between different romantic or friendly relationships that women had with other women, whereas Vicinus imagines these relationships occurring along a continuum of same-sex desire. Marcus’s approach reveals her interest in how these relationships functioned alongside heterosexual relationships, while Vicinus is dedicated to relationships that she perceives to have excluded men. Both authors actively try to incorporate evidence—diaries, autobiographies, poetry, and

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<sup>8</sup> Sharon Marcus, *Between Women: Friendship, Desire, and Marriage in Victorian England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 21.

<sup>9</sup> Martha Vicinus, *Intimate Friends: Women Who Loved Women, 1778–1928* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), xxi.

<sup>10</sup> Vicinus, *Intimate Friends*, xxx.

letters – that provides direct insight into the minds of women from the period they are studying. However, this does lead to focusing on women from higher socio-economic classes, due to the limited extant sources concerning working-class women. Marcus’s work challenges that of earlier historians – like Vicinus – who have tackled lesbian history, as she proposes that same-sex relationships “reinforced patriarchal norms” rather than challenging them.<sup>11</sup> Lesbians often sustained romantic and/or sexual relationships with women while either seeking or maintaining a marriage with a man. Raitt and Buck commend Marcus for suggesting that lesbianism expressed in this way reinforced patriarchal norms by covertly carrying on with romantic friendships while overtly participating in heterosexuality.<sup>12</sup> Scholars like Vicinus, however, perceive romantic friendships to be a form of resistance to heterosexuality and patriarchy.

English literature scholar Catherine Ingrassia argues that academics interested in lesbian historiography tend to quote each other, warning against getting caught up in circular reasoning.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, British and Indian literary historian Ruth Vanita asserts that Vicinus’s book is repetitive for those who have engaged with lesbian historiography before its publication. However, Vicinus is recognized for emphasizing sex and sexual attraction between women in the nineteenth century, whereas most of her peers stretch the limitations of intimate friendship and romantic friendships, focusing little on the sexual aspects of these relationships. Vanita praises Vicinus for approaching love and friendships concurrently rather than viewing homosexuality through a progressive lens, which is often binary and would place the nineteenth century in a restrictive era; instead, Vicinus argues that “the lesbian was an integral part of society” throughout the 1800s.<sup>14</sup> Vanita also notes that Vicinus does not do much comparative work, but that she does address disagreements surrounding interpretations of shame, suggesting that a woman’s shame surrounding same-sex desire originated not from Christian intolerance of homosexuality but because of Christian opposition to desire and lust in general. This point is echoed by Gender Studies scholar Naomi Lloyd, who, rather than suggesting that Constance Maynard (1849–1935), an evangelical Anglican who pursued relationships with women in the late 1800s, struggled with her homosexuality because of conflicting ideas regarding relationships in the Bible,

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<sup>11</sup> Suzanne Raitt and Claire Buck, “Friendship and Lesbian Studies,” *Feminist Studies* 36, no. 3 (2010): 598–617.

<sup>12</sup> Raitt and Buck, “Friendship and Lesbian Studies,” 609.

<sup>13</sup> Catherine Ingrassia, review of *Lesbian Dames: Sapphism in the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. John C. Beynon and Caroline Gonda, *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 12, no. 2 (2012): 146–153.

<sup>14</sup> See Ruth Vanita, “Renewed Pleasures: Loving Friendship and Friendly Love in the Long Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of Women’s History* 20, no. 4 (2008): 136.



argues that Maynard found love through her understanding of the Bible and evangelicals' perception of the meaning of marriage.<sup>15</sup>

Jodie Medd argues that the scandal surrounding the suggestion of lesbianism was influential in developing politics, law, and literature. In the eyes of the law, lesbianism did not exist, but the accusation still held power. Medd argues that an identity that excluded men did not make its way into legislation because the "heterosexual phallogocentric matrix" society was built around associating power with masculinity, and any relationship lacking the presence of a man would not be acknowledged. Medd is concerned with how the suggestion of lesbianism functioned as a factor in developing culture, rather than attempting to pinpoint what lesbianism involved in the late nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries. Medd mentions cultural anthropologist Gayle Rubin when discussing sexual essentialism and moral panic, as they both document how public paranoia played a role in developing legislation. Based on her research, Medd broadens the definition of lesbian to include not just sexual behaviors but deviant female behaviors as well. Medd also explains why she uses the word "lesbian" rather than "sapphism," citing discussions of Members of Parliament and letters from the time period. Medd suggests that the "unknowable" aspect of lesbianism made it a powerful accusation as it inspired dramatic responses.<sup>16</sup>

## II. Heteronormativity

Heteronormativity influenced the population to assume that a relationship could not exist without the involvement of both a man and a woman. In fact, Victorian England (1837–1901) stressed the importance of homosocial circles and unwittingly aided in the creation of a sphere where romantic friendships thrived – by which I mean relationships between women that existed beyond the realm of platonic feelings and evolved into romantic and/or sexual relationships. Despite the encouragement of close relationships between women, heterosexuality was so deeply engrained in Victorian culture that same-sex relationships between women were not considered a possibility by the general population, even when they witnessed women openly expressing affection for one another. This was compounded by the "dominant beliefs that middle-class women were without sexual passion."<sup>17</sup> For instance, when Eleanor Butler (1739–1829) and Sarah Ponsonby (1755–1831) attempted to run away together and were subsequently caught by their families, a friend of Sarah's remarked, "we shall soon see our amiable friend again whose conduct [...] is I am sure void of serious impropriety. There were no gentlemen concerned, nor does it appear to be anything more than

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<sup>15</sup> Naomi Lloyd, "Discourses of Desire: Religion, Same-Sex Love and Secularisation in Britain, 1870–1930," *Gender & History* 26, no. 2 (2014): 313–331.

<sup>16</sup> Medd, *Lesbian Scandal*.

<sup>17</sup> Alison Oram and Annmarie Turnbull, eds., *The Lesbian History Sourcebook: Love and Sex Between Women in Britain from 1780–1970*, ed. Alison Oram and Annmarie Turnbull (New York: Taylor and Francis, 2013; originally published 2001), 50.

a scheme of Romantic Friendship.”<sup>18</sup> The behavior of these two women was chalked up to a dramatic demonstration of devotion between close friends. Since a man was not involved, there was no inclination that their friends and family should be concerned that any inappropriate sexual behavior had occurred. However, the two women in this relationship rejected the heterosexual future that society and their families had planned for them. Sarah reaffirmed her love for Eleanor, declaring that “if the whole world was kneeling at her feet it should not make her forsake her purpose, she would live and die with Miss Butler.”<sup>19</sup> While Sarah Ponsonby and Eleanor Butler did eventually end up living together, it cost them greatly. They were ostracized by their friends and families, isolated in a rural area with only each other’s company due to their deviance from the heterosexual norm.

In 1812, when Anne Lister (1791–1840), a woman with the means to support herself financially, met Mariana Belcombe (1788–1868) and decided to pursue a relationship with her, Mariana needed to marry for money. However, Mariana’s marriage to Charles Lawton did give Anne and Mariana a degree of safety as they continued their affair.<sup>20</sup> Anne went as far as “replac[ing] Charles’s ring [for Mariana] with a similar one in which she had inscribed her initials in place of his,” hoping it would strengthen the bond between her and Mariana even when they were apart.<sup>21</sup> Anne also referred to Mariana as her wife: “How dull without M—, my wife and all I love.”<sup>22</sup> Lesbians at this time often referred to their partner as their wife, “sposa” (i.e., the Italian word for a female spouse), or husband. Sharon Marcus argues that these relationships operated alongside heterosexual ones and therefore were not perceived as a threat and in fact thrived within power structures that typically oppressed women, but in this case gave them an explanation for their attachment to their “friends.” Women were expected to surround themselves with other women in order to observe them, effectively learning how to become good wives and mothers.

Anne Lister is an important figure because, rather than debating whether her same-sex relationships were romantic friendships or not, scholars can move on to more specific questions about her experience, given that she left behind a coded diary that explicitly documented her sexual relationships with women. Lister created her own identity in a space that lacked a prominent queer sub-culture. Her education gave her an advantage over other women, as she perused classics for

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<sup>18</sup> G. H. Bell, “Letters and Journal Entries Concerning the Flight of Butler and Ponsonby,” in *Lesbian History Sourcebook*, ed. Oram and Turnbull, 55.

<sup>19</sup> Bell, “Letters and Journal Entries,” 55.

<sup>20</sup> Anna Clark, “Anne Lister’s Construction of Lesbian Identity,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 7, no. 1 (1996): 28.

<sup>21</sup> Vicinus, *Intimate Friends*, 20.

<sup>22</sup> Helena Whitbread, ed., *I Know My Own Heart: The Diaries of Anne Lister, 1791–1840*, in *Lesbian History Sourcebook*, ed. Oram and Turnbull, 62.

mentions of sapphism and studied texts that discussed homosexual behavior between men in societies like that of ancient Greece. However, she kept up a public appearance as an heiress that was just unconcerned with marriage, careful not to reveal her feelings toward women until “the other woman had made herself vulnerable” first.<sup>23</sup> Like others at the time, Lister “create[d] several different selves to suit public and private identities” in order to appear respectable to the general public while allowing herself a degree of freedom when surrounded by people who had gained her trust.<sup>24</sup> While she did transcend the traditional gender binary, Lister showed no inclination of wishing to be a man. She actually believed that—since women and men were not that different physically—she was free to take on masculine traits. This would give her access to male privileges, like maintaining relationships with multiple mistresses. Masculinity was not yet linked to lesbianism in the way that effeminacy was linked to homosexuality. While masculinity was thought to be “the chief characteristic of the sexually inverted woman,” not all women who “adopt[ed] the ways and garments of men” were perceived to be inverted.<sup>25</sup> Rather, Lister was mocked by men when she cross-dressed because it appeared to be an attempt to usurp power from them, even if she lacked the ability to truly do so.

Lesbians were critiqued more for cross-dressing than for engaging in romantic friendships. The act of trans-ing gender made their attraction to women more threatening and real to men than in femme-femme relationships. By trans-ing, I mean the act of subverting traditional gender roles, either by way of dress or through action and behavior. After a case was brought against a woman for passing as a man, the magistrate overseeing the case regretfully informed those in attendance that, although “she may be a disorderly and disreputable character [...] [as] her dressing as a man clearly shows, [he knew] of no law to punish her for wearing male attire.”<sup>26</sup> The gender expressions of masculine lesbians challenged heteronormativity in a more visible way, attracting more attention than romantic relationships between two femmes. A relationship between two femmes could be perceived by society as the women merely being close friends, both dedicated to learning from one another and improving their performances as Victorian women.

While twentieth-century women were intimidated into hiding their romantic experiences with other women, nineteenth-century women had their lives edited by people in the twentieth century due to their lack of discretion regarding their lesbian relationships. In many instances, biographers desperately searched for men who could be suggested as the subject of romantic letters and poetry written by women. In other cases, female writers had their work edited without their

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<sup>23</sup> Clark, “Anne Lister,” 39.

<sup>24</sup> Clark, “Anne Lister,” 29.

<sup>25</sup> Oram and Turnbull, *Lesbian History Sourcebook*, 14.

<sup>26</sup> Anonymous, *The Sinks of London Laid Open: A Pocket Companion for the Uninitiated*, in *Lesbian History Sourcebook*, ed. Oram and Turnbull, 25.

consent in order to cover up any lines that could raise questions about homosexuality.<sup>27</sup> This conflicts with Vicinus's idea that there was not an absence of lesbians in the Victorian period. Vicinus suggests that women who engaged in relationships with other women did not advertise their actions, remaining silent. However, women may have been silenced in a century where suggestions of sapphism held steeper consequences, and thus any sources that may have caused scrutiny were edited or destroyed. As moral panic concerning lesbianism grew in the early twentieth century, "gushing affection[ate] [...] Victorian letters between" women were edited by family members to avoid any accusations of sapphism.<sup>28</sup>

### III. Sexism

The argument that heteronormativity is responsible for the absence of legislation regarding same-sex behavior between women in England cannot stand on its own, as gay men were charged, convicted, and even killed for their "crimes." Sodomy was first criminalized in England during the reign of King Henry VIII with the adoption of the Buggery Act of 1533, which made sodomy a felony and subjected those convicted of participating in the act to "suffer[ing] such pains of death, and losses and penalties of their goods, chattels, debts, lands, tenements and hereditaments."<sup>29</sup> Homosexual behavior between men was further restricted in 1885 with the passage of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, which broadened the criminalization of homosexuality to include "any male person in public or private committing any act of gross indecency with another male person."<sup>30</sup> It is the absence of lesbianism in this amendment that is most interesting.

While it was suggested that gross indecency between women be added to the amendment in the 1920s, the House of Lords quickly denied the proposal.<sup>31</sup> It was believed that by introducing legislation intended to deal with the issue of lesbianism in England, the House would actually "do harm by introducing into the minds of perfectly innocent people the most revolting thoughts."<sup>32</sup> Homosexuality between men was partially decriminalized in 1967, when the Sexual Offences Act was passed, specifying that "a homosexual act in private shall not be an offence provided that the parties consent thereto and have attained the age of twenty-one years."<sup>33</sup> There were still restrictions, and homosexuality between men was not decriminalized completely in England until the passage of

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<sup>27</sup> Lillian Faderman, "Who Hid Lesbian History?" *Journal of Lesbian Studies* 1, no. 2 (1997): 149-154.

<sup>28</sup> Vicinus, *Intimate Friends*, 95.

<sup>29</sup> The Buggery Act, 1533, 25 Hen. 8, c. 6, *The Statutes Project*, [online](#).

<sup>30</sup> Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1885, 48 & 49 Vict., c. 69, [online](#).

<sup>31</sup> 43 Parl. Deb. H. L. (5th ser.) (1921) cols. 567-577, [online](#).

<sup>32</sup> House of Commons, "Parliamentary Debates," in *Lesbian History Sourcebook*, ed. Oram and Turnbull, 168.

<sup>33</sup> Sexual Offences Act, 1967, Chapter 60, [online](#).

the Sexual Offences Act of 2003. Despite this legal history, “intimacy between women was never explicitly covered by the law’s proscriptions.”<sup>34</sup>

The changing legal system increasingly silenced defendants, compounding the unspeakability of the crime. Up until the mid-eighteenth century, the Old Bailey Sessions Paper (1674–1913) had provided defendants with the opportunity to make statements in their defense, but as trials began increasing the burden of proof – and newspapers began limiting their coverage of sodomy – opportunities to be heard became limited. However, those who were accused of being sodomites were still able to have their voices heard in biographies, minor newspapers, petitions, and speeches. This also allowed communities to engage in a dialogue surrounding the criminality and punishment of homosexuality, especially through the circulation of criminal court petitions.<sup>35</sup> The transcription of a House of Lords debate regarding amending the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885 reveals the ideas involving lesbians held by members of the British elite in the 1920s. During this debate, Lieutenant Colonel Moore-Brabazon (1884–1964) suggested that there were three ways to deal with homosexuals: “the death sentence [...] lock[ing] them up for the rest of their lives [...] [or] leav[ing] them entirely alone.”<sup>36</sup> Moore-Brabazon explained that cases of lesbianism were “self-exterminating” and therefore nothing should be done, lest it draw more attention to the vice and risk introducing innocent people to it. This demonstrates that, excluding passive suggestions, there were no movements committed to criminalizing homosexuality between women. These men believed that women could not conceive of expressions of sexuality outside of heteronormative practices and therefore sought to limit the public’s exposure to conversations involving female homosexuality.

Sexism invalidated relationships between women by denying the possibility that women could be engaging in romantic and/or sexual relationships with one another due to the lack of substance that could theoretically exist in their interactions. While “people used to make joking allegations to ‘schoolgirl crushes,’” any women who failed to outgrow this “phase” learned that it was inappropriate for them to desire to be with another woman.<sup>37</sup> Women who failed to enter into a relationship with a man were perceived to be “undersexed and bitter – thwarted in women’s true desire for marriage and motherhood.”<sup>38</sup> Education was intended to teach young girls to prioritize securing “a heterosexual future of marriage and motherhood.”<sup>39</sup> Thus, a rising number of “spinster

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<sup>34</sup> Morgan, “Lesbian Paradox,” [online](#).

<sup>35</sup> H. G. Cocks, “Making the Sodomite Speak: Voices of the Accused in English Sodomy Trials, c.1800–1898,” *Gender & History* 18, no. 1 (April 2006): 87–107.

<sup>36</sup> House of Commons, “Parliamentary Debates,” in *Lesbian History Sourcebook*, ed. Oram and Turnbull, 168.

<sup>37</sup> Olivia [Dorothy Bussy], *Olivia*, in *Lesbian History Sourcebook*, ed. Oram and Turnbull, 69.

<sup>38</sup> Oram and Turnbull, *Lesbian History Sourcebook*, 131.

<sup>39</sup> Oram and Turnbull, *Lesbian History Sourcebook*, 129.

teachers” raised alarm in the nineteenth century, as it was suggested that this could negatively impact the next generation. Attraction to another woman was interpreted as immaturity, and fear that unmarried teachers could influence young girls to reject prioritizing their responsibility to marry men and raise a family led to a push for schools to balance the number of married and unmarried teachers.

Sexism, in tandem with heteronormativity, convinced the public to assume that women could not be attracted to each other in a way that would inspire anything close to a heterosexual relationship. Despite this, women within such relationships recorded feelings that clearly demonstrated their devotion to their partners: “I love you more sincerely than any man can [...] don’t let any man stand between us.”<sup>40</sup> Heterosexuals closely observed lesbian relationships where women did not attempt to hide their feelings. Explanations that differentiated these relationships from heterosexual ones often involved stripping women of any agency and belittling any activities they participated in that did not include men. In the mid-nineteenth century, female convicts transported to Van Diemen’s Land (i.e., the colonial name for the island of Tasmania, located south of the Australian mainland) participated in lesbian sub-cultures as an act of defiance. British officials attempted to regulate “unnatural” behaviors between women, but due to limited space and resistant women, convicts acted out in order to get sentenced again so they could remain close to their partners and the environment they had created within the factories. Women in the factories were separated into three classes; the women in the crime class—the third class—were perceived to be associated with anarchy because they had crossed boundaries associated with proper gender performance for women. This included taking on masculine traits or immorally acting in a way that a man would. “Unnatural” crimes were observed and documented by authorities. Sexual relationships between convicts were explicitly described, clearing up any doubt regarding whether these women were indeed partaking in sexual relationships with one another.<sup>41</sup> However, because these women were criminals, this evidence served no purpose when it came to the general public, as lesbianism was just another example of how women in Van Diemen’s Land were morally deficient.

#### *IV. Marriage as a Tool of Oppression*

The institution of marriage limited women’s opportunities to pursue lesbian relationships because partnerships between women would not be recognized in the eyes of the law, and thus there was no opportunity to maintain or improve one’s class standing without ultimately seeking marriage with a man. The inability to get properly married also caused tension, which impeded the growth of healthy same-sex relationships. While lesbians could certainly “secretly exchang[e] rings

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<sup>40</sup> Thomas Hardy, *Desperate Remedies*, in *Lesbian History Sourcebook*, ed. Oram and Turnbull, 65.

<sup>41</sup> Bláthnaid Nolan, “Up Close and Personal: Lesbian Sub-Culture in the Female Factories of Van Diemen’s Land,” *Journal of Lesbian Studies* 17, no. 3–4 (2013): 291–304.

and vows [...] public acceptance and the rituals of betrothal and marriage [which] stabilize passion [...] [were] denied to two women.”<sup>42</sup> Legal benefits and social support would not be extended to women who refused to pursue a traditional marriage and therefore chose to “marry” their same-sex partner, knowing it would be a difficult life.

While the existence of female husbands could be seen as a threat to the institution of marriage—a ceremony sacred to heterosexual tradition—women could only “marry” another woman if they had access to inherited wealth and could afford to. While some women were able to take up wage work and could potentially support themselves, unofficially marrying another woman would also mean becoming social outcasts. The main character from *The Well of Loneliness*—Stephen—is ostracized by her family due to her embodiment of queer characteristics as well as her close relationships with other women: “Stephen’s recently widowed mother, horrified by her daughter’s masculinity and fearful of scandal, banishes her from Morton, her country home, forever. Leaving the estate symbolizes exclusion from normality, order, and ethical standards.”<sup>43</sup> This was the typical outcome for most lesbians who decided to pursue marriage with another woman. The existing legal system was therefore already a barrier that discouraged women from participating in same-sex relationships without explicitly outlawing lesbian relationships.

Laws in England criminalizing homosexual behavior trace back to beliefs attributing the fall of empires to the spread of declining moral standards. The belief that male homosexuality led to the decline of the empire through emasculation explains the prioritization of legislating male homosexuality, but “eugenics shifted the meaning of marriage from a spiritual union to a reproductive one that depended on heterosexual fertility and promoted racial purity.”<sup>44</sup> As a result of this, it was emphasized that “a girl’s education should be for marriage.”<sup>45</sup> By choosing not to marry a man, a woman was condemning herself to a lifetime of judgment by those around her due to her failure to achieve the two goals for Victorian women: marriage and motherhood. Female husbands were unable to perform the actions society expected of cis-male husbands, both socially and sexually. As demonstrated by this street ballad from the nineteenth century, women who “married” women were thought to remain virgins:

This poor woman had a husband, / That had nothing at all.  
Twenty years she lived a married life. / Still a maid she may remain,  
But we trust she’ll find a difference, / If she ever weds again.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Vicinus, *Intimate Friends*, 82.

<sup>43</sup> Vicinus, *Intimate Friends*, 217.

<sup>44</sup> Marcus, *Between Women*, 6.

<sup>45</sup> Vicinus, *Intimate Friends*, 209.

<sup>46</sup> Anonymous, “The Female Husband,” in *Lesbian History Sourcebook*, ed. Oram and Turnbull, 23.

While there were ballads mocking the actions of female husbands, tensions between European states encouraged the English to question whether “the female husband might be seen as a challenge to the institution of marriage and heterosexuality, to the gender order, and to the nation itself.”<sup>47</sup>

#### V. Indefinability in Legislation

The indefinability of lesbianism within the law and the societal understanding of sex made it impossible for sexual relationships between women to be considered as having occurred. Women like Anne Lister were able to exercise a great deal of freedom due to “the widespread belief that male penetration constituted ‘sex.’”<sup>48</sup> Lister was able to exploit cultural assumptions regarding sex, including the idea that female husbands were “hermaphrodite[s] [...] [or] incomplete sexual subjects. Whatever passed between this type of husband and wife was thus not regarded as a real sexual relationship.”<sup>49</sup> This perception of lesbians supported the idea that a sexual relationship could not exist between two women because it was not anatomically possible for them to mimic the sexual practices of heterosexual couples. In fact, when discussing an accusation of unchastity, a judge declared that in the Slander of Women Act of 1891, “the word ‘unchastity’ [...] is limited to unchastity between a woman and a man and excluded immorality between persons of the same sex.”<sup>50</sup> While “stimulation” between women was certainly looked down upon, it was not perceived to be sex or a “real union.”<sup>51</sup> “Unnatural relations” between women were thought to be perverse “because the sexual organs [were] being used purely for the purpose of pleasure, and without any connection with their biological purpose – that of reproduction.”<sup>52</sup>

Laws regulating social behavior often depended on intense support from the public in order to make their way into the legislature. In the case of same-sex legislation, moral panic played a major role in inspiring the creation of laws to outlaw aspects of queer identity. However, lesbians were invisible in the eyes of the law due to lesbianism, as a concept, being essentially unacknowledged by English society.<sup>53</sup> The publication of Radclyffe Hall’s novel *The Well of Loneliness* in 1928 sparked the first major discussion concerning lesbianism in England. An article printed after the banning of the book mentions the hysteria that surrounded conversations concerning lesbians. The book is described as having caused “a

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<sup>47</sup> Oram and Turnbull, *Lesbian History Sourcebook*, 14.

<sup>48</sup> Vicinus, *Intimate Friends*, 22.

<sup>49</sup> Oram and Turnbull, *Lesbian History Sourcebook*, 14.

<sup>50</sup> *Kerr v. Kennedy*, 1 All ER (1942) 412, in *Lesbian History Sourcebook*, ed. Oram and Turnbull, 170.

<sup>51</sup> Marie Stopes, *Enduring Passion*, in *Lesbian History Sourcebook*, ed. Oram and Turnbull, 112.

<sup>52</sup> Laura Hutton, *The Single Woman and her Emotional Problems*, in *Lesbian History Sourcebook*, ed. Oram and Turnbull, 115.

<sup>53</sup> Medd, *Lesbian Scandal*, 2.



great sensation in England.”<sup>54</sup> This convinced the Home Secretary—William Joynson-Hicks (1865–1932)—to bar the printing of the novel because it promoted moral indecency. After the publication of the *Newcastle Chronicle* on October 4, 1928, all copies of the novel being shipped by mail were seized and held by Customs officers.<sup>55</sup> Some journalists equated the action of shipping banned books to working against the government, demonstrating the social phobia that followed the increase in discussions involving same-sex relationships between women.<sup>56</sup> However, Joynson-Hicks risked a legal battle involving the freedom of the press in order to prevent the further spread of lesbian content.

### Conclusion

Few amongst the general population were willing to admit the existence of lesbianism in the eighteenth to mid-twentieth centuries. Women involved with other women were perceived to be dedicated to their friends, and the practice of not advertising one’s lesbian relationship socially meant that it was not a conversation that the community witnessed unless there had been a major scandal. Legislation was not used to target lesbians in a manner similar to gay men because heteronormativity and sexism influenced the population to assume that a relationship could not exist without the involvement of both a man and a woman; the institution of marriage left women with little choice but to marry a man; and the legal definition of sex made it impossible for sexual relationships between women to be considered as having occurred. Despite societal disapproval of the “perversion” known as lesbianism, Radclyffe Hall refused to continue participating in prolonging the general silence surrounding the topic, and “treated [lesbianism] as a fact of nature—a simple though, at present, tragic fact.”<sup>57</sup> Despite intense reactions to the contents of her book, Hall avoided any legal battles concerning her own sexuality, remarking that “in the eyes of the law [she was] nonexistent.”<sup>58</sup> Lesbianism did not need to be explicitly made illegal because it was already excluded as a possibility of desire due to systemic power structures that prioritized policing masculinity and subsequently oppressed women, limiting their freedom to pursue opportunities without the support of a man.

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<sup>54</sup> “Well Out of Its Loneliness: Paris Offer of Book England Disliked,” *Newcastle Chronicle*, October 4, 1928.

<sup>55</sup> “Watch at the Ports,” *Daily Express* (London), October 5, 1928.

<sup>56</sup> “The Banned Book,” *Daily Express* (London), October 5, 1928.

<sup>57</sup> Vicinus, *Intimate Friends*, 218.

<sup>58</sup> Medd, *Lesbian Scandal*, 2.

Rielly K. Orrell

*“Those Children Did Not Reach Home”:  
The British Empire’s Legacy in Canada’s Residential Schools  
from 1830 until Today*

**ABSTRACT:** *This article examines how being a part of the British Empire influenced the construction and mission of Canada’s residential schools. On the basis of survivors’ first-hand accounts and government documents, it highlights the psychological impact these institutions had on their students, specifically those of the Secwépemc First Nations, and it assesses the modern perception of residential schools in the media. The author argues that the Canadian government took inspiration from the British Empire’s ethos when operating these institutions and has failed to fully recognize its hand in tearing apart Indigenous communities and families.*

**KEYWORDS:** *modern history; British Empire; Canada; Indigenous; First Nations; Secwépemc; residential schools; Kamloops Indian Residential School (KIRS); children; Truth and Reconciliation Commission*

*Introduction*

In May 2021, anthropologist Sarah Beaulieu used ground-penetrating radar to identify the unmarked graves of over 215 children outside Kamloops Indian Residential School (KIRS) after scanning just two acres of the institution’s sprawling grounds in British Columbia.<sup>1</sup> This discovery prompted grief and outrage among Canada’s First Nations, culminating in a protest group tearing down and decapitating a statue of Queen Victoria on the Manitoba Legislative Grounds on Canada Day of the same year.<sup>2</sup> Heated debates have ensued on all sides of the political spectrum regarding what should be done with Canada’s inherited legacy of colonialism, and whether the treatment of First Nations children at residential schools should be considered a true cultural genocide. This article explores the history of Canadian residential schools through the concept of cultural genocide, tracing the echoes of the British Empire up to the present day through the removal of Indigenous children’s cultural ties, traditional values, language, and even their very names. Since the First Nations throughout Canada were at times vastly different from one another, it is challenging and unhelpful to create a monolith out of the diverse peoples who were sent to residential schools. Thus, this article focuses on KIRS and those who attended it, namely, the children of the Secwépemc First Nation.

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<sup>1</sup> Jana G. Pruden and Mike Hager, “Anthropologist Explains How She Concluded 200 Children Were Buried at the Kamloops Residential School,” *The Globe and Mail*, July 16, 2021, [online](#). The title of this article is a quote from KIRS Le Estcwéy (The Missing) Findings Presentation and TteS Next Steps, Tk’emlúps te Secwépemc Special Assembly, in “B.C. First Nation Releases Report on Unmarked Graves Discovered in Kamloops,” cpac, streamed July 15, 2021, video, [online](#).

<sup>2</sup> Rachel Bergen, “Mother Figure or Colonial Oppressor? Examining Queen Victoria’s Legacy After Winnipeg Statue Toppled,” *CBC News*, July 7, 2021, [online](#).

To proceed, it is essential to define the term “cultural genocide.” According to Elisa Novic’s 2016 monograph, *The Concept of Cultural Genocide*, “[c]ultural genocide is the systematic destruction of traditions, values, language, and other elements that make one group of people distinct from another.”<sup>3</sup> To apply the description to the daily schedules of children enrolled in a residential school, this article references first-hand accounts, including interviews of KIRS survivors.

To understand how there came to be over 130 federally sponsored residential schools throughout Canada housing up to 150,000 children, it is necessary to acknowledge why Britain and Canada deemed them necessary.<sup>4</sup> British settlers were at first hesitant to make the journey to Canada. Ms. Marion Cran (1879–1942) wrote in her account: “The first time I went to Canada, I spent the days of preparation for departure in being very sorry for myself,” and “Canada was an ugly, cold, iceberg place.”<sup>5</sup> In response to this dismal reputation, pamphlets and handbooks were published to encourage settlers to travel there. One such manual described Canada as “a second England” with “200,000 square miles of land...inhabited by the Red Indian alone.”<sup>6</sup> The respective texts reveal the notion that only Britain was capable of “properly” utilizing land. Indeed, the concept of land ownership and who deserves to own land is a thread that can be traced in all of the British colonies during the height of the empire.

The British settlers arriving in Canada were aware of the tensions between First Nations groups and settlers in the United States, and Canadian officials were keen on avoiding similar conflicts. Thus, British journalist Frederick Chesson (1833–1888) wrote to the Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies: “The natives generally entertain ineradicable feelings of hostility toward the Americans, who are now pouring into Fraser and Thompson Rivers by thousands, and who will probably value Indian life there as cheaply as they have, unfortunately, done in California.”<sup>7</sup> Chesson also noted that the contempt and suspicion between Canadian settlers and Indigenous groups caused notable anxiety for Canadian people, as they dreaded “a deadly war of races” like the one seen on the American

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<sup>3</sup> Elisa Novic, *The Concept of Cultural Genocide: An International Law Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), [online](#).

<sup>4</sup> Rachel Treisman, “This New Canadian Holiday Reflects on the Legacy of Indigenous Residential Schools,” *NPR*, September 30, 2021, [online](#). This number of schools (i.e., 130) does not include day schools or those not federally run.

<sup>5</sup> Marion Dudley Cran, *A Woman in Canada* (Toronto: The Musson Book Co., 1910), 9, Gale Nineteenth Century Collections Online.

<sup>6</sup> *The Handbook of British Columbia, and Emigrant’s Guide to the Gold Fields* (London: W. Oliver, 1862), 3.

<sup>7</sup> British Columbia Legislative Assembly, *British Columbia: Papers Connected with the Indian Land Question, 1850–1875* (Victoria: Richard Wolfenden, 1876), 13, [online](#).

frontier.<sup>8</sup> This line of thinking led the Canadian Parliament to pursue the assimilation of First Nations groups into Euro-Canadian society.

The influx of British settlers negatively impacted the First Nations by encroaching on their territory and overhunting the game that these communities were relying upon. In 1830, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir George Murray, proposed a significant change to Indigenous relations within the British Empire. In an idea reminiscent of the later reservation system, Murray suggested creating communities for tribes to be relocated to, with their own schools, churches, and other municipal services, and to furnish these communities with “agriculture and all the arts and crafts of settler life” to make them entirely self-sufficient “based on a modern economy.”<sup>9</sup> However, this reservation system did not address the ultimate goal purported by humanists and politicians alike, namely, to assimilate First Nations into Euro-Canadian society. The residential schools combined the ideas of assimilation and a reservation-based system by attempting to cut off future generations from their families and identities.

### *I. Killing the Indian in the Child*

In<sup>10</sup> its 1904 annual report, the Canadian Department of Indian Affairs published two photographs of the same child. Both depicted young Thomas Moore, a Muscowpetung Saulteaux First Nation boy, as an example of a “before and after” result of attending the Regina Indian Industrial School in Saskatchewan. The “before” photograph depicts Moore wearing Muscowpetung Saulteaux clothing and jewelry with moccasins, braided hair reaching past his hips, a gun in his right hand, and a bundle of furs to his left. This depiction aligned with the typical European idea of First Nations people as “violent,” as evidenced by the gun, and “nomadic,” as evidenced by the furs, which reminded the annual report’s white audience of the fur trade.<sup>11</sup> The “after” photograph depicts Moore confidently leaning on a stone wall, with one hand on his hip as if posing for a painted portrait, with short cropped hair, wearing a plain black suit, shoes, and a hat, and with a potted plant beside him. Moore appears “staged” to display the ideals of Victorian society, with historians noting the potted plant as “elevated above him,” signifying “that the plant is cultivated nature; no longer wild” (as Moore had been).<sup>12</sup>

These photographs are used as the face of Canadian residential schools on many websites and book covers referenced in this article, and for good reason:

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<sup>8</sup> British Columbia Legislative Assembly, *British Columbia: Papers Connected with the Indian Land Question, 1850–1875*, 12–13.

<sup>9</sup> John S. Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2017; originally published 1999), 11.

<sup>10</sup> For the title of this article’s first part, see Brittany Webster, “A Living Nightmare: Kamloops Indian Residential School,” *iHeartRadio*, October 1, 2021, [online](#).

<sup>11</sup> See John S. Milloy, “Suffer the Little Children”: *The Aboriginal Residential School System 1830–1992* ([Ottawa]: Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996), between pages 8 and 9, [online](#).

<sup>12</sup> Milloy, *Suffer the Little Children*, 10.

they tangibly and powerfully illustrate the main goals of these institutions. In 1908, Frank Oliver, the Canadian Minister of Indian Affairs, stated that residential schools were envisioned as places that would “elevate the Indian from his condition of savagery.”<sup>13</sup> One century later, charged with researching the residential schools and informing the public, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) has shown that the schools served to permanently alter the children’s “relationships to the land, language, religion, family relations, educational practices, morality, and social customs.”<sup>14</sup> KIRS was no different.

In 1896, KIRS principal A. M. Carion articulated the idealized outcome for children attending the institution: “We keep constantly before their mind the object which the Government has in view in carrying on the industrial-schools, which is to civilize the Indians, to make them good, useful, and law-abiding members of society.”<sup>15</sup> At one point the most prominent residential school in Canada, KIRS serves as a relevant case study when looking into the history of government-backed assimilation institutions, especially given the recent discovery of 215 unmarked graves on its property. KIRS was located alongside the South Thompson River, just three kilometers from the Kamloops city center. It was constructed in 1890 and originally housed up to 25 male and 25 female students at a time.<sup>16</sup> The school operated from 1893 until 1978, with attendance soaring to 500 in the 1950s.<sup>17</sup>

KIRS was a Catholic school, so nuns of the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate (a congregation founded in 1816) staffed the school. In their interviews, many former students dubbed them the “black coats.”<sup>18</sup> Various Christian denominations were running schools, reflecting the diverse religious groups in Canada due to the flight of English Presbyterians, Anglicans, Baptists, Methodists, and Catholics from the United States after the American Revolution.<sup>19</sup> That said, it should be noted that the Canadian government took over the

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<sup>13</sup> Quoted in Milloy, *Suffer the Little Children*, 9.

<sup>14</sup> Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*, vol. 1, *Canada’s Residential Schools: The History, Part 1, Origins to 1939* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2015) 26, [online](#).

<sup>15</sup> A. M. Carion to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, August 1, 1896, in *Dominion of Canada Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year Ended 30th June 1896* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, 1897), 607, [online](#).

<sup>16</sup> A. M. Carion to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, August 1, 1896, in *Dominion of Canada Annual Report*, 604.

<sup>17</sup> “Kamloops (St. Louis),” *National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation*, [online](#).

<sup>18</sup> Evelyn Camille, speech, KIRS Le Estcwéy (The Missing) Findings Presentation and TteS Next Steps, Tk’emlúps te Secwépemc Special Assembly, in “B.C. First Nation Releases Report on Unmarked Graves Discovered in Kamloops,” cpac, streamed July 15, 2021, video, [online](#).

<sup>19</sup> “Discover Canada: Canada’s History,” *Government of Canada*, October 26, 2015, [online](#).

responsibility for all residential schools in 1883.<sup>20</sup> Yet, despite this, the schools remained firmly rooted in Christian moral doctrine.

Spreading Christianity to the First Nations justified the concept of the empire itself, as it gave the British a reason to seize land far from their Isles. Thus, Christian missionaries were vital to both the British Empire in general and the residential school system in particular. This is not to say that missionaries were not devoted to the idea that they were bringing salvation to the First Nations, or that they did not fully believe their mission was kind and righteous. Missionaries were often powerful voices for securing federal aid when needed and keeping settlers in check by treating the First Nations respectfully.<sup>21</sup> By the same token, missionaries were human and frequently just as responsible for colonization's most painful and long-lasting consequences as the government itself.

KIRS students faced attacks on their identities from the school's nuns and pastors, and they were punished for adhering to any traditions passed on to them by their mothers and grandmothers. Children aged four to sixteen were made to shed their family ties and identities, embrace Catholicism, and assimilate into Euro-Canadian society. Their health was compromised, both physically and mentally, with the principal complaining that the school was not receiving enough funding to feed the children and noted sexual predators "serving" on the institution's staff roster.<sup>22</sup> However, to understand the extent to which the Indigenous children were stripped of their heritage, it is necessary to understand the culture they were coming from.

Most of the children brought to Kamloops were of the Secwépemc people, a First Nations group of seventeen separate bands who historically inhabited around 145,000 square kilometers of land in the interior of British Columbia, Canada.<sup>23</sup> They spoke Secwepemctsin, a language of the Salish linguistic family that was widespread along the western shores of Canada and the United States, from British Columbia down to modern-day Oregon.<sup>24</sup> British settlers had difficulty pronouncing Secwepemctsin; they therefore anglicized the name of this Indigenous language to "Shuswap;" however, there has been a recent movement to restore the proper term to its use.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Final Report*, 25.

<sup>21</sup> Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Final Report*, 26.

<sup>22</sup> Ken Favrholt, "Kamloops History: The Dark and Difficult Legacy of the Kamloops Indian Residential School," *Kamloops This Week*, October 7, 2020, [online](#); Andrea Woo, "Glen Jack Experienced the Horrors of the Kamloops Residential School: He's Been Trying to Get People to Listen for 50 Years," *The Globe and Mail*, July 17, 2021, [online](#).

<sup>23</sup> "Secwepemcúl'ecw (Secwépemc)," *Native Land Digital*, August 15, 2022, [online](#).

<sup>24</sup> David Beck, review of *The Salish Language Family: Reconstructing Syntax*, by Paul D. Kroeber, *American Anthropologist* 103, no. 3 (September 2001): 849–850.

<sup>25</sup> Marianne Ignace and Mona Jules, *Secwepemctsin: A Beginners Level Course, Workbook to Accompany Secwepemctsin CD-ROM#1* (Kamloops: Secwepemc Cultural Education Soc., 2002), 7.



The Secwépemc people were partially nomadic: they inhabited partly subterranean “pit houses” during the winter and moved into above-ground domiciles made from reeds in the warmer months.<sup>26</sup> Secwépemc elders referred to the aforementioned pit-houses as *c7ístkten*; they were often large enough to accommodate four to five families.<sup>27</sup>

Spirituality was a significant part of Secwépemc life. In her 1981 monograph *The Cariboo Mission: A History of the Oblates*, historian Margaret Whitehead has this to say about two of the essential spirits: “The Old-One...was all powerful...The Old-One had as his chief assistant a spirit called Coyote. Coyote was sent by the Old-One to travel over the world and put it to rights.”<sup>28</sup> The Secwépemc people also practiced a form of animism in their daily lives, as their connection to the Earth itself was considered paramount. An example of this was their reverence of the hand drum. In a 2011 article published by the *Canadian Journal for Native Studies*, Indigenous Studies scholar and member of the Secwepemc nation Georgina Martin explains that the hand drum was inherently tied to the land, given the animal hide and wood used to create it; as for the hand drum’s spiritual significance, the “Secwepemc people acknowledge how the animals are sacrificed for the hide, and they pay homage to the animal’s spirit. The trees are nourishment...The trees provide shelter, medicine and transportation.”<sup>29</sup> The hand drum’s sound was also spiritually connected to the Earth. When many drums were played together, the sound was considered so moving and memorable because it “resonate[d] with the heartbeat of Mother Earth.”<sup>30</sup>

Secwépemc culture revered personal qualities such as “humility, honesty, respect, [and] responsibility,” and significant community leaders were chosen based on these attributes.<sup>31</sup> Their social lives were full: Secwépemc extended families were typically large and led by a grandparent, and everybody contributed to the household duties. Wisdom was passed down through the generations via stories and legends, thereby sustaining a rich oral tradition.<sup>32</sup> Many former KIRS students fondly remember their lives before they were sent to residential schools.

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<sup>26</sup> Ken Favrholt, “History: The Secwépemc C7ístkten or Winter Home,” *Kamloops This Week*, July 26, 2022, [online](#).

<sup>27</sup> Favrholt, “History,” [online](#). The numeral 7 is a placeholder character for a glottal stop and is seen in many English written forms of First Nations languages.

<sup>28</sup> Margaret Whitehead, *The Cariboo Mission: A History of the Oblates* (Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1981), 64.

<sup>29</sup> Georgina Martin, “Drumming My Way Home: A Secwepemc Perspective,” *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 31, no. 2 (2011): 110.

<sup>30</sup> Martin, “Drumming My Way Home,” 110.

<sup>31</sup> Martin, “Drumming My Way Home,” 109.

<sup>32</sup> Celia Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2002), 43, ProQuest Ebook Central.

Many interviewees also describe the anger they felt toward their families when the cattle truck arrived to take them away.<sup>33</sup>

Upon arriving at KIRS, children were divided on the basis of age and sex. Siblings were split up and not allowed to speak to or even acknowledge each other, as related by residential school survivor Hector Macdonald: “When my sister would walk around the block, I would wave at her and get a strap for it.”<sup>34</sup> If deemed necessary, staff members would give the children new names, and they assigned each child a number corresponding to their order in the student lineup. Many students report being referred to by number alone, erasing their individuality and personhood.<sup>35</sup>

The residential schools’ first and most immediate impact on the children’s lives was isolation from their families. Secwépemc culture was highly family-oriented, thus, transitioning from being surrounded by family to sleeping in a crowded bunk room filled with strangers was an intense adjustment for many.<sup>36</sup> The children of Kamloops—and residential schools in general—were allowed to see their families only on Christmas and during the summer holidays.<sup>37</sup> They were allowed to write letters to their family, but many survivors allege that the letters were tampered with to remove negative remarks.<sup>38</sup>

Another immediate obstacle that the children had to face was the language barrier. Banning traditional languages was integral to the effort to strip Indigenous children of their culture and transform them into good Canadian citizens. Children at Kamloops were permitted to speak their Indigenous language for two months; after this period, they were expected to speak English only or risk punishment. A 2015 article published in the *National Post* refers to an interview with a survivor: “Peter Nakogee told the commission that when he attended a residential school in Fort Albany, Ontario, he spoke no English. When he was told to write down his name, he angered a nun because he only knew how to write in Cree syllabics. And then he identified himself only by the name Ministik, for which he was whipped.”<sup>39</sup> Banning the use of the children’s first language was not merely an attempt to address the challenge of learning English; it also served to further distance the children from their cultural identity, making re-assimilation into their original family unit difficult.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Webster, “Living Nightmare,” [online](#).

<sup>34</sup> Webster, “Living Nightmare,” [online](#).

<sup>35</sup> Woo, “Glen Jack,” [online](#).

<sup>36</sup> Webster, “Living Nightmare,” [online](#).

<sup>37</sup> Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal*, 85–86.

<sup>38</sup> Camille, speech, July 15, 2021, [online](#).

<sup>39</sup> Douglas Quan, “‘Assault’ on Residential School Students’ Identities Began the Moment They Stepped Inside,” *National Post*, June 2, 2015, [online](#).

<sup>40</sup> Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal*, 117.



Most of the instruction provided to the students at KIRS was grounded in Catholicism. Mass was a daily event, but it was incomprehensible to most students since, in the early years of KIRS, it was still being celebrated in Latin.<sup>41</sup> English was difficult enough for the children, but Latin was simply foreign to them. Due to the work of Christian missionaries, Catholicism was already known to many Secwépemc bands. In interviews, many survivors of Kamloops never “spoke negatively of their experience with [Catholicism] before school.”<sup>42</sup> This was because, in an effort to make the religion more compatible with traditional Secwépemc spirituality, “priests seem to have de-emphasized the concepts of guilt, confession, and forgiveness.”<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, the fundamental doctrines of Catholicism fit in neatly with Secwépemc beliefs, with Christian missionaries relating the Secwépemc figure “The Old-One” as a stand-in for God and the figure of “Coyote” as a stand-in for Jesus. Just as ancient missionaries had absorbed various religious holidays into Christianity, these more modern missionaries noted that the Secwépemc people had mid-winter and mid-summer holidays and introduced them to Christmas and Easter instead.<sup>44</sup>

However, the religious teaching was entirely different once the children reached KIRS. Survivors describe the emphasis that the school’s nuns placed on teaching shame and guilt: “[we] would go to hell and burn for eternity if we did not listen to their way of teaching.”<sup>45</sup> In a speech at a Tk’emlúps te Secwépemc presentation, survivor Evelyn Camille recalls: “I was ashamed to be Secwépemc.”<sup>46</sup> This sentiment of shame, tied into Catholic doctrine, contributed to the school’s mission to alienate the children from their Indigenous identity. One survivor spoke of the guilt imparted to her as a child and the impact that the religious teachings had on her relationship with her family: “They [i.e., the nuns] said... ‘anybody that doesn’t go to church is a pagan.’ I started thinking, ‘Hey, my parents don’t go to church all the time. They must be pagans’... People that got drunk, they would really put them down. I thought, ‘Gee, our family is really the pits.’ And I’d go home, and I’d be really ashamed of my parents.”<sup>47</sup> Such teaching was deliberate. Training the children to believe that their own families were wrong and sinful was intended to cause them to shed their ethnic identity willingly and join Euro-Canadian society. Many survivors report that it took them years to unlearn the guilt placed on their shoulders as children.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal*, 59.

<sup>42</sup> Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal*, 59.

<sup>43</sup> Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal*, 45.

<sup>44</sup> Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal*, 28.

<sup>45</sup> Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal*, 59.

<sup>46</sup> Camille, speech, July 15, 2021, [online](#).

<sup>47</sup> Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal*, 63.

<sup>48</sup> Ian Austen, “My Most Memorable Interview With a Residential School Survivor,” *New York Times*, July 30, 2021, [online](#).

In every interview with survivors, hunger emerges as one of the most common themes. Shirley Paul, who attended the school for five years in the early 1950s, recalls that she “didn’t know what starvation was until she attended the institution.”<sup>49</sup> Paul describes a reality where stealing food became common among many children. One time, she and another student were “so hungry [that they] ate potato peels and got caught,” for which they were struck with “the strap.”<sup>50</sup> The children were practically driven to stealing food in order to survive, which further broke their spirits, diminished their sense of personal dignity, and contributed to their loss of identity.

The meals provided at KIRS were not just of less than stellar quality (to say nothing more of quantity); they were another instance of the school dissociating the children from their culture. While the children were used to the rich traditional Secwépemc diet of smoked salmon or trout, herring roe, salted wild game, sweet potatoes, and various berries, the meals at KIRS paled in comparison.<sup>51</sup> For many interviewed survivors, the morning meal at KIRS was the most memorable, as it was always the same—lumpy porridge prepared by the students. Survivors describe the porridge’s inconsistent quality: some mornings it was improperly stirred, leaving it burnt, while other mornings the water it was cooked in was not hot enough, leaving it sticky.<sup>52</sup> The absence of traditional foods further chipped away at the children’s ties to their family and culture, and it impacted their bodies as they were not getting the nutrition they needed. This is evident in the disparity between the students’ meals and the staff’s meals. Students who worked in the kitchens noticed the clear divide, and one survivor remarked: “They ate much better food...They were separate from everybody else in one room where the whole staff ate.”<sup>53</sup> Not only did the staff receive much better meals; they also took meals away from the children. Thus, inadequate food options wreaked havoc on the student’s physical health just as much as on their mental health. Survivors report losing weight at school while growing and gaining up to ten pounds during one month of summer at home.<sup>54</sup>

Another example of forced dissociation was the banning of traditional Indigenous music and dancing. An 1895 amendment to the Indian Act turned the performance of various traditional dances into misdemeanors, which could land First Nations people who participated in them in jail anywhere from two to six

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<sup>49</sup> Neetu Garcha and Amy Judd, “‘I Kept It Hidden’: Survivor of Kamloops Indian Residential School Speaks for 1st Time,” *Global News*, May 28, 2022, [online](#).

<sup>50</sup> Garcha and Judd, “I Kept It Hidden,” [online](#).

<sup>51</sup> First Nations Health Authority, *First Nations Traditional Foods Fact Sheets*, August 27, 2014, [online](#).

<sup>52</sup> Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal*, 60.

<sup>53</sup> Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal*, 61.

<sup>54</sup> Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal*, 62.

months, often with hard labor attached to the sentence.<sup>55</sup> Following Parliament's example, cultural dances were banned from schools. Instead, survivor Leona Thomas recalls how she was taught "every ethnic dance except my own."<sup>56</sup> Removing Secwépemc dances from the children's lives severed them from an important way to reconnect with their family members back home during significant events and celebrations. Parliament's criminalization of traditional dances left many frightened to carry out their sacred customs. By the 1950s, due to the efficiency with which residential schools and Parliament had worked together to eradicate traditional dances, many survivors could not remember how to perform Secwépemc dances at all.<sup>57</sup>

For many children, the gradual erosion of their culture during years of attending these schools, compounded with the physical and sexual abuse experienced on school grounds, shattered their sense of self. Principal A. M. Carion wrote of the punishments administered at Kamloops: "A system of marking faults committed has been adopted, and twice a day, at roll call, attention is called to those faults and the wrong-doers are reprimanded, and, if deemed necessary, punished by being confined during recreation or deprived of dessert. Corporal punishment is resorted to only in extreme cases."<sup>58</sup> Despite this assertion, KIRS survivors consistently tell a different story. They report being beaten with fists, open palm slaps, and being whipped with willow reeds and leather straps, all of which left them black and blue with bruises.<sup>59</sup> Offenses thus punished ranged from speaking Secwepemctsin to missing a spot on the floor when given a cleaning duty.<sup>60</sup> In addition, many students mention rampant sexual abuse, which was ignored by those in charge. Glen Jack, who attended KIRS from 1965 until 1969, describes the trauma from the sexual abuse he endured, which he still relives whenever he hears footsteps approaching him. As a child, he would be woken up by the sound of footsteps approaching his bed, soon followed by a priest demanding, "128, get up...Pray for forgiveness for what you made me do to you."<sup>61</sup> Survivor Jeanette Jules relates her memories of a security guard walking into the girls' dormitory at night "with his flashlight, and he'd be flashing it on the girls' faces."<sup>62</sup> Girls would whimper and cover their faces "because who was he

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<sup>55</sup> Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Final Report*, 635–636.

<sup>56</sup> Leona Thomas, speech, KIRS Le Estcwéy (The Missing) Findings Presentation and TteS Next Steps, Tk'emlúps te Secwépemc Special Assembly, in "B.C. First Nation Releases Report on Unmarked Graves Discovered in Kamloops," cpac, streamed July 15, 2021, video, [online](#).

<sup>57</sup> Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal*, 81–82.

<sup>58</sup> A. M. Carion to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, August 1, 1896, in *Dominion of Canada Annual Report*, 607.

<sup>59</sup> Garcha and Judd, "I Kept It Hidden," [online](#); Woo, "Glen Jack," [online](#).

<sup>60</sup> Woo, "Glen Jack," [online](#).

<sup>61</sup> Woo, "Glen Jack," [online](#).

<sup>62</sup> Woo, "Glen Jack," [online](#).

going to choose? Who is he going to decide that he is going to go and take?"<sup>63</sup> The stories of sexual abuse are many, and they are difficult to read. Sparking further outrage is the lack of justice. Some supervisors and priests committed these acts unchecked for decades, yet faced at best minimal punishments. One of the supervisors, Gerald Mathieu Moran, worked at KIRS throughout the early 1960s and was notorious for his sexual crimes. He was convicted on twelve different counts, but since he served the sentences concurrently, he was "up for parole within a year."<sup>64</sup> These instances of repeated abuse, especially Glen Jack's account, exemplify the school staff's apathy, which was generated by the intentional dehumanization of the students entrusted to them. The trauma from these abuses will stay with the survivors for the rest of their lives. As time passes and efforts toward reconciliation intensify, survivors are coming forward to tell their stories and are fighting for them to be heard.

## II. Rising Voices

In 1993, the head of the Anglican Church in Canada, Reverend Michael Peers (1934–2023), issued the following statement to apologize for the Anglican residential school system:

I accept, and I confess before God and you, our failures in the residential schools. We failed you. We failed ourselves. We failed God. I am sorry, more than I can say, that we were part of a system which took you and your children from home and family. I am sorry, more than I can say, that we tried to remake you in our image, taking from you your language and the signs of your identity. I am sorry, more than I can say, that in our schools so many were abused physically, sexually, culturally, and emotionally. On behalf of the Anglican Church of Canada, I present our apology.<sup>65</sup>

Public apologies like this are examples of attempts to encourage healing among the survivors of residential schools. In 2007, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) was formed to promote education regarding First Nations culture and history. Funded by Parliament, the TRC collaborated with First Nations groups until 2015 to compile interviews with residential school survivors and assemble governmental records remaining from these schools. Their efforts were generally well received, although many saw them as a drop in the bucket in comparison to the generational trauma that many families are still experiencing.<sup>66</sup>

During a Tk'emlúps te Secwépemc press conference on July 15, 2021, three former KIRS students told their stories (all of which have been referenced above),

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<sup>63</sup> Webster, "Living Nightmare," [online](#).

<sup>64</sup> Tristin Hopper, "Why So Many Sexual Predators at Indian Residential Schools Escaped Punishment," *National Post*, June 10, 2021, [online](#).

<sup>65</sup> Michael Peers, Archbishop and Primate (The Anglican Church of Canada), "Apology to Native People: A Message from the Primate, Archbishop Michael Peers, to the National Native Convocation," Minaki, Ontario, Friday, August 6, 1993, [online](#).

<sup>66</sup> Camille, speech, July 15, 2021, [online](#).

describing in great detail how their experiences at the school forever altered their lives and those of their family members. Evelyn Camille, the first speaker, noted that, despite residential schools being intended to assimilate First Nations students into Euro-Canadian society, after ten years of attendance, she was only testing at a fourth-grade level when she had reached college age.<sup>67</sup> She tearfully recounted that, prior to her decision to speak at the press conference, her children had no idea of the trauma she had endured. Camille expressed how she “couldn’t” tell them, referencing the deep sense of shame being the only thing she remembered being taught at KIRS.<sup>68</sup> Finally, she passionately denounced the idea that the 215 potential grave sites on the grounds of the residential school should be excavated and studied, stating, “What good are those studies going to do for us? For an individual? For me?”<sup>69</sup> This sentiment was echoed throughout the press conference by Secwépemc authorities.

The second speaker, Leona Thomas, who had attended the school from 1958 until 1963, at first refused the opportunity to speak at the event. She explained how difficult it had been for her to be immediately separated from her older brother upon their arrival at KIRS, stating that the nuns did not attempt to “comfort a six-year-old who was crying, wanting to go home, or wanting to be with her brother who she was not allowed to be with.” Thomas urged those listening to her presentation to call on Parliament to act and educate themselves on their community’s wishes regarding the discovery of the gravesites.<sup>70</sup>

The final speaker, Mona Jules, recalled the death of her thirteen-year-old sister at Kamloops. She was said to have passed away from an unknown illness. When their parents were only informed of her sister’s death afterward, they “wanted to know why she wasn’t taken to a doctor, to a hospital. It was right across the bridge, and there were no answers.” Jules confessed that her father attacked the principal in anger over the news.<sup>71</sup> She spoke candidly about her fears regarding what might have happened to her had she not been lucky enough to survive, and whether she could have been among the 215 whose unmarked graves had just been found. Advocates for First Nations groups had been calling for reparations for decades. Only after the gruesome 2021 discovery did their plight finally find its way into the coverage by international media.

The discovery prompted backlash as well as sorrow. According to an article in the *New York Post*, a conservative American tabloid, there were some, like Jacques Rouillard, a professor at the University of Montreal, who demanded proof of the

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<sup>67</sup> Camille, speech, July 15, 2021, [online](#).

<sup>68</sup> Camille, speech, July 15, 2021, [online](#).

<sup>69</sup> Camille, speech, July 15, 2021, [online](#).

<sup>70</sup> Thomas, speech, July 15, 2021, [online](#).

<sup>71</sup> Mona Jules, speech, KIRS Le Estcwéy (The Missing) Findings Presentation and TteS Next Steps, Tk’emlúps te Secwépemc Special Assembly, in “B.C. First Nation Releases Report on Unmarked Graves Discovered in Kamloops,” cpac, streamed July 15, 2021, video, [online](#).



bodies buried at KIRS. Rouillard stated, “They use a lot of words like ‘cultural genocide’...If that’s true, there should be excavations.”<sup>72</sup> Such sentiments were echoed by other academics, including Tom Flanagan, a professor of Political Science at the University of Calgary, who went so far as to dub the findings “the biggest fake news story in Canadian history” and denounced survivors’ testimonies as the result of coming “to believe things for which there is no evidence.”<sup>73</sup> The same newspaper article also featured testimony from a former residential student who claimed he had been “grateful to attend.”<sup>74</sup> How to respond? The abuses detailed above may not have been universal. However, dismissing the testimonies of dozens of survivors who have bravely shared their trauma is unfounded and intentionally misleading. At the July 15, 2021, press conference, the Tk’emlúps te Secwépemc speakers, including their elected chief, expressed their wishes for the bodies at KIRS to remain undisturbed and demanded that the decision be left up to their community.

### *Conclusion*

The history of Canadian residential schools is still being written, and there is little doubt that more revelations will come to light in the future. When analyzing the oral histories, personal accounts, statements given by former employees and government officials, and reports of sexual abuse and crimes, a strong case for cultural genocide emerges. The facts are plain: the Canadian Parliament, following the precedent set by the British Empire, sponsored institutions that transparently aimed to “kill the Indian in the child” by severing their family ties, eradicating their language, changing their names, criminalizing their cultural activities, forcefully converting them, and committing violence to force compliance.<sup>75</sup> These institutions are not a remote stain on Canada’s history, as the last residential school officially closed in 1997. Residential schools are not a phenomenon of the distant past. They are a part of Canada’s modern history, and many of their victims are still alive and demand to be heard. We would be remiss not to listen.

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<sup>72</sup> See Dana Kennedy, “‘Biggest Fake News Story in Canada’: Kamloops Mass Grave Debunked by Academics,” *New York Post*, May 29, 2022, [online](#).

<sup>73</sup> See Kennedy, “Biggest Fake News Story in Canada,” [online](#).

<sup>74</sup> See Kennedy, “Biggest Fake News Story in Canada,” [online](#).

<sup>75</sup> Webster, “Living Nightmare,” [online](#).

Jillian Devine

## *Communism in Art and Religion in Squares: Kazimir Malevich's Suprematism in Russia since 1915*

**ABSTRACT:** *This essay revisits the early critiques of Kazimir Malevich's creation of Suprematism in the second decade of the twentieth century and traces the trajectory of academic scholarship on its meaning and purpose since then. The author argues that, prior to 1975, scholars viewed Suprematism as an art form directly linked to Malevich himself; after 1975, however, academics detached Suprematism from Malevich and, instead, increasingly associated it with other individuals, as well as with artistic, political, social, and religious movements.*

**KEYWORDS:** *modern history; Soviet Russia; Russian Avant-Garde; Suprematism; Kazimir Malevich; Black Square; communism; utilitarianism; objectlessness; religion*

### *Introduction*

In December 1915 and January 1916, fourteen Avant-Garde artists presented their works at the *Last Futurist Exhibition of Paintings 0,10* in Saint Petersburg, Russia—among them Kazimir Malevich (1879–1935), whose *Black Square* painting (Figure 1) elicited a wide range of critical responses and has been considered synonymous with the art style and movement known as Suprematism ever since.<sup>1</sup> The number “0,10” in the exhibition’s title suggested that the subjects of the paintings on display had been leveled to “zero” —made “objectless” —and that the art of these paintings was going “beyond zero.” Suprematism is characterized by the reduction of art to geometric forms and color; it got its name from the idea that pure artistic sentiment would reign supreme over all art forms and styles, as well as any meanings or purposes that artists might ascribe to their art.

This essay revisits the early critiques of Kazimir Malevich’s creation of Suprematism and traces the trajectory of academic scholarship on its meaning and purpose since then. Initially regarded simply as a new art style, Suprematism later came to be viewed as a political movement, then as an inspiration for other artists, and ultimately as influenced by outside forces. Until the late 1920s, responses to Suprematism were embedded in the discourse on contemporary abstract art. During the Stalinist era (1927–1953), discussions on Suprematism were eclipsed by the period’s resurgence of realism. In the 1960s, scholars studied Suprematism as an art form and as an art movement. In the 1970s, the focus shifted to consider Suprematism’s relationship with the political environment of Soviet Russia, and political Suprematism as a form of protest was increasingly linked to Malevich’s own ideas about government, politics, society, and culture. From the later 1970s to the earlier 2000s, scholars studied Suprematism as an inspiring artistic movement as well as a political movement, both operating congruently and influencing each other. Suprematism was now considered to have come from somewhere other

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<sup>1</sup> Kazimir Malevich, *Black Square*, 1915, oil on linen, 79.5 x 79.5 cm, The State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow, Russia, [online](#). In this essay’s transcription of Russian words and phrases, diacritics have been omitted.

than Malevich, as something that had always been there but never known, and as something that had been discovered rather than created. For many academics, Suprematism became purely an idea, a transcendental art movement, an intuitive inspiration, and something that could be transferred to other people and societal factions, taking Malevich completely out of the picture. More recently, scholars have studied religion's influence on Suprematism.

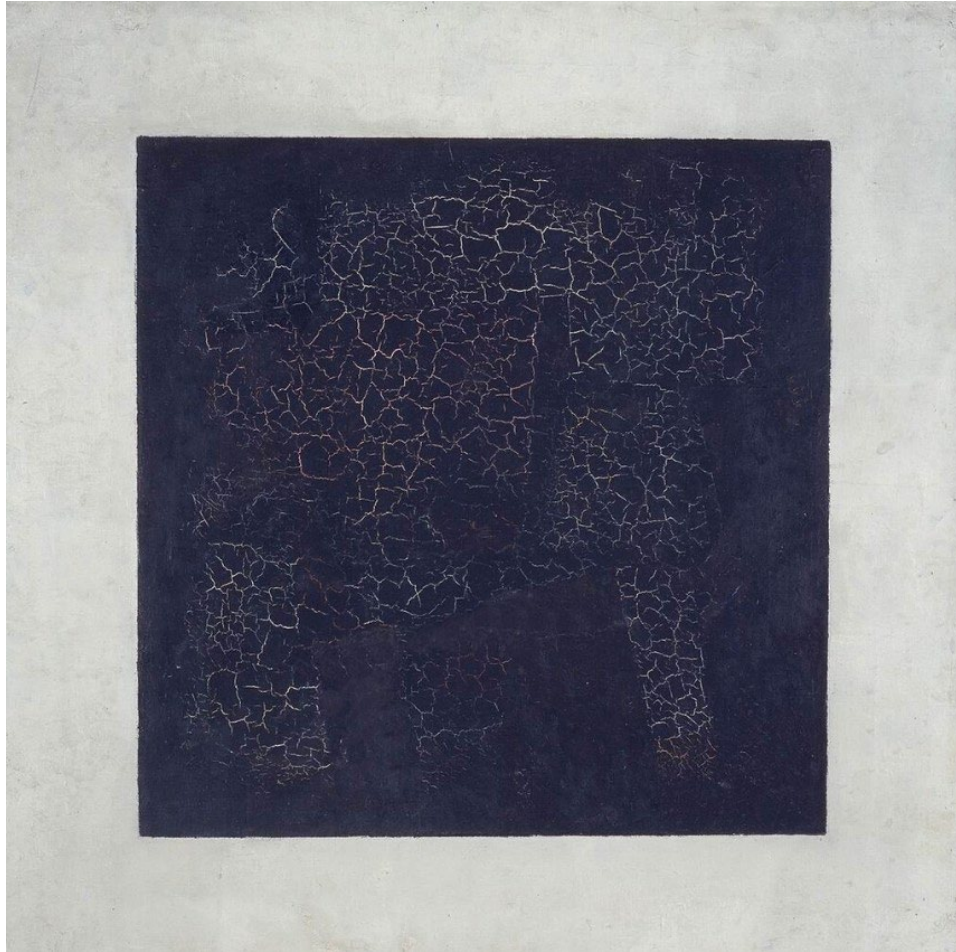


Figure 1: "Black Square" (1915), painting by Kazimir Malevich, [online](#).

I argue that, prior to 1975, scholars viewed Suprematism as an art form directly linked to Malevich himself; after 1975, however, academics detached Suprematism from Malevich and, instead, increasingly associated it with other individuals, as well as with artistic, political, social, and religious movements. My essay's two parts—"United: Before 1975" and "Separated: After 1975"—reflect this argument.

### *I. United: Before 1975*

In 1902, assessing the future of Russian art in the context of the rising Avant-Garde movement, the artist, historian, and critic Alexandre Benois (1870–1960, also known as Aleksandr Benua) commented that "the whole art of our time is



deprived of direction...it is uncoordinated, broken up into separate individuals."<sup>2</sup> New art was considered unorganized—even invalid—because it did not follow the movements and traditions of the past. And yet, Benois argued, even when “divisions occur among artists here for the most absurd reasons...the character of the work from one group to the next is indistinguishable.”<sup>3</sup> Even before Malevich entered the scene, the Russian art world had been quite hostile to new forms and styles. Predictably, when Malevich’s *Black Square* was shown at the 1915–1916 *Last Futurist Exhibition of Paintings 0,10*, artists and critics were divided. Some artists, even if they were practicing a different style, such as Futurism or Cubism, were supportive. In fact, many of Malevich’s contemporaries, among them the celebrated art critic Alexander Rostislavov (1860–1920), loved that his works’ “geometricization ha[d] something to say...this planar painting of such secretive and appealing complexity and mystery.”<sup>4</sup> However, others—just like today—did not quite know what to make of Malevich’s new art form and believed that they were “not in a position to judge vanguard art that [was] ‘absolutely foreign’” to them.<sup>5</sup> Yet, in the words of painter and composer Mikhail Matyushin (1861–1934), Suprematism was giving “the strong impression that it [was] the oncoming shift [*sdvig*] in art,” whether they liked it or not.<sup>6</sup>

Later on, Malevich’s students refused to have Suprematism reduced and “trodden by the theory of Constructivism,” an art form that was using geometric shapes to reflect the industrial nature of modern society. Claiming that “Constructivism, in proclaiming death to art, conceive[d] Man as an automaton,” Malevich’s students sought to create “real works of art.”<sup>7</sup> The importance of Malevich’s Suprematism as a cultural and historical shift was eventually recognized by the Russian art historian Aleksei Fedorov-Davydov (1900–1969), who, in 1929, proclaimed: “Although the art of Malevich is to a great extent ideologically alien to us, nevertheless the formal qualities and mastery of his works are so vital for the development of our artistic culture that familiarization

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<sup>2</sup> Alexandre Benois, *History of Russian Painting in the XIX Century [Istoriia russkoi zhivopisi v XIX veke]* (Saint Petersburg: Evdokimov, 1902), 274, quoted in John E. Bowl, “Russian Art in the Nineteen Twenties,” *Soviet Studies* 22, no. 4 (1971): 593.

<sup>3</sup> Alexandre Benois, “Khudozhestvennye pis'ma: Obilie Vystavok,” *Rech'* (February 13, 1909): 2, quoted in Jane A. Sharp, “The Critical Reception of the 0.10 Exhibition: Malevich and Benua,” in *The Great Utopia: The Russian and Soviet Avant-Garde, 1915–1932* (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, 1992), 45–46 (see 52), [online](#).

<sup>4</sup> Aleksandr Rostislavov, “O vystavke futuristov,” *Rech'* (December 25, 1915), 3, quoted in Sharp, “Critical Reception,” 49 (see 52), [online](#).

<sup>5</sup> Sharp, “Critical Reception,” 42, [online](#).

<sup>6</sup> Mikhail Matyushin, “O vystavke ‘poslednikh futuristov,’” *Ocharovannyi strannik: Al'manakh vesennil* (1916), 17, quoted in Sharp, “Critical Reception,” 49, [online](#).

<sup>7</sup> Preface to the catalog of the first exhibition of the New Society of Painters (NOZh), Moscow, November 1922, quoted in Bowl, “Russian Art, 586.

with his work is very useful both for the young artist and for the new spectator.”<sup>8</sup> Malevich and his new suprematist art style had certainly altered the way art was viewed and created. However, while likeminded artists greatly appreciated the radical change in painting, many critics considered Suprematism a catalyst of destructive change.

Kazimir Malevich’s own voice in the debate on Suprematism fell silent when he died on May 15, 1935. In fact, the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s were a dark period in Malevich scholarship, likely because Joseph Stalin, the leader of the Soviet Union, tightly controlled the use of art as propaganda for the political state. Consequently, Malevich’s suprematist style and the concept of Suprematism itself had to give way to a resurgence of realism and the need to portray and propagate the proletarian movements, particularly the rise of the industrial working class during the 1910s and 1920s. While Stalin held power (1922–1953), first as General Secretary of the Communist Party and then as Chairman of the Council of Ministers, art was strictly censored.

After Stalin’s death and the implementation of “de-Stalinization” policies, there developed a “notion that the Avant-Garde was a plastic experiment valid for all time.”<sup>9</sup> This was the prevalent understanding in the 1960s. Suprematism was expected to last for generations and influence many artists afterwards. Art was freed from the limitations forced upon it by gravity, culture, ideas, shapes, and techniques. Thanks to Malevich’s work, art had been reduced to “zero,” and it could now be created without any need to serve ulterior purposes. In a 1960 article, “Kasimir Malevich and the Non-Objective World,” the German *Bauhaus* architect and urban planner Ludwig Hilberseimer (1885–1967) remained true to Malevich’s theories when characterizing Suprematism as separate from outside ideas of politics and culture. According to Hilberseimer, Suprematism retained its original intention of non-objectivity—avoiding any exact image of a place, person, or thing—which “contrast[ed] it to the utilitarian aims of Constructivism.”<sup>10</sup> In the 1960s, there was no external influence on how Suprematism should be studied, just as there was no such influence on how it should be created. Malevich had never intended for politics, labor movements, technology, or culture to become aspects of his work, and the academic assessments of the 1960s reflected this perfectly.

The scholarship on the relationship between politics and art usually focuses on art as a whole during a specific time period. Russian art between 1917 and 1932 had been led by artists who founded individual art movements, such as Futurism

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<sup>8</sup> Catalog to a personal exhibition of Malevich, Moscow, 1929, 5, quoted in Bowlit, “Russian Art,” 591.

<sup>9</sup> Irina Karasik, “Malevich as His Contemporaries Saw Him,” in *Malevich: Artist and Theoretician*, ed. Galina Demosfenova (Paris: Flammarion, 1991), 192.

<sup>10</sup> Ludwig Hilberseimer, “Kasimir Malevich and the Non-Objective World,” *Art Journal* 20, no. 2 (1960): 82–83.

and Suprematism, all considered to be under the umbrella of the Russian Avant-Garde. As the English art historian John E. Bowlt (b. 1943) pointed out in his 1971 essay on “Russian Art in the Nineteen Twenties,” Malevich himself had been one of the founders of early modern abstract art, and his ideas had guided it “toward functional applied art during the years immediately after the Revolution.”<sup>11</sup> Malevich and his suprematist art style had added a rebellious element to Russian abstract art by rejecting Western influences, thus contributing to political rebellion and, perhaps, serving as the face of it. Bowlt linked Malevich as an individual directly to the politics of art; while artists and society were separate entities, artists’ contributions to the Revolution united them again.<sup>12</sup> In this discourse of the early 1970s, Malevich and Suprematism were still viewed as a single entity, while Malevich’s Suprematism was being associated with a political statement.

In his 1972 article on “The Russian Avant-Garde and the Russian Tradition,” the American art historian Alan C. Birnholz argued that the new Russian art movement that emerged out of the 1920s was a response to “preceding developments in Western Europe,” with the Russian Avant-Garde now “emphasiz[ing] the rupture in Russian Art history brought about by the 1917 Revolution.”<sup>13</sup> Politics and art, Birnholz believed, went hand in hand. Suprematism was in line with the Bolshevik Revolution, particularly through its manifestation in architecture. The Bolshevik Revolution introduced the idea of a collective society and utilitarianism, a departure from the tenets of Western-style monarchies and societies, as well as from the democratic ideals of the United States. Malevich’s Suprematism was meant as an architectural form, which, according to Birnholz, corresponded to the political movements of his time. Suprematism was founded “on utilitarian grounds” because it “gave man a glimpse of the coming utopia and hastened thereby the formation of a more perfect world.”<sup>14</sup> Thus, in the early 1970s, Suprematism was studied and understood as having political origins; as a response and as a rebellion against traditional bourgeois forms and styles; and as a parallel to the Bolshevik Revolution.

The scholarship on the political nature of art during the early 1970s also extended to other artists, including Wassily Wassilyevich Kandinsky (1866–1944), Lazar Markovich Lissitzky (1890–1941), and Lazar Khidekel (1904–1986). This is relevant because the respective discourse applied and addressed the artists’ parallel thinking. For example, the American art critic Donald B. Kuspit (b. 1935) claimed in a 1970 article that Kandinsky had emphasized the human experience as opposed to the materialism propagated by the West. Kandinsky, Kuspit argued, was “not so much...protesting science, but science’s pretension to

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<sup>11</sup> Bowlt, “Russian Art,” 576.

<sup>12</sup> Bowlt, “Russian Art,” 575.

<sup>13</sup> Alan C. Birnholz, “The Russian Avant-Garde and the Russian Tradition,” *Art Journal* 32, no. 2 (1972): 146.

<sup>14</sup> Birnholz, “Russian Avant-Garde,” 148.

conclusiveness.”<sup>15</sup> Kandinsky’s art was inspired by student revolutions against traditional societal and political institutions in Russia and the West alike. He found inspiration and solutions in Russian peasant law, which he saw as protesting against “all social forms which hold man back from his abstract relation with his fundamental nature.”<sup>16</sup> By comparison, Malevich was simply more explicit about his protest against traditions in politics, art, and society. Thus, academic scholarship in the early 1970s held that the artists’ own ideas about society and politics were portrayed in their artwork. As Malevich’s political ideas were inherently tied to Suprematism, there was no way to separate Malevich from Suprematism and vice versa. In short, Malevich protested by means of Suprematism; Suprematism was his political agenda. However, this line of thought clearly ignored Malevich’s original intention for Suprematism to be liberated from all societal functions and to stay away from political propaganda. Because they failed to separate the artist from the artwork, scholars failed to portray Suprematism as it had been conceived, namely, as an art style.

## II. Separated: After 1975

After 1975, scholarly literature on Malevich and the birth of Suprematism took a radical turn by now discussing artists and art as separate entities. Instead of focusing on Malevich, academics shifted to an examination of Suprematism as a style created by and for other artists. In doing so, they began to see Suprematism as a combination of ideas, concepts, and art forms not necessarily linked to Malevich. As the Russian Avant-Garde had originally been a literary movement of Futurist poets, whose ideas ran parallel to Malevich’s, and as poets routinely removed their subjects from their writings, similar to the concept of “objectlessness” in Suprematism, Suprematism was no longer viewed as Malevich’s own but simply as a representation of the ideas and artists of the day.<sup>17</sup>

It was also considered an inspiring ideology for up-and-coming artists and therefore studied through the lens of ideas and concepts rather than politics. According to a 1981 assessment by art historian Evgenii Fedorovich Kovtun (1928–1996), Malevich’s work in the late 1920s—despite its clear break away from pure Suprematism—“return[ed] to a figurative style, but one that ha[d] memories of Suprematism.”<sup>18</sup> Meanwhile, Malevich’s earlier style of alogism (i.e., art with absurd and irrational elements) as exemplified by his 1913 painting *Cow and Violin*

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<sup>15</sup> Donald B. Kuspit, “Utopian Protest in Early Abstract Art,” *Art Journal* 29, no. 4 (1970): 430.

<sup>16</sup> Kuspit, “Utopian Protest,” 431.

<sup>17</sup> Susan P. Compton, “Malevich’s Suprematism: The Higher Intuition,” *Burlington Magazine* 118, no. 881 (August 1976): 578.

<sup>18</sup> Evgenii Fedorovich Kovtun, “Kazimir Malevich,” trans. Charlotte Douglas, *Art Journal* 41, no. 3 (1981): 234.

(Figure 2) was now considered a different phase of his career that he would pull from to create his final pieces in the 1930s.<sup>19</sup>



Figure 2: "Cow and Violin" (1913), painting by Kazimir Malevich, [online](#).

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<sup>19</sup> Kazimir Malevich, *Cow and Violin*, 1913, oil on wood, 48.8 x 25.8 cm, The State Russian Museum, Saint Petersburg, Russia, [online](#).



As Kovtun saw it, Suprematism was “a model and an analog of cosmic space,” which encompassed the “theme of overcoming gravity” often seen in Russian Avant-Garde art.<sup>20</sup> Kovtun’s scholarship on *UNOVIS* (*Utverditeli Novogo Iskusstva*, i.e., “Champions of the New Art”), an influential group of artists led by Malevich and dedicated to exploring and developing new theories and concepts in art in the late 1910s and early 1920s, underscored this shift in academic focus: it studied Suprematism for its influence on and inspiration of future art, including Malevich’s own later works,<sup>21</sup> such as his 1928–1932 painting of a *Peasant Woman (with a Black face)* (Figure 3), which incorporated his prior style of alogism but mostly drew from the objectlessness of Suprematism.<sup>22</sup>

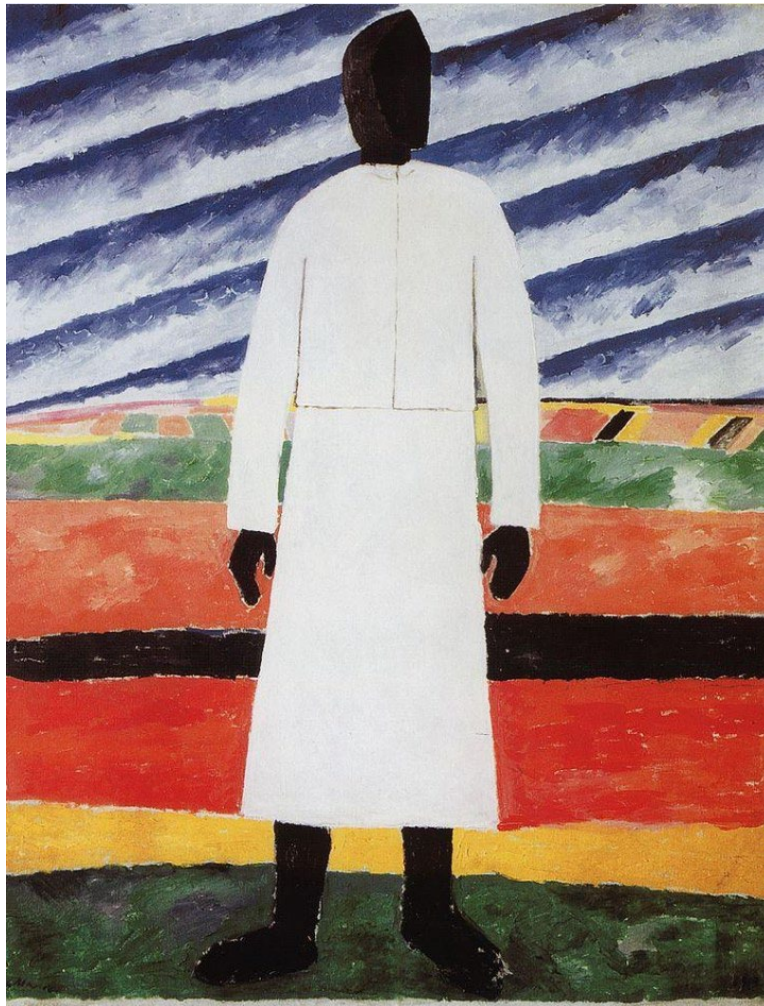


Figure 3: “*Peasant Woman (with a Black Face)*” (1928–1932), painting by Kazimir Malevich, [online](#).

<sup>20</sup> Kovtun, “Kazimir Malevich,” 236.

<sup>21</sup> Kovtun, “Kazimir Malevich,” 236–240.

<sup>22</sup> Kazimir Malevich, *Peasant Woman*, 1928–1932, oil on canvas, 98.5 x 80 cm, The State Russian Museum, Saint Petersburg, Russia, [online](#).

In a 1993 article, art historian Alexandra Shatskikh (b. 1956) reflected on Malevich's influence over the art form of film. It was not that Malevich had wanted create suprematist films himself. Instead, he wished for other artists to integrate his style into their cinematic works. Shatskikh clearly viewed Suprematism as something separate from Malevich by virtue of the ability of others to use it.<sup>23</sup> Malevich himself believed that Suprematism should influence all other art forms, including film, and thus he advocated for future "non-object" cinematic projects.

By the early twenty-first century, scholars were applying various past perspectives on the origins and use of Suprematism to their own work. Malevich was acknowledged solely as the artist whose hands had created such political works, but whose personal ideas were not necessarily understood to be connected. In a 2018 book chapter, art historian Tatiana Goriacheva (b. 1954) drew attention to Malevich's unpublished essay, "In our time, when it became We," describing it as "one of the links in the chain of the artist's argument that collective creativity [had to] replace individual artistic thinking."<sup>24</sup> Thus, Suprematism was not just an artistic style or movement, but also an ideology that could be wielded by and transferred to other artists and their work, making suprematist art a collective effort that mirrored the political thoughts of the labor class of the day.

Inspiring others to partake in a collective effort to politicize art involved an understanding of the techniques and processes underlying the creation of suprematist art in the first place. As early as 1994, art historian and theorist Peter Stupples had argued that Malevich's work had contributed significantly to a stepping away from the Western and European dominance of art: through the use of color, line, and texture, Malevich was communicating the spiritual and the emotional, as well as the aesthetic beauty of the natural world, by producing works that stood in direct opposition to previous Western-influenced art styles. Malevich's work coincided with the Russian Revolution in that it "attempted to overcome [the] subjective aesthetic[s]" that Western artists had been focusing on, just as the political agency of the Bolsheviks was setting out to rid Russia's government of Western capitalist influences.<sup>25</sup> Thus, to scholars of the late twentieth and earlier twenty-first centuries, Malevich's Suprematism was representative of the political movement. The intention of its creation never

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<sup>23</sup> Alexandra Shatskikh, "Malevich and Film," *Burlington Magazine* 135, no. 1084 (July 1993): 471. Shatskikh relates Malevich's "desire to find a theoretically solid platform for artistic creativity" to Soviet film, for which he designed many suprematist style posters. In this way, Malevich attempted to "introduce Suprematism into 'utilitarian' life." Soviet film director Sergei Eisenstein was deemed a perfect candidate for Malevich's artistic endeavors.

<sup>24</sup> Tatiana Goriacheva, "...In our time, when it became We...": A Previously Unknown Essay by Kazimir Malevich," in *Celebrating Suprematism: New Approaches to the Art of Kazimir Malevich*, ed. Christina Lodder (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 190, ProQuest Ebook Central.

<sup>25</sup> Peter Stupples, "The Notation of Radical Change in the Graphic and Painterly Systems of Malevich and Lissitzky," *New Zealand Slavonic Journal* [Festschrift in honour of Patrick Waddington] (1994): 174.

mattered. In fact, suprematist ideology was deemed exactly parallel to that of the Bolshevik Revolution: it “was exploring the same metaphysical ground as the Bolshevik variant of Marxism.”<sup>26</sup> Malevich’s own ideas “concerning the role of art”<sup>27</sup> were being separated from Suprematism’s inherently political role. Suprematism became a means to evade censorship and to convey one’s true ideas via an artistic subtext.<sup>28</sup> As literary scholar Anna Wexler Katsnelson put it in 2006, Suprematism—as another political language—was “a painful compromise with the Soviet artistic nomenclature.”<sup>29</sup> Thus, the academic literature reflected what scholars believed Suprematism to be, as well as what they believed it stood for at the time: a culmination of art, artistic technique, and politics.

More recent scholarship on Malevich and Suprematism has taken a step or two away from all of the above by postulating that Suprematism was influenced by religion more than anything else. In a 2021 article, historical theorist Irina Sakhno claimed that Suprematism was not just “a new religion” for Malevich, as represented by a complete devotion to the suprematist ideology and lifestyle, but that Suprematism itself was imbued with religious—including Christian—concepts.<sup>30</sup> According to a 2023 article by Russian Studies scholar Dennis Ioffe, Suprematism was not so much a culmination of political ideas or artistic endeavors as it was a culmination of various historical religious iconographies, starting out with the figurative iconography of the Pan-Turkic world, the “Kurgan Stelae.”<sup>31</sup> Suprematism, Sakhno argued, worked much in the same way as Christian negative theology.<sup>32</sup> Through shapes, Suprematism emphasized objectlessness and limitlessness, just like apophatic (i.e., negative) theology described God by saying what God was not. Thus, religion developed Suprematism, and Suprematism had always existed in religious thought and iconography. Malevich, however, had unearthed the style’s full form.

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<sup>26</sup> Stupples, “Notation of Radical Change,” 175.

<sup>27</sup> Goriacheva, “...In our time,” 191.

<sup>28</sup> Anna Wexler Katsnelson, “My Leader, Myself? Pictorial Estrangement and Aesopian Language in the Late Work of Kazimir Malevich,” *Poetics Today* 27, no. 1 (2006): 87, 68–69. Aesopian language is a literary technique, similar to what is now known as doublespeak, allowing authors to “evade censorship.” During the Stalinist era, the ideology and style of Suprematism could not be fully evoked in Malevich’s work due to the restrictive political and cultural climate. There needed to be a subtext. Estrangement, however, created by literary critic Viktor Shklovsky, “reinforces the abstraction inherent in the devaluing of content.”

<sup>29</sup> Katsnelson, “My Leader, Myself?” 92.

<sup>30</sup> Irina Sakhno, “Kazimir Malevich’s Negative Theology and Mystical Suprematism,” *Religions* 12, no. 7 (2021): 2–3.

<sup>31</sup> Dennis Ioffe, “Avant-Garde versus Tradition, a Case Study: Archaic Ritual Imagery in Malevich: The Icons, the Radical Abstraction, and Byzantine Hesychasm,” *Arts* 12, no. 1 (2023): 10.

<sup>32</sup> Sakhno, “Kazimir Malevich’s Negative Theology,” 2–3: negative theology is an “attempt to move beyond the bounds of the understandable” as God’s “limitlessness and incomprehensibility is all that can be understood about him.”



### *Conclusion*

The scholarship on Malevich and his profound new art style, Suprematism, highlights the changing perspectives and approaches academics have taken over the past century. When Suprematism was first born, Malevich and the art style were inseparably linked. Suprematism sparked a wide debate over the failure of modern art and the destruction of art and culture as a whole, and this reflected directly back on Malevich as an individual. The idea of uniting artists with their artwork carried through to the influence of Suprematism on the political and ideological realms. Malevich was seen as both politicizing art as well as rebelling against the state – or Western influences – through his art. Thus, according to pre-1975 academics, Suprematism was Malevich’s chosen ideology and applied to all spheres of life and art.

By 1975, however, scholars were changing their approach to Malevich and Suprematism. Art and artist were separated. Malevich had not created Suprematism, he had merely discovered it, and thus the style could stand on its own. Consequently, Suprematism came to be seen as an art movement that was influenced by politics, other artistic endeavors, and religion. It became the culmination of the past and the present. As long as Suprematism was viewed as something created by Malevich, the two were one; they were whole, united, and singular. Once Suprematism was thought of as discovered or influenced by previous and outside forces, Malevich and Suprematism could be separated. The academic literature before and after 1975 walks a very fine line, but the line is certainly drawn.

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Isaiah Colton Thompson

*“Sanctorum Communio” Abroad:  
Dietrich Bonhoeffer’s Vision of a Transnational Church  
in Rome, Barcelona, and New York*

**ABSTRACT:** *This article explores Dietrich Bonhoeffer’s travels abroad to Rome, Barcelona, and New York between 1924 and 1931. It emphasizes his conceptions of and conflicts with the church as a transnational community; it investigates his perception of church diversity, worship, and preaching abroad and provides analyses of these encounters through theories of identity hybridity, historical anthropology, and national narrative storytelling; and it positions Bonhoeffer beyond theological discourse and situates his travels abroad in the larger networks and themes of ecumenicalism, cultural history, and national identity. The author argues that Bonhoeffer’s ideal of a church community conflicted with his own national identity, that the Black spirituals provided him with a language of resistance that he later utilized in Germany, and that the international pulpit converted his message from a national narrative of defense to an international homily of suffering. The article concludes by suggesting Bonhoeffer’s relevance in a time of increasing globalization and national sentiment.*

**KEYWORDS:** *modern history; Dietrich Bonhoeffer; Rome; Barcelona; New York; national identity; transnationalism; ecumenicalism; cultural history; African American history*

*Introduction*

Between 1930 and 1931, the young theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906–1945) was absent from his home country of Germany. Following the completion of his doctoral dissertation, he received a fellowship to study at Union Theological Seminary in New York. As a postdoctoral scholar, he explored the bustling streets of New York and the culture of Harlem, and he studied American philosophy and theology. He was bewildered by the local discourse on theology as well as the church in America. He shared his disappointments with American Christianity in a letter to his friend, Helmut Rößler, lamenting the absence of German theology and how Americans annoyingly “grin when you mention Luther.”<sup>1</sup> Rößler’s response from 1931 is insightful. As Bonhoeffer’s intellectual companion and a fellow student of theology, Rößler expressed an interest in his friend’s description of American Christianity and was “moved” by Bonhoeffer’s characterization of the “theologically grotesque nature of the American church.”<sup>2</sup> But then Rößler reminded Bonhoeffer of the benefits of his international experience: “You are now able to see Germany from the bird’s-eye view of the New World and will see many things differently when you return.”<sup>3</sup> According to Rößler, Bonhoeffer’s travels afforded him a unique vantage point to assess Germany, and, indeed, Bonhoeffer’s

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<sup>1</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer to Helmut Rößler, December 11, 1930, in *Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works*, vol. 10, *Barcelona, Berlin, New York: 1928–1931*, ed. Clifford J. Green, trans. Douglas W. Stott (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2013), 261. Abbreviations used in this article: *DBW* = *Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works*. Unless otherwise specified, “Bonhoeffer” refers to Dietrich Bonhoeffer.

<sup>2</sup> Helmut Rößler to Dietrich Bonhoeffer, February 22, 1931, in *DBW* 10:281–282.

<sup>3</sup> Rößler to Dietrich Bonhoeffer, February 22, 1931, in *DBW* 10:281.

experience on foreign soil likely influenced his rejection of Rößler's eventual commitment to the Nazi ideology of *Blut und Boden* ("blood and soil").

Bonhoeffer's New York experience (1930–1931) not only impacted his view of Germany; it also influenced his perspective on the nature of the church, as had his earlier travels to Rome (1924) and Barcelona (1928–1929). These experiences provided him with opportunities to witness the church in its different manifestations beyond the borders of the German nation, and the respective insights gained abroad likely informed his unique resolve to resist the limitations of state-sanctioned church communities. Bonhoeffer's ability to view Germany on the basis of his stays in Italy, Spain, and the United States later enabled him to recognize the shortcomings of Germany's *Reichskirche* ("Reich church"). His view of the church extended beyond imaginary national restraints. As he later argued from his Finkenwalde seminary, which operated between 1935 and 1937, "the true church can never determine *from its own perspective* those who do not belong to it."<sup>4</sup> According to Bonhoeffer, the "true" church could never be bound by borders drawn by secular governments or ecclesiastical authorities. In short, the "true" church was and had to be transnational.

This article investigates how Bonhoeffer's travels abroad influenced his perspective on the nature of the church. To do so, I analyze Bonhoeffer's travels in tandem with three broader themes. Based on Bonhoeffer's writings from three specific locations, namely, Rome, Barcelona, and New York, I explore the insights he gained with regard to three particular aspects of the Christian church, namely, its diversity of community, its worship practices, and its attitude toward Scripture (i.e., Bible teaching), and how these insights influenced his concept of the ideal Christian community. In addition to Bonhoeffer's own insights, I engage the people, cultures, identities, and contexts that influenced his thinking. In this regard, it is both a project about Bonhoeffer and a work beyond Bonhoeffer.

This article is a work of history rather than an exploration of theology. The field of Bonhoeffer studies is primarily dominated by theologians. This is neither wrong nor objectionable. Given this legacy of scholarship, however, most research engages his thinking through lenses of theology. But while Bonhoeffer's thought exists within the realm of theology, his life unfolded in the theater of history. He was not merely a theological thinking partner. He was a white German male from the twentieth century who left behind a dense record of rich historical material that is informative and insightful for discussions in history. Thus, this project is situated in the discipline of history, which is by no means a rigid discipline, but it does break from a strictly theological method of viewing Bonhoeffer. In this article, I position Bonhoeffer as a historical person engaging people, cultures, ideas, and nations. While I certainly explore his theology, it is not my primary focus. Instead,

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<sup>4</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer, "Bonhoeffer's Essay on Church Communion," in *Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works*, vol. 14, *Theological Education at Finkenwalde: 1935–1937*, ed. H. Gaylon Barker and Mark S. Brocker, trans. Douglas W. Stott (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2013), 659.

I delve into the networks and travels that influenced and challenged his identity as a white German male who experienced the rapid pace of globalism at the dawn of postcolonialism. In this approach, I suspend the theological optimism often ascribed to him and, at times, withhold the teleological knowledge of his legacy. A case in point: Bonhoeffer expressed a commitment to nationalism and racialized theology in his own sermons and teachings. The historian is not so "shocked" by this but, rather, is curious about the intellectual and cultural influences that shaped this attitude, along with the historical ideas and occurrences that confronted it.

As a historian, I confess my own inadequacies in appreciating and interpreting Bonhoeffer's theology, but I am nonetheless intrigued by the complexities of his life and the larger themes it engages. Victoria J. Barnett, historian and lead editor of the *Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works* series, has argued that Bonhoeffer's life is both fragmented and whole.<sup>5</sup> It is fragmented in the sense that his life is preserved on paper with unfilled gaps – gaps he may have filled with ideas had he survived the violence of the Nazi regime. It is also whole in the sense that his legacy is entirely documented. To the historian, all of history is fragmented, strung together by records, documents, artifacts, and subjective interpretations. The fragmentary wholeness of Bonhoeffer's life and legacy is absorbing, but it also contains traces of other themes, histories, and people on the periphery of Bonhoeffer scholarship. His life, as demonstrated below, participates in broader themes of national and transnational identity, race, politics, post-war bereavement, music history, cultural history, history from below, African American history, church history, and intellectual history. His life helps fill partial gaps in other topics of interest to historians. All of these themes emerge from his experiential and ecclesiological engagement with the church abroad as a young scholar. With this research, I attempt to connect several fragments in Bonhoeffer's life using these historical discussions, but I also approach his life to explore history and historical themes beyond the field of Bonhoeffer studies.

This project aims to expand the scholarship of Bonhoeffer's travels abroad. The most frequent scholarly discussions on this topic can be found in biographical works. In 1967, Eberhard Bethge, a German theologian and close friend of Bonhoeffer, published the first edition of his seminal monograph, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer: A Biography: Theologian, Christian, Man for His Times* – the earliest and most detailed account of Bonhoeffer's life.<sup>6</sup> Bethge's work includes a section of Bonhoeffer's travels to Rome, as well as two entire chapters dedicated to the latter's experiences in Barcelona and America. *Strange Glory: A Life of Dietrich Bonhoeffer* (2014) by Religious Studies scholar Charles Marsh investigates

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<sup>5</sup> Victoria J. Barnett, "The Bonhoeffer Legacy as Work-in-Progress: Reflections on a Fragmentary Series," in *Interpreting Bonhoeffer: Historical Perspectives, Emerging Issues*, ed. Clifford J. Green and Guy C. Carter (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2013), 100.

<sup>6</sup> Eberhard Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer: A Biography: Theologian, Christian, Man for His Times*, trans. Eric Mosbacher et al., ed. Victoria J. Barnett, rev. ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000).

Bonhoeffer's travels abroad,<sup>7</sup> as do the early chapters of *Dietrich Bonhoeffer: Called by God* (2003) by Elizabeth Raum,<sup>8</sup> as well as the third chapter of *Theologian of Resistance: The Life and Thought of Dietrich Bonhoeffer* (2016) by Christiane Tietz, a systematic theologian.<sup>9</sup> Ferdinand Schlingensiepen's work, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer, 1906–1945: Martyr, Thinker, Man of Resistance* (2012), also offers biographical insights into Bonhoeffer's experiences in Rome, Barcelona, and New York.<sup>10</sup> Schlingensiepen's Bonhoeffer biography, like nearly all such works, is informed by Bethge's extensive scholarship and states in its introduction: "[M]ost of what we know about Bonhoeffer stems from Bethge's long biography of him."<sup>11</sup> But Schlingensiepen also argues that we now know considerably more than ever before and that there is much more to be explored, given our access to nearly ten thousand pages of Bonhoeffer's own writings.

Several works have attempted to offer more in-depth explorations of Bonhoeffer's traveling experiences. His time in the United States has received recent attention. Reggie Williams, an ethicist at McCormick Theological Seminary, has produced the insightful work *Bonhoeffer's Black Jesus: Harlem Renaissance, Theology, and an Ethic of Resistance* (2014),<sup>12</sup> and Joel Looper has contributed *Bonhoeffer's America: A Land Without Reformation* (2021).<sup>13</sup> These works situate Bonhoeffer in the broader U.S. context, explore his interpretations of American Christianity and theology, and investigate the influence of the Black Church on the young German scholar.

My article further engages Bonhoeffer's developing perception of the church as experienced abroad. Instead of confining Bonhoeffer to one country, I investigate his life in the three aforementioned locations—Rome, Barcelona, and New York. I explore the conflicting identities of German nationalism and Christian transnationalism. I assess how cultures, themes, and ideas from these localities challenged and aggravated his own subjective assumptions about the world, theology, and the church. I argue that the diversity of the church community abroad hybridized Bonhoeffer's identity, that the worship abroad, specifically in the Black spirituals, provided him with a language of resistance, and that the

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<sup>7</sup> Charles Marsh, *Strange Glory: A Life of Dietrich Bonhoeffer* (New York: Vintage Books, 2015; originally published 2014).

<sup>8</sup> Elizabeth Raum, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer: Called by God* (New York: Continuum, 2003).

<sup>9</sup> Christiane Tietz, *Theologian of Resistance: The Life and Thought of Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, trans. Victoria J. Barnett (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2016; originally published in German 2013).

<sup>10</sup> Ferdinand Schlingensiepen, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer, 1906–1945: Martyr, Thinker, Man of Resistance*, trans. Isabel Best (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2012; originally published in German 2005).

<sup>11</sup> Schlingensiepen, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, xvi.

<sup>12</sup> Reggie Williams, *Bonhoeffer's Black Jesus: Harlem Renaissance, Theology, and an Ethic of Resistance* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2014).

<sup>13</sup> Joel Looper, *Bonhoeffer's America: A Land Without Reformation* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2021).

sermons abroad – his own and others – converted his message of national defense to a homily of international suffering.

### *I. The Diversity of Church Community*

When he was growing up, Bonhoeffer and his family rarely attended church.<sup>14</sup> Christianity was associated with the home more than with an ecclesiastical institution. But while Bonhoeffer was raised outside of the church, he eventually grew into it, and it became the central point of his life. His education, theological work, and life vocation revolved around the church. It held his attention at every turn. Tom Greggs writes that "Bonhoeffer's theological life was dominated by the questions of the nature, structure, and meaning of the church."<sup>15</sup> Bonhoeffer studied the subject of the church at university, but his real life – beyond theology – was also directed by it. Bonhoeffer was fascinated with the church. Early in his life, he formed initial concepts about the "ideal" church community, and his perspectives demonstrate a line of devoted continuity. But his thoughts and identity were also interrupted by the reality of the church, especially as he witnessed the diversity of the church community abroad as a young scholar. In the following, I examine the insights Bonhoeffer gained from the church while traveling abroad, as well as the unique networks that introduced him to the ecumenical world,<sup>16</sup> and I consider the conflicts between Bonhoeffer's encultured identity and his transnational church ideal.

In this section, I position Bonhoeffer as a transnational actor influenced and transformed by identity hybridity in search of the church community ideal. According to John Hutnyk, "hybridity is an evocative term for the formation of identity."<sup>17</sup> This lens offers insight into the cultures, ideas, networks, and experiences that shape and contribute to one's identity. It is also a concept of borrowing. Hutnyk further explains that "hybridity evokes all manner of creative engagements in cultural exchange."<sup>18</sup> This concept is useful for engaging Bonhoeffer in the historical theater of internationalism as it elevates the interaction with intercultural difference. But beyond mere exchange, I argue that Bonhoeffer's identity as a white German male experienced increasing hybridization and modification through his experiences abroad. Bonhoeffer certainly understood the church as a diverse community. But his own identity, especially as tied to the

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<sup>14</sup> Robert P. Ericksen, "Dietrich Bonhoeffer in History: Does Our Bonhoeffer Still Offend?" in *Interpreting Bonhoeffer: Historical Perspectives, Emerging Issues*, ed. Clifford J. Green and Guy C. Carter (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2013), 130.

<sup>15</sup> Tom Greggs, "Ecclesiology," in *The Oxford Handbook of Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, ed. Michael Mawson and Philip G. Ziegler (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 225.

<sup>16</sup> Ecumenical refers to intradenominational church networks or coalitions. It is the assembly of diverse church communities gathering together for a unified purpose.

<sup>17</sup> John Hutnyk, "Hybridity," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28, no. 1 (2005): 81.

<sup>18</sup> Hutnyk, "Hybridity," 83.

nation, was often confronted, challenged, and changed as he functioned as a participatory actor within the transnational church community.

In April 1924, Dietrich Bonhoeffer and his brother Klaus traveled to Rome. His trip lasted three months. He admired the city's art, its ancient edifices, and its landscape, but above all, he gravitated toward its churches. Upon his arrival, Bonhoeffer was entranced by the towering dome of St. Peter's Basilica, and he wrote in his journal: "[B]efore entering the city, one sees St. Peter's standing there, a singularly solemn moment."<sup>19</sup> It was a moment he had long awaited; for years, he had anticipated it with "the brightest colors of the imagination."<sup>20</sup> When he finally stepped through the church doors, he observed that it appeared "much more natural in reality," but its grandeur nevertheless captivated him, and he was "immediately overwhelmed."<sup>21</sup> The same is true of his entire impression of Catholicism in Italy. Bethge claims that Bonhoeffer "succumbed to the spell of Catholic Rome."<sup>22</sup> In Rome, he was enamored not merely by the sites of the church but also by their function. He frequented several local churches with a deep curiosity about their meaning, purpose, and importance. After his visit to the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, he wrote: "I will probably come to this church more often to observe the life of the church rather than to look at it from an artistic standpoint."<sup>23</sup> Of all the churches he visited, Bonhoeffer mostly attended services at St. Peter's. He grew to love this church. To him, St. Peter's most clearly "epitomized" the entirety of Rome.<sup>24</sup> When his trip neared its conclusion, he dreaded parting from St. Peter's, and he wrote that "when I saw St. Peter's for the last time my heart began to ache."<sup>25</sup>

Rome introduced Bonhoeffer to the universal church community. This later became the primary preoccupation of his life. According to Paul Duane Matheny, in Rome, Bonhoeffer "discovered the church at the heart of the world," and it sent him "searching for a concept of the church consistent with this experience."<sup>26</sup> Bonhoeffer's travels through the ancient city helped him arrive at his initial views of the church, and he noted in his diary: "I'm beginning to understand the concept of 'church.'"<sup>27</sup> His notion of the church included its universal nature, which he was witnessing firsthand. During a Palm Sunday service at St. Peter's, Bonhoeffer

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<sup>19</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer, "Italian Diary," in *Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works*, vol. 9, *The Young Bonhoeffer: 1918–1927*, ed. Paul Duane Matheny, Clifford J. Green, and Marshall D. Johnson, trans. Mary C. Nebelsick and Douglas W. Stott (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003), 83.

<sup>20</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Italian Diary," in *DBW* 9:83.

<sup>21</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Italian Diary," in *DBW* 9:83.

<sup>22</sup> Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, 57.

<sup>23</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Italian Diary," in *DBW* 9:90.

<sup>24</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Italian Diary," in *DBW* 9:99.

<sup>25</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Italian Diary," in *DBW* 9:108.

<sup>26</sup> Paul Duane Matheny, "Editor's Introduction to the English Edition," in *DBW* 9:7.

<sup>27</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Italian Diary," in *DBW* 9:89.

observed a truly diverse image of the ecclesiastical community. He recorded that the cardinal, seminarians, and monks standing at the altar represented "white, black, yellow members of religious orders – everyone was in clerical robes united under the church." He then added: "It truly seems ideal."<sup>28</sup> This "ideal" of church diversity surfaced throughout his travels as a young scholar, and it often confronted and contradicted the national ideal of his culture.

In addition to his reflections on the universality of the Catholic Church in Rome, he also ruminated in his journal about the relationship between church and state. In his reflections from Rome, he asserted that German Protestantism's ties to the state weakened its efficacy. For the German church to remain relevant and active, he wrote: "[S]he must completely separate herself from the state."<sup>29</sup> His "ideal" of the church community thus questioned any overly close proximity of the church to the state. These two themes emerge in his personal writings as early as 1924, and they are identifiable throughout the rest of his life. But they especially took shape during his years as a young scholar, both at home and abroad. His belief in an ethnically diverse, international church community only grew during his later traveling experiences, and the theme of a multiethnic, transnational people united under the church with autonomy beyond the state would resurface in his writings from both Barcelona and New York. By then, however, it had also been reinforced by the unique context of his university studies.

Between 1924 and 1927, Bonhoeffer studied at Berlin's Humboldt University. The faculty members at this prestigious institution maintained a unique network of international relationships through an ecumenical coalition: the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches. This World Alliance had been launched at the beginning of World War I. On July 31, 1914, seventy-six Protestants from across Europe assembled to promote peace.<sup>30</sup> The meeting convened in Konstanz, a southern German town near the border of Switzerland. On August 2, 1914, the international gathering—which became known as the Conference of Constance—drafted three resolutions that defined the nature of the alliance.<sup>31</sup> The third and final resolution states,

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<sup>28</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Italian Diary," in *DBW* 9:88.

<sup>29</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Italian Diary," in *DBW* 9:105.

<sup>30</sup> James Donahue, "In Search of a Global, Godly Order: The Ecumenical Movement and the Origins of the League of Nations, 1908-1918" (PhD diss., University of Notre Dame, 2015), 1.

<sup>31</sup> According to Daniel Gorman, *The Emergence of International Society in the 1920s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 223, "the Constance delegates found themselves debating international peace as the First World War broke out around them."



steps should be taken to form in every country councils of either a denominational or interdenominational character...to enlist the Churches, in their corporate capacity, in a joint endeavor to achieve the promotion of international friendship and the avoidance of war.<sup>32</sup>

To achieve these "steps," the World Alliance formed an initial committee entrusted with "carrying into effect the resolutions."<sup>33</sup> This committee consisted of seventeen members, representing Britain, France, Germany, and the United States.<sup>34</sup> Three of the four German members were based in Berlin, including Dr. Julius Richter, a professor of missions,<sup>35</sup> and Dr. Friedrich Siegmund-Schultze, a scholar of social pedagogy.<sup>36</sup>

The German affiliation with the World Alliance eventually expanded, and the University of Berlin emerged as the central hub of ecumenical work.<sup>37</sup> By 1920, the German Executive Committee of the World Alliance had expanded to twenty-eight active members, and seventeen of these were based in Berlin,<sup>38</sup> with additional faculty members from the University of Berlin joining Richter and Siegmund-Schultze. Germany's national council report from 1919 notes that

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<sup>32</sup> *Handbook of the World Alliance: Containing Information as to the Constitution and Work of the Alliance Together with Reports of the National Councils*, ed. World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches (London: William Cloves and Sons, Limited, 1920), 1.

<sup>33</sup> *Handbook of the World Alliance*, 18.

<sup>34</sup> According to the *Handbook of the World Alliance*, 4-7, by 1920, the organization included affiliates in the United States, Great Britain, Denmark, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Finland, Belgium, Hungary, Estonia, Latvia, Greece, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Romania, and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State. The alliance was also interdenominational; according to Gorman, *Emergence of International Society*, 230, "the World Alliance was comprised initially of Anglicans, Baptists, Calvinists and members of the Reformed Churches, Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Lutherans, Presbyterians, Quakers, Unitarians, and Wesleyan Methodists."

<sup>35</sup> Richter distanced himself from the overt international commitments of nineteenth-century missionary societies. Prior to World War I, Germany had increasingly participated in networks of international missionary work. Theologians like Gustav Warneck advocated for an international Christian identity that Richter later rejected. Richter and Karl Axenfeld inherited and determined the culture of German missionary work after Warneck. According to Jeremy Best, *Heavenly Fatherland: German Missionary Culture and Globalization in the Age of Empire* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2021), 48, Richter and Axenfeld found "comfort with German national and colonial power," which led them to "accommodate a German national identity within their proscriptions for missionary culture." See Ian Tyrrell, *Reforming the World: The Creation of America's Moral Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 68, for further discussion on the mission networks that inspired subsequent networks of ecumenicalism.

<sup>36</sup> *Handbook of the World Alliance*, 18.

<sup>37</sup> This produced unique drawbacks during the church struggle in the 1930s. As stated by Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, 190, "in Germany it was primarily the academics, not church dignitaries, who became the first advocates of the ecumenical idea...which had unfortunate consequences during the church struggle, because the professors seldom really represented the church and, as state civil servants, were disastrously linked with the Third Reich."

<sup>38</sup> *Handbook of the World Alliance*, 58-59.

Dr. Adolf Deissmann had joined the International Committee.<sup>39</sup> Deissmann was one of the leading figures in the ecumenical movement and was respected internationally. He produced a weekly newsletter, *Evangelische Wochenbriefe* (*Evangelical Weekly Letters*), which had a following of nearly ten thousand leading church figures in eleven countries.<sup>40</sup> Similar to Deissmann, Siegmund-Schultze maintained an ongoing ecumenical journal titled *Die Eiche* (*The Oak*). The World Alliance endorsed *Die Eiche* as the German publication for international church relations.<sup>41</sup> Additional faculty members from Berlin associated with the World Alliance included Dr. Arthur Titius and Dr. Cajus Fabricus, professors of systematic theology.<sup>42</sup> These scholars from Berlin participated in the alliance to varying degrees. Among them, Siegmund-Schultze stood out as the "undisputed champion" of Germany's ecumenical movement, and he was recognized as the most committed German voice in the international network of the World Alliance.<sup>43</sup> This collection of dedicated World Alliance members positioned the intellectuals who were working and studying at the University of Berlin at the center of German ecumenicalism.<sup>44</sup>

While the World Alliance attracted faculty members from the university, it was itself a direct result of the ecumenical efforts of senior scholars who had secured international networks before World War I. Among the latter, Adolf von Harnack, professor of church history, had long contributed to the ecumenical work at the University of Berlin. In 1908, Harnack, along with Deissmann and Richter, had attended ecumenical meetings in London. Their work established the foundation for the eventual German partnership with the World Alliance, and they became "core" protagonists of German ecumenicalism.<sup>45</sup> While Harnack associated with the World Alliance during its initial rise, he eventually distanced himself from it in the wake of the strong nationalist sentiments expressed during the early days of the war.<sup>46</sup> According to James Donahue, Harnack and other early ecumenical leaders certainly advocated that "the gospel bore witness to the transnational

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<sup>39</sup> *Handbook of the World Alliance*, 55.

<sup>40</sup> Donahue, "In Search of a Global, Godly Order," 477, points out that Deissmann "relentlessly defended the German point of view on the causes and the conduct of the war" in his newsletter, demonstrating that ecumenicalism was strongly tied to nationalism.

<sup>41</sup> In 1920, the World Alliance endorsed "Journals in Association with the Alliance" from the British Empire, France, Germany, Holland, Norway, Denmark, Switzerland, and the United States; see *Handbook of the World Alliance*, 10.

<sup>42</sup> Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, 190–191.

<sup>43</sup> Donahue, "In Search of a Global, Godly Order," 469.

<sup>44</sup> Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, 190, writes that "Berlin became a prominent ecumenical center – perhaps the center in Germany – at a relatively early stage. The theological faculty of the University of Berlin took the lead."

<sup>45</sup> Donahue, "In Search of a Global, Godly Order," 102.

<sup>46</sup> Donahue, "In Search of a Global, Godly Order," 164.

Christ who shatters the pretensions of religious ethnocentrism;"<sup>47</sup> yet the nationalism brought on by the war (and to which even Harnack succumbed) was felt strongly in the organization's international meetings. In this context, Harnack, Richter, and Deissmann attempted to blend a national identity with international commitments. Richter and Deissmann reconciled their national commitments to their work in the alliance. Harnack, however, decided to part ways with the World Alliance.<sup>48</sup>

Bonhoeffer was studying at the University of Berlin during the heyday of its transnational church involvement after World War I. Thus, his education was intimately tied to a brand of international Protestantism that also espoused national concerns. He received his theological training under respected faculty members with a long history in the ecumenical movement. Between 1924 and 1926, Bonhoeffer took one course with Titius, two courses with Harnack, and three courses with Deissmann.<sup>49</sup> It is likely that Deissmann, Harnack, and Titius expressed their views and involvement with the transnational church community in their classes. Of these three professors, Bonhoeffer formed an especially close relationship with Harnack. During his 1927 doctoral examinations, he addressed Harnack by stating this: "[W]hat I have learned and understood in your seminar is too closely bound to my entire person for me ever to forget it."<sup>50</sup> In his time in Barcelona, Bonhoeffer wrote to Harnack:

I think back to those hours in your house and to those afternoons in Grunewald with a certain sense of longing and melancholy, and often wish I could sit again for but a single hour in your seminar circle or have a conversation with you of the unforgettable kind that I remember from seminar celebrations, outings, and various other occasions.<sup>51</sup>

Bonhoeffer admired Harnack. It is conceivable that Harnack's ecumenical work, which also propagated a national commitment, influenced the young Bonhoeffer and his conception of the Christian community, framing it as a network of believers existing both within but also beyond national borders.

Bonhoeffer advocated for an international church community, and in doing so, he benefited from his ecumenically minded institution. The University of Berlin employed leading figures in the ecumenical movement, and, as has been shown, Bonhoeffer directly studied under several of these scholars. Bonhoeffer eventually joined the World Alliance as the Youth Secretary, and he later formed a

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<sup>47</sup> Donahue, "In Search of a Global, Godly Order," 61.

<sup>48</sup> Harnack displayed strong nationalism during the war and was associated with the highest ranks of German society. While he was engaged in drafting the Kaiser's declaration of war with Russia and France on August 4, 1914, Britain declared war with Germany. According to William H. C. Frend, "Church Historians of the Early Twentieth Century: Adolf von Harnack (1851-1930)," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 52, no. 1 (2001): 98-99, "he [i.e., Harnack] never forgave Britain for what he regarded as an unprincipled act of aggression."

<sup>49</sup> "Lectures and Seminars in which Bonhoeffer Participated," in *DBW* 9:585-586.

<sup>50</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer, "Graduation Theses," in *DBW* 9:439.

<sup>51</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer to Adolf von Harnack, July 13, 1928, in *DBW* 10:116.

relationship with Siegmund-Schultze, the "champion" of ecumenicalism. But even before Bonhoeffer traveled abroad to Barcelona and New York, and prior to his participation in the ecumenical movement, the legacy of his university and his personal vision for the "ideal" church would become preserved in his university writings. In his doctoral dissertation, he claimed that the church "aims to become universal and has a commission that transcends every nationality."<sup>52</sup> Bonhoeffer's education granted him the insight to recognize the transnational church, and his time abroad allowed him to witness and participate in it. His travels also confronted the seemingly paradoxical – and rather strong – commitments that he and his Berlin professors held to both the nation and the international church.

Bonhoeffer had learned about the international church from his professors, but he was thrown into the international church by his superintendent, Max Diestel. Diestel actively participated in the World Alliance from Berlin, and he was eager to get Bonhoeffer out of Germany to experience the church abroad. Diestel called on Bonhoeffer when he received news that the High Church Council of the Evangelical Church was looking to send an ordination candidate to Barcelona to serve as vicar in a German congregation under its lead pastor, Fritz Olbricht.<sup>53</sup> Diestel presented Bonhoeffer with the offer, and Bonhoeffer accepted it. Bonhoeffer arrived in Barcelona in February 1928, and he worked there in a ministry capacity for a year. The church there was attended by the members of a local expatriate colony of nearly six thousand Germans. Of these, nearly three hundred were affiliated with the Protestant congregation, but attendance on any given Sunday numbered roughly fifty.<sup>54</sup> Bonhoeffer describes the situation in a letter to his grandmother, Julie Bonhoeffer, stating that "the attitude of these people toward the church is just as positive as their attitude toward sports or toward the German National Party, it's just that they are not very active."<sup>55</sup> However, activity soon increased. For example, Bonhoeffer's children's service grew from being nonexistent to nearly forty students in any given week.<sup>56</sup> In addition to his work in the children's ministry, he preached to the main congregation. The congregation liked his sermons, and attendance was higher when he, rather than Pastor Olbricht, was preaching.

Bonhoeffer's sermons in Barcelona reflect his commitment to the universal church. In a sermon delivered on July 29, 1928, Bonhoeffer addressed the nature of church community. The sermon's opening lines hint at Bonhoeffer's travels to

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<sup>52</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works, vol. 1, *Sanctorum Communio: A Theological Study of the Sociology of the Church*, ed. Clifford J. Green, trans. Reinhard Krauss and Nancy Lukens (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998; originally published in German: Berlin, Trowlitzsch & Sohn, 1930), 231.

<sup>53</sup> Schlingensiepen, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, 38.

<sup>54</sup> Clifford J. Green, "Editor's Introduction to the English Edition," in *DBW* 10:4.

<sup>55</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer to Julie Bonhoeffer, February 23, 1928, in *DBW* 10:72.

<sup>56</sup> Fritz Olbricht, "Report by Fritz Olbricht to the German Evangelical Church Committee," in *DBW* 10:164.

Rome and his experience with the Catholic Church, stating that "there is a word that evokes tremendous feelings of love and bliss among Catholics who hear it."<sup>57</sup> The sermon goes on to say that this same word, in the context of Protestantism, is failing to "lend wings to our religious feelings." Bonhoeffer then reveals the word in question in a statement of warning: "Woe to us if this word—the word 'church'—does not soon acquire significance for us again." As Bonhoeffer unfolds the meaning of this word—"church"—he defines it through internationalism. He claims that the people of God are categorically distinct from the peoples of the world. According to Bonhoeffer's conception, the people of God include the peoples of the world, but the people of God exist within a broader community of faith—as he puts it: "not Germany and not France and not America, but a people extending over the entire world... This is the people of God; this is the church of Christ."<sup>58</sup> The church community, according to Bonhoeffer, exists and interacts beyond the imaginary of national boundaries. But even with his enthusiasm and commitment for an international community, Bonhoeffer was still limited by the cultural perspectives of his own "people," who tended to place the peoples of the world into simple national categories.

In his preaching, Bonhoeffer was advocating for an international church community. Yet, he still had strong ties to the German state, and his national sentiments emerged in the lectures that, in addition to his preaching, he delivered to his Barcelona congregation. His lecture on "Basic Questions of a Christian Ethic," for example, discloses his views on nationalism, and these seem to contradict his sermon's advocacy for a transnational church community. While he had suggested, in his sermon, that the church was a people of God made up of the peoples of the world, his lecture asserts that God has created distinct peoples defined by nationality and culture, and Bonhoeffer makes sense of this national qualifier through German theology, claiming that "every people... has within itself a call from God to create its history, to enter into the struggle that is the life of nations."<sup>59</sup> The nation, according to Bonhoeffer, is God's divine construction. Rather than imagined by people, Bonhoeffer argues in Barcelona, the nation is willed by God.<sup>60</sup> He states:

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<sup>57</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer, "Sermon on 1 Corinthians 12:27, Barcelona, Eighth Sunday after Trinity, July 29, 1928," in *DBW* 10:505.

<sup>58</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Sermon on 1 Corinthians 12:27," in *DBW* 10:507.

<sup>59</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer, "Basic Questions of a Christian Ethic," in *DBW* 10:373.

<sup>60</sup> Bonhoeffer operated within a nationally curated set of assumptions about the world. His theology, philosophy, and views on culture all stemmed from his existence as a German. Arguably, his views about God's will for the nation emerged from German literature that actively imagined the meaning, scope, and limits of Germanness. Even his ideas about the church and the state, inspired by Luther, were grounded in a national identity. See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Brooklyn: Verso, 1983), 39, for a discussion of Luther's influence on the imagined community.

God gave me my mother, my people [*Volk*]. For what I have, I thank my people; what I am, I am through my people, and so what I have should also belong to my people; that is in the divine order [*Ordnung*] of things, for God created the peoples.<sup>61</sup>

Bonhoeffer's reference to "the divine order of things" is an explicit nod to a system of German theology known as the "orders of creation." This position asserts that God has established institutions—or orders—such as marriage, family, government, and, by extension, the nation. This theology eventually emerged as the central argument for the German Christian Faith Movement,<sup>62</sup> and it became the bedrock of their racist, antisemitic theology in the 1930s.<sup>63</sup> Bonhoeffer's affirmation of this theology aligned him with German nationalism. Clifford Green writes that, in his Barcelona lecture, Bonhoeffer shockingly affirms a "*völkisch[e] Lebensraum* theology."<sup>64</sup> Reggie Williams explains that Bonhoeffer was, at this time, "in step with German nationalism."<sup>65</sup> In addition to the theme of nationalism in this lecture, Bonhoeffer also defends killing and war for the sake of national defense (a theme explored further below). In any case, while in Barcelona, Bonhoeffer was (still) propagating the ideal of an international church with a qualifier in defense of the nation. In his theology, he asserted the unity of saints abroad; in reality, he was still very much a German.

Bonhoeffer never abandoned his commitment to Germany, but he also continued to promote Christian transnationalism. In 1930, during his study abroad at Union Theological Seminary in New York—which Max Diestel had also secured on his behalf—Bonhoeffer strongly advocated for peace. In a lecture on war, written and delivered in English, Bonhoeffer states that "it must never more happen, that a christian [*sic*] people fights against a christian [*sic*] people, brother against brother, since both have one Father."<sup>66</sup> This suggests that Bonhoeffer was (now) prioritizing his church ideal above the nation and "orders of creation." Christiane Tietz writes that Bonhoeffer's American lectures contain the initial

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<sup>61</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Basic Questions," in *DBW* 10:371.

<sup>62</sup> The German Christian Faith Movement was a far-right nationalist group that supported the Nazi party. According to Doris L. Bergen, *Twisted Cross: The German Christian Faith Movement in the Third Reich* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 2, these Nazi-affiliating Christians "sang hymns to Jesus but also to Hitler. They denounced their rivals as disloyal and un-German; they fought for control of local church facilities. Through sermons, speeches, and songs they propagated anti-Jewish Christianity and boosted Nazi racial policy."

<sup>63</sup> In "Our Struggle" (1933), published in *A Church Undone: Documents from the German Christian Faith Movement, 1932-1940*, ed. Mary M. Solberg (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2015), 237-238, the Lutheran pastor Joachim Hossenfelder, who had joined the Nazi party in 1929, asserted that "people cease to see that the *Volk* is one of God's orders [of creation], and that people of one blood, one language, one history form a unity of life feeling." He also derided those who parted from the national people, stating that "one withdraws all the more easily from the destiny of one's *Volk* if one lives in the delusion that one could live better and more securely as part of another *Volk*."

<sup>64</sup> Green, "Editor's Introduction," in *DBW* 10:11.

<sup>65</sup> Williams, *Bonhoeffer's Black Jesus*, 14.

<sup>66</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer, "Lecture on 'War,'" in *DBW* 10:417.

arguments for his "peace ethic."<sup>67</sup> This ethic was grounded in his view of the church.

Bonhoeffer advocated for peace, but he also defended his own nation, and he viewed himself in light of his national association, attempting to strike a balance between nationalism and Christian faith. In the same lecture on war, he acknowledges: "I stand before you here...not only as a Christian, but as a German."<sup>68</sup> And not merely a German, but a proud and devoted German. A German, according to Bonhoeffer, "who loves his home best of all, who rejoices with his people and who suffers, when he sees his people suffering, who confesses gratefully" – and here emerges a statement similar to his Barcelona lecture – "that he received from his people all that he has and is."<sup>69</sup> He moved beyond an ethic of war to an ethic of peace,<sup>70</sup> but he never abandoned his commitment to Germany. When he arrived in the United States to further experience the transnational church, he still held tightly to his German heritage. His experience in New York, however, revealed and unraveled the more problematic assumptions bound up in German nationalism. His experience in America frustrated his national theology of the "orders of creation." The contradiction between "orders of creation" theology and Christian transnationalism was on full display in America's fractured church.

Bonhoeffer's year-long study abroad in the United States disabused him of the notion that "orders of creation" theology and Christian transnationalism were reconcilable. The inconsistencies of these two positions became evident as a result of Bonhoeffer's interaction with the Black church in America. Bonhoeffer's fellow student, Frank Fisher, introduced him to the Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem. According to Bonhoeffer, his interaction with the Black church was one of his "most important experiences in America."<sup>71</sup> He attended weekly services at Abyssinian, helped Fisher lead a boys' group, and conducted Bible studies. Through this experience, he realized the divisions of race that were prevalent in churches in the United States, and he found this situation rather appalling. According to his interpretation, the white church refused to mingle with Black congregations. In Bonhoeffer's view, the Black church, "the church of the outcasts of America," existed "fairly untouched, indeed, avoided by the white church."<sup>72</sup> Bonhoeffer not only witnessed this inherent racism in New York, he also saw it firsthand in the South. In a 1931 letter to his brother, he wrote that "the way the

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<sup>67</sup> Tietz, *Theologian of Resistance*, 20–21.

<sup>68</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Lecture on 'War,'" in *DBW* 10:411.

<sup>69</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Lecture on 'War,'" in *DBW* 10:411–412.

<sup>70</sup> See Clifford J. Green, "Peace Ethic or 'Pacifism'? An Assessment of *Bonhoeffer the Assassin*," *Modern Theology* 31, no. 1 (2015): 201–208.

<sup>71</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer, "Report on His Year of Study Prepared for the Church Federation Office," in *DBW* 10:315.

<sup>72</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Report on His Year of Study," in *DBW* 10:314.

southerners talk about the Negroes is simply repugnant," adding that "the pastors are no better than the others."<sup>73</sup> In addition to witnessing the segregated church, Bonhoeffer was cognizant of the younger Black generation that refused to participate in the racist system exhibited in American Christianity. This led him to the realization that, if the younger generation of Black Americans were to leave the church in mass, "white America will have to take the blame."<sup>74</sup> Bonhoeffer viewed the church situation from below, and he concluded that it was deeply troubled and uncorrected. The fault, according to his assessment, rested on the shoulders of the white American church.

The explicit racism of the white church toward Black Christians laid bare the inconsistencies between Bonhoeffer's "orders of creation" theology and his advocacy in favor of Christian transnationalism. In America, he witnessed people of the same nation unable to co-mingle in the church due to the structures of racism. Prior to his American experience, Bonhoeffer had apparently existed entirely in a white European context. Even while living in Barcelona, Bonhoeffer had functioned primarily within a community of Germans. America, however, was an entirely new territory for him, both geographically and ethnically. It did not feature a neatly defined national people that existed in unity and harmony. In one single country, Bonhoeffer witnessed disparate peoples, cultures, and classes, and he saw that difference was not celebrated. America was segregated, even its church. Bonhoeffer's ideal of diversity, as witnessed in Rome, failed to play out neatly in America. Churches existed according to class and color. Bonhoeffer even recognized that "the Negro churches are proletarian churches, perhaps the only ones in all America,"<sup>75</sup> and that "the Spanish population apparently gets along much better with the Negroes than do the Americans."<sup>76</sup> It is worth noting that even Bonhoeffer succumbed to racialized definitions that held whites as the American "standard." Nevertheless, Bonhoeffer observed the defects of America's national, white ideal. In the American context, his vision of a people of God working for each other was, in reality, the nightmare of white Christians working against ethnic minorities. The disunion was grounded in both race and nation. A theology celebrating race and nationalism was irreconcilable with Bonhoeffer's vision of a transnational church community. The "orders of creation" theology accompanied Bonhoeffer on his travels abroad, but he left it somewhere along the way, perhaps at the door of Abyssinian. It limited the diversity of his imagined ideal community, which included people from every ethnicity, class, and generation.

Bonhoeffer's experience abroad also widened his perception of the church community to include social outcasts. In his writings, he reflects on an impactful

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<sup>73</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer to Karl-Friedrich Bonhoeffer, January 8, 1931, in *DBW* 10:269.

<sup>74</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Report on His Year of Study," in *DBW* 10:315.

<sup>75</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Report on His Year of Study," in *DBW* 10:315.

<sup>76</sup> Bonhoeffer to Karl-Friedrich Bonhoeffer, January 8, 1931, in *DBW* 10:269.



incident that occurred when he was en route to Barcelona in 1928. Before traveling on to Spain to take up his position as vicar, Bonhoeffer enjoyed several days in Paris. As was his usual custom, he visited a local church. He describes the service as "an extremely festive high mass in Sacré-Coeur."<sup>77</sup> But the mass itself did not nearly impact him as much as did the people attending. In his words, "the people in the church were almost exclusively from Montmartre, prostitutes."<sup>78</sup> He wrote that these people are close to "the heart of the gospel."<sup>79</sup> He then added that there was a need for church work in Berlin's own red-light district, Tauentzienstraße, which, in his opinion, "would be an extremely fruitful field for church work."<sup>80</sup> Bonhoeffer's church vision grew with his international experiences. Rather than a church confined to social categories of representation or ethical notions of moral obligation, he came to view the church as a place for everyone – the priest and the prostitute alike. His vision of the church community also included the sick. In Barcelona, he frequently visited members of the congregation suffering from illness, but he found these visits inspiring. In a letter to his grandmother, he wrote: "I have to visit an extremely sick, old, devout woman. One often learns a great deal from the sick."<sup>81</sup> In a letter to his sister, Sabine, he related that he spent most of his time visiting members of the congregation, both well and sick, and he added that, when visiting the sick, "one often has some very good experiences."<sup>82</sup> These experiences, no doubt, informed Bonhoeffer's perspective on the Nazi efforts to target the sick and elderly in the late 1930s. These examples, combined with those from New York, demonstrate that Bonhoeffer's church ideal was not merely that of a transnational community but also that of an intersocial, interethnic, interability,<sup>83</sup> and intergenerational church.

Bonhoeffer's experience abroad widened the scope of his vision for the church community. The church was not merely a community of dogmas but a community of people. The people he experienced through travel included rich cultures that elevated and revealed Bonhoeffer's limited ideas about the world. These different cultures also challenged his views of the world's people. He realized, through experience, that humanity is not neatly divided into national people with uniform characteristics; humanity is hybridity embodied. And Bonhoeffer's own humanity was confronted and even challenged in the transnational church. He realized that

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<sup>77</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer, "Spanish Diary, January–March 1928," in *DBW* 10:59.

<sup>78</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Spanish Diary," in *DBW* 10:59.

<sup>79</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Spanish Diary," in *DBW* 10:59.

<sup>80</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Spanish Diary," in *DBW* 10:59.

<sup>81</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer to Julie Bonhoeffer, August 17, 1928, in *DBW* 10:133.

<sup>82</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer to Sabine Leibholz, April 22, 1928, in *DBW* 10:89.

<sup>83</sup> See Michael Mawson, "Creatures Before God: Bonhoeffer, Disability, and Theological Anthropology," in *Christ, Church and the World: New Studies in Bonhoeffer's Theology and Ethics*, ed. Michael Mawson and Philip G. Ziegler (New York: T&T Clark, 2016), 129–135, for an exploration of Bonhoeffer and disability theology.

a human church fails to fit the national imagination that even Bonhoeffer had initially subscribed to. His exposure to the idea of ecumenicalism through the networks at the University of Berlin positioned him to think about the church abroad. However, it was not until he left his country that he experienced the complex reality of the church abroad. Nationalism and transnationalism clashed. His German theological training, at times, seemed irrelevant in places like Barcelona, which is explored below in the section on preaching. His theology of "orders of creation" was proven faulty by the American church climate. As he made his way across borders and into new cultures, many of his ideas were jostled. At some points, he appeared noncommittal or even confused. In Barcelona, he advocated for war. Later, in New York, he was ashamed at the thought of it. In some of his earlier sermons, he advocated for the international church, but he also qualified the nation as the central pillar of human identity. He held at once the identity of a Christian but also the identity of a German. But the scales of identity began to tip in the direction of the church, and Bonhoeffer's interaction with the diverse communities of Christians abroad soon hybridized his own identity. He was meeting new people, practicing new languages, experiencing new cultures, and singing new songs – songs that he carried home to Germany.

## *II. Worship as Resistance*

In 1931, Bonhoeffer received a letter from his dissertation advisor, Reinhold Seeberg, affirming his time abroad in New York. Seeberg stated that, "given the generally growing tendency toward internationalism," Bonhoeffer was privileged to practice a resourceful language, "the tongues of angels" – English.<sup>84</sup> Bonhoeffer certainly practiced the English language abroad, and he worked on his Spanish while in Barcelona. But beyond these formal languages, Bonhoeffer also learned a language of another kind. He learned and rehearsed a language of cultural resistance from below, specifically through the Negro spirituals sung as worship in the Black churches of America. In the following, I examine Bonhoeffer's interaction with the Negro spirituals, the historical context of this music in the 1930s, Bonhoeffer's reception of James Weldon Johnson's edition of the spirituals, the continuities of resistance in the spirituals, and Bonhoeffer's respective theology of worship.

The Negro spirituals arguably functioned as cultural resistance from below. This claim is situated in the broader scholarly discussion of historical anthropology. Robert Darnton's work exploring peasant folktales is especially resourceful for interpreting the spirituals. Darnton argues that anthropology lends insights into how "ordinary people manipulate symbols."<sup>85</sup> As a historian, Darnton locates this symbolic manipulation in folktales. He states that "tales told

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<sup>84</sup> Reinhold Seeberg to Dietrich Bonhoeffer, April 7, 1931, in *DBW* 10:291.

<sup>85</sup> Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre: And Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Basic Books, 1984), xviii.

peasants how the world was put together, and they provided a strategy for coping with it."<sup>86</sup> Historical anthropology positions culture not merely as art but also as a symbolic language for understanding the world. I argue that the spirituals had a similar function. But they offered more than a strategy for coping. They expressed and continue to express a language of resistance. This claim to resistance is also apparent through the lens of anthropology. James C. Scott, in his work *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, argues that the oppressor and the oppressed utilize public and private "transcripts" for communication and expression. The former is a public dialogue between the power and the powerless, or power limited; the latter is the private language, expressed apart from public view. But Scott also argues for a third transcript utilized by suppressed groups. He identifies this third transcript as a "politics of disguise," or the "coded version of the hidden transcript" expressed in the public square.<sup>87</sup> I argue that the Negro spirituals are rooted in this third transcript,<sup>88</sup> and I explore Bonhoeffer's possible appropriation of this transcript. But before I turn to New York and the Negro spirituals, it is worth noting Bonhoeffer's other worship experiences abroad.

Worship is a central pillar in Bonhoeffer's theology. In his work *Life Together*, which he wrote after the forced closure of the Finkenwalde seminary, Bonhoeffer dedicated several passages to the importance of worship within church community.<sup>89</sup> His view of worship, no doubt, emerged from studying church history, literature, and theology, but he also benefited from witnessing, participating in, and examining the worship gatherings of churches in Rome, Barcelona, and New York. Worship is explicitly mentioned on several occasions during his trip to Rome, although he describes these instances more as a passive observer than an active participant. For example, he visited the Trinità dei Monti (the church above Rome's famous Spanish Steps) one afternoon and witnessed what he subsequently described as a "solemn procession" of nearly forty women

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<sup>86</sup> Darnton, *Great Cat Massacre*, 53.

<sup>87</sup> James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 19.

<sup>88</sup> The Black spirituals retain the same code of resistance that was expressed by African songs against the violence of slavery during the slave trade. This code of resistance through music was utilized by enslaved persons on slave ships. According to Marcus Rediker, *The Slave Ship: A Human History* (New York: Penguin Group, 2007), 282–283, captive Africans utilized songs as an "essential means of communication among people who were not meant to communicate;" songs camouflaged a language of shared knowledge of information about "conditions, treatment, resistance, and events, about where the ship was going;" and African songs on the slave ship provided the means of forming "a common base of knowledge" and a "collective identity." This context of violence shaped the further development of African American religious music. According to Flora Wilson Bridges, *Resurrection Song: African-American Spirituality* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2001), 75, "as with every aspect of early black culture, what the people were singing religiously reflected what was happening to them sociologically."

<sup>89</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works, vol. 5, *Life Together and Prayerbook of the Bible*, ed. Geoffrey B. Kelly, trans. Daniel W. Bloesch and James H. Burtness (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996).

dedicating their lives to serving the church by becoming nuns.<sup>90</sup> He wrote: "[T]he ritual was truly no longer merely ritual. Instead, it was worship in the true sense."<sup>91</sup> Bonhoeffer also attended high mass at St. Peter's, but there he recorded a somewhat disappointing experience: "I can't say that this particular worship service made a strong impression on me."<sup>92</sup> Despite the relatively brief insights concerning worship in Rome, some scholars suggest that this trip manifested to Bonhoeffer the importance of worship. Tietz, for example, asserts that Bonhoeffer first realized in Rome that "the visible church and communal worship are essential to Christian life."<sup>93</sup> While this may be true, Bonhoeffer appears to have been more of an observer than an actual worshipper during his stay in Rome.

Bonhoeffer's reflections on worship in Rome are few, and there is even less insight on the topic from his pastorate in Barcelona: a Christmas letter to his parents mentions the topic of worship in reference to the success of a Christmas pageant. Bonhoeffer had arranged the play in partnership with the children attending the church. He had begun the preparations for the Christmas production in August.<sup>94</sup> By October, he was receiving an influx of children attendants in the children's ministry who readily joined the efforts of the Christmas play.<sup>95</sup> His Christmas letter details that the play "went wonderfully and elicited joy all around"<sup>96</sup> Bonhoeffer noted that the lead roles had "beautiful singing voices."<sup>97</sup> But he viewed the entire production as a worshipful expression, writing that "after the final song everyone was quiet in the church for a while," and he concluded his reflections by stating that "the whole undertaking really did acquire the character of a service of worship."<sup>98</sup> The Barcelona congregation congratulated Bonhoeffer on his efforts, but his superior later voiced displeasure. In a diary entry, Bonhoeffer recorded that "the success of the nativity play annoyed [Fritz Olbricht] such that we had a clash."<sup>99</sup> In his report to the church council, Olbricht later praised Bonhoeffer's efforts.<sup>100</sup> Regardless of the play's outcome, Bonhoeffer viewed the

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<sup>90</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Italian Diary," in *DBW* 9:88.

<sup>91</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Italian Diary," in *DBW* 9:89.

<sup>92</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Italian Diary," in *DBW* 9:93.

<sup>93</sup> Tietz, *Theologian of Resistance*, 9.

<sup>94</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer to his parents, August 14, 1928, in *DBW* 10:131.

<sup>95</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer to his parents, October 11, 1928, in *DBW* 10:144.

<sup>96</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer to his parents, December 25, 1928, in *DBW* 10:161.

<sup>97</sup> Bonhoeffer to his parents, December 25, 1928, in *DBW* 10:161.

<sup>98</sup> Bonhoeffer to his parents, December 25, 1928, in *DBW* 10:161-162.

<sup>99</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer, "Diary Entry concerning Fritz Olbricht," in *DBW* 10:175.

<sup>100</sup> Olbricht, "Report," in *DBW* 10:172, states that Bonhoeffer, "in a truly exemplary fashion...produced a nativity play in the church with the children on the Sunday before Christmas, a project whose endless rehearsals and practice demanded a great deal of hard work." And he adds that the "play was performed to great satisfaction."

entire project – the rehearsals, the music, and the final performance – as an act of worship.

New York provided a worship setting that was rather different from Rome and Barcelona, and it made a lasting impression on the young German. During his stay in the United States, Bonhoeffer regularly attended the city's Abyssinian Baptist Church. In his year-end report to the Church Federation Office, Bonhoeffer described his weekly participation in "one of the large Baptist churches in Harlem."<sup>101</sup> Scholars who highlight Bonhoeffer's relationship with Abyssinian often cite his receptiveness to its worship music. Steve Bezner asserts that Abyssinian "exposed" Bonhoeffer to the unique African American culture of Black spirituals.<sup>102</sup> Elizabeth Raum writes that Bonhoeffer "discovered" the "vibrant, meaningful worship" in Harlem.<sup>103</sup> Clifford Green suggests that the worship at Abyssinian, along with the preaching, impacted Bonhoeffer more than any other experience in New York.<sup>104</sup> Reinhart Staats claims that Bonhoeffer was "deeply moved" by the worship in Harlem.<sup>105</sup> Reggie Williams, the most versed authority on the subject, proposes that Bonhoeffer "loved," admired, and displayed "great fondness" for Harlem's Black spirituals.<sup>106</sup> His love for the music apparently led him to acquire a personal collection of Black worship songs. Bethge documents that Bonhoeffer purchased gramophone recordings of the music.<sup>107</sup> Charles Marsh relates a lively version of Bonhoeffer's music purchasing exploits, stating that he and Fisher "scoured Harlem's record shops for recordings of Negro spirituals."<sup>108</sup>

Scholars recognize Bonhoeffer's interest in this specific culture and rich history of Black spirituals, but Bonhoeffer's reflections on this music are minimal. In fact, he explicitly mentioned this music during his stay in New York on just a few occasions, and he failed to offer any extensive reflections at the time. In his report to the Church Federation Office, he wrote that "anyone who has heard and understood the Negro spirituals knows about the strange mixture of reserved melancholy and eruptive joy in the soul of the Negro."<sup>109</sup> In a letter to his brother, he stated that "I still believe that the spiritual songs of the southern Negroes represent some of the greatest artistic achievements in America."<sup>110</sup> In another letter to his brother, Karl-Friedrich, and to his sister-in-law, Margarethe, he wrote

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<sup>101</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Report on His Year of Study," in *DBW* 10:314.

<sup>102</sup> Steve M. Bezner, "Understanding the World Better than It Understands Itself: The Theological Hermeneutics of Dietrich Bonhoeffer" (PhD diss., Baylor University, 2008), 91.

<sup>103</sup> Raum, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, 46.

<sup>104</sup> Green, "Editor's Introduction," in *DBW* 10:30.

<sup>105</sup> Reinhart Staats, "Editor's Afterword to the German Edition," in *DBW* 10:616.

<sup>106</sup> Williams, *Bonhoeffer's Black Jesus*, 28, 89, 118.

<sup>107</sup> Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, 150.

<sup>108</sup> Marsh, *Strange Glory*, 118.

<sup>109</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Report on His Year of Study," in *DBW* 10:315.

<sup>110</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer to Karl-Friedrich Bonhoeffer, January 2 and 8, 1931, in *DBW* 10:269.

that "I do believe that the Negroes will still give the whites here considerably more than merely their folksongs."<sup>111</sup> Despite these minimal reflections on the spirituals, the music did influence Bonhoeffer's thinking, it traveled with him back to Germany, and he later shared it with his seminary students at Finkenwalde.<sup>112</sup>

While Bonhoeffer offered few remarks on the spirituals, he experienced this cultural and religious music amidst a complex and contested narrative over its authenticity, origins, and ownership. When he eventually arrived home with his own samples of this culture, his collection went beyond mere exoticism. He traveled home with a decided opinion on the nature and background of the spirituals, and there are traces of its influence in his own views on worship.

In addition to his gramophone collection, Bonhoeffer carried home a copy of James Weldon Johnson's recently published *Book of American Negro Spirituals*. Fisher gifted the book to Bonhoeffer on New Year's Day in 1931, and it still survives in Bonhoeffer's library.<sup>113</sup> In addition to this work, Bonhoeffer also received Johnson's *God's Trombones*<sup>114</sup> as a parting gift from several friends.<sup>115</sup> By the conclusion of his New York fellowship, Bonhoeffer was well acquainted with Johnson's work. In fact, he read Johnson's *Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man* while studying at Union, and he wrote a short analysis of works by Johnson, Booker T. Washington, and W. E. B. Du Bois. Johnson was a towering figure in the context of the Harlem Renaissance. He stood out as a successful Black literary figure and advocated for Black cultural production. In 1920, he began serving as the secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP),<sup>116</sup> an organization that Bonhoeffer closely followed during his time in the United States.<sup>117</sup>

In 1925, Johnson and his brother, John Rosamond Johnson, edited *The Book of American Negro Spirituals*, a collection of sixty-one songs published by Viking Press, and in the following year, they assembled a second volume that included the first book as well as a second book with sixty-one added songs.<sup>118</sup> The public offered a mixed response to these works. A 1925 article from *The Chicago Defender*, for example, states that the United States' thirtieth President, Calvin Coolidge, congratulated Johnson in a personal letter for his editorial efforts, writing that "it

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<sup>111</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer to Karl-Friedrich and Margarethe Bonhoeffer, April 12, 1931, in *DBW* 10:293.

<sup>112</sup> Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, 150.

<sup>113</sup> Green, "Editor's Introduction," in *DBW* 10:30.

<sup>114</sup> James Weldon Johnson, *God's Trombones: Seven Negro Sermons in Verse* (New York: Penguin Books, 2008; originally published 1927).

<sup>115</sup> Green, "Editor's Introduction," in *DBW* 10:30n141.

<sup>116</sup> Robert E. Fleming, *James Weldon Johnson* (Woodbridge: Twayne Publishers, 1986), xiii.

<sup>117</sup> Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, 150.

<sup>118</sup> James Weldon Johnson and J[ohn] Rosamond Johnson, *The Books of American Negro Spirituals: Including The Book of American Negro Spirituals and the Second Book of Negro Spirituals* (New York: Viking Press Publishers, 1940; two vols. originally published separately in 1925 and 1926).

seems to me you have performed a real service in putting these melodies in permanent form."<sup>119</sup> Yet, while some praised these works, others questioned them. A *New York Times* author commended the collection but then added: "I think the editor makes rather exaggerated claims."<sup>120</sup> The songs themselves were not a matter of controversy. Rather, some took issue with Johnson's lengthy introduction contextualizing the spirituals.

In the introduction to *The Book of American Negro Spirituals*, Johnson asserts that the spirituals resulted from enslaved persons responding to the horrifying realities of American slavery. This claim was contested or even ignored after the publication of his edited work on the spirituals. A 1925 article from *The New York Amsterdam News* praised Johnson's work but also romanticized the spirituals by muting their ties to slavery. According to the reviewer, through reading these songs,

[o]ne is transported back to half remembered things: a countryside at twilight, a little Negro church back in the pines, and floating over the stillness a haunting chant which goes on unceasingly until far into the night.<sup>121</sup>

These "half remembered things" idealized a history of half-forgotten things—namely, the entire slave trade and slave life. The author went on to write that "poetry like this...touches the stars" and added that "to the white ear it has an irresistible charm."<sup>122</sup> Some writers ventured even further and claimed that the spirituals actually resulted from white influence, thus disconnecting them not only from slavery but also from African American culture. In 1929, the *Philadelphia Tribune* published an article titled "Are Negro Spirituals Really Negro," in which the author, the African American journalist Orrin C. Evans, discussed the racialized debates about the origins of the spirituals. According to Evans, some "critics" were arguing that the spirituals were actually "mulatto" and that Africans had introduced new melodies but, according to these "critics," "lacked what white musicians call form."<sup>123</sup> Thus, to such "critics," Black art had seemingly been rescued by white musical structures and tastes.

White choirs were already appropriating the Black spirituals. In 1927, for example, Shaw University (a historically Black institution in Raleigh, North Carolina) partnered with singers from A & T College (a historically Black

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<sup>119</sup> "New Book on Spirituals Wins Praise: President Coolidge Commends Author," *The Chicago Defender*, October 24, 1925, ProQuest.

<sup>120</sup> Dorothy Scarborough, "From Cotton Field and Levee to the Streets of Harlem: Negro Work Songs Spirituals and New Negro Ways," *New York Times*, December 20, 1925, ProQuest.

<sup>121</sup> "New Book of Negro Spirituals," *The New York Amsterdam News*, October 14, 1925, ProQuest.

<sup>122</sup> "New Book of Negro Spirituals," *The New York Amsterdam News*, October 14, 1925.

<sup>123</sup> Orrin C. Evans, "Are Negro Spirituals Really Negro? Critics Divided as to Whether Negroes Actually Made Contribution: Mencken, Mercury Editor, Insists That Negro Spirituals Only Genuine American Contribution to Music," *Philadelphia Tribune*, January 24, 1929, ProQuest.

institution in Greensboro, North Carolina) and formed a Black choir to share the spirituals on local airwaves. According to an article from the *Raleigh Evening Times*, subsequently reproduced in the *New Journal and Guide*, "it happened that on the same night the Shaw singers had competition on the air from white choruses singing identical numbers."<sup>124</sup> The spirituals were not just a "niche" artistic expression or worship. They had gained the attention of many white listeners, and some were claiming this genre and Black culture as their own.

In addition to such musical appropriation, the spirituals also interested a growing European audience. A 1924 article from the *Philadelphia Tribune* shared that the Prince of Wales, the future Edward VIII, while visiting the United States, showed a devoted interest in "American popular music as played by colored musicians."<sup>125</sup> The article describes that, of all the many and elaborate items taken home by the prince, "his most prized collection was a group of racial songs."<sup>126</sup> The exporting of the spirituals continued throughout the 1920s. On May 2, 1929, the Westminster Choir from Dayton, Ohio, broadcast live performances of Black spirituals in Vienna.<sup>127</sup> The European market for the spirituals expanded, and as Bonhoeffer was traveling west across the Atlantic to the United States in 1930, the Hampton Choir, a group of forty Black singers, was traveling east in the same year to complete a performance circuit that included London, Antwerp, Brussels, Amsterdam, Paris, Cologne, Hamburg, Berlin, Vienna, and Switzerland.<sup>128</sup> The *New York Times* recorded that the Berlin performance was well received, with "calls for a dozen encores."<sup>129</sup> The extent and reception of the Hampton Choir's 1930 tour exemplifies the influx of Black spirituals into Europe. But while the voices were celebrated, Europe experienced the music detached from its history.

Unlike the audiences who passively enjoyed the spirituals in Europe, Bonhoeffer intimately encountered the culture that produced and preserved the Black spirituals. His collection of music was thus not merely an exotic tokenism of fascinating art. For one, he took home with him the words of Johnson that placed the spirituals into their proper context. Johnson's introduction includes a poem, written by the author and titled "O Black and Unknown Bards." The second stanza asserts some of the most popular spirituals as the creation of the enslaved:

Heart of what slave poured out such melody  
As "Steal away to Jesus"? On its strains

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<sup>124</sup> "Spirit of the Press: Negro Spirituals True Expression Race Music," *New Journal and Guide*, February 12, 1927, ProQuest.

<sup>125</sup> "Prince of Wales Charmed With Negro Spirituals, Gives Gift to Musicians," *Philadelphia Tribune*, February 2, 1924, ProQuest.

<sup>126</sup> "Prince of Wales Charmed With Negro Spirituals," *Philadelphia Tribune*, February 2, 1924.

<sup>127</sup> "Negro Spirituals on Air in Vienna," *New York Times*, May 3, 1929, ProQuest.

<sup>128</sup> "Hampton Choir Sails for Europe: 40 Negro Singers Will Give First Concert in London—Many Requests for Spirituals," *New York Times*, March 19, 1930, ProQuest.

<sup>129</sup> "Hampton Choir Stirs Berlin With Voices: Negro Singers Deeply Impress Notable Audience by Rich Tones and Beauty of Spirituals," *New York Times*, May 21, 1930, ProQuest.



His spirit must have floated free,  
 Though still about his hands he felt his chains.  
 Who heard great "Jordan roll"? Whose starward eye  
 Saw chariot "swing low"? And who was he  
 That breathed that comforting, melodic sigh,  
 "Nobody knows de trouble I see"?<sup>130</sup>

Johnson established the spirituals as creations beyond entertaining folk music. He recorded them as worshipful expressions of a suffering, yet hopeful solidarity. As for the alleged "mulatto" origins of the spirituals, Johnson emphasized that "the Spirituals are purely and solely the creation of the American Negro."<sup>131</sup> This was the literary context that Bonhoeffer carried home with him in his own personal library. But it was not his only frame of reference for this religious music. Bonhoeffer witnessed this worship culture, to some extent, from its own position of suffering and inequality in America.

Bonhoeffer reflected upon the inequality of Blacks in American society during his stay in the United States. In his report reflecting on his year-long study at Union, he shared that "I spent a great deal of time getting to know the Negro problem from every angle and also observing white America from this rather hidden perspective."<sup>132</sup> Abyssinian afforded Bonhoeffer much of this insight. While attending this church, he closely interacted with a group of young men, which he deemed one of his "most important" ongoing experiences in America.<sup>133</sup> He lamented in a letter to his grandmother that these Black "intelligent" young men were barred completely from interacting with "intelligent whites."<sup>134</sup> The segregation of people was also a segregation of knowledge.

Bonhoeffer witnessed this racial inequality at every level of American society. In a letter to his parents, after visiting the nation's capital with his friend Fisher and becoming acquainted with its intellectual and political Black community, he wrote that "the conditions are really rather unbelievable."<sup>135</sup> As for the explicit racism displayed in public, he observed "not just separate railway cars, tramways, and buses south of Washington, but also, for example, when I wanted to eat in a small restaurant with a Negro, I was refused service."<sup>136</sup> In a letter to his brother, Karl-Friedrich, he shared further insights on the separation of Blacks and whites in public transportation, writing that it "extends to even the tiniest details"<sup>137</sup> and

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<sup>130</sup> Johnson and Johnson, *Books*, 11 ("Preface"). The copyright page is preceded by an "Alphabetical List of the Spirituals" which includes a statement that "the two Books of American Negro Spirituals have been reproduced exactly in their original form."

<sup>131</sup> Johnson and Johnson, *Books*, 17 ("Preface").

<sup>132</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Report on His Year of Study," in *DBW* 10:314.

<sup>133</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer, "Report on His Second Semester," in *DBW* 10:321.

<sup>134</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer to Julie Bonhoeffer, April 12, 1931, in *DBW* 10:295.

<sup>135</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer to his parents, December 1, 1930, in *DBW* 10:258.

<sup>136</sup> Bonhoeffer to his parents, December 1, 1930, in *DBW* 10:258.

<sup>137</sup> Bonhoeffer to Karl-Friedrich Bonhoeffer, January 2 and 8, 1931, in *DBW* 10:269.

commenting with some disdain that it "pleased me when the whites had to crowd into their railway cars while often only a single person was sitting in the entire railway car for Negroes."<sup>138</sup> In the same letter, after asserting that "the spirituals of the southern Negroes represent some of the greatest artistic achievements in America," he noted: "[I]t is a bit unnerving that in a country with so inordinately many slogans about brotherhood, peace, and so on, such things still continue uncorrected."<sup>139</sup> His respective language intensified in his second-semester report, when he modified his claim concerning racism from being "a bit unnerving" to "deeply distressing,"<sup>140</sup> stating that "here one gets to see something of the real face of America, something that is hidden behind the veil of words in the American constitution saying that 'all men are created free and equal.'"<sup>141</sup> Thus, when Bonhoeffer returned to Germany with Johnson's edited volume of the Negro spirituals, he also carried with him the unfiltered experience of the Black community.

Bonhoeffer celebrated the Black spirituals in the United States, and he shared them with friends and students back home. According to Bethge, Bonhoeffer introduced his collections of spirituals to other Germans on at least two occasions. In 1931, Bonhoeffer formed a close circle of students in Germany, and Bethge explained that, in 1932, "they talked theology, made hesitant attempts at spiritual exercises, went for long walks, and listened to Bonhoeffer's collection of Negro spirituals."<sup>142</sup> Bethge recalled that Bonhoeffer also shared these spirituals with his students at Finkenwalde, where he had initially met Bonhoeffer as an attending student. According to Bethge, Bonhoeffer used the spirituals "to introduce his students to this world that was practically unknown at the time."<sup>143</sup> Wolf-Dieter Zimmermann, too, remembered his encounter with Bonhoeffer's collection of spirituals, stating that Bonhoeffer used the spirituals to illustrate the piety and theology of the Black church, but also to discuss the prevailing prejudice against Black Americans. While presenting the spirituals, Zimmermann recalls, Bonhoeffer also shared stories about Frank Fisher and how they were unable to enter hotels or restaurants due to segregation. Bonhoeffer's deep appreciation of the spirituals continued in Germany. According to Zimmermann, Bonhoeffer "played the spirituals, translated them, explained them, [and] interpreted

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<sup>138</sup> Bonhoeffer to Karl-Friedrich Bonhoeffer, January 2 and 8, 1931, in *DBW* 10:269.

<sup>139</sup> Bonhoeffer to Karl-Friedrich Bonhoeffer, January 2 and 8, 1931, in *DBW* 10:269.

<sup>140</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Report on His Second Semester," in *DBW* 10:321.

<sup>141</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Report on His Second Semester," in *DBW* 10:321.

<sup>142</sup> Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, 208.

<sup>143</sup> Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, 150.

them."<sup>144</sup> The spirituals inextricably linked Bonhoeffer to his friend Fisher,<sup>145</sup> and they brought to mind the blatant and "repugnant" racism displayed in America. In his memories, writings, and records, Bonhoeffer had the context for the spirituals' significance at his disposal, and he introduced this context in Germany.

Similar to his retrospectives on his stay in America, Bonhoeffer's reflections on the spirituals in Germany were sparse. His books left them out, and they failed to appear in his lectures. With the exception of a single paragraph included in an essay from 1939, Bonhoeffer remained relatively mute on the topic. However, there are indications that the spirituals continued to influence his thinking on the subject of worship. Bonhoeffer never appropriated the spirituals, but he may have incorporated their influence into his own ideas about worship. Through them, he may have learned a language of resistance that is integral to African American culture, namely, political resistance through worship. In fact, Bonhoeffer's views on worship in some of his most celebrated works, such as *Life Together* and *Prayerbook of the Bible*, display a certain thread of continuity with the songs from Johnson's *Book of American Negro Spirituals*. These themes include the centrality of the Scripture in worship, worship as a song of pilgrimage, songs of suffering, and the depiction of Jesus as the suffering savior, which was central to Bonhoeffer's own theology.

In *Life Together*, Bonhoeffer asserts that worship is central to the Christian community and that it unifies believers: "[I]t is God who has prepared one great song of praise throughout eternity, and those who enter God's community join in this song."<sup>146</sup> Bonhoeffer claimed that this song of worship is displayed in Scripture and that those who participate in it become "soberly, gratefully, devoutly focused on God's revealed Word."<sup>147</sup> Thus, Scripture is central to Bonhoeffer's conception of worship. But it is not an abstract conception of the word that merits attention. Rather, to Bonhoeffer, the stories of God's faithfulness displayed in Scripture are the grounds for true worship. Bonhoeffer's examples of God's faithfulness feature one that relates particularly strongly to a common theme of the spirituals: Israel's biblical Exodus from Egypt. In Bonhoeffer's view, the eternal song of believers includes "the victory song of the children of Israel after passing through the Red Sea."<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> Wolf-Dieter Zimmermann, "Years in Berlin," in *I Knew Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, ed. Wolf-Dieter Zimmermann and Ronald Gregor Smith, trans. Käthe Gregor Smith (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 64.

<sup>145</sup> Zimmermann, "Years in Berlin," 64–65, records that, after he had played the spirituals and told stories about racism in America, Bonhoeffer concluded the evening by stating, "when I took leave of my black friend, he said to me: 'Make our sufferings known in Germany, tell them what is happening to us, and show them what we are like.' I wanted to fulfil this obligation tonight."

<sup>146</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer, "The Day Together," in *DBW* 5:65.

<sup>147</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Day Together," in *DBW* 5:66.

<sup>148</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Day Together," in *DBW* 5:65.

The Black spirituals are filled with biblical references to stories of deliverance, and the Exodus account is arguably the most referenced story of all. This theme is prevalent in Johnson's book of spirituals. "Go Down Moses" is the very first song in Johnson's edited book, which also includes songs like "Didn't Old Pharaoh Get Los'?" and "Ride On, Moses." Themes of pilgrimage, oppression, and liberation are expressed in these songs. "Go Down Moses" includes these lyrics:

Go down, Moses, 'Way down in Egypt land  
Tell ole Pharaoh, To let my people go  
When Israel was in Egypt's land: Let my people go  
Oppressed so hard they could not stand  
Let my people go.<sup>149</sup>

"Go Down Moses" is a short song in Johnson's work, but the song "Didn't Old Pharaoh Get Los'?" consists of eleven verses narrating the Exodus.<sup>150</sup> Other songs articulate additional stories from the Old Testament. The song "Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel?" describes the story of Daniel and the lion's den, Jonah and the great fish, and the Jews who were thrown into a furnace after their refusal to bow to a statue of Nebuchadnezzar.<sup>151</sup> According to the biblical accounts, all of them were miraculously delivered. The spiritual concludes that, if God can deliver them, "why not every man?"<sup>152</sup> In his introduction, Johnson had explained that the Old Testament stories of the Jews "fired the imaginations" of the creators of the spirituals;<sup>153</sup> in Johnson's words, "they sang their hungry listeners into a firm faith that...as God delivered Israel out of bondage in Egypt, so would He deliver them."<sup>154</sup> The victory over Egypt was central to the spirituals because it provided hope in the midst of oppression in the context of American slavery. And Bonhoeffer used this scriptural reference when writing about the eternal song of worship.

There are additional thematic parallels between the spirituals and Bonhoeffer's theology of worship. The spirituals frequently conceptualize the Christian as a traveler or pilgrim journeying toward a heavenly home. The song "Weary Traveler" in Johnson's book includes these lyrics:

Let us cheer the weary traveler  
Cheer the weary traveler  
Let us cheer the weary traveler  
Along the heavenly way.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> "Go Down Moses," in Johnson and Johnson, *Books*, 52–53.

<sup>150</sup> "Didn't Old Pharaoh Get Los'?" in Johnson and Johnson, *Books*, 60–61.

<sup>151</sup> "Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel?" in Johnson and Johnson, *Books*, 148–151.

<sup>152</sup> "Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel?" in Johnson and Johnson, *Books*, 149.

<sup>153</sup> Johnson and Johnson, *Books*, 20 ("Preface").

<sup>154</sup> Johnson and Johnson, *Books*, 21 ("Preface").

<sup>155</sup> "Weary Traveler," in Johnson and Johnson, *Books*, 184–187.

This concept of traveler also surfaces in Bonhoeffer's reflections on worship.<sup>156</sup> He wrote that "our new song is an earthly song, a song of pilgrims and sojourners on whom the Word of God has dawned to light their way."<sup>157</sup> According to the spirituals and Bonhoeffer, worship is meant to encourage Christians as they walk through the perils, suffering, and hardships of this life, and it helps them maintain their focus along the "heavenly way."

In addition to concepts of pilgrimage and biblical narratives expressed in worship, both the spirituals and Bonhoeffer address the reality of suffering. In his *Prayerbook of the Bible: An Introduction to the Psalms*, Bonhoeffer explored the importance of the Psalms in daily living, and he argued that they provide the foundation for Christian prayer. But he also situated them as worship, writing that "the Psalms, as they have been handed down to us today, were for the most part set to music for use in worship."<sup>158</sup> He acknowledged that Psalms were meant for singing, and he further explained that they offer language for suffering. These Psalms of suffering, according to Bonhoeffer, "do not deceive themselves with pious words."<sup>159</sup> He wrote that these Psalms of suffering, these examples of Christian prayer and worship, "no longer see beyond the suffering."<sup>160</sup> They allow the Christian to cry out in complaint toward God. Suffering is at the heart of worship, according to Bonhoeffer. From this position of lament, he argued, Jesus is the only hope, "for in Christ is God with us."<sup>161</sup> The Black spirituals, meanwhile, offered a more succinct summary:

Nobody knows de trouble I see, Lord  
 Nobody knows de trouble I see  
 Nobody knows de trouble I see, Lord  
 Nobody knows like Jesus.<sup>162</sup>

Similar to the Psalms, the spirituals allow for active lament. The worshipers singing the spirituals identify with the suffering Israelites; they grieve over the terror of Pharaoh, and they actively cry out for God's deliverance. In addition to shared lament, the spirituals and Bonhoeffer found reassurance in Christ's knowledge of and participation in human suffering. As Bonhoeffer wrote, "Jesus died on the cross with words from the Psalms on his lips."<sup>163</sup> The Psalms provide a shared lament with Christ and human suffering, according to Bonhoeffer. The songs of the Black church further affirmed this shared Christological suffering. In

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<sup>156</sup> The concept of Christian pilgrimage appears in Bonhoeffer's thought prior to his encounter with the Black spirituals. See Bonhoeffer, "Sermon on 1 Corinthians 12:27," in *DBW* 10:506.

<sup>157</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Day Together," in *DBW* 5:66.

<sup>158</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer, "Introduction to the Psalms," in *DBW* 5:160.

<sup>159</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Introduction to the Psalms," in *DBW* 5:169.

<sup>160</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Introduction to the Psalms," in *DBW* 5:169.

<sup>161</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Introduction to the Psalms," in *DBW* 5:170.

<sup>162</sup> "Nobody Knows de Trouble I See," in Johnson and Johnson, *Books*, 140-141.

<sup>163</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Introduction to the Psalms," in *DBW* 5:162.

the words of the Black spirituals, "nobody knows de trouble I see...nobody knows like Jesus."<sup>164</sup>

The Negro Spirituals and Bonhoeffer's theology of worship share several common themes, but they also present the possibility of a common purpose—resistance. The spirituals represent a legacy of resistance music formulated against oppression. In his 1845 autobiography, the African American social reformer and abolitionist Frederick Douglass had recalled that through songs—even songs consisting of lyrics that appeared void of meaning—enslaved persons "breathed the prayer and complaint of souls boiling over with the bitterest anguish."<sup>165</sup> He added that "every tone," regardless of the words, "was a testimony against slavery."<sup>166</sup> Douglass argued that the music of enslaved persons was a music of resistance. The same was true of the spirituals. By lyrically rehearsing the Exodus of the Israelites, Black Christians actively protested systems of racial oppression. The worship, veiled as art, allowed for an expression of double meaning, or a "politics of disguise."<sup>167</sup> In the spirituals, piety and politics met.<sup>168</sup> Songs like "Go Down Moses" also translated to the U.S. context. They afforded the possibility to sing the biblical stories of an oppressed people while also protesting to God and country a felt personal suffering. Israel had been delivered from a violent political system. The creators of the Negro spirituals—by way of vicarious worship storytelling—utilized music to openly resist violent politics through rhythmic piety.

Bonhoeffer seemingly employed a similar method of resistance worship in his own context. Admittedly, Bonhoeffer personally knew nothing of slavery. He operated in the upper echelons of German society, and he lived a privileged life. But he also witnessed the systemic persecution and genocide of the Jews in Germany, a genocide that the church ignored or, worse still, aided. Certain factions of German Christians strongly supported antisemitic Nazi racism by the time Bonhoeffer published the above-mentioned works commenting on worship. *Life Together* and *Prayerbook of the Bible* appeared in 1939 and 1940, respectively. In the

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<sup>164</sup> "Nobody Knows de Trouble I See," in Johnson and Johnson, *Books*, 140.

<sup>165</sup> Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave* (Boston: The Anti-Slavery Office, 1845), 20.

<sup>166</sup> Douglass, *Narrative*, 20.

<sup>167</sup> Scott, *Domination*, 19.

<sup>168</sup> James H. Cone, past professor at Union Theological Seminary and founder of Black Liberation Theology, in his memoir, *Said I Wasn't Gonna Tell Nobody: The Making of a Black Theologian* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2018), 97, offers his own reflection on the spiritual "Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen," a version of "Nobody Knows de Trouble I See," which includes an exclamatory phrase, "Glory Hallelujah!" Cone writes that, "as I heard it, the 'trouble' is white folks, and the 'Hallelujah' is a faith expression that white folks don't have the last word about life's ultimate meaning." See also James H. Cone, *The Spirituals and the Blues: An Interpretation* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1980). In addition to the spirituals, James H. Cone, *The Cross and the Lynching Tree* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2011), 41–42, comments on Bonhoeffer's unique engagement with the Black church, spirituals, and literature.

early 1930s, Nazi-supporting Christians already advocated for the complete separation of Judaism from a national German Christian religion. On November 13, 1933, Dr. Reinhold Krause, a Nazi member, delivered a speech to 20,000 listeners at the Sports Palace in Berlin, calling for a "liberation from everything in the worship service and our confession of faith that is not German."<sup>169</sup> He further demanded a "liberation from the Old Testament, with its Jewish reward-and-punishment morality, with its stories of cattle-dealers and pimps."<sup>170</sup> The German Christians attempted to pull Christianity apart from its Jewish heritage, and this included all signs of Jewish references and influence in church music and hymns.<sup>171</sup>

Beyond the walls of the church, the Nazi state aggressively legislated antisemitism throughout the 1930s. In September 1935, at the conclusion of the week-long rally in Nuremberg, Hitler announced the "Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honor" and the "Reich Citizenship Law."<sup>172</sup> In general, they aimed to define and determine the identity and rights of people and populations living within German borders. In specific, they provided a matrix for defining the nature and limits of Jewishness. The "Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honor" barred German Jews from marrying German "Aryans." The "Reich Citizenship Law" attempted to measure, via family lineage, the percentage of one's biological Jewish makeup. According to Richard Evans, "the laws opened the way for further, massive discrimination against anyone who counted as a Jew."<sup>173</sup> These laws were the definitive step toward the "final solution." According to Doris Bergen, "once Jews were defined, it would be much easier to isolate, rob, deport, and eventually kill them."<sup>174</sup> With these legal definitions in place, the state issued further decrees to bind Jews to written parameters of identity within the German nation. By 1938, the Reich Ministries of Interior and Justice required German Jews to obtain and permanently carry an identification card.<sup>175</sup> The definitions written into law in 1935 were applied to bodies by 1938. It was at that time that the state escalated the violence against the Jews. In November 1938, over one thousand synagogues and seven thousand Jewish-owned shops were destroyed in an upsurge of antisemitic violence during the Night of Broken Glass.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> Reinhold Krause, "Speech at the Sports Palace in Berlin," in *Church Undone*, ed. Solberg, 257.

<sup>170</sup> Krause, "Speech," in *Church Undone*, ed. Solberg, 258.

<sup>171</sup> Bergen, *Twisted Cross*, 164–171.

<sup>172</sup> Doris L. Bergen, *The Holocaust: A Concise History* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009), 71–72.

<sup>173</sup> Richard Evans, *The Third Reich in Power* (New York: Penguin Books, 2005), 546–547.

<sup>174</sup> Bergen, *Holocaust*, 72.

<sup>175</sup> Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Teaneck: Holmes & Meier, 1985), 54.

<sup>176</sup> Evans, *Third Reich in Power*, 584–585.

It was in this political and church climate that Bonhoeffer produced two works commenting on worship and incorporating themes from the Old Testament. Bonhoeffer wrote about the "victory song of the children of Israel," and he situated the Psalms, a Jewish text, as the foundation for Christian prayer and worship.<sup>177</sup> It is possible that Bonhoeffer took cues from the spirituals and produced his own "coded hidden transcript," a language that used piety to resist politics. In the introduction to the English translation of the *Prayerbook of the Bible*, Geoffrey B. Kelly acknowledges that Bonhoeffer's affirmation of Judaism "constituted an explosive declaration both politically and theologically."<sup>178</sup> His solidarity with the Jewish heritage immediately refuted the culture of Nazism. Kelly further suggests that when Bonhoeffer addressed suffering Christians, he was "likewise describing the crucifixion of the Jews of Europe to whom he was viscerally bound during the church struggle."<sup>179</sup> Bonhoeffer pursued a theology of worship that included codes of resistance. His own lamenting dissent reveals patterns of similarity to the spirituals he had encountered in New York. It is possible that Bonhoeffer even agreed with Johnson's words – words that he carried home to Germany:

Not that great German master in his dream  
Of harmonies that thundered amongst the stars  
At the creation, ever heard a theme  
Nobler than "Go down, Moses." Mark its bars,  
How like a mighty trumpet call they stir  
The blood. Such are the notes that men have sung  
Going to valorous deeds; such tones there were  
That helped make history when time was young.<sup>180</sup>

In 1939, Bonhoeffer produced an essay reflecting once again on the spirituals. He stated that "the strongest contribution of the Negroes for American Christendom lies in their spiritual songs ('Negro spirituals')," and he went on to cite the themes and songs that he found so moving, songs published in Johnson's book of spirituals:

[T]hey sing with moving expression about the distress and liberation of the people of Israel ("Go down, Moses..."), the misery and distress of the human heart ("Nobody knows the trouble I have seen...") and love for the Redeemer and yearning for the kingdom of heaven ("Swing low, sweet chariot...").<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>177</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Day Together," in *DBW* 5:65.

<sup>178</sup> Geoffrey B. Kelly, "Editor's Introduction to the English Edition," in *DBW* 5:143.

<sup>179</sup> Kelly, "Editors Introduction," in *DBW* 5:152.

<sup>180</sup> Johnson and Johnson, *Books*, 11–12 ("Preface"). "German master" likely refers to Friedrich Schiller's *Ode to Joy* (1785), set to music in Ludwig van Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony* (1824).

<sup>181</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer, "Essay about Protestantism in the United States of America, August 1939," in *Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works*, vol. 15, *Theological Education Underground: 1937–1940*, ed. Victoria J. Barnett, trans. Claudia D. Bergmann, Peter Frick, and Scott A. Moore (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 457–458.



Bonhoeffer loved the spirituals. But he also understood their context and history. He knew about American slavery, American prejudice, and American segregation. He was also well informed that whites cherished the spirituals but oppressed and rejected the Black bodies that sang the spirituals. He wrote that "every white American knows, loves, and sings these songs."<sup>182</sup> He reflected on the irony that, while Black choirs performed these beloved songs "in the overcrowded concert halls of white people and receive[d] resounding applause," they still found "no acceptance in the communities of the whites because of social discrimination."<sup>183</sup> The Negro spirituals represented the worship anthem of American culture when Bonhoeffer arrived, and that anthem was spreading through Europe. But he also witnessed the oppressed and segregated culture that had produced and preserved these celebrated melodies. He knew that white Americans loved the spirituals but opposed Blacks. It was the result of a historical reality. He wrote in his paper that, when slave masters introduced Christianity to slaves, they reasoned that "nothing whatsoever had to change in the outward conditions of the slaves who were baptized."<sup>184</sup> White Christians celebrated the spirituality of Black humanity but ignored their physical reality. Bonhoeffer recognized the contradiction. This same contradiction emerged in Germany when Christians attempted to keep the beloved songs of Jewish heritage—the Psalms—alive while erasing Jews from Europe. They despised the people but cherished their music. But both forms of music included an encoded message of political dissent, and while oppressive audiences on both continents loudly sang the songs of David and the songs of the spirituals, they actively parroted an encoded language of protest against themselves.<sup>185</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Essay about Protestantism," in *DWV* 15:458.

<sup>183</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Essay about Protestantism," in *DWV* 15:458.

<sup>184</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Essay about Protestantism," in *DWV* 15:457.

<sup>185</sup> Bonhoeffer likely used encoded language prior to these works exploring worship. For example, Bonhoeffer provided three Bible studies on King David to his seminary students in 1935 that were published in the same year. See Dietrich Bonhoeffer, "Bible Study: King David, Finkenwalde, October 8–11, 1935," in *DBW* 14:870–893. In this study, Bonhoeffer states that "Christ is the son and descendant of David according to the flesh" (871); that "the people of Israel will remain God's people for eternity" (885); that "the church of God will be dishonored from the inside" (888); and that David's final sin before his death was numbering Israel, to which Bonhoeffer responds, "God's people, however, are not to be counted...God's punishment follows" (892). Bonhoeffer delivered the initial studies one month after the announcement of the Nuremberg Laws and one month before their amended guidelines for determining (i.e., counting) Jewishness. During this time, Bonhoeffer's brother-in-law, Hans von Dohnanyi, worked directly under Germany's Minister of Justice, Franz Gürtner. Gürtner signed the Nuremberg Laws into effect and knew about the impending amendments that would define Jewishness. Furthermore, Dohnanyi likely informed Bonhoeffer about the developments of these laws. According to Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, 488, "Dohnanyi had informed Bonhoeffer about the various stages in the preparation of these rigid laws and about the strategies to modify them or find suitable compromises that would allow a more flexible interpretation." Additionally, published materials were closely regulated, making it nearly impossible to publish explicit material critiquing the church, let alone the state;

### III. The Transnational Pulpit

In this final section, I explore Bonhoeffer's interaction with the preached sermon. Throughout his travels, Bonhoeffer witnessed preaching in different nations and participated in international homiletics. But preaching extends beyond the interpretation of Scripture and the instruction of Christian living. I argue that Bonhoeffer witnessed and participated in the sharing of a national narrative from the pulpit, but I also assert that Bonhoeffer realized the difference between the nation and the sermon while teaching from and sitting beneath the transnational pulpit. In his work *Nationalism in Europe & America*, Lloyd Kramer explores the relationship between the "national story" and the "religious story" and how the two often conflate into a single narrative of ultimate reality.<sup>186</sup> The unfolding of the national narrative is explained in tandem with the heavenly narrative, and the divine cosmic story is interpreted through the national story. In the following, I consider Bonhoeffer's engagement with transnational preaching, the national stories he expressed through preaching, the cultural experiences and literature that influenced his conception of the German national story, and how the pulpit abroad converted him from a national story of defense to an international message of human suffering.

In Barcelona, Bonhoeffer preached regularly. When he was tasked with overseeing the congregation for three months, he preached every other Sunday.<sup>187</sup> His messages from this time survive in over a dozen written sermons.<sup>188</sup> Seven of these sermons engage passages from the New Testament. He also taught a sermon from the Song of Solomon, and he delivered an additional message focusing on the book of Psalms. His Barcelona letters demonstrate his devotion and serious attitude toward sermon preparation. He explained in a letter to his parents that he worked on his sermons every day of the week.<sup>189</sup> He approached his sermon preparation soberly and reflected on it actively. In a letter to his friend, Helmut Roßler, he described his attitude toward preparing a sermon on Matthew 5:8 ("Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God"): "I have never approached a sermon with such trepidation. But I am looking forward to Sunday."<sup>190</sup> His reverence for the selected passage is on full display in the actual sermon from August 12, 1928:

So I bring you this text today in our sermon, knowing full well that the best thing we can do with regard to it is simply to be silent. To behold and be silent, to allow ourselves to be seized

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see Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, 373. It is conceivable that Bonhoeffer's study on King David was also an analysis of Germany and a political message cloaked in piety.

<sup>186</sup> Lloyd Kramer, *Nationalism in Europe & America: Politics, Cultures, and Identities since 1775* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 93.

<sup>187</sup> Green, "Editor's Introduction," in *DBW* 10:6.

<sup>188</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer, "Sermons, Catechetical Lessons, and Addresses," in *DBW* 10:479–589.

<sup>189</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer to his parents, November 27, 1928, in *DBW* 10:152.

<sup>190</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer to Helmut Roßler, August 7, 1928, in *DBW* 10:128.

and conquered by this text, to lose our life to this text, to allow it to bear us upward to eternal heights and expanses.<sup>191</sup>

He dedicated many hours to preparing his sermons, and the congregation reportedly appreciated his delivery and style.

Bonhoeffer enjoyed many preaching opportunities in Barcelona, but he was seemingly unimpressed with the sermons he heard, especially from his superior, Fritz Olbricht. Bonhoeffer initially displayed curious anticipation for Olbricht's preaching. In a letter addressed to his family, he wrote, "I can't imagine yet how he will preach but am anxious to see."<sup>192</sup> Yet, Olbricht failed to impress him on every front. Bonhoeffer found his preaching—along with his personality and mannerisms—entirely distasteful. In a letter to Walter Dreß, he remarked that Olbricht "is not exactly a dynamic pulpit presence."<sup>193</sup> In a journal entry solely dedicated to his reflections on Olbricht, Bonhoeffer described the man with even further criticism, stating that Olbricht "obviously missed his calling."<sup>194</sup> In his opinion, the pastor was better suited for the outdoors or the military in place of ministry and preaching. Bonhoeffer disapproved of his sermons and pastoral leadership. "His sermons," Bonhoeffer noted, "are uninspired and scandalously boring, his pastoral care nonexistent, his instruction hopelessly uncomprehending."<sup>195</sup> Granted, Olbricht was Bonhoeffer's superior, but Bonhoeffer failed to find in him any traits worth emulating. Despite these strong dislikes, the two men maintained a civil relationship. Olbricht praised Bonhoeffer's preaching in his report to the German Evangelical Church Committee, citing that his sermons contained "profound and rich ideas" delivered in a way "remarkable for his young age," which "gave the impression of a pastor with many years of experience."<sup>196</sup> On paper, Olbricht praised Bonhoeffer for his preaching. Bonhoeffer, however, perceived in Olbricht a jealous attitude. He asserted that this jealousy resulted from the higher attendance during his sermons compared to the smaller audiences during Olbricht's messages.<sup>197</sup> Their relationship stunted Bonhoeffer's reflection on the preaching in Barcelona, but it did not mute his introspections on the content, relevance, and style of his own sermons in the church abroad.

The German congregation in Barcelona presented unique challenges that confronted Bonhoeffer's own assumptions, both culturally and theologically. His

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<sup>191</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer, "Sermon on Matthew 5:8, Barcelona, Tenth Sunday after Trinity, August 12, 1928," in *DBW* 10:511.

<sup>192</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer to his parents, grandmother, brothers and sisters, February 16, 1928, in *DBW* 10:68.

<sup>193</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer to Walter Dreß, March 13, 1928, in *DBW* 10:77.

<sup>194</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Diary Entry," in *DBW* 10:174.

<sup>195</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Diary Entry," in *DBW* 10:174.

<sup>196</sup> Olbricht, "Report," in *DBW* 10:172.

<sup>197</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Diary Entry," in *DBW* 10:174.

views on theology and homiletics were nationally defined. In an international context, however, this stance began to drift toward irrelevance, even in a German colony. Bethge wrote that Bonhoeffer "hardly noticed the excessive demands that his highly specialized theological knowledge made on the businesspeople sitting below his pulpit."<sup>198</sup> In fact, Bonhoeffer *did* realize these demands, and he admitted that his "specialized [German] theological knowledge" failed to translate to the German culture existing in Spain. In a letter to Walter Dreß, Bonhoeffer described how this realization dawned on him while preaching to the Barcelona congregation, stating, "my previous understanding of dogmatics is being severely questioned by all these new impressions."<sup>199</sup> He conceded that the politics and church culture of Spain "forced" him to entirely reimagine theology "from the ground up."<sup>200</sup> In the context of Spain, Bonhoeffer even questioned the relevance of the Swiss Reformed theologian Karl Barth, a prominent influence in the German-speaking world and a highly respected authority by Bonhoeffer's standards. He wrote that "I now do have serious questions whether Barth could have written in Spain – whether he had any understanding at all for circumstances outside Germany."<sup>201</sup> Bonhoeffer's assumptions of celebrated German theology weakened before a congregation of Protestant business families. They had no conception of Bonhoeffer's training. Although they technically spoke the same language, Bonhoeffer was communicating in an academic vernacular that was nearly meaningless to his listeners. He realized that the theology undergirding his sermons was unnecessarily sophisticated. He also recognized his own set of cultural assumptions and experiences that informed the project of German theology in the twentieth century and which had, at least in part, been shaped by the war.

The aftermath of World War I impacted Bonhoeffer both personally and theologically, but it seemingly meant little to the Germans living in Barcelona. This initially surprised Bonhoeffer. He reflected in a letter to his dissertation advisor, Reinhold Seeberg, that "it is interesting to observe how the war and especially the period of revolution simply passed most of these people by."<sup>202</sup> He also commented on this topic in his journal. Describing the youth in Barcelona, he wrote, "they have experienced nothing, or very little, of war, revolution, and the painful aftermath of this period."<sup>203</sup> His letter to Walter Dreß, the same letter that indicated his shifting theological perspectives, described Spain as "a country that has known neither war nor revolution."<sup>204</sup> What seemingly meant little to

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<sup>198</sup> Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, 111.

<sup>199</sup> Bonhoeffer to Walter Dreß, March 13, 1928, in *DBW* 10:76.

<sup>200</sup> Bonhoeffer to Walter Dreß, March 13, 1928, in *DBW* 10:76.

<sup>201</sup> Bonhoeffer to Walter Dreß, March 13, 1928, in *DBW* 10:76.

<sup>202</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer to Reinhold Seeberg, July 20, 1928, in *DBW* 10:120.

<sup>203</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Spanish Diary," in *DBW* 10:62.

<sup>204</sup> Bonhoeffer to Walter Dreß, March 13, 1928, in *DBW* 10:76.

Germans living in Spain was paramount for Bonhoeffer, and he attempted—through preaching—to turn his congregation’s attention to national concerns felt on the home front.

Guilt was a prominent theme in Bonhoeffer’s Barcelona sermons. His Easter Sunday service homily repeatedly turned to the topic of Christ’s sacrifice and the removal of human guilt.<sup>205</sup> He also addressed those who felt “burdened by guilt” in a sermon on July 15, 1928.<sup>206</sup> Guilt and the church community was also a prevalent theme. Two weeks later, he stated in his sermon that “the most profound and serious feature in the life of the Christian church-community is that we are able to take away one another’s guilt.”<sup>207</sup> His sermon on September 9, 1928, opened with the theme of guilt.<sup>208</sup> This theological attention to guilt was likely tied to the political reality of the “war guilt” clause in the Treaty of Versailles (1919). In 1930, while studying abroad in New York, Bonhoeffer explicitly mentioned the “war guilt” clause in a sermon, stating that “no German and no stranger, who knows well the history of the origine [*sic*] of the war, believes, that Germany bears the sole guilt of the war.”<sup>209</sup> The “war guilt” clause effectively stifled the German economy and destabilized the Weimar Republic.<sup>210</sup> Bonhoeffer, in his New York sermon, submitted that “the debts of the war press us...in regard to our whole behaviour [*sic*], we see the hopelessness of our work.”<sup>211</sup> In his New York lecture on war, Bonhoeffer asserted that the Treaty had “proved historically” to be an “injustice to our country.”<sup>212</sup> In a personal tone, he added, “my grandchildren still will have to pay reparations and war debts.”<sup>213</sup> Germany’s national debt bore cultural relevance for the notion of spiritual debt in Bonhoeffer’s theology. In Germany, this theology of guilt and debt had immediate relevance.<sup>214</sup> In Barcelona, however, where the effects of the war had little impact, his theology of

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<sup>205</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer, “Sermon on 1 Corinthians 15:17, Barcelona, Easter Sunday, April 8, 1928,” in *DBW* 10:487.

<sup>206</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer, “Sermon on Psalm 62:2, Barcelona, Sixth Sunday after Trinity, July 15, 1928,” in *DBW* 10:502.

<sup>207</sup> Bonhoeffer, “Sermon on 1 Corinthians 12:27,” in *DBW* 10:509.

<sup>208</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer, “Sermon on 2 Corinthians 12:9, Barcelona, Fourteenth Sunday after Trinity, September 9, 1928,” in *DBW* 10:521.

<sup>209</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer, “Sermon on 1 John 4:16, New York, Armistice Day Sunday, November 9, 1930,” in *DBW* 10:582.

<sup>210</sup> Martin Kitchen, *A History of Modern Germany: 1800 to the Present*, 2nd ed. (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 198–201.

<sup>211</sup> Bonhoeffer, “Sermon on 1 John 4:16,” in *DBW* 10:583.

<sup>212</sup> Bonhoeffer, “Lecture on ‘War,’” in *DBW* 10:415.

<sup>213</sup> Bonhoeffer, “Lecture on ‘War,’” in *DBW* 10:416.

<sup>214</sup> Bonhoeffer’s national concern for guilt also emerged alongside his theological study of guilt in accordance with the theology of Martin Luther. According to Keith W. Clements, *A Patriotism for Today: Dialogue with Dietrich Bonhoeffer* (Bristol: Bristol Baptist College, 1984), 97, Bonhoeffer was a “Lutheran of Lutherans.”

guilt and debt failed to communicate the same relevance it had in the German context.

In addition to his teachings on guilt, Bonhoeffer explicitly instructed the Barcelona youth about war. In his letters home, he seemingly expressed disappointment in the lack of war knowledge and interest among the city's German youth. His children's sermon on Remembrance Sunday, which was likely delivered in Barcelona, featured a story that closely resembled that of the loss of his own brother, Walter, during the war. It was the story of a young man, recently turned seventeen, who "had left his mother and his little brother, to whom he had always been nothing but a great joy."<sup>215</sup> Bonhoeffer related the young man's death on a snow-covered battlefield, and he then narrated that the news eventually reached the mother. In the story, upon receiving the letter, the mother "began to cry loudly and to lament, asking God repeatedly, 'Why have you done this?'"<sup>216</sup> The story mirrored Bonhoeffer's personal experience with the war. As a young boy, he had lost both a brother and friends: his brother Walter had been wounded, drafted a letter to his family, and died shortly thereafter. When his mother received word about the death of his brother, she spiraled into depression.<sup>217</sup> Bonhoeffer shared his own respective memories in New York:

I tell you from my personal experience, two brothers of mine stood on the front. The older one 18 years old was wounded, the younger one 17 years old was killed. 3 first cousins of mine were also killed, boys of 18 to 20 years old. Although I was then a small boy, I never can forget those most gloomy days of the war. Death stood before the door of almost every house and called for entrance. Once came the message about the death of many thousands of seventeen and eighteen-year-old boys killed in a few hours. Germany was made a house of mourning.<sup>218</sup>

Thus, the story in Bonhoeffer's Barcelona sermon was more fact than fiction. It had described, in detail, the death of a seventeen-year-old soldier, the very age of his brother when he passed. Bonhoeffer took the liberty to include this lengthy story in a children's sermon. He leveraged his sermon to not merely express bereavement, but also to invite Barcelona's German youth into a shared national experience that he felt they had missed altogether.

In addition to national guilt and bereavement, Bonhoeffer utilized the Barcelona pulpit to propagate a Christian ethic of war. In addition to sermons, he delivered several lectures from the pulpit to his congregation. In his lecture on "Basic Questions of a Christian Ethic," he introduced the topic of national defense and war, asserting that "distressing situation[s]" disrupt neatly defined principles of ethics, including "universal brotherhood," and that Christians have the right to

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<sup>215</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer, "Homily for the Children's Service, Barcelona (?), Remembrance Sunday, November 25, 1928 (?)," in *DBW* 10:539.

<sup>216</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Homily for the Children's Service," in *DBW* 10:540.

<sup>217</sup> Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, 27.

<sup>218</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Lecture on 'War,'" in *DBW* 10:412.

act out violently in self-defense for their *Volk*.<sup>219</sup> Bonhoeffer's justification of violence rested on the theological assumption that God had divinely willed the *Volk* and that one's own people was inherently more valuable than another national people.

According to Bonhoeffer's lecture, the ultimate good in a concrete situation was to defend one's neighbor against an intruding stranger. In this logic, the motivation for neighborly protection justified war. But war did not necessitate hatred, Bonhoeffer argued. He went on to write that "Christians who go to war will not hate their enemy, since they cannot hate in any case," and he further claimed that "they will still pray for their enemies and for their souls when they deliver their bodies to death."<sup>220</sup> It is worth noting the similarities between Bonhoeffer's war ethic and the slave masters' bondage ethic—similarities that Bonhoeffer would come to realize by 1939. In 1928, however, Bonhoeffer was still assuming a body-soul duality that justified violence against the body while claiming benevolent interaction with the soul. A Christian could kill the body but deliver the soul. The theology of the slave master and the theology of Bonhoeffer's war ethic mirrored each other.

Christians who participated in war, according to Bonhoeffer, were also justified by war. Their love for their people, expressed in violence, sanctified acts of murder: "I will defend my brother, my mother, my people, and yet I know that I can do so only by spilling blood; but love for my people," Bonhoeffer writes, "will sanctify murder, will sanctify war."<sup>221</sup> Bonhoeffer's argument for a Christian ethic of war was grounded in a theology of national identity. His war ethic hinged on the claim that "I will have to do to those enemies what my love and gratitude toward my own people commands me to do, the people into whom God bore me."<sup>222</sup> He argued that Christian love was formed in the spirit of the people. This *Volk* love "commanded" Christians to defend biological neighbors over and against biological strangers. It was not a love of freedom. It was a love of national determinism.

These are the most inconsistent claims in Bonhoeffer's corpus of literature, and scholars readily point out their odd appearance in Bonhoeffer's thoughts. Clifford Green asserts that those familiar with Bonhoeffer's theology, writings, and general legacy are "rightly shocked and embarrassed" by this display of national theology and ethics of violence.<sup>223</sup> Reinhart Staats derides Bonhoeffer's *Volk* war ethic as a "dreadful thesis."<sup>224</sup> Charles Marsh, however, attempts to explain Bonhoeffer's statements by placing them into the broader context of just-war theory, which is

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<sup>219</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Basic Questions," in *DBW* 10:371.

<sup>220</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Basic Questions," in *DBW* 10:371.

<sup>221</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Basic Questions," in *DBW* 10:372.

<sup>222</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Basic Questions," in *DBW* 10:372.

<sup>223</sup> Green, "Editor's Introduction," in *DBW* 10:11.

<sup>224</sup> Staats, "Editor's Afterword," in *DBW* 10:618.

rooted in the teachings of St. Augustine of Hippo.<sup>225</sup> Yet, this explanation simplifies the distinction between Augustinian just-war theology and the theology of *Volk*, often termed "orders of creation," which Bonhoeffer explicitly endorsed in his lecture.

In Bonhoeffer's historical and cultural context, his claims of war and nation from the pulpit are not surprising, nor are they easily dismissible. Bonhoeffer lived in a society that viewed the world through national peoples. In his letter to Walter Dreß, lamenting the ignorance of war and revolution among youth in Barcelona, he noted that his dogmatics made little sense in a country devoid of "Spengler."<sup>226</sup> Oswald Spengler's work *The Decline of the West*, with its first volume published in 1918, was widely read in Germany. It asserted that cultures emerge and exist as distinct living organisms. Spengler argued that a culture is birthed when "a great soul awakens out of the protospirituality," which then "blooms on the soil of an exactly-definable landscape."<sup>227</sup> According to Ben Lewis, Spengler borrowed "Goethe's study of the development of organic forms – *die Gestaltenlehre* – to the realm of human history."<sup>228</sup> According to this view, cultures maintain biological significance and determinism. Spengler also rejected the rigid historical practice of periodization, which usually divided history into classical antiquity, the medieval era, and modernity.<sup>229</sup>

There are hints of Spengler's influence in Bonhoeffer's own writings and reflections about nations when traveling abroad. For example, it is observable during Bonhoeffer's 1924 visit to Rome. Reflecting on the culture of Rome expressed in St. Peter's, Bonhoeffer wrote: "[I]t is the Rome of antiquity, the Rome of the Middle Ages, and equally the Rome of the present."<sup>230</sup> He was not merely making a statement about St. Peter's. He was interpreting it through Spengler. His lecture defending a national war ethic also revealed Spengler's ideas, with Bonhoeffer claiming that "every people...has within itself a call from God to create its history, to enter into the struggle that is the life of nations."<sup>231</sup> In 1918, Spengler had postulated that "every Culture...possesses a specific and peculiar sort of history...felt and lived."<sup>232</sup> Spengler viewed cultures through life cycles comparable to seasons with a budding spring, a maturing summer, a dwindling autumn, and a dying winter. Spengler even provided a detailed chart, ordering

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<sup>225</sup> Marsh, *Strange Glory*, 86.

<sup>226</sup> Bonhoeffer to Walter Dreß, March 13, 1928, in *DBW* 10:76.

<sup>227</sup> Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West*, vol. 1, *Form and Actuality*, trans. Charles Francis Atkinson (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926; originally published in German: Vienna: Verlag Braumüller, 1918), 106.

<sup>228</sup> Ben Lewis, *Oswald Spengler and the Politics of Decline* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2022), 44.

<sup>229</sup> Lewis, *Oswald Spengler*, 42.

<sup>230</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Italian Diary," in *DBW* 9:99–100.

<sup>231</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Basic Questions," in *DBW* 10:373.

<sup>232</sup> Spengler, *Decline*, 131.



history and cultures into seasonal categories of "morphology."<sup>233</sup> Bonhoeffer's reference to "the life of nations" is possibly a reference to Spengler's view of a culture's life cycle. Bonhoeffer described his own theology from Barcelona according to Spengler's chart of "morphology." In his letter to Walter Drefß, he wrote: "I already had in Germany a theology of spring, summer, autumn, and winter."<sup>234</sup> The letter reveals that Drefß and Bonhoeffer shared knowledge of Spengler's work, and Bonhoeffer was adopting Spengler's ideas to categorize his own theology. Spengler had viewed the nation as a metaphysical, pre-determined, organic life-soul tied to a specific location and expressed through a defined people. Bonhoeffer's war ethic appears to have emerged from this interpretative framework.

In addition to such literary influences, Bonhoeffer's war ethic was closely tied to his own family experience. The Bonhoeffer family had participated in World War I in defense of the German nation, and Bonhoeffer had lost his older brother and several cousins during the war. War was not merely an abstract issue of morality or ethics. The young Bonhoeffer had personally witnessed the death of a generation. As a boy and later as a budding theologian, he carried those experiences with him. He likely wrestled with his own interpretation of his brother's death and the war. And there was no simple answer. If war was wrong, then his family and his nation had been at fault for sending Walter to the front lines. If war was justified, then his brother's sacrifice—in defense of those he loved—was honorable. It is impossible to know Bonhoeffer's thought process on this. He had been raised during a time of international conflict, which had increased notions of national identity everywhere. Considering Bonhoeffer's own family and cultural influences in this historical and intellectual context, it is actually somewhat of a surprise that he eventually abandoned or modified these views.

Bonhoeffer came to reject the very war ethic he had promoted in Barcelona. Nearly ten years later, while leading the underground Finkenwalde seminary, Bonhoeffer provided preaching instructions for pastors on Memorial Day (Volkstrauertag). Instead of justifying war efforts, he now claimed that "war is a sin against God's gospel of peace."<sup>235</sup> Also absent now was his *Volk* theology. At Finkenwalde, Bonhoeffer stated that, "in every war and cry for war, we see that we are aliens."<sup>236</sup> Consequently, he asserted a peace ethic against war. He encouraged pastors preaching on Memorial Day to offer "consolation" and to address the reality of evil and God's benevolence. He also said that pastors should neither romanticize war nor praise war heroes from the pulpit. He claimed that

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<sup>233</sup> Spengler, *Decline*, "Tables Illustrating the Comparative Morphology of History."

<sup>234</sup> Bonhoeffer to Walter Drefß, March 13, 1928, in *DBW* 10:76-77.

<sup>235</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer, "On Memorial Day [Volkstrauertag] on Reminiscere Sunday, and on John 15:13-14 and Romans 5:6-8, 10a," in *DBW* 14:763.

<sup>236</sup> Bonhoeffer, "On Memorial Day," in *DBW* 14:764.

"we owe it to those who were killed in action not to turn them into idols, which God would then zealously shatter."<sup>237</sup> One may wonder whether Bonhoeffer, when saying so, was reflecting upon his own sermon about the death of a soldier preached – nearly ten years earlier – to children in Barcelona.

Bonhoeffer reflected on his own sermons in Barcelona more than on any other preaching. To some extent, through preaching, he realized the irrelevance of his own theology, but he still attempted to transport his cultural experiences to the community in Barcelona through preaching. It is impossible to know the extent of his realized subjectivity while living abroad, but he certainly noticed crucial distinctions. Bonhoeffer's reflections about the absence of war and revolution in the psyche of Barcelona's Germans contain a mixed tone of astonishment and irritation. The recent war had been the defining event for the entire German state, but the German population in Barcelona seemingly displayed disinterest. This transplanted national existence in some ways annoyed Bonhoeffer. He voiced his disapproval of Germans who purposefully left Germany for Spain, stating, "I notice more and more that the émigrés, adventurers, and entrepreneurs who leave Germany are damned materialistic and have not received any sort of intellectual lift from their stay abroad."<sup>238</sup> To Bonhoeffer, Germany was home, and he assumed the obligation to share his national experiences with the German community living abroad. He shared about the war, bereavement, and death. Through his lectures, he propagated a war ethic that justified and sanctified war in defense of one's nation. Above all, from the Barcelona pulpit, Bonhoeffer preached about Germany. A few years later, he would learn about another country via the same medium.

During his studies at Union Theological Seminary, Bonhoeffer consumed a diverse range of sermons from various denominational backgrounds. In his reflections on his time in New York, he shared: "I often had the opportunity every Sunday to hear two sermons in the most varied denominations and independent churches."<sup>239</sup> Similar to his time in Rome, Bonhoeffer seized the chance to visit many places of worship to grasp the nature and inner workings of the local church. He encountered a wide array of denominations and attended services at Methodist, Baptist, Episcopal, Presbyterian, Lutheran, and Quaker churches,<sup>240</sup> participated in both progressive and fundamentalist church gatherings, and even attended a service at a synagogue. He visited large churches, small churches, white churches, and Black churches. His church attendance was also somewhat regionally diverse. In addition to New York, he heard sermons in "the southern states," the "southwest," and Florida.<sup>241</sup> During these church visits, Bonhoeffer

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<sup>237</sup> Bonhoeffer, "On Memorial Day," in *DBW* 14:765.

<sup>238</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer to Sabine Leibholz, March 17, [1928?], in *DBW* 10:78.

<sup>239</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Report on His Year of Study," in *DBW* 10:312.

<sup>240</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Report on His Year of Study," in *DBW* 10:313–315.

<sup>241</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Report on His Year of Study," in *DBW* 10:313–315.

paid close attention to the nature and content of sermons. Theology at Union was not enough; he wanted to witness theology from the pulpit.

Yet, the messengers in American pulpits grieved Bonhoeffer, and he leveled heavy criticism against most of the sermons he heard. In his review of the American church, he asserted that the pulpit was essentially functioning as a reflective broadcast against the backdrop of current events. He found that the American pastor "wants to preach to the present and identifies a sermon to the present as a political-social and apologetic sermon."<sup>242</sup> To demonstrate his point, Bonhoeffer made a list of sermon titles published in the *Times*, which he had selected "at random,"<sup>243</sup> and he identified science, culture, prohibition, naturalism, virtue, and "needs above creeds" as themes preached in the churches of New York. He claimed, however, that one theme was obviously absent: the gospel. Bonhoeffer wrote that, of all the topics preached by New York pastors, "only one thing is not addressed, or is addressed so rarely that I have as yet been unable to hear it, namely, the gospel of Jesus Christ, the cross, sin and forgiveness, death and life."<sup>244</sup> The gospel was not merely absent in preaching; it was sometimes rejected outright from the pulpit. At a Good Friday service at an Episcopal church, Bonhoeffer heard "one of New York's great preachers" saying this: "I deny the reconciliation on the cross; I don't want that kind of Christ."<sup>245</sup> Due to his theological training in dogmatics, Bonhoeffer clashed with this American context, stating that "the [American] church is really no longer the place where the congregation hears and preaches God's word."<sup>246</sup> Bonhoeffer assessed the American church on the basis of what was preached from the pulpit and its proximity to Scripture.<sup>247</sup> The American church, in his estimation, functioned as a "social cooperation" and had, at best, a questionable association with Christianity. According to Bonhoeffer, a church without gospel-centered, dogmatic-informed, creed-directed preaching hardly qualified as a church community.

Amidst his criticism of American preaching, Bonhoeffer did encounter one particular church community that was explicitly preaching the gospel message. He noted in his report, "I heard the gospel preached in the Negro churches."<sup>248</sup> He

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<sup>242</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Report on His Year of Study," in *DBW* 10:313.

<sup>243</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Report on His Year of Study," in *DBW* 10:312-313.

<sup>244</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Report on His Year of Study," in *DBW* 10:313.

<sup>245</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Report on His Year of Study," in *DBW* 10:316-317.

<sup>246</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Report on His Year of Study," in *DBW* 10:317.

<sup>247</sup> Scripture is the central point of Bonhoeffer's conception of preaching and church community. According to Michael Pasquarello III, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer and the Theology of a Preaching Life* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2017), 6, "for Bonhoeffer, preaching is inseparable from the interpretation of Scripture. Biblical exegesis, theological reflection, and faithful action in the world are woven into a way of life that is established, judged, and enabled by the reality of Christ...Preaching thus invites the church to hear the miracle of God speaking through Scripture in and for the world."

<sup>248</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Report on His Year of Study," in *DBW* 10:315.

described that, in the Black churches, "one really could still hear someone talk in a Christian sense about sin and grace and the love of God and ultimate hope."<sup>249</sup> The Black church, according to Bonhoeffer, existed as a church community where the gospel message was front and center. Its preaching style stood in contrast to that of all the other churches, which he identified as "white" churches. The racial separation, he noted, had segregated the gospel message to the Black church: "In contrast to the often lecturelike character of the 'white' sermon, the 'black Christ' is preached with captivating passion and vividness."<sup>250</sup> This preaching held Bonhoeffer's attention throughout his studies at Union, and he viewed the "Black Christ" preached in the Black church as a true representation of the Christian message.

The "Black Christ" confronted and challenged the image of a "national" or "white Christ." The "outcast" Black church in America, according to Bonhoeffer, maintained the true message of Christianity. The white church, which represented the national majority, was lacking the very foundation of Christianity. This experience likely revealed to Bonhoeffer that a sermon is not bound to the identity of a nation, nor does it speak in favor of or in defense of the nation. Bonhoeffer witnessed a community of Black believers – a community oppressed by the ideal of a white American identity – preserve the gospel message in truth and clarity in the midst of national prejudice. Confronted with the white church and the "Black Christ," Bonhoeffer witnessed, in reality, the difference between the nation and Christianity. In *Bonhoeffer's Black Jesus*, Reggie Williams claims that, "for Bonhoeffer, Christians must see society" – and might I add the nation – "from the perspective of marginalized people."<sup>251</sup> Williams argues that Bonhoeffer learned this perspective from the preaching of "the Black Christ in Harlem."<sup>252</sup> Bonhoeffer realized that a transnational church requires a message for a transnational people. A mere nation-centered gospel fails to speak the language of the transnational church community. Nationalism is particular, but oppression is global. In Harlem, Bonhoeffer acquired a message of Christ that speaks beyond the nation. He learned about a gospel presentation that places Christ at the center of human suffering.

### *Conclusion*

In the discussions above, I have attempted to demonstrate Bonhoeffer's utility for historians who explore themes in cultural history, the history of nationalism, and transnational identity. While Bonhoeffer and the church have been the foci, the points raised here transcend Bonhoeffer and ecclesiological studies. In particular, I have sought to engage Bonhoeffer beyond the wheelhouse of theology. By

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<sup>249</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Report on His Year of Study," in *DBW* 10:315.

<sup>250</sup> Bonhoeffer, "Report on His Year of Study," in *DBW* 10:315.

<sup>251</sup> Williams, *Bonhoeffer's Black Jesus*, 140.

<sup>252</sup> Williams, *Bonhoeffer's Black Jesus*, 140.

employing the lenses of hybridity, historical anthropology, and national storytelling, I have considered the cultural exchange in which Bonhoeffer participated via a transnational network committed to the church. My argument has identified the diversity of the church community, the practice of Christian worship, and the preaching of Scripture as central touchpoints in Bonhoeffer's experience abroad. However, these themes consistently extend beyond both the walls and the teachings of the church and offer insights about the world, the human, and the nation.

Bonhoeffer is not merely a voice of theology for today; he is also a human of the past who experienced the tensions between nationalism and transnationalism, the church and the state, as well as ideas about reality and reality itself. To explore these tensions, I have placed Bonhoeffer's life into wider contexts and networks. By analyzing Bonhoeffer's personal letters, lectures, and sermons from his years abroad as a young scholar, I have explored his interaction with the history of the Negro spirituals, the literary legacy of writers like Oswald Spengler, and the German ecumenical movement at the University of Berlin. These broader narratives shed light on the various influences that shaped, impacted, contradicted, and modified Bonhoeffer's identity. Moreover, in connection with Bonhoeffer's life, these larger historical themes allow scholars to invert Bonhoeffer's legacy and position it not as an end but as a means for understanding twentieth-century history. One may start with Bonhoeffer, but one will surely end with many insights beyond him. This speaks to the numerous and rich intersections in Bonhoeffer's own life as documented and preserved in his writings.

This article has prioritized and analyzed the disjointed fragments of Bonhoeffer's own life, bringing together ideas, experiences, relationships, and even cultures that may appear paradoxical. But these apparent paradoxes morphed and changed in consort with Bonhoeffer's undying devotion to the church that exists beyond the nation. Bonhoeffer's conflicts and contradictions in his unique historical context are informative. At a historical moment when internationalism and nationalism seem to be advancing in lockstep, Bonhoeffer's engagement with the international church is exemplary. He both sacrificed and gained. He abandoned his creed of the *Reich* for a code of resistance, replaced the narrative of the nation with the story of the oppressed, and exchanged his cultural essentialism for a hybrid identity that would prove irreconcilable with Nazi Germany's violent regime of thought and deed. According to Doris Bergen, "to situate Bonhoeffer in the context of his times does not reduce his significance or weaken the challenge of his witness. But it may serve to remind us what was at stake."<sup>253</sup> I would add to this that Bonhoeffer's international context—as

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<sup>253</sup> Doris L. Bergen, "Contextualizing Dietrich Bonhoeffer: Nazism, the Churches, and the Question of Silence," in *Interpreting Bonhoeffer: Historical Perspectives, Emerging Issues*, ed. Clifford J. Green and Guy C. Carter (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2013), 126.

experienced abroad as a young scholar prior to the rise of the Nazi regime—reminds us all of what *is* at stake for a culture and a people unwilling to look and go beyond its particular national community.

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Benjamin Kiler

*Hood Politics:  
The Panthers, the Police, and the History of Guns  
as Tools of Black Resistance*

**ABSTRACT:** *This article explores the history of racially motivated gun control in America from 1792 until the passage of the Mulford Act in 1967 and analyzes how the Black Panthers established themselves as a form of armed resistance against systematic racialized violence. Based on the historical and contemporary perspectives of Black scholars and civil rights activists, as well as studies on perceptions of gun control, the author highlights how the Mulford Act was one element in a larger history of legislation intended to deny African Americans the ability to arm and protect themselves against systemic abuse.*

**KEYWORDS:** *U.S. history; Second Amendment; gun control; civil rights; protests; Black Panthers; Huey Newton; Don Mulford; California history; Oakland*

*Introduction*

Of the less than 500 words contained in the actual text of the “Bill of Rights” (i.e., the first ten Amendments to the U.S. Constitution as ratified in 1791), few have been as hotly contested as the last 14 of the Second Amendment: “the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.”<sup>1</sup> Modern-day interpretations see it as the right for individuals to defend themselves against would-be wrongdoers and criminals. Its necessity in American society has been a focal point of debate, in addition to concerns over the ease of access to weapons. In a country where guns can be purchased from certain supermarkets,<sup>2</sup> contemporary discussions center around the necessity of firearms. A staunch defender of the Second Amendment, the Republican Party often highlights its utility as a check on tyranny; after all, an armed populace is significantly harder to oppress than an unarmed one. Yet rarely does America acknowledge the history of firearms as a tool for African Americans to protect themselves from perpetrators of racialized terrorism and state governments’ consistent denial of Second Amendment rights to Black people.<sup>3</sup> Rarer still are references to a period in California history when conservatives openly and strongly advocated for gun control. Who could have spurred Ronald W. Reagan, the 33rd Governor of California (1967–1975) and 40th President of the United States (1981–1989), to champion “common sense” gun laws in the name of public safety? No other group could evoke such a legislative response from the party of limited government than the Black Panthers, a political organization founded in Oakland, California, in 1966.

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<sup>1</sup> U.S. Constitution, amend. 2, sec 1, [online](#).

<sup>2</sup> Clare Curran, “Walmart and Guns: A Case Study in Modern Corporate Governance,” *Columbia Business Law Review* 2020, no. 3 (2021): 1071.

<sup>3</sup> Tracy L. Barnett, review of *The Second: Race and Guns in a Fatally Unequal America*, by Carol Anderson, *Journal of Arizona History* 63, no. 2 (2022): 250–252.

California's Mulford Act of 1967 (Assembly Bill 1591) aimed to disarm members of the Black Panther Party who were conducting armed patrols with the intention of both surveilling and provoking police officers. By "cop-watching" with their arms on display, the Panthers demonstrated the centrality of firearms to their ideology. Embracing the teachings of the late Malcolm X (1925–1965), who in turn had advocated in favor of the concept of armed self-defense, the Panthers taught their recruits that "the gun is the only thing that will free us—gain our liberation."<sup>4</sup> By policing the police, the Panthers represented a direct threat to the hierarchy of white supremacy without breaking any laws. Logically, California lawmakers sought to criminalize these Panther Patrols. Republican David Donald ("Don") Mulford, California State Assemblyman of the 18th (1958–1963) and 16th (1963–1971) Districts, sponsored the legislation that prohibited the open carrying of firearms. The Mulford Act, named after him, was a blatant attack on the Black Panther Party's effort to defend their communities from police terror. This article argues that the Mulford Act was just one instance in a long history of America's efforts to deny African Americans the right to bear arms—and thus their right to self-defense—and subject them to gratuitous racial violence.

The United States' structural denial of the right to self-defense to people of color dates back to the early 1790s. The Uniform Militia Act of 1792 provided federal standards for a properly armed militia and intently specified that only white male citizens qualified for militia service.<sup>5</sup> Although citizenship was not yet defined by race, this restriction was indicative of the general unease concerning armed Black people. By the nineteenth century, this unease—coupled with America's growing dependency on the chattel slavery of Black persons—spiraled into completely denying Black people the right to self-defense.

In the antebellum era, both enslaved and free Black populations were prohibited from arming themselves with any type of weapon.<sup>6</sup> Black self-defense was deemed inconceivable, and those brave enough to attempt an exertion of agency—by harming or killing whites in the process of protecting themselves—were imprisoned, typically facing the death penalty. An 1844 decision by the North Carolina Supreme Court summarized this era's legal attitudes toward the matter, stating that preventing Black access to arms "would ensure 'self-preservation' as 'the first law of nations.'"<sup>7</sup> Thus, the unease toward armed Blacks

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<sup>4</sup> Referenced in Adam Winkler, "The Secret History of Guns," *The Atlantic*, September 2011, [online](#).

<sup>5</sup> Robert J. Cottrol and Raymond T. Diamond, "The Second Amendment: Toward an Afro-Americanist Reconsideration," *Georgetown Law Journal* 80, no. 2 (1991): 331.

<sup>6</sup> Slaves and Free Persons of Color: An Act Concerning Slaves and Free Persons of Color, N.C. Rev. Code No. 105 (1831), Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, [online](#).

<sup>7</sup> Adam Bledsoe, "Neither Ground on Which to Stand, nor Self to Defend: The Structural Denial (and Radical Histories) of Black Self-Defense," *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 112, no. 5 (2022): 1296–1312.



expressed in the undertones of the Uniform Militia Act had grown into an open disdain. White legislatures were quick to criminalize Black self-defense, fully aware of the potential of Black agency to disrupt their white supremacist hierarchies. State governments feared the thought of Blacks being privy to the same right to self-defense as whites, so barring African Americans from taking advantage of the Second Amendment became a permanent effort for these legislators.

After the American Civil War, the failure of Reconstruction and the Jim Crow era only intensified the lengths to which the United States would go to prohibit Black people from defending their bodies and property. Following the emancipation of the enslaved people, states passed the so-called Black Codes, laws designed to restrict the freedom of African Americans. These laws curtailed Black self-defense, prohibiting the carrying of weapons and stipulating the prompt arrest of those found armed.<sup>8</sup> Thus, former slaveholders and former Confederates swiftly regained their positions of power. Many of the Jim Crow laws passed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries at the state and local levels contained gun-control statutes with the express purpose of disarming Black people. In 1941, a judge on the Florida Supreme Court acknowledged that a 1899 ban on carrying pistols had been “passed for the purpose of disarming the negro,” adding that the statute was “never intended to be applied to the white population.”<sup>9</sup> While the adherence to nonviolence became a key characteristic of the mainstream civil rights movement, many Black Americans remained committed to utilizing firearms for their protection. In fact, firearms played a key role in the struggle for civil rights in the twentieth century.

### *I. Walk Like a Warrior*

Despite countless attempts by American politicians to strip Black people of their right to self-defense by firearms, the civil rights movement would find itself empowered through the bearing of arms. Firearms became tools of survival, especially during periods of intense racial violence when perpetrators were either encouraged or often aided by law enforcement. Take the Tulsa Race Massacre in 1921, for example, where local government officials in Oklahoma armed mobs of white citizens, who then attacked Black residents and effectively destroyed one of the wealthiest Black communities in America.<sup>10</sup> During the Columbia Race Riots of 1946, armed Black people in Tennessee – outnumbered 3-to-1 – demonstrated their tenacity and refusal to “let a mob form, threaten, and raid their neighborhood” and resisted attempts by white police officers to enter and terrorize

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<sup>8</sup> Bledsoe, “Neither Ground,” 1296–1312.

<sup>9</sup> Cottrol and Diamond, “Second Amendment,” 355.

<sup>10</sup> Chris M. Messer, *The 1921 Tulsa Race Massacre: Crafting a Legacy* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2021), 1–19.

their community.<sup>11</sup> Black veterans, like those present at Columbia, had returned from World War II with a new resolve to resist intimidation and discrimination. Their attitudes, shaped by fighting in humanity's most devastating conflict to date, kickstarted a new wave of resistance against white supremacy. These veterans questioned why they had returned as "second class citizens," and they were shocked at the "Cotton Curtain" that still denied Blacks the right to vote in the South.<sup>12</sup> An even greater leap for the freedom movement occurred when these veterans formed connections with activist organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP, founded 1909), the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC, founded 1957), and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC, founded 1960), thereby ushering in a synthesis of self-defense practices with the principles of the nonviolence movement.

Even activists committed to nonviolence recognized the value of firearms for self-defense.<sup>13</sup> This may seem like an unresolvable dichotomy; after all, how can one preach nonviolence and simultaneously bear arms? In the aftermath of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling of public-school segregation as unconstitutional, mounting attacks against Black activists pushed the limits of nonviolence. For example, NAACP leader C. C. Bryant (1917–2007) began to openly guard his home with a shotgun after it had been bombed and a cross had been burned on his lawn.<sup>14</sup> Other nonviolent organizations "increasingly found themselves" working alongside local supporters who were "strongly inclined" to shoot back at white terrorists.<sup>15</sup> Eventually, leaders of some organizations would encourage the use of firearms for defense, such as in 1957 when local NAACP president Robert Williams (1925–1996) taught that "Blacks should defend themselves with guns."<sup>16</sup> That same year, when members of the Ku Klux Klan attacked the house of another NAACP official in Monroe, North Carolina, Williams and a group of Black men armed themselves and returned fire, routing the Klan in a successful bout of self-defense. The threat of an armed response kept would-be perpetrators of racialized violence at bay, and eventually those who owned guns worked together within the Black community to empower nonviolent protests.

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<sup>11</sup> Dorothy Beeler, "Race Riot in Columbia, Tennessee: February 25–27, 1946," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 39, no. 1 (Spring 1980): 49–61.

<sup>12</sup> Charles E. Cobb, *This Nonviolent Stuff'll Get You Killed: How Guns Made the Civil Rights Movement Possible* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), 85–88.

<sup>13</sup> Christopher Barry Strain, "Civil Rights and Self-Defense: The Fiction of Nonviolence, 1955–1968," (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2000), ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.

<sup>14</sup> Cynthia Deitle Leonardatos, "California's Attempts to Disarm the Black Panthers," *San Diego Law Review* 36, no. 4 (Fall 1999): 955.

<sup>15</sup> Cobb, *This Nonviolent Stuff*, 114–115.

<sup>16</sup> Leonardatos, "California's Attempts," 956.

The wielding of weapons enabled the participants of these movements to protect themselves as they were routinely experiencing systematically enabled terrorism in response to their protests. After the brutal deaths of three student activists in 1964, SNCC field secretary Cynthia Washington (1942–2014) swiftly acquired an automatic handgun and kept it with her at all times, describing the thought of “being beaten to death” without the means to defend herself as having “put the fear of God in [her].”<sup>17</sup> It was this mindset that drove the willingness to use deadly force in the effort to ensure Black survival. Few believers in self-defense had to follow through on their determination. Still, it was the presence of firearms that empowered activists to tread on, despite the ever-present danger of brutality. Even some of the most eminent proponents of nonviolent resistance found themselves armed when their lives and the lives of their loved ones came under threat.

A preacher of nonviolent philosophy, civil rights activist Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (1929–1968) applied for a permit to carry a concealed weapon after his house had been bombed in 1956; the permit was denied, but armed supporters soon began to guard King’s household.<sup>18</sup> These facts do not discredit the movement and beliefs of nonviolent resistance in the struggle for civil rights, for, while it was the goal of nonviolence to “awaken a sense of shame within the oppressor,” the violent reality was that this shame often manifested itself in the form of violence against Black lives.<sup>19</sup> Recognizing that violence might be needed to protect Black lives did not expose nonviolence as flawed; rather, it highlighted the oppressors’ immaturity. Nonviolent resistance protest was meant to inspire greater understanding and encourage mature dialogue with those who would oppress, yet many violent whites had no such capacity for maturity and took to terrorism in response. When nonviolence exposed the inability of many Americans to demonstrate kindness, firearms provided both a theoretical and a very real defensive line against wrongdoers. Thus, the practice of self-defense empowered nonviolent activists to carry on their struggle.

## II. (For God’s Sake) Give More Power to the People

Imagine being a young Black male in California—be it Los Angeles, Oakland, or Sacramento—in 1966. You likely live in abject poverty, and your community is characterized by poor infrastructure and high crime rates. The freedom of everyone in your community is impeded by white police officers who terrorize you and others like you with acts of racialized violence. They are armed with the knowledge that they can kill you with impunity, backed by a system built on a foundation of white supremacy and racial hierarchy. If you manage to survive

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<sup>17</sup> Cobb, *This Nonviolent Stuff*, xii-1.

<sup>18</sup> Winkler, “Secret History of Guns,” [online](#).

<sup>19</sup> Martin Luther King Jr., “Pilgrimage to Nonviolence” (1959), in *American Religion: Literary Sources and Documents*, ed. David Turley (New York: Routledge, 2020; originally published in 1998), 3: 418–421.

into adulthood, you will likely be forcefully recruited to fight and perhaps die in some far-off land in service of the behemoth that legislates your oppression. Every bullet, law, and word that denies you the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness follows a trail that leads back to the white man, who maintains control over every power structure in the United States of America. Dread it as you may, you cannot run or hide. Every aspect of your life is commanded by a system that rejects you, and it will treat your death with apathy. There is no escape.

This is the reality that Black Californians like you are experiencing en masse, with each perspective providing a unique insight into the institutional terrorism inflicted upon your community by the white man. Politicians mask their racism by sponsoring increasingly elaborate and covert legislation that blatantly targets certain groups but lacks overt racial terminology.<sup>20</sup> Hiding in plain sight, symbolic racism characterizes the politics of California in the 1960s. The capitalist machine is designed to marginalize, rob, and ensnare Black people into an unending cycle of poverty. Any attempt to navigate the system in hopes of bringing about meaningful change fails because the system is purposefully designed to maintain the white supremacist hierarchy. The system will never work to your benefit; rather, it will only work to its own benefit. If the system cannot change, who will stand against it?

Prospects change when you hear about the Panthers. They denounce social inequality, educate you on the struggle for class and racial equality, and arm you with notions of “Black Power” and an understanding of your constitutional rights. Their most effective strategy is turning these constitutional rights into a tool of revolution, most notably through their armed patrols. By cop-watching, members of the Black Panther Party practice their constitutional right to bear arms and protect members of their community from police violence. Knowing they are acting within their rights, their armed patrols upset and provoke police officers and earn them a reputation as a violent and militant organization.<sup>21</sup> Yet as police officers routinely brutalize unarmed Black men and women, the Panthers feed children breakfast, educate their communities with revolutionary politics, and arm themselves in defense of Black souls from the white man and his government.<sup>22</sup> They are radical and unapologetic in their demand for Black liberation, and their greatest ally in that fight is the gun. Their leaders educate young Black men about the gun and how eventually all Blacks should step up and use it in the coming revolution.

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<sup>20</sup> Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, “The New Racism: Racial Structure in the United States, 1960s–1990s,” in *Race, Ethnicity, and Nationality in the United States Toward the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Paul Wong (New York: Routledge, 2021; originally published in 1999), 55–101.

<sup>21</sup> Curtis J. Austin, *Up Against the Wall: Violence in the Making and Unmaking of the Black Panther Party* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2006), x–xxii.

<sup>22</sup> Meredith Roman, “The Black Panther Party and the Struggle for Human Rights,” *Spectrum: A Journal on Black Men* 5, no. 1 (2016): 7–32.

Grasping the Panthers' point of view is crucial to understanding the Second Amendment as it pertains to the Black defense against institutional violence. Although they swiftly evolved into a culturalist nationalist group that expressed "the 400-year-old crying demands" of Black Americans, the Panthers were initially a locally focused grassroots organization.<sup>23</sup> They adopted political ideologies from left-wing revolutionaries across the planet and adapted them to match the needs of Black urban communities. Huey Newton (1942–1989), co-founder of the Black Panther Party, sought to "transform what [he] had learned" into ideologies applicable to a local revolution, "acceptable to the brothers on the block."<sup>24</sup> Alongside fellow student and Panthers co-founder Bobby Seale (b. 1936), Newton realized that revolutionaries such as Vladimir Lenin, Mao Zedong, and Kwame Nkrumah had ultimately achieved their success through an armed struggle against the oppressive regimes that were terrorizing their people. Newton and Seale set about organizing the Panthers into a militia for Black freedom, following the examples of other leftist movements across the world. In Newton's eyes, if culture and heritage would not liberate the Black man, the gun surely would.

The Black Panthers represented a radical shift in the use of firearms—protesting the institution while protecting their communities. Unlike those who had come before, the Panthers would use their constitutional rights to directly challenge the institution in an organized fashion. They would brazenly threaten to fire upon police officers if the latter violated the rights of Black individuals under their protection. They would advocate for the arming of all Black individuals, for armed revolution, and for spreading the messages of Black nationalism and socialism. By recontextualizing the Black struggle to fit an international vision of anti-colonialism, the Panthers would attract notoriety from both the state and federal governments. And the actions of Newton and his allies in Oakland would lead to the organization being labeled "the greatest threat to the internal security of the country."<sup>25</sup>

### III. "The Baddest Motherfucker in the World"

In Newton's eyes, the Black ghetto was an oppressed nation at war with a belligerent police state. He embraced the mantra of human rights activist Malcolm X, "by any means necessary," in his belief that armed struggle was the only way to "resolve the final contradiction."<sup>26</sup> To Newton and the Panthers, police officers were the perpetrators of genocide, drawing comparisons to the

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<sup>23</sup> James A. Tyner, "Defend the Ghetto': Space and the Urban Politics of the Black Panther Party," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 96, no. 1 (2006): 105–118.

<sup>24</sup> Huey P. Newton, *Revolutionary Suicide* (New York: Penguin Books, 2009; originally published in 1973), 116.

<sup>25</sup> "Hoover Calls Panthers Top Threat to Security," July 16, 1969, *The Washington Post, Times Herald*, A3.

<sup>26</sup> John A. Courtright, "Rhetoric of the Gun: An Analysis of the Rhetorical Modifications of the Black Panther Party," *Journal of Black Studies* 4, no. 3 (1974): 251–253.

Gestapo—the secret police of Nazi Germany during the Holocaust—in the discussion of cultural erasure and violence.<sup>27</sup> The struggle for Black Power in a racist America was a fight for survival, and only by arming themselves were Black Americans going to be able to break the system’s stranglehold. In waging a defensive war against California’s police, the Panthers ultimately sought to define the ghetto as separate from the realm of white America’s control. It was their commitment to Black nationalism, internationalism, and intercommunalism that theoretically removed Oakland from the realm of the United States’ racism.<sup>28</sup> In defining their community as a separate safe space for the nurturing of both the Black community and the revolution, Newton and the Panthers would challenge the authority of the police by utilizing their legal right to carry firearms.

Newton’s war against the police state began in February 1967. When Oakland police pulled over a car containing a collective of Panthers, Seale and Newton included, a verbal altercation between officers and Newton demonstrated his commitment to the gun as a tool for resistance. Rifle in hand, Newton exclaimed that, if any officer were to “try to shoot at [him]” or take his gun, he would “shoot back [at them].”<sup>29</sup> A dumbstruck crowd of onlookers watched as the police let the Panthers go, as no laws had been broken in the exchange. In that moment, Seale was convinced that Newton was “the baddest motherfucker in the world.”<sup>30</sup> The event established Newton’s reputation for bravado and as a grassroots revolutionary, emboldening a wave of new recruits into the Panthers’ ranks. It also provided a platform for the Panthers to protect their communities and challenge police brutality as they embraced the gun as a tool for change. In this facet of organized activism, the Panthers’ ideology differed radically from the civil rights movement’s previous employment of self-defense.

Civil rights activists were no strangers to practicing self-defense, but firearms became a core element of the Black Panthers’ identity. To achieve some semblance of Black Power while living under an oppressive regime, Newton and Seale embraced the gun as “the” way for Black people to liberate themselves. They understood that the government would fight Black self-determination, Black self-identity, and Black unity, and they determined that their final version of success would include circumventing the “pig-power structure.”<sup>31</sup> Under the Panthers, concepts of protecting Black spaces had expanded beyond self and property. Communities like Oakland found themselves protected by the Panthers, thereby defining their borders in the larger war against the police state. To the Panthers, an armed Black population was not a matter of individual choice or personal

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<sup>27</sup> “Special: The Significance of the Black Liberation Struggle in Newark,” *The Black Panther* 1, no. 5 (July 20, 1967): 1, 11.

<sup>28</sup> Tyner, “Defend the Ghetto,” 105–118.

<sup>29</sup> Winkler, “Secret History of Guns,” [online](#).

<sup>30</sup> Referenced in Winkler, “Secret History of Guns,” [online](#).

<sup>31</sup> Leonardatos, “California’s Attempts,” 960–961.

circumstance but a necessary step toward revolution. The organized arming of Blacks resulted in special armed patrols that protected Black communities, provoking a frenzy from the regime they ultimately wished to topple. The way of the gun was the way of the revolution.

The Black Panthers gained special notoriety for their cop-watching patrols, following and policing police officers while openly carrying firearms. Cop-watching became the Panthers' best defense in the war against what they believed was a belligerent, white supremacist police state. Cars containing armed Panthers patrolled Oakland with "firearms and cameras," looking to observe the police and enforce the correct application of state, federal, and constitutional laws.<sup>32</sup> As far as the Panthers were concerned, the police were not only unreliable to protect Black people; they were not to be trusted. Oftentimes the most heinous crimes against Black communities came from the police, and the Panthers concluded that such crimes would ultimately only be deterred by the threat of violence.<sup>33</sup>

Cop-watching served a dual purpose: protecting Black individuals and provoking police officers into demonstrating their wickedness for witnesses to see. Patrolling Panthers often sought situations where "they could brandish their guns" and "actively monitor the activities of the police."<sup>34</sup> While their purpose was to protect Black people from the police, the patrols also relished the thought of catching police in the act. Highlighting instances where police did brutalize community members was one objective of cop-watching, as examples of police brutality would certainly attract recruits eager to protect their communities. The Panthers dared the police to give them a reason to shoot back. Officers were considered agents of a hostile colonial power and were treated as such.

The Panthers demonstrated the utility of firearms by policing the police, returning some power to the people by keeping the forces of the institution in check. They did so while staying within the boundaries of their constitutional rights. They adhered meticulously to the California Penal Code regarding firearms, ensuring that they would give no reasons for further police investigations or any potential arrests. Within six months of its inception, the Black Panther Party was able to successfully present a threat to the power of the police while staying entirely within the realm of legality.

#### *IV. The Revolution Will Not Be Televised*

By openly embracing the gun as a tool to challenge white authority, Huey Newton and his Panthers drew the ire of California police and lawmakers. Consequently, State Assemblyman Donald Mulford introduced legislation to outlaw the open carrying of firearms within California city limits. Assembly Bill 1591 would do just

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<sup>32</sup> Jocelyn Simonson, "Cop-watching," *California Law Review* 104, no. 2 (April 2016): 391.

<sup>33</sup> Daniel Edward Crowe, *Prophets of Rage: The Black Freedom Struggle in San Francisco, 1945-1969* (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000).

<sup>34</sup> Leonardatos, "California's Attempts," 962.

that, seeking to criminalize a constitutional right to protest government tyranny. As a white politician and representative of Oakland, Mulford saw himself challenged to maintain institutional control over the now “militant” Black communities of Oakland. Thus, in response to the Panthers’ checks on the powers of a tyrannical police force, the California government began its legal battle to prevent the spread of the Panthers’ ideology and message of armed revolution. When Mulford’s bill was introduced into the California legislature, the Panthers went into an uproar.<sup>35</sup> They immediately drew up plans to travel to Sacramento to stage a protest against this legislation. So, in the summer of 1967, Bobby Seale and a select group of Black Panthers traveled to Sacramento to air their grievances to an audience of Assemblymen and Senators who were planning to derail their vision of a Black revolution.

After arriving at the State Capitol on May 2, 1967, Seale and a group of roughly two dozen armed Panthers marched into the building in a public display of bravado and defiance. The group barged into the Assembly Chamber with weapons in hand, disrupting the legislative session. Standing in the doorway, Seale read aloud a statement drafted by Newton, decrying the various atrocities committed by America, including the genocide of Native Americans, the lynchings of Black people, the use of atomic bombs against Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the “cowardly massacre[s] in Vietnam.”<sup>36</sup> These examples served to testify to the policies that were coloring America’s racist power structure: “repression, genocide, terror, and the big stick.”<sup>37</sup> Seale went on to chronicle the vicious cycle of wrongdoing perpetrated upon African Americans, characterizing the unheard pleas of his community as a call to arms. Before being escorted out of the building by police, Seale ended his statement by encouraging Black communities to “rise up as one man” to halt the total destruction of their people.<sup>38</sup> This rambunctious display of protest against the government served as a platform for the Panthers’ struggle and catapulted the party into the national spotlight. Having their manifesto established, the Panthers departed and were later arrested on multiple charges, including conspiracy to invade the Assembly Chamber, brandishing a firearm in a threatening manner, and possessing loaded guns in a vehicle.

The event only exacerbated the perceived need for a bill in the interest of public safety. Shortly after the Panthers had left the State Capitol, Mulford described the protest as an attempt to intimidate him and identified it as a source of inspiration

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<sup>35</sup> Karen Joan Kohoutek, “‘It’s Time They Knew the Truth about Us! We’re Warriors!’ *Black Panther* and the Black Panther Party,” in *Black Panther and Philosophy: What Can Wakanda Offer the World?* ed. Edwardo Pérez and Timothy E. Brown (Hoboken: Wiley Blackwell, 2022): 238–246.

<sup>36</sup> Sean L. Malloy, “‘When You Have to Deal with a Beast’: Race, Ideology, and the Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb,” in *The Age of Hiroshima*, ed. Michael D. Gordin and G. John Ikenberry (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020), 56.

<sup>37</sup> Malloy, “When You Have to Deal,” 56.

<sup>38</sup> Malloy, “When You Have to Deal,” 56.



to make the bill even tougher.<sup>39</sup> A provision was added to ban the carrying of loaded firearms into the State Capitol. On July 26, 1967, the California Senate and Assembly passed the Mulford Act in a near-unanimous vote. Effective July 28, 1967, Black Californians were disarmed of their ability to protect themselves from institutional violence. Governor Reagan signed the bill into law, expressing his personal support for this legislation. While he acknowledged the right to bear arms, Reagan underscored the need for such legislation to protect law-abiding citizens. Reagan argued that there existed “no reason why...a citizen should be carrying loaded weapons” in public.<sup>40</sup>

Mulford claimed that his legislation had “nothing to do with any racial incident,” citing other white groups in addition to the Panthers.<sup>41</sup> Yet, while other militant organizations such as the Minutemen, Nazis, and Ku Klux Klan were mentioned in his proposal, all evidence suggests that the Mulford Act specifically targeted the Black Panthers. The rhetoric pertaining to the aforementioned white militias was a diversion from the bill’s true purpose and served as an example of the tactics legislators were using to mask their intent to target Black communities.

The history of these white militias in the years before the Mulford Act highlights the irrationality of including them in the language of the bill. Had Mulford really intended to introduce laws to combat the racial violence of the Ku Klux Klan, why had he not done so in the early 1960s, when the Klan had viciously attacked civil rights workers? Surely recent bouts of Klan violence could have spurred legislation, yet there was no such effort at the time of Assembly Bill 1591’s passing. As for the Nazis and Minutemen, their inclusion in the bill makes even less sense than the mentioning of the Klan, as neither group was in the habit of openly displaying loaded weapons.<sup>42</sup> However, while these groups were indeed threatening the authority of the California government, this was deemed irrelevant next to the potential threat posed by the Panthers. The Mulford Act was drafted with the specific intent to disarm the Panthers, who were viewed as a danger to the capitalist, white supremacist power structure that America had worked so hard to maintain.

The Mulford Act’s language indicates its purpose to prevent future civil unrest. Yet, if the law was indeed aimed at preventing riots or other instances of civil disobedience, why was it not proposed after the Watts Riots (August 11–16, 1965) in Los Angeles? Just two years prior to the passage of Assembly Bill 1591, a simple DUI arrest had devolved into a physical confrontation, which had in turn exploded into an event of unrest that involved the deployment of 14,000 California National Guardsmen, resulting in more than forty million dollars in property

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<sup>39</sup> Rich Ehisen, “Armed Black Panthers in the Capitol, 50 Years On,” *Capitol Weekly*, April 26, 2017, [online](#).

<sup>40</sup> Leonardatos, “California’s Attempts,” 972.

<sup>41</sup> Don Mulford, interview, KPIX Eyewitness News, May 3, 1967, on CBS 5, video, 1:39, [online](#).

<sup>42</sup> Leonardatos, “California’s Attempts,” 994.

damages and the deaths of thirty-four people.<sup>43</sup> In 1965, armed rioters had engaged in gunfights with police officers, but no legislation prohibiting openly carrying firearms was introduced within a reasonable timeframe after the riots had subsided. The Mulford Act might have been attractive if the simultaneously occurring Detroit Riots (July 23–26, 1967) had been considered as a factor in California legislation.<sup>44</sup> However, even then it would have represented an interest to preserve the unequal power balance between Blacks and whites, empowering white soldiers with the ability to kill Black rioters with impunity. The logic of the Mulford Act's introduction as an anti-riot measure is lacking. Thus, we can argue with certainty that its underlying purpose was to perpetuate the imbalance of power between people of color and the police.

The Mulford Act effectively declawed the Panthers, neutralizing their most effective strategy in the defense of their communities from police harassment and brutality. Whereas their presence had once significantly decreased the likelihood of excessive force, armed Panthers now could no longer effectively defend motorists who had been stopped by police.<sup>45</sup> Being able to quote the California Penal Code meant little when power rested entirely in the hands of the police, who were now able to dismiss the spectating and unarmed Panthers without fear of reprisal. And if known Black Panthers were spotted by police within city limits, officers could now arrest them on suspicion of carrying loaded weapons.<sup>46</sup> Disarmed of their greatest tool against the oppressive police state, the Panthers were now at the mercy of white police officers, who were once again able to harass and brutalize Black people with impunity. Once a legitimate threat against the tyranny of the police, the Panthers were now unable to act in defense of their community without swift and often violent retribution. The attempt at utilizing the Second Amendment as a check on tyrannical government ultimately failed, as constitutional rights were an afterthought to white politicians looking to legislate total control over Black communities.<sup>47</sup> The Panthers' legal rebellion was a flash in the pan, and things returned to their original state. The capitalist system proved its resilience to change, and the cycle of brutality and poverty continued despite the best efforts of the Black Panthers.

For the first time in California history, Black people had utilized their constitutional rights to represent a legitimate challenge to the authority of the government. In response, white politicians disarmed marginalized communities so that they might be easy targets for terror and violence. Where were the organizations and politicians who were extolling the Second Amendment as the

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<sup>43</sup> Liza N. Burby, *The Watts Riot* (San Diego: Lucent Books, 1997).

<sup>44</sup> Hubert G. Locke, *The Detroit Riot of 1967* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2017).

<sup>45</sup> Leonardatos, "California's Attempts," 987.

<sup>46</sup> Leonardatos, "California's Attempts," 987–988.

<sup>47</sup> David E. Vandercoy, "The History of the Second Amendment," *Valparaiso University Law Review* 28, no. 3 (Spring 1993): 1007.

“right most valued by free men” to speak up for the Panthers when the latter were disarmed?<sup>48</sup> Who declared the Mulford Act an unconstitutional suppression of a marginalized group’s attempt to resist government tyranny? The National Rifle Association (NRA), an organization now notorious for its anti-gun-control beliefs, supposedly helped Mulford draft the law and supported its passage.<sup>49</sup> State Senators who opposed the bill did so out of concern for hunters or victims of riots protecting their property; none who objected did so on behalf of the Panthers defending their communities from police terrorism.<sup>50</sup> The responses to the bill from organizations and politicians were like any response to gun-control legislation targeting Blacks: resounding support.

### V. Inner-City Blues

Was the Mulford Act an unexpected response to Black Americans exercising their constitutional rights? Over two centuries of historical evidence highlight the truth: the Second Amendment was never intended for minority groups to defend their lives and agency. The earliest legislation points to the intention of using firearms as tools to maintain and enforce a white supremacist hegemony.<sup>51</sup> When Black people dare to defend themselves against the tyranny of white America, governments make haste in criminalizing the means of defense. Organized movements that defend themselves against mainstream oppression face state-enabled terrorism and are typically met with resistance from legislators who hold racist beliefs of their own.<sup>52</sup> It may be tempting to view the Mulford Act as an isolated, grandiose instrument of oppression, but in the grand scheme of capitalist politics it was simply a course correction in the interest of the system. It is not within the interest of capitalism for the tired, poor, huddled masses to breathe free on their own terms. Ultimately, it is one example of America’s larger battle to detain the agency of its most historically oppressed groups.

In comparison with previous laws, the Mulford Act is most notable for its shift toward a more symbolic type of racism within anti-Black legislation. Unlike the legislation of Jim Crow, which specifically targeted Black individuals with its inclusion of gun-control statutes, the Mulford Act did so under the guise of diversionary rhetoric and notions of public safety. Just as the Panthers represented a shift in the methods by which Black people defended themselves, the Mulford Act represented a shift in the methods by which the government could criminalize this defense. Legislators ceased to use overt notions of racial inferiority when

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<sup>48</sup> Sanford Levinson, “The Embarrassing Second Amendment,” *Yale Law Journal* 99, no. 3 (1989): 637–659.

<sup>49</sup> Patrick J. Charles, “The Black Panthers, NRA, Ronald Reagan, Armed Extremists, and the Second Amendment,” Duke Center for Firearms Law, April 8, 2020, [online](#).

<sup>50</sup> Leonardatos, “California’s Attempts,” 979.

<sup>51</sup> Cottrol and Diamond, “Second Amendment,” 331.

<sup>52</sup> Akinyele Omowale Umoja, *We Will Shoot Back: Armed Resistance in the Mississippi Freedom Movement* (New York: New York University Press, 2014).

referring to Blacks, instead resorting to the concept that Black people were making illegitimate demands for changes in the status quo.<sup>53</sup> In instances such as the Mulford Act, this shift toward subtlety in the criminalization of Black resistance has created new problems for identifying racist legislation. Although the objective of this legislation is clearly anti-Black, the lack of overtly racist rhetoric acts as a protection against accusations of racism.

The attitudes and double standards of white Americans with regard to gun-control statutes are not relics of a bygone era, but a phenomenon that has persisted in the decades since California outlawed the Panther Patrols. Studies performed as recently as 2023 highlight that white Americans exhibit notably less support for gun rights when informed that Black Americans utilize certain gun rights more frequently than whites.<sup>54</sup> Even the most staunch supporters of the Second Amendment falter in their beliefs when they learn that African Americans take advantage of the same rights they do. Trends of this double standard have gradually begun to shift, although this may be less influenced by the importance of firearms as tools for Black survival and may have more to do with America's raging culture wars.<sup>55</sup> Attitudes have begun to shift, but we have yet to see significant change occur throughout our institutions.

While some change in attitudes has occurred since the passage of the Civil Rights Act (1964), this change has not resulted in significant structural and foundational shifts. The groundwork of the racial hierarchy that America rests upon has not changed, and as such, it continues to fail Black victims of white violence. When African Americans lack the means to defend themselves, the judicial system consistently fails to prosecute actors of white terrorism. Information pertaining to Black victims of violence—their criminal record, their physical appearance, and their lifestyles—is often exploited to shift responsibility onto these victims, connecting notions of Blackness with criminality.<sup>56</sup> A Black teenager is gunned down by a white man while carrying Skittles and iced tea, but news outlets report on the marijuana in his system at the time of his death.<sup>57</sup> A

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<sup>53</sup> John B. McConahay and Joseph C. Hough Jr., "Symbolic Racism," *Journal of Social Issues* 32, no. 2 (Spring 1976): 23–45.

<sup>54</sup> Gerald D. Higginbotham, David O. Sears, and Lauren Goldstein, "When an Irresistible Prejudice Meets Immovable Politics: Black Legal Gun Ownership Undermines Racially Resentful White Americans' Gun Rights Advocacy," *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General* 152, no. 2 (2023): 410–424.

<sup>55</sup> Kerry O'Brien, Walter Forrest, Dermot Lynott, and Michael Daly, "Racism, Gun Ownership and Gun Control: Biased Attitudes in US Whites May Influence Policy Decisions," *PLoS one* 8, no. 10 (2013): e77552, [online](#).

<sup>56</sup> "Black Lives Discounted: Altering the Standard for Voir Dire and the Rules of Evidence to Better Account for Implicit Racial Biases Against Black Victims in Self-Defense Cases," *Harvard Law Review* 134, no. 4 (2021): 1521.

<sup>57</sup> "Trayvon Martin Had Traces of Marijuana in System at Time of Death, Autopsy Reveals," *New York Post*, May 17, 2012, [online](#).

white man kills five and wounds eight more with an assault rifle, and news outlets speak about his status as a former star athlete or about his difficulty fitting in with his peers.<sup>58</sup> By and large, America and its media will do everything in their power to discredit Black victims of violence and sympathize with white perpetrators. From the media to the legal system, the notion of Blackness is synonymous with criminality. No safeguards or changes have been put in place to address the implicit bias that affects every case involving African Americans. The vulnerability that characterized the Black experience in the 1960s remains ever-present in light of recent racial violence. Fundamentally, our system is the same as it was when Bobby Seale and the Panthers marched on the California State Capitol, and few white politicians have any desire to alter a system that works in favor of their hegemony.

### *Conclusion*

When evaluating the legacy of the Panther Patrols and the Mulford Act, it is imperative to relate them to a larger historical context of Black self-defense and anti-Blackness in American legislation. The clash between the Black Panther Party and the California government was not an isolated incident but merely one battle in the centuries-long struggle for Black individuals to assert themselves as human beings under a system that has never recognized their humanity. Huey Newton and Bobby Seale recontextualized the Black struggle through the lens of international politics and armed revolution. The Panthers were contributors toward a pre-existing legacy of African American self-defense, with roots as far back as the early 1800s. In that same vein, the Mulford Act was not out of character for American politics; rather, it was one piece of legislation in a history loaded with laws limiting the lengths to which African Americans could go to defend themselves. These histories represent a dichotomy between the United States and the struggle for Black liberation. The pendulum swings back and forth as African Americans practice their constitutional rights and legislators develop new ways to criminalize these practices. The result is an exhausting cycle of progress and pushback, and lasting, positive change feels forever out of reach.

Despite what standardized textbooks would like us to believe, appropriate and significant change with regard to Black self-defense has not yet occurred in California, let alone in America as a nation. Black victims of racialized and institutional violence are chastised by political pundits and legislators, and even in death, their entire livelihoods are used in an attempt to shift responsibility.<sup>59</sup> If Black individuals dare to harm white people while protecting themselves, white

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<sup>58</sup> Ronny Reyes, "Louisville Shooter Connor Sturgeon Was Star Athlete but Suffered 'Multiple Concussions,'" *New York Post*, April 11, 2023, [online](#).

<sup>59</sup> Zaina Harb, Jana El Baba, Abdallah Al Alami, Noor Abdelaal, and Hussain Hassouna, "Comparative Content Analysis of the Coverage of Black Lives Matter Protests by CNN and OAN from May 26 2016 to November 8 2020," *KIU Interdisciplinary Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 1, no. 3 (2020): 12-24.

America enters a frenzy and demonizes individuals who exert their constitutional right to bear arms—and thus their right to self-defense. In the pursuit of Black liberation and justice, every avenue leads to white rage and pushback from majority-white legislators. At every junction appears a roadblock of appeasers and racists who would not dare alter the system in the name of human rights. It has become increasingly clear that the system is impervious to meaningful structural change. But why should that surprise us? The foundation of America is a duplicitous conundrum of hypocrisy, principled around individual freedoms while founded by slavers.<sup>60</sup> Systems of power exist to protect and maintain themselves, and the suppression of Black freedom is a very intentional function of the system, not an unintended side effect. Only when we reexamine how sacrosanct we consider our structures of power will the opportunity for meaningful change reveal itself. Until then, America will flounder in its abundance of inequality.

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<sup>60</sup> Esther Pavao, *Slavery During the Revolutionary War* (Selmer: Yachad, 2013).



Michael Salazar

*On the Absence of Latino Participation in Aquatics:  
Historic and Socioeconomic Barriers at Municipal Pools  
in Southern California*

**ABSTRACT:** *Focusing on Southern California, this essay discusses the absence of Latinos in aquatics – such as swimming, diving, and water polo. On the basis of newspaper articles, oral history interviews, and other materials, the author argues that this absence derives from historic and socioeconomic barriers, including policies and exorbitant fees, that Latinos had to face at municipal pools throughout the region.*

**KEYWORDS:** *U.S. history; California history; Latino history; Mexican-Americans; aquatics; municipal pool (plunge); Colton; San Bernardino; Lopez v. Secombe; oral history*

*Introduction*

At the 2020 Tokyo Olympics, the Mexican diving team won fourth place in the Men’s Synchronized 10M Platform,<sup>1</sup> much to everyone’s surprise, as nobody had expected these athletes from Mexico to score so high. Against all odds and competing against countries like China and Great Britain, they showed the world their capabilities and only barely missed earning a medal. In celebration of his team’s success, Mexican diver Diego Balleza Isaias took to social media and stated, “Los MEXICANOS somos capaces de dar el infinito,”<sup>2</sup> which translates to “MEXICANS, we are capable of giving infinity.” Isaias—alongside others, like Osmar Olvera, Juan Celaya, Alejandra Orozco, and Andy Garcia—continues to make his country proud, as diving is the top medal-producing Olympic sport for Mexico with fifteen medals total (so far).<sup>3</sup>

Historically, countries with large populations of European descent, such as Great Britain, Hungary, Australia, and the United States of America, have dominated aquatic sports like diving, water polo, and, of course, swimming. One has to look no further than the epitome of men’s swimming, the United States’ very own Michael Phelps, the most decorated Olympian ever.<sup>4</sup> So, at the 2020 Olympics, against the odds, the Mexican diving team made an impact on the world stage, with many looking toward this Latin nation that had competed with such pride and valor. The moment was of particular interest to me personally, as I am a Mexican-American who participated in aquatics while growing up: learning to swim in elementary school, playing water polo on the high school’s varsity team, and becoming a lifeguard during my junior year. My career in aquatic sports extended well beyond high school. For over ten years, I worked as a water safety

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<sup>1</sup> “Tokyo 2020 Diving Men’s Synchronised 10m Platform Results,” Olympics, [online](#).

<sup>2</sup> Diego Balleza Isaias (@diegoballezaoficial), “MEXICANOS somos capaces de dar el infinito,” Instagram, September 15, 2021, [online](#).

<sup>3</sup> “Mexico (MEX),” Olympedia, [online](#).

<sup>4</sup> “Michael Phelps,” Olympics, [online](#).

swimming instructor, an aqua fitness instructor, a pool manager, a recreation specialist, and eventually as an aquatics coordinator for multiple city recreation departments throughout Southern California's Inland Empire. However, I consistently noticed that I was in the minority in the field of aquatics: most of my teammates and work colleagues were white, and very few were Latino. Now, if the World Cup is any indication, Latinos are no strangers to sports. Even American-rooted sports like baseball, football, and basketball routinely feature people of Latino descent,<sup>5</sup> but rarely aquatics. Thus, the question arises: Why is there such a noticeable absence of Latinos in aquatic sports?

### *I. Historiographical Deficits*

Considering the respective historiography, one soon notices another absence, namely, that of specific scholarly research on the role of Latinos in aquatic sports. While there are studies—like Eric Chaline's 2017 monograph *Strokes of Genius: A History of Swimming*—that address the history of swimming in general,<sup>6</sup> specific works on Latinos in aquatic sports seem to have been more or less nonexistent until recently. Therefore, to answer my question, I found myself turning to news coverage, journal articles, and statistics, as well as oral history interviews and historic court cases pertaining to this topic. Fortunately, the historiography of aquatics with regard to other minorities, specifically African Americans, is already extensive. For example, Jeff Wiltse's 2014 article "The Black-White Swimming Disparity in America: A Deadly Legacy of Swimming Pool Discrimination" reveals that "[p]ast discrimination in the provision of and access to swimming pools is largely responsible for the current swimming disparity and thus indirectly responsible, at least in part, for the current drowning disparity."<sup>7</sup> Wiltse has also authored a monograph, *Contested Water: A Social History of Swimming Pools in America* (2007), which discusses the "social history of municipal swimming pools in the northern United States," because it allows us "to study the public lives of Americans from [the perspective of] many different and often overlapping social groups: working-class whites, women, African Americans, immigrants, children, and the middle class."<sup>8</sup>

So, to address the Latino disparity in aquatic sports, I use the respective historiography on other minorities and on the social history of municipal pools. As for its timeline, my essay reaches back to the period between the 1930s and 1960s and then jumps to the period between the 2000s and the present. The gap between the 1960s and 2000s is noteworthy because, during this time, the history

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<sup>5</sup> Adrian Burgos, *Playing America's Game: Baseball, Latinos, and the Color Line* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

<sup>6</sup> Eric Chaline, *Strokes of Genius: A History of Swimming* (London: Reaktion Books, 2017).

<sup>7</sup> Jeff Wiltse, "The Black-White Swimming Disparity in America: A Deadly Legacy of Swimming Pool Discrimination," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 38, no. 4 (2014): 366–389.

<sup>8</sup> Jeff Wiltse, *Contested Waters: A Social History of Swimming Pools in America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010; originally published in 2007), 6.



of pools in America was quite turbulent. According to Wiltse's entry on "Swimming Pools" in the *St. James Encyclopedia of Popular Culture*, between the 1960s and 2000s, "proliferating suburban communities often chose to build private swim clubs instead of public pools,"<sup>9</sup> thereby making access to pools much more difficult for less privileged demographics. In his 2016 article, "Disturbed Waters: New Currents in the History of Water Sport," Glen Thompson argues that the history of water sports continues to be "political, whether their participants see this or not, as determined by local, national, and global conditions."<sup>10</sup>

## II. Defining "Latino"

While this topic has global implication, my essay specifically examines Latino participation in aquatic sports in Southern California, with a primary focus on the Inland Empire, particularly San Bernardino County, since that is where I reside. To explain my use of the term "Latino:" while others might use the term "Hispanic" to denote a person from a Spanish-speaking country,<sup>11</sup> I find that term too broad, as it includes people from the European country of Spain. Meanwhile, the term "Latino" denotes individuals from Latin American countries, generally encompassing nations and regions colonized by Spain and Portugal, such as Mexico, Central America, South America, and the Caribbean. While Spanish—and, in Brazil's case, Portuguese—is the dominant language in all of these countries, the term "Latino" is more inclusive as it also encompasses the members of the native Indigenous populations who may not speak Spanish, such as the Yucatec Maya, Nahuatl, Quechua, or Guarani. Also, for the purposes of this essay, the term "Latino" is meant to be inclusive of all genders, men, women, and non-binaries. Meanwhile, the term "America" refers to the United States of America and the term "American" to a citizen of that country.

Beyond this, the term "Mexican" is used to denote a person from the country of Mexico, while the term "Mexican-American" is used to denote a person who was from Mexico, or has familial ties to Mexico, and is now living in the United States.<sup>12</sup> This could be a first-generation immigrant, a second-generation child of immigrants who grew up with full Mexican heritage in the United States, or even a third-generation grandchild, such as myself. One of the challenges in discovering primary sources on this topic arises from the fact that the term "Latino" is relatively recent, whereas, historically, different terms were used. Because the setting for this essay is Southern California, the term commonly used in the past was either "Mexican" or "Mexican-American."

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<sup>9</sup> Jeffrey Wiltse, "Swimming Pools," in *St. James Encyclopedia of Popular Culture*, ed. Sara Pendergast and Tom Pendergast (Detroit: St. James Press, 2000), 4:590–592, Gale eBooks.

<sup>10</sup> Glen Thompson, "Disturbed Waters: New Currents in the History of Water Sport," *Radical History Review* 125 (May 2016): 199–205.

<sup>11</sup> "What's the Difference between Hispanic and Latino?" Britannica, [online](#).

<sup>12</sup> "Mexican America: Glossary," Smithsonian Institution, [online](#).

Living in the United States further complicates matters concerning race and ethnicity. A person who identifies as “Latino” can be of any race, as there are Afro-Latinos, Asian Latinos, white Latinos, or native Indigenous. Due to centuries of colonization, most Latinos are racially Mestizo, a mix of European and Indigenous blood. However, this genetic indicator does not exist on the U.S. Census, and it leaves many Latinos and Hispanics at a loss as to how they should identify. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, “Hispanic” is not a race.<sup>13</sup> Meanwhile, “Mexican” has not been a racial identity on census forms since the 1930s.<sup>14</sup> This change is a result of the efforts of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), founded in 1929, who advocated for Mexican residents in the United States to be recognized as full citizens and thus treated as “white.”<sup>15</sup> Today, however, a person of Latin American descent typically does not identify with white America and leaves the race question unanswered, only choosing to be identified as a person of Hispanic or Latino origin. According to the data gathered by the 2020 census, 62.1 million Hispanics are living in the United States.<sup>16</sup> Looking exclusively at California, as of 2020, there are over 15 million Latino and Hispanic people living in the state,<sup>17</sup> making up around 40 percent of California’s total population. Narrowing it down to the Inland Empire, “Latinos now comprise a majority of the region’s population at 51.5% – an estimated 2.37 million people.”<sup>18</sup> Yet, despite such high population numbers, very few Latinos can be found in aquatic sports.

### III. Latino Participation in Aquatics?

Since ancient times, humanity has been drawn to the water and developed sports pertaining to it.<sup>19</sup> “Aquatic sports” is any physical activity that occurs in or around the water. In the Olympics, such sports include swimming, artistic swimming, diving, and water polo,<sup>20</sup> along with surfing, which made its Olympic debut at the 2020 games in Tokyo.<sup>21</sup> In the simplest of terms, water polo is a sport consisting of two teams of seven players each (six field players and one goalkeeper) in a deep

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<sup>13</sup> “About the Hispanic Population and Its Origin,” U.S. Census Bureau, [online](#).

<sup>14</sup> Gene Demby, “On the Census, Who Checks ‘Hispanic,’ Who Checks ‘White,’ and Why,” NPR, June 16, 2014, [online](#).

<sup>15</sup> Demby, “On the Census,” [online](#).

<sup>16</sup> Nicholas Jones, Rachel Marks, Roberto Ramirez, Merarys Ríos-Vargas, “2020 Census Illuminates Racial and Ethnic Composition of the Country,” U.S. Census Bureau, August 12, 2021, [online](#).

<sup>17</sup> Erin Duffin, “California: Population, by Race and Ethnicity 2021,” Statista, October 6, 2022, [online](#).

<sup>18</sup> “¡Aquí Estamos! A Data Profile of Latinos in the Inland Empire,” UC Riverside Center for Social Innovation, [online](#).

<sup>19</sup> Chaline, *Strokes of Genius*.

<sup>20</sup> “Aquatics at the Olympics,” Topend Sports, May 2016, [online](#).

<sup>21</sup> “Surfing,” Olympics, [online](#).

pool, where players aim to score by throwing a ball into the opposing team's net.<sup>22</sup> Diving is a sport where individuals jump off a platform or springboard into the pool, usually performing incredible acrobatics while airborne before entering the water.<sup>23</sup> Artistic swimming, formerly known as synchronized swimming, is done either solo, with a partner, or in a group, with individuals performing a synchronized choreographed routine, usually accompanied by music.<sup>24</sup> Surfing involves using a board to ride the face of a wave and navigate back to shore, with a surfer being judged based on their performance on the waves.<sup>25</sup> Swimming, finally, is the exercise of moving one's body through the water with a combination of arm and leg motions.<sup>26</sup> In swimming, there are four main strokes: freestyle, backstroke, breaststroke, and butterfly. These sports range from individual to team, and all require great athletic skills.

With so many people of Latin American descent in California and numerous sports to participate in, it is quite shocking that there is hardly any Latino participation in the Golden State's aquatic sports and aquatic sports teams. In a 2008 newspaper article published in the *Los Angeles Times*, journalist Tony Barboza discusses why there is such an absence of Latinos in aquatics, examining the swimming gap and how cities are just starting to open swimming pools in predominantly Latino areas like Santa Ana and Los Angeles.<sup>27</sup> Barboza writes that "[t]hrough the city [of Santa Ana] is at the core of sun-soaked Orange County, public pools are scarce and Latinos—who make up 78% of the population—are drawn more to soccer. To promote health and safety, Santa Ana high schools are encouraging competitive swimming and water polo among Latinos, who don't traditionally participate in those sports."<sup>28</sup> Barboza goes on to say that this "push is part of a larger effort to promote physical fitness and prevent drowning. Studies show that most Latino children nationwide cannot swim. The community is also battling the stereotype of swimming as a sport for the white and wealthy."<sup>29</sup> According to statistics from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), Latinos are among the highest casualties of drownings.<sup>30</sup> In fact, Latinos have one of the highest rates of at-risk swimming among all minorities, which can lead to

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<sup>22</sup> "Water Polo," Olympics, [online](#).

<sup>23</sup> "Diving," Olympics, [online](#).

<sup>24</sup> "Artistic Swimming," Olympics, [online](#).

<sup>25</sup> "Surfing," Olympics, [online](#).

<sup>26</sup> "Swimming," Olympics, [online](#).

<sup>27</sup> Tony Barboza, "Santa Ana Is Getting in the Swim," *Los Angeles Times*, May 27, 2008, [online](#).

<sup>28</sup> Barboza, "Santa Ana Is Getting in the Swim," [online](#).

<sup>29</sup> Barboza, "Santa Ana Is Getting in the Swim," [online](#).

<sup>30</sup> Tessa Clemens, Briana Moreland, and Robin Lee, "Persistent Racial/Ethnic Disparities in Fatal Unintentional Drowning Rates Among Persons Aged ≤29 Years—United States, 1999–2019," *CDC Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report* 70, no. 24 (2021): 869–874, [online](#).

drownings.<sup>31</sup> In a study conducted in the Department of Epidemiology and Biostatistics at Case Western Reserve University's School of Medicine in Cleveland, Ohio, researchers Rho Henry Olaisen, Susan Flocke, and Thomas Love discovered that

[d]rowning is the leading cause of death for children ages 1–4 and the second leading cause of death for children ages 5–14 in the USA...African American, Native American, and Latino children are at two to eight times greater risk of drowning resulting in death compared to their white counterparts...The rapidly expanding Latino segment of the U.S. population, in combination with the substantially greater risk of drowning resulting in death among Latino children, points to a potentially growing problem in this regard if left unaddressed.<sup>32</sup>

Statistics from the Red Cross Aquatics Division and other aquatics associations, like the California Parks and Recreation Society (CPRS) and the Southern California Public Pool Operators Association (SCPPOA), likely present similar findings.

This essay argues that Latinos have historically had limited participation in aquatics due to three primary factors: policy, economics, and culture. First, policies were set forth that prohibited Mexicans from swimming in municipal public pools. Secondly, in terms of economics, public pools built in white neighborhoods were exclusively accessible to the upper class, and access to private pools was essentially impossible, opening up a debate on the role of class in struggles over public versus private pools. Finally, generations of Latin Americans perpetuated their cultural attitudes and beliefs toward water, contributing to a lack of swimming proficiency, while language barriers made the widespread adoption of swimming difficult. A combination of these factors made it nearly impossible for many Latinos to enjoy the water, become proficient at swimming, and develop their skills enough to join aquatic sports.

#### *IV. Policies Jeopardizing Access*

Since the 1920s and 1930s, when municipal pools like those in the city of San Bernadino and the city of Colton (directly southwest of San Bernardino) first opened, municipal governments enacted policies prohibiting Mexican-Americans from using these public pools that were commonly referred to as "plunges." Visual sources from the first half of the twentieth century generally depict white patrons as the ones using the pools.<sup>33</sup> As we shall see, testimonials and oral history interviews from South Colton residents describe their experiences with municipal pools: the discrimination they faced in the 1940s when trying to use public facilities that white people enjoyed, the conditions imposed upon them so that they could

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<sup>31</sup> Carol C. Irwin, Richard L. Irwin, Nathan T. Martin, and Sally R. Ross, *Constraints Impacting Minority Swimming Participation: Phase II Qualitative Report* (Memphis: University of Memphis, 2010), 7, [online](#).

<sup>32</sup> Rho Henry Olaisen, Susan Flocke, and Thomas Love, "Learning to Swim: Role of Gender, Age, and Practice in Latino Children, Ages 3–14," *Injury Prevention* 24, no. 2 (2017): 129–134.

<sup>33</sup> "Colton Plunge," historical postcard, [online](#).

enter the facilities, and the alternative of swimming in the Santa Ana River when they could not use the pools.

The Colton Plunge opened in May 1920.<sup>34</sup> In the same month, under the headline “New Colton Plunge Is Formally Opened,” the *Enterprise* newspaper of Riverside reported as follows:

COLTON, May 15.—The formal opening of the Colton Memorial Park plunge took place Friday afternoon with a capacity crowd thronging the bathhouse and pavilion. Enthusiasm, which brought conviction of the fact that the plunge will not prove only a welcome playground for this city, but for lovers of water sports all over the valley, was rife. Following an hour’s program of music and public speaking, the plunge was thrown open for bathing at 3:15 and into its crystal depths flocked scores of bathers. The cement platform surrounding the pool was lined three and four deep with spectators. A series of races on the west side of the bathhouse preceded water races. The municipal plunge is one of the largest open-air pools in the state. It measures 90x180 feet and varies from 9 to 2 feet in depth. It is filled with clear mineral water flowing from warm wells at a temperature of 85 degrees. More than 90 dressing rooms with offices, alundry [*sic*], drying rooms, etc., surround the pool on the west, north, and south side, while a latticed rest pavilion and refreshment booth bound it on the south.<sup>35</sup>

Despite the fact that the Colton Plunge was patronized by thousands of Colton residents and aquatic enthusiasts from far and wide, access to the pool was restricted for minorities, particularly Mexicans who were prominently represented in the South Colton community.

The South Colton Oral History Project, a study sponsored by California State University, San Bernardino’s Pfau Library and California Humanities, aimed to document and preserve the history of “South Colton, a 1.3 square-mile ethnically segregated Mexican-American community within the city limits of Colton, California, in the time period from 1890 to 1960,” whose residents “were isolated from the larger, more economically and politically powerful part of the city.”<sup>36</sup> The project reveals the policies that were enacted to limit access to municipal facilities. In his interview, South Colton resident Bobby Vasquez describes the discrimination he faced when attempting to access public pools as a child in 1944: “Well, the thing was that we used to go swimming where we could find a place to go. The park in North Colton was off-limits to us because it was all white, and no Mexicans were allowed.”<sup>37</sup> In his interview, Augie Caldera, the grandson of Juan

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<sup>34</sup> “New Colton Plunge Is Formally Opened,” *Enterprise* (Riverside) 60, no. 227, May 16, 1920, UC Riverside Center for Bibliographical Studies and Research, California Digital Newspaper Collection, database. See Larry Sheffield, *Images of America: Colton* (Chicago: Arcadia Publishing, 2004), 83: “The Colton Plunge, built in 1921 [*sic*] in the Municipal Park, now Cesar Chavez Park, was billed as the largest open-air swimming pool in California. The unheated pool was supplied with warm water by a well donated to the city by Ormiston L. Emery. People came from as far away as 100 miles to enjoy the refreshing water.”

<sup>35</sup> “New Colton Plunge Is Formally Opened,” *Enterprise* (Riverside) 60, no. 227, May 16, 1920.

<sup>36</sup> “South Colton Oral History Project,” CSU San Bernardino, [online](#).

<sup>37</sup> Bobby Vasquez and Rudy Oliva, interview by Tom Rivera, San Bernardino, December 16, 2013, transcript, CSU San Bernardino South Colton Oral History Project Collection, 5, [online](#).



Caldera (a local entrepreneur who sought to “make a better life in Colton for those of Mexican heritage”), talks about an “era of strictly enforced, segregated Colton,” stating that “Mexican people were not allowed to swim in the Colton Plunge except on Fridays.”<sup>38</sup> And the only reason they could swim on Fridays was because Friday was the day before Saturday, when the water was changed.<sup>39</sup> For individuals like Bobby Vasquez, being unable to access the public pool meant finding alternative places to swim: “So, we used to go wherever we could find a place to go swimming. There were a lot of places that we found: canals...La Sección—the reason they called it La Sección is because right next to that canal was some boxcars where railroad workers used to live...We used to go swimming in that canal there...We used to swim naked sometimes in the Santa Ana River.”<sup>40</sup> Other residents describe having to build smaller pools in South Colton because they were banned from the public pool in North Colton.

The discrimination found in Colton was also prevalent in San Bernardino. Mexicans and those of Latino descent were not allowed to access the public swimming pool. While Colton dealt with these racist policies internally, San Bernardino would find these racist and discriminatory policies challenged in court. In the summer of 1943, three Mexican children and the priest J. R. Nuñez, were refused admittance to the Municipal Plunge based on their race. At that time, Mexicans were only allowed to swim one day a week at the Perris Hill Plunge Pool, namely, on Sunday, the day before the pool was cleaned—purportedly because of the danger posed by the pesticides, dirt, and diseases Mexicans came in contact with while working in the fields.<sup>41</sup> When demands for greater accessibility were denied by Mayor W. C. Seccombe and the City Council of San Bernardino, newsman Ignacio Lopez and other members of the city’s Mexican community filed a lawsuit.

*Lopez v. Seccombe* became the first landmark court case for desegregation to include public facilities like pools.<sup>42</sup> This “1944 class-action civil rights lawsuit” in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of California ultimately “determined whether the Mexican-American residents of San Bernardino, California, should be allowed to use the city’s public pool.”<sup>43</sup> Even though *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) had upheld state-mandated segregation laws and established the doctrine of “separate but equal,” the respective “separate but equal” facilities

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<sup>38</sup> “Juan Caldera Gains Colton Sports Hall of Fame Induction, Was Independent Sports, Entertainment Entrepreneur One Hundred Years Ago,” *Inland Empire Community News*, November 30, 2016, [online](#).

<sup>39</sup> “South Colton,” *Five Views: An Ethnic Historic Site Survey for California*, California Department of Parks and Recreation, Office of Historic Preservation, 1988, [online](#).

<sup>40</sup> Vasquez and Oliva, interview, 6, [online](#).

<sup>41</sup> “*Lopez v. Seccombe* Public Pool Discrimination Case Reenacted,” *Service Industry News*, September 30, 2022, [online](#).

<sup>42</sup> *Lopez v. Seccombe*, 71 F. Supp. 769 (S.D. Cal. 1944), [online](#).

<sup>43</sup> “*Lopez v. Seccombe*,” *Service Industry News*, [online](#).

for the use of Mexican-Americans simply did not exist. The only alternative was swimming in canals or the Santa Ana River. As a result of the 1944 legal challenge, city parks and recreational facilities, specifically the Perris Hill Plunge Pool, were ordered desegregated. The U.S. District Court for the Southern District of California ruled that

[t]his Court finds as true that the respondents' [i.e., the City's] conduct, as aforesaid, is illegal and is in violation of petitioners' rights and privileges, as guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States of America, and as secured and guaranteed to them as citizens of the United States, by the Constitution of the United States of America, as particularly provided under the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments. That petitioners are entitled to such equal accommodations, advantages, and privileges and to equal rights and treatment with other persons as citizens of the United States in the use and enjoyment of the facilities of said park and playground and to equal treatment with other persons and to the equal protection of the laws in their use and enjoyment of said privileges as provided, and afforded to other persons at all times when the same is open and used by them.<sup>44</sup>

Throughout the 1950s, desegregation resulted in a number of policy changes being enacted to allow Latinos access to public pools. Rudy Olivia, a lifelong resident of the city of Colton, explains in his interview that "[a]fter the war [i.e., World War II] and after the fellas came back from the war, they opened up the swimming pool for us, and they did away some segregated sections in the theaters – we could sit anywhere we wanted to."<sup>45</sup> Although Mexicans were now able to access the pools legally, it would soon become more difficult for them to access these pools due to economic reasons.

#### V. Socioeconomic Barriers

According to a 2010 study by Karen D. Berukoff and Grant Michael Hill, "[s]ocioeconomic status has been shown to be a prime factor in swimming proficiency because children who grow up in the middle and upper classes are more likely to have regular access to swimming facilities."<sup>46</sup> While the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of California had struck down the segregation of public pools in 1944, thereby enabling greater physical access, economic factors now prevented Latinos from swimming, which meant that they did not develop the skills necessary to do so. The history of swimming pools in America perfectly mirrors the country's prejudiced and discriminatory beliefs. Wiltse's article "Swimming Pools" in the *Encyclopedia of Popular Culture* establishes that it was intentional to build new swimming pools in upper-class neighborhoods only:

Just as many white Americans chose to avoid living next to Black Americans during this period by moving to restricted neighborhoods, they chose to avoid swimming with them by joining

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<sup>44</sup> *Lopez v. Seccombe*, 71 F. Supp. 769 (S.D. Cal. 1944), [online](#).

<sup>45</sup> Vasquez and Oliva, interview, 29, [online](#).

<sup>46</sup> Karen D. Berukoff and Grant Michael Hill, "A Study of Factors That Influence the Swimming Performance of Hispanic High School Students," *International Journal of Aquatic Research and Education* 4, no. 4 (2010): 410.

private swim clubs or building backyard pools. African and Latino Americans, many of whom continued to live in large cities, were left to swim at deteriorating public pools.<sup>47</sup>

The barriers minorities faced when trying to access pools still exist today. Like so many things, it all comes down to money, and it must be noted that “time” is money too. Accessing pools costs money, and swimming lessons cost money. Swimming lessons require a time commitment (i.e., money) by parents or guardians, and developing swimming skills that are going to be suitable for any meaningful participation in aquatic sports costs time (i.e., money). Building pools in areas where there are none costs money, and staffing pools with trained—and multi-lingual—personnel costs money. Pools in underserved communities continue to pale in comparison to pools in affluent communities in terms of size, equipment, staffing, and hours of operation (and the latter is, of course, crucial to developing swimming skills). Historically, “[m]iddle- and working-class Blacks competed with working- and lower middle-class whites for the use of public pools, while wealthy whites swam at private pools.”<sup>48</sup>

One has to look no further than one’s own city to witness the privatization of public programs, which demonstrates the marginalization of minorities when it comes to access to public aquatic programs. Consider the demographics of those who register for private swimming lessons versus those who register for public swimming lessons. The former tends to lean toward affluent, white families who wish to sign up their infants because of the danger posed by having a pool in their own backyard, while the latter tends to lean toward families who sign up their elementary-aged children for lower-priced group lessons because that is what they can afford.

#### *VI. Cultural Aspects*

Finally, there is a culture around pools. Pools have traditionally been white areas, whereas Mexicans and other Latinos have been involved elsewhere. Due to a combination of the previous factors, involvement in aquatic programs and sports has not been cultivated among Latinos over multiple generations, leading to their minimal to nonexistent participation in aquatic sports. If parents do not swim, neither do their children,<sup>49</sup> creating a generational cycle that perpetuates limited involvement in aquatic activities among Latinos.

For those who are trying to break the cycle, language can also pose a barrier.<sup>50</sup> It is no secret that language plays an essential factor in the delivery of swimming lessons, and matters become complicated when the delivery language differs from one’s home language. In their examination of the “effect of swimming lessons on

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<sup>47</sup> Wiltse, “Swimming Pools,” 592.

<sup>48</sup> Wiltse, “Swimming Pools,” 591.

<sup>49</sup> Jennifer Pharr, Carol Irwin, Todd Layne, and Richard Irwin, “Predictors of Swimming Ability among Children and Adolescents in the United States,” *Sports* 6, no. 1 (2018): 8.

<sup>50</sup> Olaisen, Flocke, and Love, “Learning to Swim,” 133.



skill acquisition improvement,” Olaisen, Flocke, and Love point out that, during their study, “[s]wimming instruction was delivered in English, a clear limitation, particularly among the youngest age, as English is often not formally introduced to Latino immigrants in this community until the first year of elementary school.”<sup>51</sup> The study was intended to mimic the most likely circumstances for Latino children who engage in swimming lessons, therefore it preserved English as the instructional language.

Fear is also a contributing factor that builds a culture of not swimming in Latino families. Berukoff and Hill explain that “[f]ear appear[s] to be a major psychological influence that negatively impact[s] the ability of swimmers to perform basic swimming tasks.”<sup>52</sup> Where exactly this fear originates requires further study. It may derive from Mexican folk tales that caution young children away from the water, like the tale of *La Llorona*, a malevolent spirit associated with bodies of water. Historically, in Latin American countries where there were no municipal pools and no one proficient enough to teach the community members to swim, folk tales were used to warn children of the dangers of playing near bodies of water.

Finally, there are very few role models in aquatics that minorities can look up to,<sup>53</sup> but hopefully this will change over time. For example, Mexican-American artistic swimmer Anita Alvarez participated in the 2016 Rio Olympics, and Tony Azevedo, a Brazilian-born American, has been the first U.S. water polo player to compete in five consecutive Olympics.

### Conclusion

The historic absence of Latinos in aquatics can be attributed to a variety of factors, including regulations that prohibited and limited Mexican-Americans from accessing public pools, economic barriers that made pool access exclusive and effectively impossible, and the resulting culture and generational cycle of non-swimmers. If there are Latinos in these spaces, it is a rarity, and they still face discrimination by virtue of being a minority existing in a predominately white space. From personal experience, I have witnessed that even when a Latino attempts to break into aquatics, they start at a disadvantage compared to their white counterparts because they are starting the sport later in life and are having to work harder to compensate for their gap in skills.

Current aquatic professionals have shared their thoughts on minorities in aquatics, particularly what the industry is doing to become fully diversified, inclusive, and equitable. A 2004 article in *Aquatics International* addresses systemic disparities and provides a guide to reparations and actions that need to be taken

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<sup>51</sup> Olaisen, Flocke, and Love, “Learning to Swim,” 133.

<sup>52</sup> Berukoff and Hill, “Study of Factors,” 417.

<sup>53</sup> Barboza, “Santa Ana Is Getting in the Swim,” [online](#).

for aquatics to be more diverse and inclusive.<sup>54</sup> Aquatic professionals advocate for the hiring of more people of color, for offering more swimming lessons at a low or reduced rate, and for providing swimming lessons in multiple languages, especially Spanish. In the words of Tara Eggleston Stewart, “[i]mproving minority participation in aquatics is not just an urban issue; it’s a national issue. As aquatics professionals, we have the power and resources to reduce these statistics...one lap at a time!”<sup>55</sup>

In 2023, a *U.S. National Water Safety Action Plan, 2023–2032*, was released, and it includes—in its chapter on “Action Recommendations” under the header “Water Safety, Water Competency, and Swimming Lessons”—several long-overdue propositions: “Develop and implement minimum national educational standards that include considerations to ensure water safety programs are delivered in a culturally competent, trauma-informed, anxiety sensitive, and historically and socially relevant manner.”<sup>56</sup> “Promote the involvement of aquatics, education, and health and safety organizations, and specifically aquatic sport governing bodies, to invest in, and collaborate with, Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs), and Tribal Colleges and Universities (TCUs) to advance water safety, develop aquatic leaders, expand community education, and conduct land- and water-based training within the college and university system and the surrounding communities.”<sup>57</sup> Like the Mexican divers at the 2020 Tokyo Olympics who inspired the world, this essay hopes to inspire others to find their passion, move toward diversity and inclusion in aquatic sports, and prove that Latinos deserve to have their space in aquatics.

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<sup>54</sup> “A Diverse Pool,” *Aquatics International*, January 1, 2004, [online](#).

<sup>55</sup> Tara Eggleston Stewart, “Statistically Significant: Why High Minority Drowning Rates Should Matter to All of Aquatics,” *Aquatics International*, April 1, 2012, [online](#).

<sup>56</sup> *U.S. National Water Safety Action Plan, 2023–2032* (Washington, D.C.: USNWSAP, 2023), 31, [online](#).

<sup>57</sup> *U.S. National Water Safety Action Plan, 2023–2032*, 32, [online](#).

Monique Garcia

*A Stain on Sweden's History:  
Compulsory Sterilization and the Eradication of Misfits*

**ABSTRACT:** *This essay analyzes the rationale behind compulsory sterilization in Sweden. Sweden was the first country to design and promote a eugenics program, which resulted in the mandatory sterilization of particular social groups, such as Finns, Sámi, Jews, Romani, and the disabled. From the 1930s to the late 1970s, Sweden forcibly sterilized approximately 60,000 women under the 1935 Sterilization Act with the goal of building a pure Sweden – a nation of Nordic, able-bodied, and heterosexual individuals.*

**KEYWORDS:** *modern history; Sweden; sterilization; women; Finns; Sámi; Jews; Romani; disabled; Nordicism*

*Introduction*

According to travel magazines and news reports, Sweden is one of the best countries in the world. They describe Sweden as “an outstanding place to live” that puts its focus on improving “environmental issues, civic engagement, education, health and well-being, personal safety, and having a good work-life balance.”<sup>1</sup> Yet, while the Swedish government continues to emphasize these civic ideals in the twenty-first century, Sweden—like many colonial powers—has a stain on its history that has been largely kept from the world.

Sweden’s ties to eugenics and state practices that targeted persons judged aberrant and unsuitable for reproducing have remained a stain on the country’s history. The study of eugenics and the emphasis on producing a pure Nordic nation first took root in the early twentieth century. In 1909, the Swedish Society for Racial Hygiene was founded with the purpose of influencing “public policy as well as public opinion by spreading knowledge about eugenic methods and results.”<sup>2</sup> The Swedish Society for Racial Hygiene paved the way for the State Institute for Racial Biology, a government-funded eugenics institute that was the first of its kind.

Founded in the 1920s, this State Institute divided the Swedish people (Nordic, Finns, Sámi, Romani, etc.) on the basis of racial criteria to secure the livelihood and lineage of the Nordic (Swedish) race.<sup>3</sup> The State Institute and the Swedish government alike sought to promote both “positive” and “negative” measures.<sup>4</sup> The “positive” measures aimed to boost the Nordic population, while the “negative” ones aimed to prevent the “other” populations (Finns, Sámi, Romani,

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<sup>1</sup> Gizane Campos, “Sweden Ranks as the Best Country for Quality of Life,” Global Citizen Solutions, [online](#).

<sup>2</sup> Maria Björkman and Sven Widmalm, “Selling Eugenics: The Case of Sweden,” *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 64, no. 4 (December 2010): 381.

<sup>3</sup> Ulrika Kjellman, “A Whiter Shade of Pale: Visuality and Race in the Work of the Swedish State Institute for Race Biology,” *Scandinavian Journal of History* 38, no. 2 (2013): 180–201.

<sup>4</sup> Björkman and Widmalm, “Selling Eugenics,” 382.

etc.) from growing. "Sterilization was put forth as a superior tool to achieve the latter goal,"<sup>5</sup> and in the 1930s, the Swedish government passed a law that legitimized the sterilization of those deemed deviants and a burden to the nation.

The aim of this essay is to examine the motivations behind the compulsory sterilization of minority women in Sweden. From the 1930s to the late 1970s, Sweden sterilized approximately 60,000 women under the Sterilization Act, which was approved in 1935 and further expanded in 1941. Sweden sterilized these women due to the implementation of a racial biology-based hierarchy, the desire to eliminate the economic burden of caring for those deemed unfit, and the failure—until 1974—to enact a modern Constitution that prohibited all forms of racial and gender discrimination.

### *I. Historiography*

Sweden was the first country to develop and support a eugenics program, which resulted in regulations that advocated the mandatory sterilization of certain groups. These regulations were enacted in an attempt to manage the intended population while paving the path for the eugenics movement. From the 1930s to the late 1970s, Sweden forcibly sterilized women to build a nation that they thought was "pure," namely, made up of Nordic, able-bodied, and heterosexual individuals.<sup>6</sup> Swedish officials targeted minorities and people deemed impure or a burden on the nation. The 1935 Sterilization Act would forever deprive these women of the opportunity to bear children. Recently, more and more scholars have written about the eugenics movement in Sweden and have examined the motivations behind it.

Some of them, like the Canadian historian of medicine Paul Weindling, study how the eugenics movement spread throughout Europe and how eugenics became a global concept among public health experts, welfare reformers, and organizations concerned with the biological basis of race and sexuality.<sup>7</sup> Swedish historian of science Gunnar Broberg and Norwegian historical theorist Nils Roll-Hansen use quantitative and qualitative data to determine what led to the creation of mass sterilization programs in Scandinavian countries (i.e., Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Finland), claiming that it was thought to be done for the "betterment of society."<sup>8</sup> These and other authors investigate the history, politics, science, and economics that led to the development of the Sterilization Act, providing relevant and vital information on compulsory sterilization. When

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<sup>5</sup> Björkman and Widmalm, "Selling Eugenics," 382.

<sup>6</sup> Marius Turda, review of *Eugenics and the Welfare State: Sterilization Policy in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Finland*, ed. Gunnar Broberg and Nils Roll-Hansen, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 81, no. 4 (Winter 2007): 894–895.

<sup>7</sup> Paul Weindling, "International Eugenics: Swedish Sterilization in Context," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 24, no. 2 (1999): 179–197.

<sup>8</sup> Gunnar Broberg and Nils Roll-Hansen, eds., *Eugenics and the Welfare State: Sterilization Policy in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Finland* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1996).

looking at the development of Swedish eugenics, specifically the formation of the Swedish State Institute for Racial Biology, the work of Swedish historians Maria Björkman and Sven Widmalm are vital. Björkman and Widmalm provide a unique perspective as they explore the viewpoints of eugenic academics and scientists, whose key issue in the early twentieth century was the selling of eugenics. This argument is key as it presents the various networks and individuals that made the Sterilization Act possible.<sup>9</sup>

With regard to race-based sterilization, studies offer a considerable range of differing perspectives. John Rogers and Marie C. Nelson, both affiliated with Swedish universities, examine the qualitative and quantitative data used to categorize racial groups living in Sweden. Their main point is to demonstrate how this racial hierarchy was utilized to label certain groups as deficient.<sup>10</sup> According to Rogers and Nelson, “the aim of the modern Swedish state during this period was to improve the racial qualities of the Swedish ‘race’ by eliminating undesirable elements.”<sup>11</sup> British scholar Sarah Ramsay’s work is based on a government commission report on the targeted sterilization of specific communities.<sup>12</sup> Ramsay analyzes how the application of the Sterilization Act changed from 1935 until 1975, finding that, according to the government commission, “opinion was united in favor of the legislation when it was in effect.”<sup>13</sup> Meanwhile, historian of medicine Terry-Lee Marttinen examines how the Sámi were targets of race-based sterilization. Marttinen discusses the history of eugenics in Sweden, including the use of racial biology.<sup>14</sup>

There is an array of those who have written on the Swedish Sterilization Act and racial biology. Susan Danielsson, a scholar affiliated with the American Military University, examines the Swedish State Institute for Racial Biology, which led to the formation of a racial hierarchy in Sweden:<sup>15</sup> eugenicists used their “findings” and “the support of political parties and the social elite to promote and incorporate their ideologies into social policy.”<sup>16</sup> The Swedish Sterilization Act targeted Sámi, Finns, Jews, Romani, and the disabled. Danielsson discusses the impact that the Swedish Sterilization Act and the eugenics movement have had on

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<sup>9</sup> Björkman and Widmalm, “Selling Eugenics,” 379–400.

<sup>10</sup> John Rogers and Marie C. Nelson, “‘Lapps, Finns, Gypsies, Jews, and Idiots?’ Modernity and the Use of Statistical Categories in Sweden,” *Annales de Démographie Historique* 105, no. 1 (2003): 61.

<sup>11</sup> Rogers and Nelson, “Lapps, Finns, Gypsies, Jews, and Idiots,” 72.

<sup>12</sup> Sarah Ramsay, “Enforced Sterilisations in Sweden Confirmed,” *The Lancet* 355, no. 9211 (2000): 1252.

<sup>13</sup> Ramsay, “Enforced Sterilisations,” 1252.

<sup>14</sup> Terry-Lee Marttinen, “Eugenics, Admixture, and Multiculturalism in Twentieth-Century Northern Sweden: Contesting Disability and Sámi Genocide,” *Journal of Critical Mixed-Race Studies* 1, no. 2 (2022): 233–261.

<sup>15</sup> Susan Danielsson, “Not Fit to Breed: Eugenics in Sweden, 1900 to Present,” *Saber and Scroll* 9, no. 1 (2020): 49–67.

<sup>16</sup> Danielsson, “Not Fit to Breed,” 51.

the nation, as “the Swedish government could face thousands of legal claims for compensation.”<sup>17</sup> Researcher Declan Butler’s work scrutinizes the silence of Swedish scientists and the failure of the medical community.<sup>18</sup> Butler dissects racial biology in Sweden, referencing the expanded Swedish Sterilization Act of 1941 and medical genetics in Sweden, specifically in the 1950s. The perspective of the victims is a crucial part of his work, as he discusses how the Swedish Sterilization Act was eventually abolished with the help of protests from victims.

Scholars such as Alberto Spektorowski, Elisabet Mizrachi, Torbjörn Tännsjö, and Niels Lynöe offer additional perspectives. Israeli political scientists Alberto Spektorowski and Elisabet Mizrachi investigate the motivation for sterilization, discovering an exclusionist vision of social welfare and a desire for a healthy society as the driving forces.<sup>19</sup> Swedish philosopher Torbjörn Tännsjö takes a different approach as he looks at how the Swedish sterilization effort targeted people based on their race and ability.<sup>20</sup> Meanwhile, Niels Lynöe, a Swedish scholar of medical ethics, examines why half of the women who were sterilized were apparently not pressured. Lynöe analyzes how, despite the fact that the Swedish Sterilization Act emerged out of the eugenics movement, those who were sterilized did so for a variety of reasons.<sup>21</sup>

## II. The Formation of a Racial Hierarchy

From the 1930s to the late 1970s, Sweden forcibly sterilized approximately 60,000 women based on the idea of a racial biology-based hierarchy. The Sterilization Act was introduced as a “way of changing society for the better.”<sup>22</sup> At the turn of the twentieth century, racial biology thrived in scientific, medical, and academic settings across Europe, as eugenicists sought to make their respective race(s) superior to all others. Swedish eugenicists and their supporters viewed sterilization as a “human solution.”<sup>23</sup>

As indicated earlier, the Swedish State Institute for Racial Biology was the first of its kind and propelled Sweden into the eugenics movement. Herman Lundborg (1868–1943), the State Institute’s director, and other Swedish eugenicists “sought to improve the superior Swedish race through eugenic social policies that helped

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<sup>17</sup> Danielsson, “Not Fit to Breed,” 51.

<sup>18</sup> Declan Butler, “Eugenics Scandal Reveals Silence of Swedish Scientists,” *Nature* 389, no. 6646 (1997): 9.

<sup>19</sup> Alberto Spektorowski and Elisabet Mizrachi, “Eugenics and the Welfare State in Sweden: The Politics of Social Margins and the Idea of a Productive Society,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 39, no. 3 (2004): 333–352.

<sup>20</sup> Torbjörn Tännsjö, “Compulsory Sterilisation in Sweden,” *Bioethics* 12, no. 3 (1998): 236–249.

<sup>21</sup> Niels Lynöe, “Race Enhancement Through Sterilization: Swedish Experiences,” *International Journal of Mental Health* 36, no. 1 (2007): 17–25.

<sup>22</sup> Butler, “Eugenics Scandal,” 9.

<sup>23</sup> Butler, “Eugenics Scandal,” 9.

prevent inferior individuals from procreating with those deemed superior."<sup>24</sup> Eugenacists aimed for racial purity, which they felt could only be found in the Nordic (Swedish) population. Now, historically, the Indigenous population known as the Sámi should be referred to as Swedes; however, eugenacists "excluded this minority group."<sup>25</sup> Swedish eugenacists produced a racial hierarchy supported by scientific racism and nationalistic ideologies. Using physical and national traits, they identified who and what the ideal Swede was and should be.

Swedish eugenacists used human data and experimentation to define these characteristics and establish a hierarchy: "A vast amount of bodily data was therefore collected – bodies, skulls, and face angles were measured, and hair and eye colors determined, to decide what race a person belonged to."<sup>26</sup> Separating the population into Nordic, Sámi, Finns, mixed-race (Romani), and others, they claimed that the Nordic (Swedish) race descended from "the ancient Germanic peoples, and their blood connection ensured they inherited numerous 'positive' characteristics."<sup>27</sup> Lundborg described racially pure Swedes as strong, fair-skinned, with fair hair and short, straight noses. He even noted their characteristics as "heroic, courageous, hardworking, compassionate, and hospitable, especially toward strangers."<sup>28</sup> Racially pure Swedes were considered well-educated and industrious, unlike their counterparts, who were anything but that. Swedish eugenacists used "positive" measures aimed at ensuring that racially pure individuals procreated within their own population and therefore increased the superior Nordic race. They also used "negative" measures aimed at preventing the non-Swedish populations from reproducing.

The groups that were seen as "inferior" and targeted for the implementation of "negative" measures (i.e., sterilization) included the Finns, Sámi, Jews, and Romani. The goal was to eliminate these groups and ensure that they could not infect the Nordic race.<sup>29</sup> Swedish eugenacists condemned these groups and saw them as racial threats and poisons.<sup>30</sup> The Swedish adopted policies that allowed for the sterilization of these groups, "even if they did not agree to the procedure."<sup>31</sup> These laws were in effect until 1975.

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<sup>24</sup> Danielsson, "Not Fit to Breed," 53.

<sup>25</sup> Danielsson, "Not Fit to Breed," 54.

<sup>26</sup> Kjellman, "Whiter Shade of Pale," 180–201.

<sup>27</sup> Danielsson, "Not Fit to Breed," 54.

<sup>28</sup> Danielsson, "Not Fit to Breed," 54.

<sup>29</sup> Rogers and Nelson, "Lapps, Finns, Gypsies, Jews, and Idiots," 61–79.

<sup>30</sup> Danielsson, "Not Fit to Breed," 54.

<sup>31</sup> Rogers and Nelson, "Lapps, Finns, Gypsies, Jews, and Idiots," 74.

### III. Protecting the Welfare State

Sweden sterilized women due to a desire to eliminate the economic burden of caring for those deemed unfit. The majority of the Nordic (Swedish) public eventually accepted sterilization after witnessing its use for “eugenic (relating to ‘racial cleanliness’ or ‘genetic purity’), social, and medical” objectives.<sup>32</sup> Despite the fact that Sweden was the first country to establish a State Institute for Racial Biology and relied on it throughout the eugenics movement, the reasoning for compulsory sterilization shifted from racialization to economic needs.<sup>33</sup>

The Nordic population supported sterilization because they did not want the economic burden of caring for misfits. Ultimately viewing it as eugenic socialism, the Swedish sought to “engineer a welfare community for ‘the fittest’ or a ‘welfare eugenics,’ built on parameters of ‘right-living’ destined to exclude those defined as non-productive.”<sup>34</sup> Swedish government officials modified the Sterilization Act with the goal of not just improving the Nordic race but also ensuring the welfare state’s security.<sup>35</sup> Swedes were consumed by Nordicism and nationalism as they sought to exclude entire groups based on biological and social classifications: “[w]hen eugenics became the basis of social engineering, it broadened the scope of those destined to be ‘excluded.’”<sup>36</sup> Sterilization was not only determined by race but also by economic productivity. Therefore, women who were seen as “economically dependent and lower-class”<sup>37</sup> were sterilized.

Forced sterilization targeted Finns, Sámi, Jews, Romani, and the disabled because certain personal qualities and illnesses were viewed as hereditary and tied to these specific groups. Supporters of sterilization argued that the “miserable conditions of urban slums were a direct result of the genetic inefficiencies of the slums’ inhabitants, rather than a product of social structures.”<sup>38</sup> Swedish officials highlighted the large costs incurred by non-Swedish groups, labeling them as deviants and unsuitable. This became a key component of the eugenics push.<sup>39</sup> The survival of the Swedish welfare state was used to excuse forced sterilizations, as certain groups were viewed as threats and incompetent. Sterilization policies reflected the demands and desires of the state while entirely disregarding the individual rights of its people.

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<sup>32</sup> Ramsay, “Enforced Sterilisations,” 1252.

<sup>33</sup> Butler, “Eugenics Scandal,” 9.

<sup>34</sup> Spektorowski and Mizrachi, “Eugenics,” 334.

<sup>35</sup> Danielsson, “Not Fit to Breed,” 49.

<sup>36</sup> Spektorowski and Mizrachi, “Eugenics,” 337.

<sup>37</sup> Yağmur Yılmaz, “Eugenics and Bodily Discipline in the Scandinavian Welfare State” (master’s thesis, Lund University, 2019), 11.

<sup>38</sup> Spektorowski and Mizrachi, “Eugenics,” 335.

<sup>39</sup> Danielsson, “Not Fit to Breed,” 62.



#### IV. The Declaration of Human Rights

Sweden sterilized approximately 60,000 women due to its failure to enact a modern Constitution that prohibited all forms of racial and gender discrimination until 1974. The Swedish Sterilization Act was repealed in 1975, partly as a result of protests by sterilization victims during the 1960s women's movement and partly as a result of the United Nations' anti-discriminatory advances, which contributed to the modernization of the Swedish constitution.

The Swedish Sterilization Act was in effect from 1935 to 1975, and it targeted women from marginalized communities. These women had been "branded as superfluous, 'undeserving' citizens" despite having Swedish citizenship.<sup>40</sup> From the perspective of the United Nations (admittedly founded ten years after the passage of the Swedish Sterilization Act), Swedish law endorsed the "violation of international human rights,"<sup>41</sup> as compulsory sterilization was a violation of the "right to health; the right to information; the right to liberty and security of the person; the right to be free from torture and cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment; and the right to be free from discrimination and equality."<sup>42</sup> These discriminatory practices denied certain women and their communities—Finns, Sámi, Jews, Romani, and the disabled—fundamental rights. They denied them the right to motherhood "due to a perception that they [were] less than ideal members of society."<sup>43</sup>

Swedish officials and courts had viewed compulsory sterilization as a necessary evil for the welfare of society and the well-being of women from populations deemed unfit. The failure of Sweden to recognize the crimes against humanity committed during the eugenics movement demonstrated the public's reliance on white supremacy and racial nationalism. Fortunately, in the 1960s and 1970s, the second wave of feminism broke through, focusing on "equity and discrimination."<sup>44</sup>

As early as 1953, the European Convention for Human Rights had taken a clear position against many forms of discrimination.<sup>45</sup> The United Nations' "Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination" was adopted in 1965 (and entered into force in 1969); it affirmed "that any doctrine of superiority based on racial differentiation is scientifically false, morally condemnable, socially unjust and dangerous, and that there is no justification for

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<sup>40</sup> Yilmaz, "Eugenics," 11.

<sup>41</sup> Priti Patel, "Forced Sterilization of Women as Discrimination," *Public Health Reviews* 38, no. 1 (2017): 4.

<sup>42</sup> Patel, "Forced Sterilization," 4.

<sup>43</sup> Patel, "Forced Sterilization," 9.

<sup>44</sup> *Bloomington Women's Liberation Front Newsletter*, October 13, 1970, Gale Primary Sources, Women's Studies Archive, database.

<sup>45</sup> Jessica Sandberg, "Human Rights in Sweden," *Revista IIDH* 36, no. 1 (2002): 107–127.

racial discrimination, in theory, or in practice, anywhere.”<sup>46</sup> The United Nations’ “Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women” was adopted in 1979 (and entered into force in 1981); it emphasized that gender discrimination “violates the principles of equality of rights and respect for human dignity.”<sup>47</sup> Thus, the international community’s stance against racial and gender discrimination aided and is reflected in the modernization of the Swedish Constitution in 1974 and the annulment of the Swedish Sterilization Act in 1975.

### *Conclusion*

From the 1930s to the late 1970s, Sweden sterilized approximately 60,000 women under the Sterilization Act due to the implementation of a racial biology-based hierarchy, the desire to eliminate the economic burden of caring for those deemed unfit, and the failure – until 1974 – to enact a modern Constitution that prohibited all forms of racial and gender discrimination. Sweden participated in the compulsory sterilization of women due to ethnocentric and white nationalist – Nordicist – sentiments. The women sterilized during this period were stripped of their human rights and of the choice of motherhood. They were sterilized on the grounds of eugenics, social, and medical ideologies, “even if they did not agree to the procedure.”<sup>48</sup> Sweden targeted Finns, Sámi, Romani, and Jews as they were viewed as racially inferior. The government was additionally concerned about genetic illnesses and believed that women with disabilities were unable to truly mother their infants. The desire to secure “the homogeneity of the Swedish people”<sup>49</sup> led to the rejection of these entire groups and, ultimately, to their sterilization.

After years of pressure from these various groups, protests held during the 1960s and 1970s second-wave feminist movement, as well as the United Nations’ anti-discriminatory advances, Sweden finally realized the errors it had made. In 1975, Sweden stopped the compulsory sterilization of Finns, Sámi, Romani, Jewish, and disabled women. However, Sweden soon targeted a new group, namely, individuals from the LGBTQ+ community. Between 1973 and 2013, Sweden forced transgender individuals to be sterilized while undergoing gender-change surgery.<sup>50</sup>

For years, individuals in Sweden were silenced, kept in the dark, and severely impacted by the atrocities of the eugenics movement, and the country’s troubled past has remained obscured by nationalistic beliefs. Yet, despite attempts by the

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<sup>46</sup> U.N. General Assembly, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (December 21, 1965), [online](#).

<sup>47</sup> U.N. General Assembly, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women New York (December 18, 1979), [online](#).

<sup>48</sup> Rogers and Nelson, “Lapps, Finns, Gypsies, Jews, and Idiots,” 74.

<sup>49</sup> Rogers and Nelson, “Lapps, Finns, Gypsies, Jews, and Idiots,” 69.

<sup>50</sup> Johan Ahlander, “Sweden to Offer Compensation for Transgender Sterilizations,” *Reuters*, March 27, 2017, [online](#).

Swedish government to suppress history, the truth is emerging. Consequently, the Swedish government has decided to compensate everyone who was sterilized for the suffering and mistreatment they had to endure.<sup>51</sup> But the psychological and emotional effects these people experienced will always remain with them.

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<sup>51</sup> Danielsson, "Not Fit to Breed," 62; Ahlander, "Sweden to Offer Compensation," [online](#).

Rachel Jensen

*Something Rotten:  
The Danish Government's Shift toward  
Restrictive and Xenophobic Policies in the Twenty-First Century*

**ABSTRACT:** *This article explores Denmark's paradoxical reputation as a socially progressive nation amidst the implementation of restrictive and xenophobic laws by its government. Drawing on the insights of Scandinavian political scholars, particularly those who focus on neo-nationalism and populism, the article first delves into the ascent of the conservative Danish People's Party, then evaluates the compromises made by mainstream political parties empowering far-right factions, and finally examines the discourse surrounding Islam and immigration. The author contends that Denmark's shift toward increasingly restrictive policies stems from the Danish People's Party's influence, the centrist parties' willingness to collaborate with the far-right, and the normalization of a political narrative framing Islam and immigration as threats to Danish culture.*

**KEYWORDS:** *modern history; Denmark; demographics; Danish People's Party; right-wing populism; neo-nationalism; multiculturalism; immigration; xenophobia; islamophobia*

*Introduction*

A white lighthouse topped with a red roof sits upon a grassy bluff, turquoise waters lapping against a stony beach. Two cyclists contemplatively gaze at the wide expanse of ocean. In the background, a bridge stretches across the horizon, an invitation to consider where it may lead. Across the picture are superimposed the words, "Once we were brutal Vikings. Now we are one of the world's most peaceful societies. Welcome to Denmark."<sup>1</sup> Visitors to the official website of Denmark are greeted with a seemingly idyllic location—a place of peace and harmony. Scrolling further down, viewers are greeted with pictures of smiling individuals juxtaposed above articles with titles like "Pioneers in Clean Energy" and "Gender Equality – An Incomplete Success." A few clicks will land a person on a page that praises the innate trust Danes have both in their country and in each other, stating: "In Denmark, people leave their children sleeping outside in baby prams, lost wallets are returned with money inside, and a word is a word when doing business."<sup>2</sup> Another article asks why Danish people are so happy: "Is it the tuition-free access to high-quality education, or the no-fee public health care? Is it the relative lack of crime and corruption, or just plain Danish *hygge*?"<sup>3</sup>

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark carefully cultivates each element of the website to project a very particular image: that of a welcoming, progressive country where people truly are just that peaceful, trusting, and happy. However,

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<sup>1</sup> "Welcome to Denmark," Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, [online](#).

<sup>2</sup> "Trust: A Cornerstone of Danish Culture," Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, [online](#).

<sup>3</sup> "Why Are Danish People So Happy?" Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, [online](#). The meaning of the Danish noun *hygge* is similar that of the German noun *Gemütlichkeit*: being comfortable, enjoying oneself, and having a pleasant time.

this is an incomplete representation that fails to acknowledge the realities of a country in conflict with itself. Since 2000, the Danish Parliament has passed increasingly restrictive and xenophobic legislation that targets non-Western immigrants, particularly Muslims. For instance, in 2018, the Danish government passed a law that bans garments that cover the face in public, essentially outlawing the *burqa* and *niqab*, which are coverings worn by some Muslim women.<sup>4</sup> In the initial proposal, failure to comply with the law would have resulted in a prison sentence; however, this sanction was eventually dropped from the bill in favor of progressive fines based on the number of offenses. Critics of the law saw it as discriminatory – a clear targeting of a specific population within Denmark. Such a law appears antithetical in a country that promotes itself as a socially progressive nation in which civil rights such as freedom of religion are protected. The question thus arises: why has the Danish Parliament adopted such legislation? Ultimately, the Danish government has enacted increasingly restrictive and xenophobic policies due to the influence of the Danish People’s Party (DPP or *Dansk Folkeparti*), the willingness of center-left and center-right political parties to compromise with far-right wing groups, and the normalization of a discourse by politicians that frames Islam and immigration as a danger to Danish culture, which has resonated with Danes.

### *I. Historiography*

Since the 1980s, Europe has witnessed the emergence and growth of populist and nationalist movements across the continent—Denmark being no different. Scholars have sought to understand the underlying causes of this trend, such as economic globalization, cultural anxieties, social inequality, and political disillusionment. Some historians emphasize the impact of economic transformations and the erosion of traditional industries, while others highlight the role of identity politics and cultural backlash. When examining Denmark’s recent political history and its shift in policies, many scholars focus on the intersection of some combination of populism, nationalism, racism, and xenophobia.

In order to understand nationalism, particularly the rise of neo-nationalism, Eirikur Bergmann’s *Neo-nationalism: The Rise of Nativist Populism* (2020) proves particularly useful. As one of the most recent texts on the topic, Bergmann focuses more broadly on three waves of nativist populism in the post-war era, emerging into what he defines as contemporary neo-nationalism.<sup>5</sup> Bergmann does not simply focus on Europe, but he also includes examples from the United States so as to further trace how formerly discredited and marginalized politics have been normalized. By identifying the qualities of neo-nationalism, Bergmann illustrates

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<sup>4</sup> Sasha Ingber, “Denmark Bans the Burqa and Niqab,” *NPR*, May 31, 2018, [online](#).

<sup>5</sup> Eirikur Bergmann, *Neo-Nationalism: The Rise of Nativist Populism* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2020).

how nativist populists create an external threat, point to domestic traitors, and position themselves as true defenders of the nation. Similar sentiments about the rise of populism, nationalism, and xenophobia are echoed in the works of Peter Hervik, Ruth Wodak, and Jens Rydgren.

In *The Annoying Difference: The Emergence of Danish Neonationalism, Neoracism, and Populism in the Post-1989 World* (2014), Peter Hervik examines similar topics to Bergmann while focusing more specifically on Denmark and the emergence of neo-nationalism, neo-racism, and populism.<sup>6</sup> To contextualize politicians' more recent actions, both Bergmann and Hervik take into consideration the rise in right-wing populism that occurred across Europe in the early 1980s. In other articles, he further delves into the intersection of neo-racist, neo-nationalist, and populist political developments that have driven the crisis of multiculturalism within the country, a topic also addressed by political philosopher Nils Holtug.<sup>7</sup> Hervik argues that immigrant cultures have been reduced to stereotypes, and it has become increasingly acceptable to speak about such cultures in crass and uncompromising ways. Ruth Wodak's *The Politics of Fear: What Right-Wing Populist Discourses Mean* (2015) adds further nuance to the discussion of the rise of right-wing populism and the language surrounding it.<sup>8</sup> By examining populist discourses, Wodak offers insight into how parties harness fear as a means of control, which is valuable for analyzing the rhetoric deployed by the Danish People's Party to frame non-Western immigrants, particularly Muslims, as threats to Danish culture and society.

Jens Rydgren has written extensively on radical right-wing populism, focusing particularly on exclusionary policies and practices within Scandinavian countries. His work has been extensively cited by much of the more recent scholarship on populism, nationalism, and racism; Bergmann, Hervik, and Wodak all reference him. Adopting a comparative approach in his article "Radical Right-Wing Populism in Denmark and Sweden: Explaining Party System Change and Stability" (2010), Rydgren juxtaposes the more successful Danish People's Party with Sweden's largely marginalized radical right-wing parties (i.e., the New Democracy and the Sweden Democrats).<sup>9</sup> Harald F. Moore takes a similar approach in his comparison of Denmark and Norway, contrasting how far-right political parties have been viewed and treated by more mainstream

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<sup>6</sup> Peter Hervik, *The Annoying Difference: The Emergence of Danish Neonationalism, Neoracism, and Populism in the Post-1989 World* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014; originally published in 2011).

<sup>7</sup> Peter Hervik, "Ending Tolerance as a Solution to Incompatibility: The Danish 'Crisis of Multiculturalism,'" *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 15, no. 2 (2012): 211–25; Nils Holtug, "Danish Multiculturalism, Where Art Thou?," in *Challenging Multiculturalism: European Models of Diversity*, ed. Raymond Taras (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 190–215.

<sup>8</sup> Ruth Wodak, *The Politics of Fear: What Right-Wing Populist Discourses Mean* (London: SAGE Publications, 2015).

<sup>9</sup> Jens Rydgren, "Radical Right-Wing Populism in Denmark and Sweden: Explaining Party System Change and Stability," *The SAIS Review of International Affairs* 30, no. 1 (2010): 57–71.

organizations.<sup>10</sup> While the Scandinavian countries are by no means monolithic, comparing Denmark to the likes of Sweden and Norway allows for a broader understanding of the various contexts and factors influencing the rise of populist and nationalist movements. In examining the rise of right-wing populism and its impact on Danish politics over the last thirty years, much of the scholarship emphasizes the 2001 election as a turning point. For the first time in decades, Denmark had an ostensibly conservative government. In addition to Rydgren, Terri E. Givens (in *Voting Radical Right in Western Europe*) and Daniel Skidmore-Hess (in “The Danish Party System and the Rise of the Right in the 2001 Parliamentary Election”) provide a unique perspective on the causes and factors behind the rise of the right.<sup>11</sup> Written in 2005 and 2003, respectively, both survey the shift in Denmark’s government not long after it occurred, offering insight into the immediate consequences. Anders Widfeldt’s monograph *Extreme Right Parties in Scandinavia* (2015) further elaborates on the rise of the right with the advantage of several decades of separation from the founding of the Progress Party to the rise of the Danish People’s Party.<sup>12</sup>

Taken together, the above-mentioned scholarship creates a nuanced narrative about the various intersections of populism, nationalism, racism, and xenophobia and how countries are impacted socially and politically. Each text lends an additional perspective to the examination of why Denmark has shifted from the open, tolerant, and socially liberal country it was in the wake of World War II to one that has implemented some of the toughest immigration legislation in Western Europe and continues to enact increasingly restrictive and xenophobic policies.

## II. *The Rise of Right-Wing Populism: The Influence of the Danish People’s Party*

The Danish People’s Party has been a significant political force in Denmark since the late 1990s, consistently advocating for stricter immigration controls, tighter border security, and more assimilation requirements for immigrants. To understand its position of influence throughout the early twenty-first century, it is crucial to know the party’s origin and platform. Founded in 1995, the DPP emerged from the Progress Party, an established right-wing populist party that had gained popularity in the 1970s. Originally created as an anti-tax protest by Mogens Glistrup (1926–2008) in 1972, the Progress Party’s platform centered on “the battle against the income tax, public bureaucracy, and other threats to individual liberty.”<sup>13</sup> Positioning itself as a movement operating against the old parties and the establishment, the Progress Party gained traction and support.

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<sup>10</sup> Harald F. Moore, “Immigration in Denmark and Norway: Protecting Culture or Protecting Rights?” *Scandinavian Studies* 82, no. 3 (2010): 355–364.

<sup>11</sup> Terri E. Givens, *Voting Radical Right in Western Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Daniel Skidmore-Hess, “The Danish Party System and the Rise of the Right in the 2001 Parliamentary Election,” *International Social Science Review* 78, no. 3/4 (2003): 89–110.

<sup>12</sup> Anders Widfeldt, *Extreme Right Parties in Scandinavia* (Milton Park: Routledge, 2015).

<sup>13</sup> Givens, *Voting Radical Right*, 136.

However, despite the Progress Party gaining twenty-eight (of 179) seats in the 1973 election, making it the second largest party in the Danish Parliament, it did not form a part of the ruling coalition because the other parties refused to cooperate with it.<sup>14</sup> Over time, the Progress Party split into two factions: “those who wanted to pursue cooperation with the mainstream parties (the pragmatists) and those who wanted the party to stand on its own (the fundamentalists).”<sup>15</sup> Disenchanted with the unwillingness of the fundamentalists to consider any compromises or agreements with other parties, the pragmatists exited the Progress Party to form the DPP.

Under the leadership of Pia Kjaersgaard (b.1947), the DPP quickly distinguished itself from the Progress Party. The new party prioritized concerns about the negative effects of immigration, including the preservation of Danish culture, social cohesion, and the welfare system. Early on, the party’s leadership made it clear that it “oppose[d] the transformation of Denmark into a multi-ethnic, multicultural society and [had] adopt[ed] an anti-immigration, especially anti-Muslim, stance.”<sup>16</sup> In 1997, Pia Kjaersgaard, then leader of the party, declared that “a multiethnic Denmark would be a national disaster.”<sup>17</sup> Heading into the 1998 elections, the Danish People’s Party “entered the scene with an ideological message of preserving a homogeneous Danish identity in the face of the growing multiculturalism of Danish reality. This appeal captured 7.4% of the vote in the party’s first electoral effort, complicating the political strategies of the established parties in the process.”<sup>18</sup> However, the DPP still lacked direct political influence, in large part due to the perception that its agenda was not acceptable.

Immigration was a central issue in the 2001 election. Capitalizing on public dissatisfaction with previous responses by the government to immigration, the DPP filled a void with its promises of tighter restrictions. In its party program, it declared that “Denmark is not, and has never been a country intended for immigration, and the Danish People’s Party disagrees with the statement that Denmark will develop into a multiethnic society.”<sup>19</sup> By centering its campaign on the failure of the established government to address perceived immigration issues, the DPP tapped into xenophobic attitudes that had long been festering within the country. Its anti-immigrant rhetoric proved highly resonant:

In 2001, 20 percent of the voters mentioned “immigration” when asked which problems of the day they considered to be most important for politicians to address. In 1990, it was only 4 percent. Furthermore, in 1987 only 4 percent mentioned immigration when asked about the most important issue affecting their vote. By 1998 immigration had increased to 25 percent,

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<sup>14</sup> Widfeldt, *Extreme Right Parties*, 130.

<sup>15</sup> Givens, *Voting Radical Right*, 138.

<sup>16</sup> Wodak, *Politics of Fear*, 194.

<sup>17</sup> Wodak, *Politics of Fear*, 194.

<sup>18</sup> Skidmore-Hess, “Danish Party System,” 94.

<sup>19</sup> Givens, *Voting Radical Right*, 139.



making it the single most important issue. At the same time, the proportion of voters sharing xenophobic or anti-immigration attitudes was still at a high level.<sup>20</sup>

The xenophobic and nationalistic message espoused by the party resonated with voters who viewed immigration as a serious threat to the unique national identity of Denmark and Muslims as a danger to Denmark's security. Mobilizing these voters resulted in the DPP emerging from the 2001 election as the third-largest party with twenty-two (of 179) seats.<sup>21</sup> Overall, for the first time in decades, the Danish Parliament had a conservative majority, and "the Danish People's Party was given a pivotal position and gained recognition as the support party for the newly formed Liberal-Conservative coalition government. In fact, the party has functioned as the government's main coalition partner in day-to-day politics ever since."<sup>22</sup> The formation of this coalition has resulted in a dramatic shift toward stricter immigration policies over the last several decades.

The influence of the DPP within the coalition has led to the implementation of numerous policies with a focus on restricting immigration and promoting assimilation. Since its entry into the Danish Parliament, the party has pushed for stricter immigration laws, including reducing family reunification options, increasing residency requirements, and implementing tougher citizenship criteria. Furthermore, the DPP has supported measures to enforce integration requirements for immigrants, such as mandatory Danish language classes, cultural assimilation programs, and employment obligations. Between 2002 and 2011, at least forty-five deals were struck between the DPP and the government concerning immigration.<sup>23</sup> In 2010, "the party proposed a complete halt to all immigration from non-Western countries and justified this on the basis of the party's moral responsibility to 'keep Denmark Danish.'"<sup>24</sup> While the mainstream government did not outright accept such a proposal, other compromises and negotiations were made that brought about stricter regulations.

In 2002, the Danish Parliament introduced one of its most extensive and restrictive immigration policies to date, targeting non-Western immigrants, particularly Muslims. The main priority of the reform proposals was to significantly reduce immigration to Denmark, but it also narrowed the definition of who qualified as a political refugee, increased the required qualifying time for a permanent resident to seven years from its original three, and complicated the process for family reunification.<sup>25</sup> It must be noted that this proposal was not

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<sup>20</sup> Rydgren, "Radical Right-Wing Populism," 65. Although xenophobic attitudes were widespread in Denmark during the 1970s, the politicization of immigration did not occur until the mid-1980s when the Progress Party began to articulate it as part of their platform.

<sup>21</sup> Widfeldt, *Extreme Right Parties*, 135.

<sup>22</sup> Rydgren, "Radical Right-Wing Populism," 58.

<sup>23</sup> Widfeldt, *Extreme Right Parties*, 136.

<sup>24</sup> Wodak, *Politics of Fear*, 194.

<sup>25</sup> Widfeldt, *Extreme Right Parties*, 136.

solely due to the influence of the Danish People's Party. During the 2001 election, other parties pledged to take a harder stance on immigration, and the proposed legislation was a fulfillment of those promises. While the initial proposal was positively received, the DPP still entered into negotiations with the government to tighten restrictions further, which resulted in multiple modifications:

the abolition of the right of asylum seekers to be provided with housing, stricter demands on asylum seekers' Danish language skills, and a rule according to which asylum seekers sentenced to a prison term of six months or more were made subject to a qualifying term of ten years before they could become eligible for permanent residency.<sup>26</sup>

While the DPP was not the only party advocating for tighter immigration policy, it is clear that the party played a significant role in pushing legislation into a more restrictive direction. The influence of the DPP and its nationalistic and xenophobic agenda have significantly altered Danish immigration, asylum, and integration policies.

### *III. The Power of Coalitions: The Willingness of Political Parties to Compromise*

Ultimately, the Danish People's Party would be unable to pass legislation without the willingness of other political parties to compromise and work with it. This is due in large part to the structure of the government; Denmark's unicameral system necessitates coalitions being formed across party lines. Thus, Danish parties have embraced a tradition of cross-party collaboration and negotiation, enabling them to form minority governments and pass legislation through compromises. Over the last five decades, populist parties, particularly radical right-wing parties, have moved from the fringes of Western politics and found a foothold within the established political systems. Denmark has been no different. After decades of marginalization, "mainstream parties...gradually abandon[ed] their adversarial stance against the populists, and in many cases, instead adopted a strategy of accommodation. Formerly discredited and ridiculed parties have not only become accepted but have to a large extent emerged to dominate the political discourse."<sup>27</sup> The Danish political landscape has seen various coalitions and compromises formed between different political parties, including those with differing views on immigration. The willingness of the mainstream center-right to work in conjunction with the DPP has provided the latter with the power needed to influence the enactment of restrictive immigration laws.

While the Danish People's Party is by no means the first right-wing populist party to exist in Denmark, it has wielded a greater amount of influence than its predecessor. In contrast to the Progress Party, the DPP has often held a pivotal position in coalition negotiations due to its significant influence and electoral support. The initial choice of mainstream parties like *Venstre* and the Conservatives to align with the DPP in 2001 had a significant impact as

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<sup>26</sup> Widfeldt, *Extreme Right Parties*, 136.

<sup>27</sup> Bergmann, *Neo-Nationalism*, 13.

such collaboration legitimize[d] the party in the eyes of the voters (which is extremely important for marginalized extremist parties) and [gave] it, through the media attention thus attracted, greater political visibility [...] Similarly, whenever mainstream parties appropriate the policy ideas held by the emerging party or adopt a similar political language, they are also contributing to their legitimization.<sup>28</sup>

When the DPP first won seats in 1998, it was a fringe group with little influence. In fact, in October 1999, the Social Democratic Prime Minister Poul Nyrup Rasmussen (b. 1943) proclaimed during a parliamentary debate that the DPP would never become legitimate; it would never be “house trained.”<sup>29</sup> However, this idea would soon be proven incorrect. When Anders Fogh Rasmussen (b. 1953) formed a *Venstre*-led government together with the Conservative People’s Party with parliamentary support from the Danish People’s Party, it granted the DPP the status Poul Rasmussen had claimed it would never attain.

Many mainstream parties have recognized the electoral strength of the DPP and have been willing to negotiate and form alliances with it to secure the necessary votes for policy initiatives. This is in clear contrast to other Scandinavian countries with right-wing populist parties. In comparison to Denmark, Norway’s political parties have distinctly resisted working with far-right political parties: “Despite the popularity of the far-right and anti-immigrant *Fremskrittsparti* [i.e., Norway’s Progress Party], a definite resistance from both the left- and right-leaning parties to any association with them—be it in joining to promote policy issues, or in forming government coalitions—can be observed.”<sup>30</sup> Meanwhile, in Sweden, the radical right-wing populist “parties have been either too short-lived (New Democracy) or too marginal (Sweden Democrats) to have comparable consequences on the Swedish party system or legislation.”<sup>31</sup> Within the Swedish government, mainstream parties have heavily isolated the far-right wing parties, refusing to compromise on policies. In contrast to its Norwegian and Swedish counterparts, the Danish People’s Party has faced less stigmatization, as seen in its treatment by other political parties. Over time, the DPP has even shifted its focus from purely anti-immigration rhetoric to a broader socio-economic agenda, including concerns about welfare as well as law and order. This policy shift has allowed the DPP to find common ground, particularly with center-right parties who share similar concerns and priorities, making compromise more feasible. However, mainstream parties seeking to form a government or maintain stability have at times made concessions to the DPP’s positions on immigration in order to secure its support.

The emergence of the Danish People’s Party as a coalition partner has significantly impacted the fundamental dynamics within the government. As

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<sup>28</sup> Jens Rydgren, *From Tax Populism to Ethnic Nationalism: Radical Right-Wing Populism in Sweden* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), 20.

<sup>29</sup> Widfeldt, *Extreme Right Parties*, 134.

<sup>30</sup> Moore, “Immigration in Denmark and Norway,” 355.

<sup>31</sup> Rydgren, “Radical Right-Wing Populism,” 68.

Swedish sociologist Jens Rydgren explains in his examination of radical right-wing populist parties in Sweden and Denmark,

the intrusion of a new political actor into a party system is likely to have consequences on the dynamics within this system. It may have consequences for agenda setting, by making certain political issues more salient and others less so; it may influence the way political actors talk about certain issues (framing); and it may make mainstream parties change positions in order to win back votes or to prevent future losses (accommodation).<sup>32</sup>

In the case of the Danish government, the presence of the DPP has had a profound effect. In terms of agenda setting, the DPP's breakthrough in the 1998 election brought immigration as a political issue to the forefront. Thus, when the 2001 election took place, many of the mainstream parties (i.e., *Venstre*, the Social Democrats, and the Conservative People's Party) were forced to address the topic and take a position. In turn, these parties had to deliver on the promises made during their campaigns. The framing of the immigration issue was established by the DPP, which designated non-Western immigrants, particularly Muslims, as a threat to national security and Danish identity. Once *Venstre* and the Conservative People's Party – both mainstream center-right parties – formed an alliance with the far-right Danish People's Party, the conservative mainstream had to accommodate the DPP's policy positions in order to maintain its votes and support, which can be seen in the immigration legislation passed in 2002. Consequently, the Danish People's Party was able to influence the government's immigration policies through its support for conservative coalitions.

Without other mainstream conservative parties working with it, the DPP would not have had the power necessary to shift policy into a more restrictive direction. The DPP could have remained marginalized and isolated, as has been seen with radical right-wing parties in Norway and Sweden; however, Denmark's mainstream parties have actively chosen to work with the DPP so as to secure its votes. This is in contrast to the DPP's predecessor, the Progress Party, which was excluded from the mainstream government. By forming coalitions and making policy concessions to gain the DPP's support, mainstream parties have indirectly endorsed or implemented measures advocated by the DPP, thus moving the country toward more restrictive immigration legislation.

#### *IV. A Clash of Cultures: The Normalization of Xenophobic and Racist Discourse*

Denmark is often portrayed positively in international media and lauded as a place of happiness and harmony. It regularly sits at the top of polls and rankings of the world's happiest countries. A featured article on the official website of Denmark that explains the phenomenon states that “[a]ccording to the World Happiness Report, happiness is closely linked to social equality and community spirit – and Denmark does well on both. Denmark has a high level of equality and

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<sup>32</sup> Rydgren, “Radical Right-Wing Populism,” 67.

a strong sense of common responsibility for social welfare.”<sup>33</sup> Denmark has long regarded itself as a liberal and tolerant society, placing a high value on social equality and cohesion. However, as Danish anthropologist Peter Hervik has noted,

[i]f you have lived in Denmark for the last decade, you can hardly fail to have noticed the development of a particularly strong and powerful “us/ them” division in the media and in the popular consciousness. There is much talk about “we,” the Danes, the hosts, who are born and raised in Denmark, represented positively in news articles and interviews, and “the others,” the guests who “do not belong” properly and are described in negative terms and considered a problem simply because they arrive with their importunate differences.<sup>34</sup>

The portrayal of Denmark as a happy country without serious issues is a gross oversimplification that overlooks the xenophobia and racism that have pervaded the country. The high level of equality that the national website claims is present ignores the strict immigration and integration laws. The influence of the Danish People’s Party within the government and the political compromises made by mainstream center-right parties with the far-right are not solely responsible for xenophobic policies in Denmark. The normalization of racist and xenophobic discourse by politicians has shaped public opinion and media rhetoric, which has played a role in shaping policies.

The DPP’s rhetoric and influence have shaped public discourse around immigration and xenophobia in Denmark. While avoiding being openly racist, the DPP has skillfully separated immigrants from ethnic Danes, creating a dichotomy of “others” (immigrants, outsiders, Muslims) and “us” (native Danes).<sup>35</sup> By utilizing identity-based rhetoric, the DPP has framed immigration as a cultural and moral issue. Native Danes are paragons of culture, while “others” are represented as culturally inferior. The “others” endanger and threaten the “pure” culture of Denmark and therefore the national identity. Such rhetoric implies that “people of different cultures are in the ‘wrong place’, [and thus] their culture [is] incompatible with the culture of the new context.”<sup>36</sup> Immigrant cultures and Danish culture are deemed incongruous. One would supplant the other, so stricter immigration policies are necessary to protect Danish culture, identity, and national interests. Political parties across the spectrum have positioned themselves as defenders of Danish culture against the threat of encroaching immigrants, whose customs, values, and traditions are labeled as the enemy. While this is recognizable as xenophobia, politicians have reinforced the idea that xenophobia is a natural reaction to such threats and is not, in fact, racism.<sup>37</sup> Consequently, such political rhetoric has influenced public rhetoric and discourse surrounding immigration.

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<sup>33</sup> “Why Are Danish People So Happy?” Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, [online](#).

<sup>34</sup> Hervik, *Annoying Difference*, 8.

<sup>35</sup> Bergmann, *Neo-Nationalism*, 148.

<sup>36</sup> Hervik, “Ending Tolerance,” 214.

<sup>37</sup> Hervik, “Ending Tolerance,” 215.

Rhetoric that was once widely condemned and rejected “has gradually crept back into the public debate. In a process of normalization, nationalist, xenophobic and outright racist rhetorics are no longer necessarily treated as taboo, but have instead found wide scale backing.”<sup>38</sup> A lack of public scrutiny of such rhetoric has resulted in cultural racism becoming ingrained in Danish society. As Dr. Karen Wren, a professor at the University of St. Andrews, explains in her examination of cultural racism in Denmark, “[p]ublic racist slurs have become commonplace (and legally tolerated), and political parties across the spectrum have adopted cultural racism as an integral part of their platforms, to the extent that it is no longer necessary to have extreme right-wing parties promoting anti-immigration views.”<sup>39</sup> Such racism has manifested itself in the adoption of discriminatory practices such as housing quotas for ethnic minorities and compulsory refugee dispersal.<sup>40</sup> It can also be seen in the debate over the concept of multiculturalism, which has become particularly fraught. Politicians across the political spectrum have criticized it, emphasizing that an influx of immigrants and refugees with different cultures threatens Danish societal cohesion. Or rather, it endangers the idea of a homogenous Danish culture.

Anti-immigration rhetoric has resonated with a segment of the population that feels uneasy about demographic changes and the subsequent threats to Danish values, and politicians have been taking advantage of such worries. The DPP capitalized on public concerns surrounding immigration, creating a discourse steeped in cultural nationalism to garner support. According to Bergmann, “[t]he cultural nationalism in the Danish People’s Party’s discourse was, for example, found in its emphasis on Christian values and the link between the state and the Evangelic-Lutheran Church. On that ground the party positioned itself as a protector of Danish culture, in a word, of Danishness.”<sup>41</sup> By framing Danish national identity as linked with specific values tied to Christianity, the DPP positioned Islam as an antagonistic force incompatible with Danish culture, once again reinforcing the division of “us” versus “them.”

The DPP has adeptly used media and communication channels to amplify its message and connect with this target audience. It has mastered the art of simplifying complex issues, employing vivid language, and engaging in populist rhetoric, which resonates with many voters. This can be seen in the party’s 2011 video, titled “I Am Denmark.” In the video, a voiceover relays the history of the country as a strong and proud nation, a land of traditions: “I’m a country of literature, poetry, science, and philosophy. I am Denmark. I have fought for equality and equal rights. I have a strong welfare state for the protection of the

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<sup>38</sup> Bergmann, *Neo-Nationalism*, 13.

<sup>39</sup> Karen Wren, “Cultural Racism: Something Rotten in the State of Denmark?,” *Social & Cultural Geography* 2, no. 2 (2001): 146.

<sup>40</sup> Wren, “Cultural Racism,” 146.

<sup>41</sup> Bergmann, *Neo-Nationalism*, 148.

elderly and the infirm. My core values are freedom of speech, democracy, and tolerance. I am Denmark.”<sup>42</sup> Images play across the screen: flags flying in the wind; smiling men, women, and children; and famous, historical Danes. But as the video progresses, the message and tone change from one of celebration to one of condemnation and warning: “But I am a country that will challenge cultures that want to change what I have been fighting for. I will not back down in the face of violence and terror. I will not be forced to accept medieval traditions. I am a country that has the courage to say STOP. I am a country that will stand guard to protect my own culture. Because I am Denmark.”<sup>43</sup> Images of women in *burqas*, Muslims kneeling in prayer, and the burning of the Danish flag now dominate the screen. At one point, a picture of New York’s World Trade Center appears; the 9/11 moments right before and after the second plane struck the South Tower are frozen in time. The video is quintessential nationalism, a display of the constructed Danish cultural identity. And it bolsters the idea that Muslims are the cultural “other,” that their traditions and values are medieval, violent, and barbaric, and therefore run completely counter to Danish culture. Such discourse has fostered discontent among Danes, who have then lent their support to the DPP and conservative coalitions.

The public’s support for stricter political initiatives is a manifestation of cultural racism and xenophobia, which have become components of Danish society. Ultimately, “popular support for restrictive policies has been a necessary condition for their implementation, and many Danes have genuinely been concerned about welfare costs, parallel societies, forced marriages, crime rates, and the educational underachievement of immigrants and their descendants.”<sup>44</sup> With the politicization of immigration, political parties and their representatives, particularly right-wing groups, have normalized a discourse that frames Muslims and non-Western immigrants as a threat to Danish culture and identity. In doing so, they have helped to foster an environment conducive to xenophobia and racism, which in the end has garnered the necessary support for the passage of highly restrictive anti-immigration legislation.

### *Conclusion*

The breakthrough and rise of the Danish People’s Party have had a profound impact on Danish politics. Its electoral success forced mainstream parties to address issues of immigration, integration, and welfare policies more directly. The party’s influence has led to policy changes, particularly with regard to immigration and integration measures, as well as to a shift in Denmark’s overall political discourse. The willingness of mainstream center-left and center-right political parties to compromise with far-right groups like the Danish People’s

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<sup>42</sup> Danish People’s Party, “I Am Denmark,” November 21, 2011, video, 3:03, [online](#).

<sup>43</sup> Danish People’s Party, “I Am Denmark,” [online](#).

<sup>44</sup> Holtug, “Danish Multiculturalism,” 194.

Party has resulted in the passage of increasingly restrictive and xenophobic legislation. However, such political initiatives require a certain level of public support. Politicians, particularly on the right, have framed immigration and Islam as threats to Danish culture, which has resonated with Danes, who have in turn lent their support to stricter immigration policy. Politicians have normalized a racist and xenophobic discourse about immigration within both the political and public spheres through their rhetoric.

The official website of Denmark asks, why are Danish people so happy? The site offers the following answer from Christian Bjørnskov, a professor of economics at Aarhus University, who is researching happiness: “Danes feel empowered to change things in their lives. What is special about Danish society is that it allows people to choose the kind of life they want to live. They rarely get caught in a trap. This means they’re more satisfied with their lives.”<sup>45</sup> While that may be the truth for many within Denmark, such a statement overlooks a percentage of the population that must contend with increasingly restrictive and xenophobic policies that shape their lives. But that fact is not going to appear on any official, perfectly manicured, and curated website any time soon.

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<sup>45</sup> “Why Are Danish People So Happy?” Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, [online](#).



Hannah Park, Amanda Stone, and Mel Vigil (editors)

*Prayers, Planners, and Psalms:  
Illuminated Latin Manuscript Fragments from Late Medieval Europe*

*Shelfmark*

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).  
University Archives and Special Collections (UA&SC).  
SC-RF-0-13, Box 1, Folders 37–38b.  
Medieval Manuscript Leaves.  
Undated (fifteenth century).  
Three leaves/folios (numbered 01–03 below).

*Introduction*

The three fifteenth-century/late medieval European illuminated manuscript leaves edited below found their way into CSUF's University Archives and Special Collections (UA&SC) via different paths, but in each case the last step of provenance is recorded in pencil in a modern hand on the respective leaf itself. All three are in relatively good condition and are dated to the fifteenth century/late medieval period on the basis of their script, decoration, and contents. Originally, they were probably bound in three different books intended for personal prayer and devotion, for example in "Books of Hours." At some point, the original codices were disassembled, presumably to sell their individual leaves/folios. The carefully executed leaf/folio 01 (Folder 37), which contains the "Angelus Domini" and the "St. John the Evangelist" prayers, was gifted in May 1973 by Dr. Fairfax Proudfit Walkup, a faculty member in CSUF's Department of Theatre; it is a single 17 x 13 cm leaf of vellum with 12 lines of text (verso only). The comparatively simple leaf/folio 02 (Folder 38a), which contains the liturgical calendars for the months of August and September, was acquired in October 1976 by the Patrons of CSUF's Pollak Library as part of the "Nash Collection;" it is a single 23 x 16 cm leaf of vellum with 32 (recto) and 31 (verso) lines of text, respectively. The (on recto) highly ornate leaf/folio 03 (Folder 38b), which contains the first of the seven penitential Psalms (specifically Psalm 6:1–9a) was gifted by Eva Slater in 1971; it is a single 16 x 11.5 cm leaf of vellum with 14 lines of text (recto and verso). The specific features of all three are described in detail in the edition below.

The texts on leaf/folio 01 are "prayers," namely, firstly, the final words of the "Angelus Domini"/"The Angel of the Lord," a prayer that was usually recited three times a day to the ringing of bells and that takes its name from the Archangel Gabriel's appearance to the Virgin Mary to announce the future birth of Jesus (Luke 1:26–38); and secondly, the so-called "St. John the Evangelist" prayer, asking God to "enlighten" the Church "through the teachings of the Blessed John." The texts on leaf/folio 02 are ecclesiastical "planners" (or, rather, calendars for the months of August and September) that indicate which Christian feasts were

supposed to be celebrated on the respective days of these months. According to correspondence (dated November 15, 2023) from an expert on medieval liturgical calendars, Dr. Anette Löffler (Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg, Germany), the calendars appear to be based on a thirteenth-century template from a Franciscan context that was, in the fifteenth century, copied and augmented to include later as well as specific regional saints, pointing to Lorraine or the south of France as this particular manuscript's area of origin. The text on leaf/folio 03 belongs to the Old Testament Book of "Psalms," featuring, in this case, Psalm 6:1-9a, the first of the so-called seven penitential psalms that are all ascribed to King David, were put together as a group by St. Augustine of Hippo (354-430 CE), and became a standard feature in medieval "Books of Hours." A modern pencil notation, written in German, claims that this particular manuscript is an "Arbeit aus Ferrara um 1480" (i.e., a "Work from Ferrara, circa 1480").

All three manuscript fragments—now five centuries and thousands of miles removed from their respective places of origin—are exciting pieces for those interested in the Middle Ages, in Christianity, in art, and even in environmental history. The texts themselves are testaments to medieval piety; the decorations (especially with regard to the third example) reflect the period's aesthetics and its fascination with flora, fauna, and biblical imagery; and the materials used (vellum, ink, colors, and gold) reflect medieval economies. The transcriptions below preserve the lines, spelling, and capitalization of the original manuscripts. Any additions are enclosed by square brackets.

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*The primary-source edition published below originated in the "History and Editing" course offered by CSUF's Department of History.*

Edition 01: "Angelus Domini" and "St. John the Evangelist" Prayers.  
Manuscript Leaf/Folio 01 (Fifteenth-Century Europe).

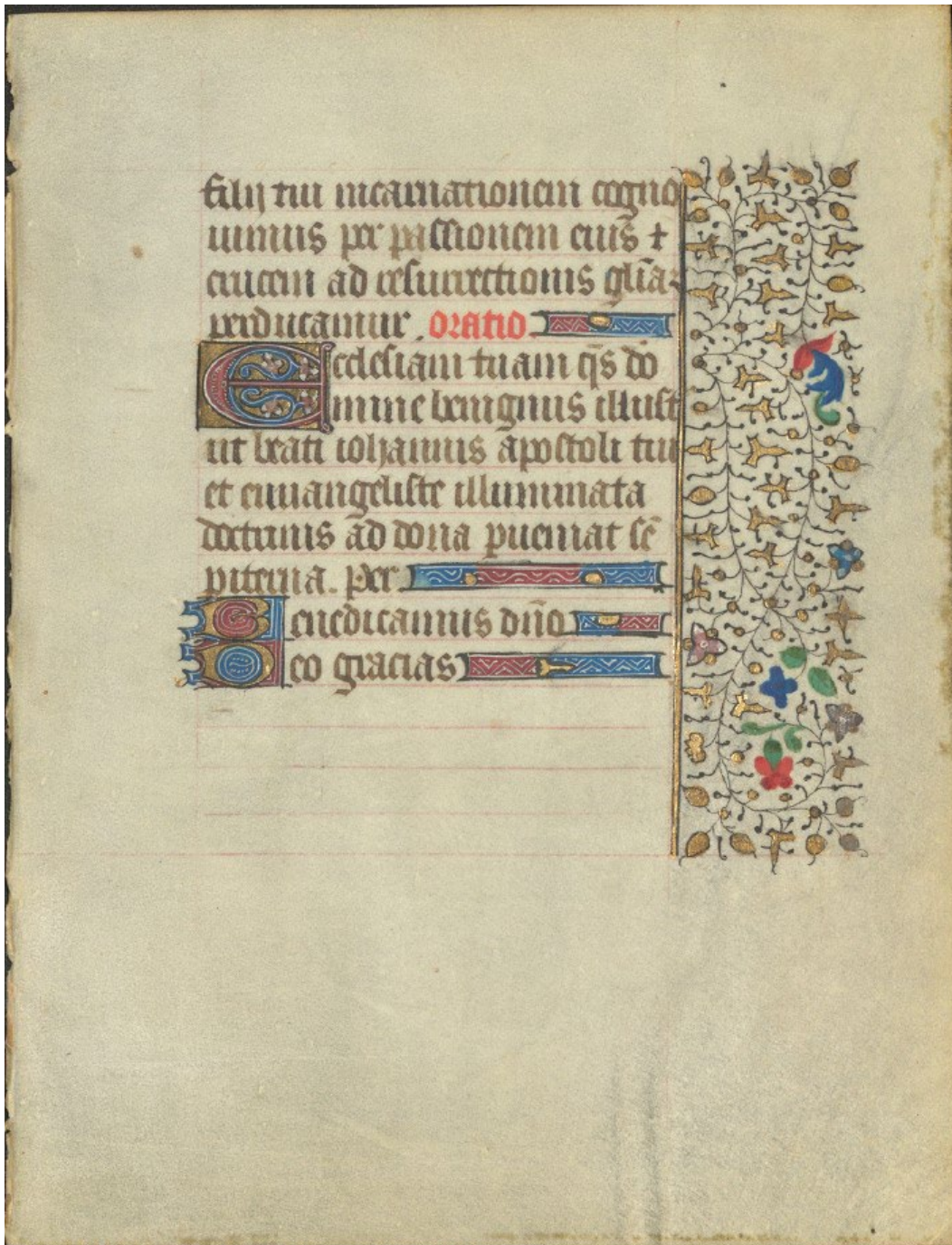


Figure 1: "Angelus Domini" and "St. John the Evangelist" prayers, fifteenth-century illuminated manuscript leaf, UA&SC, CSUF.

Leaf/folio 01, recto, features 12 black-ink lines of text, ruled with red pigment. Red ink is used for the word “oratio” at the end of line 4. Lines 4, 10, 11, and 12 are embellished with a red, blue, and metallic gold box accentuated with white linework inside, which acts as a means of filling the respective remainder of the line. At the beginning of both lines 5 and 6, a large capital letter “E” is drawn in red and white and decorated with a floral motif in blue and white. The entire letter is inside a rectangle outlined in black ink, and gold fills the background of the rectangle. At the beginning of line 11, a capital letter “B” is drawn, and at the beginning of line 12, a capital letter “D” is drawn; both are illuminated in gold and surrounded with an ornate border and background of black, blue, red, and white. The folio’s right-hand margin includes a black-and-gold linework border with gold leaves. Some leaves and flowers are decorated in green, blue, red, and white.

Leaf/folio 01, verso, is left blank. In pencil, written in a modern hand, it features the numerical sequence “30500 00814 6097” at the top of the folio and the phrase “5-73 gift - Walkup coll.” in the right margin.

### *Transcription*

**[folio 01 recto]** [...Christi] filii tui incarnationem cogno[-]  
 vimus per passionem eius &  
 crucem ad resurrectionis gl[or]ia[m]  
 perducamur. **oratio.**  
 Ecclesiam tuam q[uaesumu]s do[-]  
 mine benignus illust[ra]  
 ut beati iohannis apostoli tui  
 et evangeliste illuminata  
 doctrinis ad dona p[er]veniat se[m][-]  
 piterna. Per [christum dominum nostrum. Amen.]  
**Benedicamus d[omi]no[.]**  
**Deo gracias[.]**

### *Translation*

**[fol. 01 recto]** [...] we<sup>1</sup> have learned about the incarnation [of Christ,] Your son, [so that] we—through His passion and Cross—may be led to the glory of the resurrection. **Prayer.** We<sup>2</sup> ask, kind Lord, enlighten Your Church, so that—illuminated through the teachings of the Blessed John, Your apostle and evangelist—it may attain the everlasting gifts. Through [Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.] Let us bless the Lord. To God be thanks.

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<sup>1</sup> From the “Angelus Domini”/“The Angel of the Lord” prayer (origins: 13th c., Franciscan).

<sup>2</sup> From the “St. John the Evangelist” prayer (origins: late antiquity/early Middle Ages).



Edition 02: August and September Liturgical Calendars.  
Manuscript Leaf/Folio 02 (Fifteenth-Century Europe).

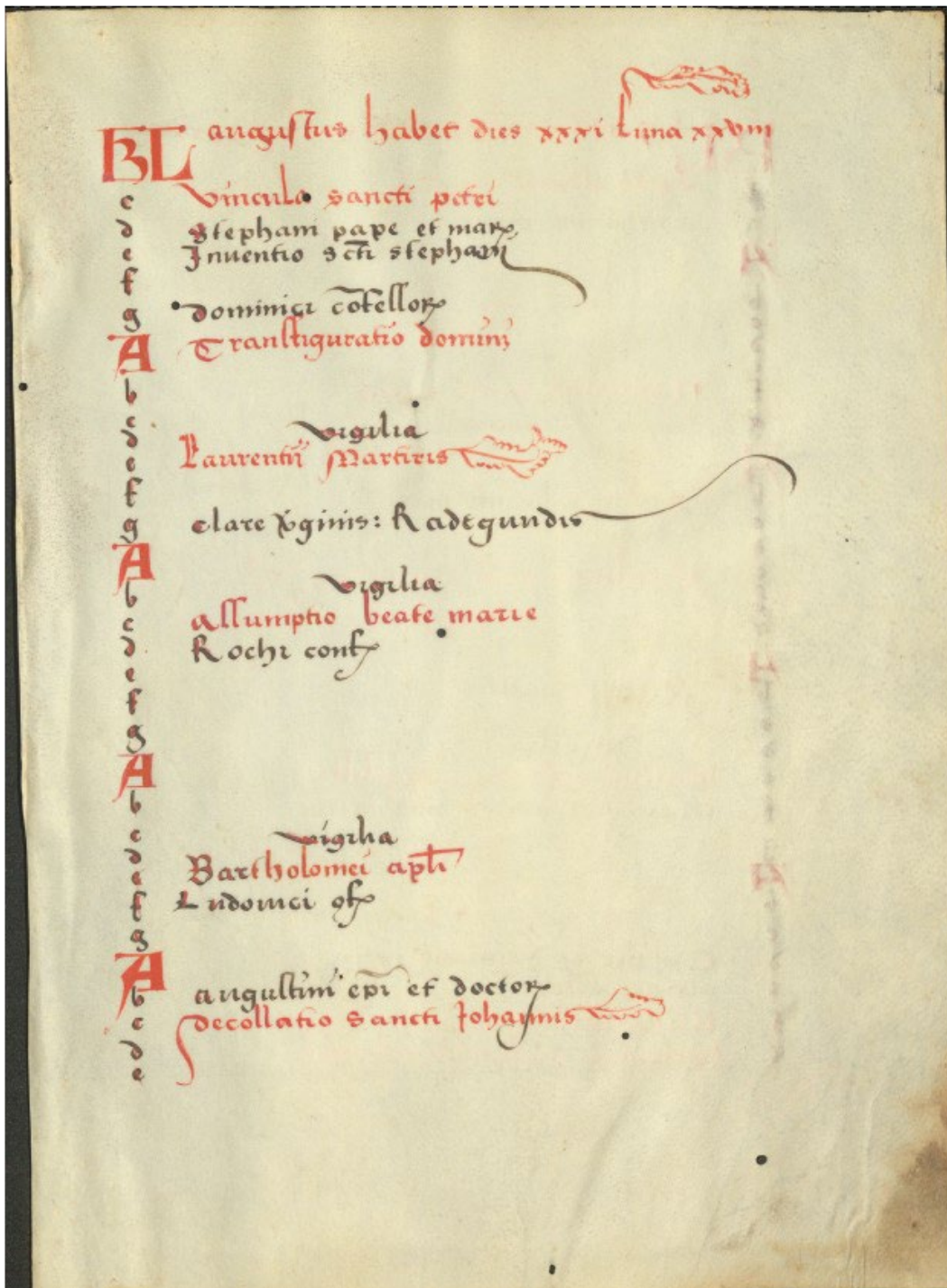


Figure 2: "August" liturgical calendar,"  
fifteenth-century illuminated manuscript leaf, UA&SC, CSUF.

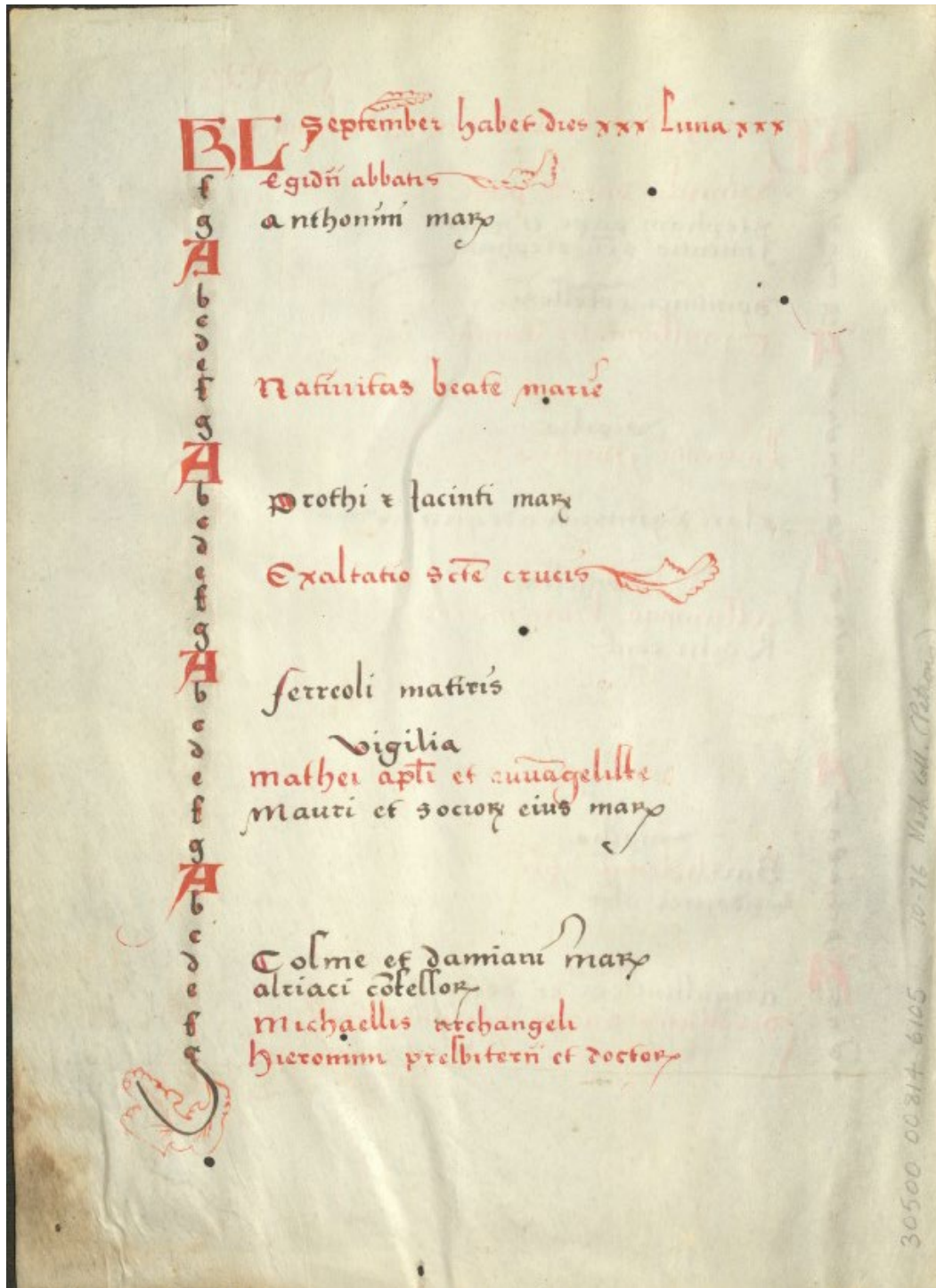


Figure 3: "September" liturgical calendar,"  
fifteenth-century illuminated manuscript leaf, UA&SC, CSUF.

Leaf/folio 02, recto (August), features 32 lines of text. Line 1, written in red ink, indicates the month and its number of days and moons. The days appear “numbered” (starting with “c” and following an “Abcdefg” pattern) in the left margin, descending vertically, with the letter “A” in red ink and the letters “bcdefg” in black ink. The script includes stylistic leaf flourishes (“palmetto fleuronée”). Events are written in either black or red ink to the right of the specific day of the week on which they took place.

Leaf/folio 02, verso (September), features 31 lines of text. Otherwise, its execution is analogous to Leaf 01, recto, and since it continues the calendar, the day “numbering” on this folio starts with the letter “f.” In pencil, written in a modern hand, it features the numerical sequence “30500 00814 6105” and the phrase “10-76 Nash. Coll. (Patrons)” in the right margin.

### Transcription

[folio 02 recto] **K[A]L[ENDAE] augustus habet dies xxxi luna xxviii**

c	<b>Vincula sancti petri</b>	[August 01]
d	Stephani pape et mar[tiris]	[August 02]
e	Inventio s[an]cti stephani	[August 03]
f		[August 04]
g	dominici co[n]fessor[is]	[August 05]
<b>A</b>	<b>Transfiguratio domini</b>	[August 06]
b		[August 07]
c		[August 08]
d	vigilia	[August 09]
e	<b>Laurentii Martiris</b>	[August 10]
f		[August 11]
g	clare v[ir]ginis: Radegundis	[August 12]
<b>A</b>		[August 13]
b	vigilia	[August 14]
c	<b>assumptio beate marie</b>	[August 15]
d	Rochi conf[essoris]	[August 16]
e		[August 17]
f		[August 18]
g		[August 19]
<b>A</b>		[August 20]
b		[August 21]
c		[August 22]
d	vigilia	[August 23]
e	<b>Bartholomei ap[osto]li</b>	[August 24]
f	Ludovici [c]o[n]f[essoris]	[August 25]
g		[August 26]
<b>A</b>		[August 27]
b	augustini ep[iscop]i et doctor[is]	[August 28]
c	<b>decollatio sancti Iohannis</b>	[August 29]
d		[August 30]
e		[August 31]

<b>[folio 02 verso] K[A]L[ENDAE] September habet dies xxx luna xxx</b>		
f	<b>egidii abbatis</b>	[September 01]
g	anthonini mar[tiris]	[September 02]
<b>A</b>		[September 03]
b		[September 04]
c		[September 05]
d		[September 06]
e		[September 07]
f	<b>Nativitas beate marie</b>	[September 08]
g		[September 09]
<b>A</b>		[September 10]
b	<b>Prothi &amp; Iacinti mar[tirum]</b>	[September 11]
c		[September 12]
d		[September 13]
e	<b>Exaltatio s[an]cte crucis</b>	[September 14]
f		[September 15]
g		[September 16]
<b>A</b>		[September 17]
b	Ferreoli ma[r]tiris	[September 18]
c		[September 19]
d	vigilia	[September 20]
e	<b>Mathei ap[osto]li et evva[n]geliste</b>	[September 21]
f	Mauri et socior[um] eius mar[tirum]	[September 22]
g		[September 23]
<b>A</b>		[September 24]
b		[September 25]
c		[September 26]
d	Cosme et damiani mar[tirum]	[September 27]
e	Altiaci co[n]fessor[is]	[September 28]
f	<b>Michaellis archangeli</b>	[September 29]
g	<b>Hieronimi presbiterii et doctor[is]</b>	[September 30]



*Translation*

[folio 02 recto] **THE MONTH** [of] August has 31 days [and] 28 moons.

c	<b>The Chains of St. Peter</b> <sup>3</sup>	[August 01]
d	Of Stephen, the pope and martyr <sup>4</sup>	[August 02]
e	The Discovery of St. Stephen <sup>5</sup>	[August 03]
f		[August 04]
g	Of Dominic, the confessor <sup>6</sup>	[August 05]
<b>A</b>	<b>The Transfiguration of the Lord</b> <sup>7</sup>	[August 06]
b		[August 07]
c		[August 08]
d	Vigil <sup>8</sup>	[August 09]
e	<b>Of Lawrence, the martyr</b> <sup>9</sup>	[August 10]
f		[August 11]
g	Of Claire, the virgin; of Radegund <sup>10</sup>	[August 12]
<b>A</b>		[August 13]
b	Vigil	[August 14]
c	<b>The Assumption of the Blessed Mary</b> <sup>11</sup>	[August 15]
d	Of Roch, the confessor <sup>12</sup>	[August 16]
e		[August 17]
f		[August 18]
g		[August 19]
<b>A</b>		[August 20]
b		[August 21]
c		[August 22]
d	Vigil	[August 23]
e	<b>Of Bartholomew, the apostle</b> <sup>13</sup>	[August 24]
f	Of Louis, the confessor <sup>14</sup>	[August 25]
g		[August 26]
<b>A</b>		[August 27]
b	Of Augustine, the bishop and doctor <sup>15</sup>	[August 28]
c	<b>The Beheading of St. John</b> <sup>16</sup>	[August 29]
d		[August 30]
e		[August 31]

<sup>3</sup> The miraculous liberation of St. Peter from prison: Acts 12:3–19.

<sup>4</sup> St. Stephen, pope 254–257 CE. His martyrdom is based on legends.

<sup>5</sup> The discovery of the body of St. Stephen, the protomartyr, in the early 5th c. CE.

<sup>6</sup> St. Dominic de Guzman (1170–1221), founder of the Dominican Order.

<sup>7</sup> The appearing of Jesus in radiant glory: Matthew 17:1–8 etc.

<sup>8</sup> Term denoting a liturgically observed night-watch before a feast day.

<sup>9</sup> St. Lawrence (d. 258), Roman deacon, martyred under Valerian.

<sup>10</sup> St. Clare (1194–1253), follower of St. Francis; St. Radegund (c. 520–587), Frankish queen.

<sup>11</sup> The assumption of the body and soul of St. Mary (the mother of Jesus) into heaven.

<sup>12</sup> St. Roch of Montpellier, 14th-c. pilgrim, canonized in the 16th c.

<sup>13</sup> St. Bartholomew, one of the original twelve apostles: Mark 3:14–19 etc.

<sup>14</sup> St. Louis (IX) (1214–1270), king of France, canonized 1297.

<sup>15</sup> St. Augustine of Hippo (354–430 CE).

<sup>16</sup> The beheading of St. John the Baptist: Mark 6:17–29 etc.

[folio 02 verso] **THE MONTH** [of] September has 30 days [and] 30 moons.

f	<b>Of Giles, the abbot</b> <sup>17</sup>	[September 01]
g	Of Antoninus, the martyr <sup>18</sup>	[September 02]
<b>A</b>		[September 03]
b		[September 04]
c		[September 05]
d		[September 06]
e		[September 07]
f	<b>The Nativity of the Blessed Mary</b> <sup>19</sup>	[September 08]
g		[September 09]
<b>A</b>		[September 10]
b	<b>Of Protus and Hyacinthus, the martyrs</b> <sup>20</sup>	[September 11]
c		[September 12]
d		[September 13]
e	<b>The Exaltation of the Holy Cross</b> <sup>21</sup>	[September 14]
f		[September 15]
g		[September 16]
<b>A</b>		[September 17]
b	Of Ferreolus, the martyr <sup>22</sup>	[September 18]
c		[September 19]
d	Vigil	[September 20]
e	<b>Of Matthew, the apostle and evangelist</b> <sup>23</sup>	[September 21]
f	Of Maurus and his companions, the martyrs <sup>24</sup>	[September 22]
g		[September 23]
<b>A</b>		[September 24]
b		[September 25]
c		[September 26]
d	Of Cosmas and Damian, the martyrs <sup>25</sup>	[September 27]
e	Of Altiacus, the confessor <sup>26</sup>	[September 28]
f	<b>Of Michael, the archangel</b> <sup>27</sup>	[September 29]
g	<b>Of Jerome, the priest and doctor</b> <sup>28</sup>	[September 30]

<sup>17</sup> St. Giles (c. 650–720), abbot of Saint-Gilles.

<sup>18</sup> St. Antoninus of Apamea/Pamiers (d. early 4th c.), martyred under Constantius.

<sup>19</sup> The birthday of St. Mary (the mother of Jesus).

<sup>20</sup> St. Protus and St. Hyacinth (d. 253/260), brothers, martyred under Valerian.

<sup>21</sup> The exaltation of the Cross, commemorating the discovery of the True Cross by Helena.

<sup>22</sup> St. Ferreolus of Vienne (d. third or 4th c.), martyred under Decius or Diocletian.

<sup>23</sup> St. Matthew, one of the original twelve apostles: Mark 3:14–19 etc.

<sup>24</sup> St. Maurice (d. 286), leader of the Theban Legion, martyred alongside his soldiers.

<sup>25</sup> St. Cosmas and St. Damian (d. third or 4th c.), brothers, doctors, martyred.

<sup>26</sup> Probably St. Alchas of Toul (5th c.); possibly St. Allodius of Auxerre (5th c.).

<sup>27</sup> Michael, the archangel: Jude 1:9, Revelation 12:7.

<sup>28</sup> St. Jerome of Stridon (c. 347–420).

Edition 03: The First of the Seven Penitential Psalms.  
Manuscript Leaf/Folio 03 (Fifteenth-Century Europe).



Figure 4: "Psalm 6" (opening),  
fifteenth-century illuminated manuscript leaf, UA&SC, CSUF.



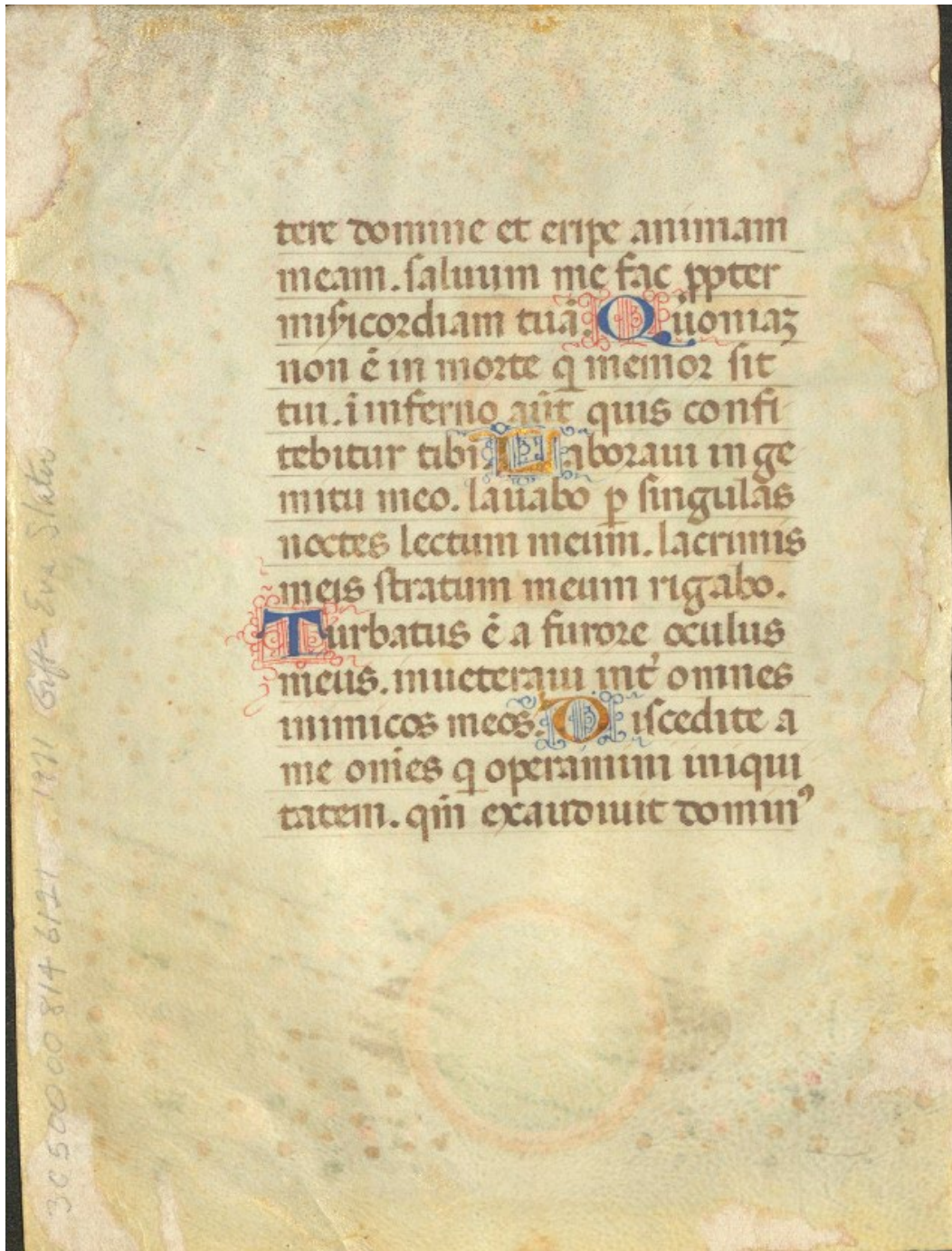


Figure 5: "Psalm 6" (continuation),  
fifteenth-century illuminated manuscript leaf, UA&SC, CSUF.

Leaf/folio 03, recto, features 14 lines of text, ruled with black pigment, written mostly in black ink. Red ink is used for the phrase “Incipiunt septem psalmi penitentiales.” and the abbreviated terms “a[ntiphona].” and “p[salmu]s.” in lines 1 and 2. The capital letters “M” (line 8) and “C” (line 14) appear in gold ink with ornate blue linework surrounding them; the capital letter “E” (line 12) appears in blue ink with ornate red linework surrounding it. The illuminated border features flora, fauna, linework, and small orbs in various colors. The colors used throughout are black, blue, green, purple, red, and gold. In the center of the upper border appears a brown hedgehog in a round medallion with green and gold background, outlined in black linework. In the center of the right border appears a brown butterfly (or moth) with blue and green background in a round medallion, outlined in black linework. In the center of the lower border appears a lion surrounded by a mountainous landscape in a round medallion, framed by red, gold, and black circles, with two lion heads on either side. Inside the left border, to the left of lines 2–9, appears a large red decorated initial in a gold square, with additional decorative work in blue, red, and green, namely, the capital letter “D,” featuring King David surrounded by a mountainous landscape, wearing a crown and praying. At the very bottom of the folio, in pencil, written in a modern hand, appears the German phrase “Arbeit aus Ferrara um 1480” (i.e., “Work from Ferrara, circa 1480”).

Leaf/folio 03, verso, features 14 lines of text, ruled with black pigment, written in black ink. The capital letters “L” (line 6) and “D” (line 12) appear in gold ink with ornate blue linework surrounding them; the capital letters “Q” (line 3) and “T” (line 10) appear in blue ink with ornate red linework surrounding it. At the left margin of the folio, in pencil, written in a modern hand, appears the numerical sequence “30500 00814 6125” and the phrase “1971 Gift Eva Slater.”

### *Transcription*

**[folio 03 recto]** Incipiunt septem psalmi penitentiales. a[ntiphona]. Ne reminiscaris. p[salmu]s.

DOMine ne  
i[n] furore tuo  
arguas me.  
neq[ue] in ira  
tua corripias  
me. Misere[-]  
rere mei do[-]  
mine quoniam infirmus sum.  
sana me domine quoniam co[n]-  
turbata sunt ossa mea. Et  
anima mea turbata e[st] valde [sed]  
tu domine usq[ue] quo Conv[er]s[us]

**[folio 03 verso]** tere domine et eripe animam  
meam. salvum me fac p[ro]pter  
mis[er]icordiam tua[m]. Quoniam  
non e[st] in morte q[ui] memor sit  
tui. i[n] inferno aut[em] quis confi-

tebitur tibi. Laboravi in ge-  
 mitu meo. lavabo p[er] singulas  
 noctes lectum meum. lacrimis  
 meis stratum meum rigabo.  
 Turbatus e[st] a furore oculus  
 meus. inveteravi int[er] omnes  
 inimicos meos. **Discedite a**  
 me om[n]es qui operamini iniqui-  
 tatem. q[uonia]m exaudivit domin[us] [vocem fletus mei]

*Translation*

**[folio 03 recto]** The seven penitential psalms<sup>29</sup> begin [here]. **Antiphon.**<sup>30</sup> May You not remember.<sup>31</sup> **Psalm.**<sup>32</sup> O Lord, do not rebuke me in Your fury, nor chastise me in Your anger. Have mercy on me, O Lord, for I am frail. Heal me, O Lord, for my bones are troubled. And my soul is greatly troubled. But You, O Lord, how long? **Turn, [folio 03 verso]** O Lord, and rescue my soul. Make me well because of Your mercy. For there is no one in death who is mindful of You. Also, in hell, who will confess to You? I have labored in my sorrow. Every night, I will soak my bed; I will water my pillow with my tears. Troubled from the [i.e., Your] fury is my eye. I have grown old among all my enemies. Depart from me, all you who work iniquity. For the Lord has heard [the voice of my cry].

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<sup>29</sup> The seven penitential Psalms are, according to the numbering of the *Biblia Vulgata*, Psalms 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, and 142 (i.e., according to the *TaNaKh*, Psalms 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, and 143).

<sup>30</sup> In liturgy, an “antiphon” is a short chant that is sung as a refrain.

<sup>31</sup> “May You not remember, [Lord, our or our parents’ transgressions. Also, may You not take vengeance concerning our sins].” Based on Tobit 3:3–4.

<sup>32</sup> Psalm 6:1–9a.

Elijah Aguilar, Louis Choi, and Kevin W. Harper (editors)

*Keeping up with the Havens:  
Letters on Midwestern Family Affairs (1850–1875)*

*Shelfmark*

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).  
University Archives and Special Collections (UA&SC).  
Haven Seed Company Records Collection.  
LH-2014-01, Carton 1, Folder 28.  
Haven Family Letters (1850–1875).  
28 letters dated between June 6, 1850, and January 31, 1875 (numbered below).

*Introduction*

The 28 letters edited below (and their envelopes inasmuch as they exist) belong to the Haven Seed Company Records, which were gifted to the Orange County Historical Society (OCHS) between the years 1978 and 1981 by Randy Ema on behalf of his stepfather, Archibald B. Haven Jr. (1914–1986). University Archives and Special Collections (UA&SC) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) purchased the collection from the OCHS in 2014. The materials vary in size, from 11.5 x 6.5 cm envelopes to 40.5 x 25 cm letters. Most letters are in relatively good condition; some have holes, stains, and stamp residue. The letters are primarily written in black ink, although writing in other colors of ink and pencil appears as well. All letters are written on paper, using either a half sheet fold or a single sheet format, and had been folded to fit into envelopes, many of which are damaged. The recipients' names are written on the envelopes, and many envelopes include stamped postmarks or stamps. Some envelopes were apparently subsequently used as scratch paper, as they include text unrelated to the respective letters.

The letters span the quarter century between June 6, 1850, and January 31, 1875. They are primarily addressed to George Washington Haven (1831–1906) and his wife Lucia Amanda, née Wilmot (1836–1899), or both; the two married on October 5, 1854. The majority of letters are from family members discussing daily life. Many letters were written by George's sister Sylvia (1838–1858). At the time of Sylvia's early letters, George had moved to North Eaton, Ohio, while most of his family remained in Shalersville, Ohio. After a brief residence in South Bend, Indiana, George returned to Ohio, but a few years into his marriage, he, his wife Lucia, and their children moved to Bloomington, Michigan. Sylvia provided her brother with news about family members, friends, and the family's farm. She frequently mentioned the various illnesses that affected the family, particularly George and Sylvia's parents—John Haven (1795–1883) and his wife Julia, née Sanford (1803–1858); from time to time, Sylvia wrote to George on their father John's behalf. George and Lucia also received letters from other family members, including their siblings, nieces, and a cousin. Notably, the majority of letters were

written by women, but – and this is a noteworthy exception – there are two letters by Lucia’s brother Silas Gilbert Wilmot (1821–1872), with one of them containing instructions on how to address Lucia’s health issues. George and Lucia also received a number of letters from their niece Alice Bell Haven (1847–1873), the daughter of George’s brother Raymond Haven (1823–1903). In addition to writing to her uncle and aunt, Alice included notes to her cousin, George’s and Lucia’s son Edwin “Eddie” Melancthon Haven (1855–1917). In some cases, separate letters addressed to multiple individuals in the same household were written on a single sheet of paper, or multiple writers from the same household wrote separate letters to the same recipient and sent them together.

These letters provide significant information about the day-to-day life of the Haven family in the nineteenth-century midwestern United States. They illustrate the significance of family relationships and the importance of letter writing as a way to maintain family ties. In addition, several letters provide information about the illnesses experienced by Americans at this time. The letters often reference farm work, including notes about items to buy for the farm along with prices, offering insight into the U.S. economy. Letters about the Haven family’s farm may provide helpful information for those interested in the history of farming and property in nineteenth-century America. Letters from the early 1860s also include brief mentions of the U.S. Civil War, giving some insight into Americans’ perceptions of the conflict. Overall, these are of interest to anyone studying nineteenth-century American history, particularly those interested in the experiences of rural Americans like the Haven family.

The letters have been edited in chronological order (which is not how they are preserved in UA&SC). The transcription below preserves the spelling, capitalization, and punctuation (or lack thereof) of the original documents. Any additions, including punctuation to enhance comprehension, are enclosed by square brackets. Identifiable individuals, locations, and technical terms have been referenced in the footnotes, usually only when they first appear.

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*The primary-source edition published below originated in the “History and Editing” course offered by CSUF’s Department of History.*



Shalersville Oct. 4<sup>th</sup> 1853

Mr Haven

Dear Sir

This is written to know if you have seen any thing from of one G. W. Haven, who left Shalersville about 3 weeks ago. If you have <sup>or</sup> should chance to, I would like, that you would tell him that the folks of Shalersville, or at least Uncle Johns folks would like to see him. But to the matter of fact of the affair we heard by William Smith that you were in Eaton and we have been looking for you or a letter from you since then, but have seen neither. Mother has been quite sick since you were so gone, but is much better now so that she is up about the house about as much as she was before. The fair was on Wednesday and a fair it was I assure you for about noon we had one of the hardest showers I ever saw

Figure 1: Letter 02/page 1: From Sylvia H[aven] in Shalersville, Ohio, to her brother G[eorge]. W[ashington]. Haven in [North] Eaton, Ohio, October 4, 1850, UA&SC, CSUF.

I am out of paper, or I would not send such a looking letter  
so this

Washington,

Sister Lucia,                      May 10<sup>th</sup>, 1861

I have received yours of April 26<sup>th</sup>, and should have answered it before now, but it is not always convenient for us to go or send to the office, it being seven miles from us, Carlos is in Chicago he went from here the last of March, Byron lives there, is working in the I. C. R. R. Machine Shop, Carlos thinks he has got a good wife, their boy was a year old last Dec, they call him Edgar Carlos, If Carlos should get into business there, which he thinks he shall do after the war excitement is over, I and the children shall go there too, then I hope a way will be opened for me to go to Ohio once more, I do very much want to see all of our friends and relatives in that part of the world, and there are your little boys I would like to see how they look and act, well, I suppose very much like other folks children, only a little bit smarter, just as every mother thinks,

I was glad to get a letter from you, I had often thought about writing to you and Betsy, but it is so seldom that I write to any one except Byron that I hardly know how to set myself about, if Lucia, we know something about Pioneer life in the west, its toil, its trials, its privations, and I have had my family sick around me without a cent in the house to purchase the common necessaries of life, but those dark days are past, we have struggled thro many hardships far from our childhoods home, among Strangers in a strange Land, the Lord has tempered the wind to the Shorn Lamb, and we can now look

Figure 2: Letter 16/page 1 front: From Deborah Wilmot and her daughter Amelia in Washington, Iowa, to Deborah's sister-in-law and Amelia's aunt Lucia [Haven (née Wilmot)], May 10 and 7, 1861, UA&SC, CSUF.



La Poste August 17<sup>th</sup>

Dear Sister

Feeling anxious to hear how you get along & how you like Mich & Co I thought perhaps I might persuade you to write and let me know if I should give you notice of the fact it has been nearly one year since you and myself were in Mich on a visit for the first time I enjoyed myself first rate. I have had one letter from you since you moved to Mich and that is all that I answered soon after. do you like it as well as you expected. & Co

Figure 3: Letter 17/page 1: From Bertrand N. Wilmot in Laporte, Ohio, to his sister Lucia Haven [née Wilmot] in Bloomingdale, Michigan, between February 12, 1858, and December 6, 1861, UA&SC, CSUF.

Rawsonville Ohio  
Nov-6 1869

Geo. W. Haven }  
Dear Sir } Yours was rec<sup>d</sup> informing me  
of Lucia's sickness &c. { I have mislaid the letter  
and shall not be able to reply in full } If I remember  
correctly, one of her lower limbs is troublesome, &c.

I am of the opinion that the time for using  
Pulsatilla has passed by - Calcarea Carb 50. or the  
200. potency - one or two doses a week. Rhus  
tot the 250. also if there is much pain  
on remaining quit - Give a dose of daffod  
high - once in a week or two - I wish  
you would write again on the receipt of this -  
and let me know all you can, in relation  
to her case I was called away the  
next morning after I rec<sup>d</sup> of your letter and  
did not get home for 4 or 5 days and on  
looking after the letter, I found that it was  
lost some way and I have not been able  
to find it - I am satisfied that she will  
not recover rapidly, and again you will  
find that the higher dilutions will work the  
best with her - I could sight you to

Figure 4: Letter 26/page 1 front: From S[ilas]. G[ilbert]. Wilmot in Rawsonville, Ohio,  
to his brother-in-law Geo[rge]. W[ashington]. Haven,  
November 6, 1869,  
UA&SC, CSUF.

*Edition: Letter 01:*

*From E[lecta]. Wilmot [née Stocking] in Kingsbury, Indiana,  
to her sister-in-law Lucia Wilmot in Laporte, Ohio,  
June 3, 1850.*

[page 1, half sheet fold, with the letter itself functioning as the envelope]

June the 3 1850

Dear Sister Lucia<sup>1</sup>

I have thought much about you likely in particular the last week and I came to the conclusion that to day I could write to you but come what would, and you see I have done so, not that I have any thing of much importance to say, but when I think with what eagerness I open and read a letter from any of my friends, I think mine will be as source of pleasure to them. we all enjoy tolerable good health this spring, you can better think than I can tell the pleasure we felt on seeing Albert,<sup>2</sup> I did not know him and cannot now make it seem that he is that little boy we left sitting on the fence the morning & [?] we started for the west, he makes me think of silas<sup>3</sup> especially when he laughfs, and one thing, sis you may depend upon that we shall keek [keep] him with us as long as we can. he is going west with us and if he likes you need not expect him back to Ohio<sup>4</sup> any more to live, and we mean to get all the family we can to join us, and establish a Wilmot<sup>5</sup> proviso (or settlement) somewhere in the west, and we calculate to have you there any how, Sleuford has gone to see his land will visit Carlos<sup>6</sup> before he returns, Albert has hav a very sore hand for several days he blistered it planting corn and then took cole in it but it is gettin well fast now,

[page 2]

I was glad to hear that you had been attending school fore a good education and a well cultivated mind is the true foundation on which our hopes to build in this world and when we come to die we can look back on a life well spent and have it said we have not lived in vain. the children talk a great deal about aunt Lucia and this [?] very thing you have sent them is kept as a sacred treasure I wish you could peak in sometime when they get their trinkets and seat them selves on the carpet and spread out their best treasures (to them at least,) even little Mary<sup>7</sup> can tell which is her card that Aunt Lucia sent to her Mary ran alone when she was nine

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<sup>1</sup> Lucia Amanda Wilmot (1836–1899), future wife of George Washington Haven. In the references to this edition, “Lucia” (unless otherwise specified) refers to this individual.

<sup>2</sup> Albert John Wilmot (1829–1913), brother of Lucia Wilmot.

<sup>3</sup> Silas Gilbert Wilmot (1821–1872), brother of Lucia Wilmot.

<sup>4</sup> State in the midwestern United States.

<sup>5</sup> Family name. Lucia Wilmot had fifteen siblings.

<sup>6</sup> Don Carlos Wilmot (1812–1878), brother of Lucia Wilmot.

<sup>7</sup> Mary Wilmot (1849–?), daughter of Hubbard Wilmot (Lucia’s brother).

months old and we think she is a little the smartest one in thee family the boy<sup>8</sup> not excepted and he is a pretty smart chance of a boy I can assure you, it takes him and Albert to do the choars they milk the cows feed the pigs and chop wood whereever Albert goes Lafayet<sup>9</sup> is tight to his heals. Arvilla<sup>10</sup> is stud[y]ing Geography this summer and learning to wright she says you m[a]y expect a letter from her about next winter She learns very fast. Adoline<sup>11</sup> will have to be the house maid as she seams to like nothing so well as washing dishes. Amand<sup>12</sup> is a smart little girl and is at the head of her class almost every night. tell Jannet<sup>13</sup> to write to me I should like to see her very much, and hope I shall before many years she must think this letter written partly to her for I do not know when I shall find time to write again for if you could see under what sircumstances I attempt to write you would not wonder that I did not write oftener

[page 3]

I will just give you a specimen of the transactions since I bega[n] this letter so that you can judge for yourself what it is every day, well in the first place I began writing as soon as I got my mornings work done, the children washed and dressed clean, and by the time I had seated myself they were all hungry well gave them a peace all aloud. and sat down again, pretty Soon Mary fell down stairs and hurt her head very bad. I sat down and hushed her to sleep to[o]k up my pen again then smash went some thing in the pantry jumped up to see, Arvilla had some how knocked the churn over and broken it and spilled the crem all over the floor well I cleared that away sat down again soon Amand came in crying she hard fell down and got her new apron all covered with cowdung she was provided with a clean one and just then Lafayet let the flatiron fall on his toes and he set up a yelping, and Adoline to put the nub on came in with her tattered sun bonnet in her hand she had lain it down on the grass and the pigs had torn it all to peacies, so do not wonder that I am tempted to slay dow[n] my pen and not try to write another letter but I shall finish this one now and shall expect half a dosin for it from some of you or all, to day is the warmest day we have had this season, it is very dry and dusty I see gentlemen and layes [ladies] riding by that look like negroes the dust is so black, now Luc[i]a do write me soon as you get this I shall

---

<sup>8</sup> Reference to Lafayette Bertram Wilmot (1848–1905), son of Hubbard Wilmot (Lucia's brother).

<sup>9</sup> Lafayette Bertram Wilmot (1848–1905), son of Hubbard Wilmot (Lucia's brother).

<sup>10</sup> Arvilla Wilmot (1843–?), daughter of Hubbard Wilmot (Lucia's brother).

<sup>11</sup> Adeline Wilmot (1844–?) daughter of Hubbard Wilmot (Lucia's brother).

<sup>12</sup> Amanda Isabel Wilmot (1846–1921), daughter of Hubbard Wilmot (Lucia's brother).

<sup>13</sup> Jennette C. Wilmot (1819–1897), sister of Lucia Wilmot.

not write one word to Betsy<sup>14</sup> for I know she could send me a few lines if she were a mind to give my love to Mother<sup>15</sup> and Father<sup>16</sup> and Eliza, tell

[page 4, traces of a red wax seal; modern hand/pencil: looked over; modern hand/pencil: Some old letters; pencil/series of numbers/tallies: 49 14 / 35 1885 35 / 50]

Artimes<sup>17</sup> and Franklin<sup>18</sup> I shall expect to see them in the wes[t] [?] before long, Albert is a going to write to Norres<sup>19</sup> soo[n] and I w[ill] try and make my mark in it give my love to Bertrand<sup>20</sup> & wife<sup>21</sup> they must take good care of that boy,<sup>22</sup> no[w] good by dear Ses  
your affectionat[e] Sister E[lecta]. Wilmot<sup>23</sup>

Write me all the news [?] go and see Aloline tell her our folks are at well at present

Leucia Wilmot

5

Lucia, Wilmot

La Porte<sup>24</sup>

Lorain Co[unty]

Ohio

Kingsbury<sup>25</sup> Ind[iana],<sup>26</sup>

June 6<sup>th</sup> / [18]50

*Edition: Letter 02:*

*From Sylvia H[aven] in Shalersville, Ohio,  
to her brother G[eorge]. W[ashington]. Haven in [North] Eaton, Ohio,  
October 4, 1850.*

[page 1, half sheet fold]

<sup>14</sup> Betsey E. Wilmot (1816–1891), sister of Lucia Wilmot.

<sup>15</sup> Unknown. Chloe Jane Wilmot, née Hubbard (1793–1838), mother of Lucia Wilmot, was no longer alive. Perhaps a reference to a stepmother.

<sup>16</sup> Silas Wilmot (1790–1855), father of Lucia Wilmot.

<sup>17</sup> Artemas Wilmot (1831–1903), brother or sister of Lucia Wilmot.

<sup>18</sup> Franklin Benjamin Wilmot (1834–?), brother of Lucia Wilmot.

<sup>19</sup> Norris Tyler Wilmot (1838–1924), brother of Lucia Wilmot.

<sup>20</sup> Bertrand N. Wilmot (1823–1871), brother of Lucia Wilmot.

<sup>21</sup> Cerepta M. Wilmot, née Terrill (1829–1897), wife of Bertrand N. Wilmot (Lucia's brother).

<sup>22</sup> Unknown. Bertrand N. Wilmot's sons Dale and Donald were not yet born.

<sup>23</sup> Electa Wilmot, née Stocking (1820–1883), wife of Hubbard Wilmot (Lucia's brother).

<sup>24</sup> Neighborhood near Elyria, city in northeastern Ohio.

<sup>25</sup> Town in northwestern Indiana.

<sup>26</sup> State in the midwestern United States.

Shalersville<sup>27</sup> Oct[ober] 4<sup>th</sup> 1850

Mr Haven<sup>28</sup> Dear Sir

This is written to know if you have seen anything ~~from~~ of one G[eorge]. W[ashington]. Haven, who left Shaleresville about 3 weeks ago. If you have or ~~of~~ should chance to, I would like, that you would tell him that the folks of Shalersville, or at least Uncle Johns<sup>29</sup> folks would like to see him. But to the matter of fact of the affairs we heard by William Smith<sup>30</sup> that you were in Eaton<sup>31</sup> and we have been looking for you or a letter from you since then, but have seen neither. Mother<sup>32</sup> has been quite sick since you were ~~he~~ gone, but is much better now so that she is up about the house about as much as she was before. The Fair was on Wednesday and a fair it was I assure you for about noon we had one of the hardest showers I ever saw

[page 2]

but I happened to have a good shelter so that I did not get wet at all during the rain Mr Pickett took our horses and carriage and carried us, with his woman of course. Father<sup>33</sup> has dug potatoes now for a number of days and thinks he can nearly finish them tomorrow. he has got about 120, bus[hels] in the cellar. Elson<sup>34</sup> is going to school next week if nothing prevents. I wrote to George Sandford<sup>35</sup> a short time after you went away but could not send it as I did not know the name of the county. a day or two after I wrote it we received a letter from Anzi<sup>36</sup> reproving us strongly. I expect that set our wits to work for mother thought of it that night (though come to think of it she thought of the name of the county before we got the letter.) but the next night I wrote another letter and sent it. and I told as smooth a story as I could about ~~the~~ our delay and told nothing but the truth either. And George it was a pretty good letter too (better'n this) and it was wrote better too and really I felt kind of proud of it. But I want to know when you are a going to give us a call for we all would like to see Mr Heven if convenient to the wishes of all, if not so satisfy all, as well as yourself, and then start for home. I am almost

---

<sup>27</sup> Township in northeastern Ohio.

<sup>28</sup> George Washington Haven (1831–1906), future husband of Lucia Amanda Wilmot. In the references to this edition, “George” (unless otherwise specified) refers to this individual.

<sup>29</sup> Perhaps a reference to their father, who may have been known as “Uncle John” in the community: John Haven (1795–1883), father of George and Sylvia Haven.

<sup>30</sup> Perhaps William Smith (1833–1863).

<sup>31</sup> Township in northeastern Ohio.

<sup>32</sup> Julia Sanford (1803–1858), mother of George and Sylvia Haven.

<sup>33</sup> John Haven (1795–1883), father of George and Sylvia Haven.

<sup>34</sup> Perhaps Elson Goodell (1840–1912).

<sup>35</sup> Individual who appears repeatedly throughout these letters; his precise relationship to the family (if any) is unclear. Garry “George” Sanford (1798–1835), brother of Julia Haven, née Sanford (George’s mother), was no longer alive.

<sup>36</sup> Annis Haven (1822–1862), sister of George and Sylvia Haven.



ashamed to send this it looks so bad but I had a few minutes and so I wrote this and you must take it as it comes if you take it at all  
Sylvia<sup>37</sup>

[page 3]

P.S. If you can spend time without interfering with other business I should like that you answer this. I should like to know how Raymonds<sup>38</sup> folks ~~get along~~ and all the rest of the good folks get along. Mother think you will thi[n]g I am reproving you too sharply but you need not think so as it was not intended for a reproof at all, but to let you know that we were alive and well as common still as soon as business will permit we should like to see you.

S[ylvia]. G. H[aven].

[page 4, blank]

*Edition: Letter 03:*

*From Sylvia [Haven]*

*to her brother George [Washington] Haven in Shalersville, Ohio,*

*November 3, 1851.*

[page 1 front, single sheet format; modern hand/pencil: From Sylvia]

Nov[ember] 3<sup>[r]d</sup> 1851

Brother George

We received your two letters of the 25<sup>th</sup> & 26<sup>th</sup> to day and were very glad to hear from you father and mother were very anxious to hear ~~from you~~. We are all well and hope to find you e[n]joying the same privelege and we were very glad to hear that you were well and had got a school. Raymond came out to see us Saturday and staid with us over Sund[a]y and left this morning before five o clock. Hee would have been very glad to have seen you. Father took particular notice of that old man and I will remember him. We have had a pretty hard storm to day about half snow and about half rain and the ground is but just covered father says that it would have been about 8 inches deep if it had not melted. Father a has not sold old Bill yet. Pa says that you have had full as good luck [?] as he expected. and [?] ~~says~~ that if you can you had better look around and see if you cant get a writing school and perhaps more than one persevere as well as ~~well~~ you can ~~he could~~. We got a letter from New York<sup>39</sup> for you and should have sent it before but we did not know where to send it ~~to~~ to. This is the last week of our school and we are a going to have an examination saturday and we shall be arrayed before the tribunel and I wish that you could be there too. Mother want you to write how you fare and all

---

<sup>37</sup> Sylvia Haven (1838–1858), sister of George Haven. In the references to this edition, “Sylvia” (unless otherwise specified) refers to this individual.

<sup>38</sup> Raymond Haven (1823–1903), brother of George and Sylvia Haven.

<sup>39</sup> City on the Atlantic coast of the United States.

the particulars and write often. It is hard writing when you dont know what to write as it is the case now. Mother wants to know what kind of meetings you have there.

[page 1 back, modern hand/pencil: Sylvia]

Mr George Haven  
Shalersville  
Portage co[unty]  
Ohio

*Edition: Letter 04:*

*From Augustus Haven in Shalersville, Ohio,  
to his cousin George [Washington] Haven in South Bend, Indiana,  
December 9, 1851.*

[page 1, half sheet fold]

Shalersville D[e]c[ember]. 9<sup>th</sup> 1851

Dear Cousin

This evening finds me at home attempting to answer your letter of the 30<sup>th</sup> which I received this morning, which will be done in a very awkward manner, but as you requested it I will make the attempt. I was as highly gratified at hearing from you as you could be from me, but should be happier far if I could see you. I wish that I could be with you this winter nothing would suit me better, but it is now to[o] late to talk of that, but still I should have been glad to have gone with you if I had known it in season, and I think that we could have spent the winter very pleasantly together. I think that I could contented myself out there this winter. although the red house is a very pleasant place I assure you and probably that other place is to you to which you refer. please be a little more pointed in your next that I may know where she lives if it is any body that I know I will ~~talk~~ take some pains to talk with her about it for you, As to James &C[etera]. &C[etera] I guess that they spend an evening rather pleasantly now and then and who blames them her large eyes are handsome aynt they? I say so

[page 2]

but there are others in town besides the one with large eyes Uncle Ezekel<sup>40</sup> has got a gal [girl] you know that is some company or at least I think so And what is betwixt you and me dont go any further you know And I will try to answer as many letters as you will write me. In my bungling manner, You had better guess that we have some lively times her[e] this winter, or at least I think so, the girls are as lively as ever and like to ride out about as well. last sunday evening was pleasant and I hope that you was enjoying yourself talking with some pretty girl

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<sup>40</sup> Not everyone referred to as “uncle” or “aunt” in these letters was actually a relative. In cases where family members are clearly identifiable, this has been noted.

and be assured I was but I didn't stay long for I got home about 2, o, clock in the morning if there is a handsome girl in Indiana write me and I will come and get her, unless you get the start of me, but you may tell her what a cousin you have got to venture. As to my school it is in our own district the worst of all places to begin. but I have got along as well as I could wish. at any rate it has been said by some in the district that it is as good a school as ever was taught here. and by those that are as hard to please as any. they did not tell me but I heard of it. As to Mr Hanks he makes his brags that he jirked two the first week quite a recomend. As to Mr Way he evaporates by degrees as usual but makes a great fuss about it. I have 34 schollars and have not punished any yet and dont meant to if I can get along with out for I believe there is no [?] use in it.

[page 3]

But to our cousins as I wrote you before they had their tryal and was cleared but some not being satisfied (Hine Horr Silas Crocker M Crane Miller & others.) they were taken again on the 24 of Nov[ember] (Court being in session) and hearing that the jury had found a bill against them they got to gather and waited for the sherriff to come after them showing that they were not very guilty they had bail so that they did not have to go to ~~jail~~ prison. their tryal came on again on wednesday being 4 days and nights last, the 3: the tryal lasted untill saturday night: about sundown when the jury went out and did not come in untill next morning at 8 o clock being kept out by one juryman from midnight. they brout in a verdict of not guilty. and another time of rejoycing there was in old Shalersville. but evry thing that could be done was done to convict them honestly or disonestly there had been private meetings held in Horrs counting room for two weeks before the tryal came on but all did not convict them they sat there through the whole of the tryal unmoved and with out a tear from one of them they tryed to break down theyr testimony. called their witnesses purjured drunkerds and evry thing they could but to no effect it appeard that God was on their side and I hope that they may realise it. the boys had to pay their lawyers (Day and Burse) 300 dollars. pretty hard for poor boys and innocent at that

[page 4]

the whole cost is some where from twelve to fifteen hundred dollars which comes out of the state except the boys have to pay their own lawyers Royal started for Mishigan<sup>41</sup> to day to work on his farm this winter. If the people out there are not as polite as they are here I pitty them. As to our meetings we are getting along slowly I believe that ~~that~~ they have all pulled in ~~they~~ their horns except Mr Eldridge<sup>42</sup> but he is as surley as ever. Sutton Haydon<sup>43</sup> (your master) has an appointment here for one week from next sunday in the new house. We have all

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<sup>41</sup> State in the midwestern United States.

<sup>42</sup> Perhaps James H. Eldridge (1819–1905) or Samuel Grant Eldridge, (1819–1895).

<sup>43</sup> Perhaps Rev. Amos Sutton Hayden (1813–1880).

kinds of weather here about evry week Snow one day rain the next Sunshine the next and the next not any thing but muddy weather. but it is getting late near 11. O. Clock as I have been helping Father<sup>44</sup> husk corn this evening or I should have been done long ago, and as I expect to be out tomorrow Evening probably near all night on a kind of a mission I will close. But if you think shuch things as this worth reading please write me an answer I want you to pick out the nicest girl that there is in the state for me and write me about her for I begin to think seriously about them, for there is so many here that it is hard choosing and they dont care any more about me than I do about them but seeing I have wrote nothing but nonsense I will ~~tell~~ stop. our folks are all well as usual and your Fathers family is well I believe. I wish you to write the first opportunity, as it dont cost much and if you get tired of paying postage I hav got a few coppers left yet. I believe that Lucy<sup>45</sup> is well or at least I know she was sunday night, but our girl business to our selvs, twixt you and me. So good night Mr George Haven  
Yours in sincere friendship Augustus Haven<sup>46</sup>

[pages 2 and 3, across the top]

P.S. please be so kind as to forgive mistakes for I have not time to ~~look~~ correct them and dont know enough to any way

A[ugustus] H[aven]

[page 2, left margin]

N[ota]. B[ene].<sup>47</sup> don't be afraid of filling your letters to full or of writing to fine  
A[ugustus]. H[aven]

[ENVELOPE, postage stamp, featuring a portrait of George Washington, red: U.S. POSTAGE / THREE CENTS; modern hand/pencil: A Haven; backside, blank]

Shalersville O[hio]

Dec[ember] 10.

Dec[ember] 18

Mr George Haven

South Bend St. Josephs County

Ohio<sup>48</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Davis Haven (1807–1869), father of Augustus Haven (George's father's brother's son).

<sup>45</sup> Perhaps a reference to Lucia, if she and George were close acquaintances by then.

<sup>46</sup> Augustus Haven (1833–1912), son of Davis Haven (George's father's brother).

<sup>47</sup> Abbreviation for "nota bene," the equivalent of today's "by the way."

<sup>48</sup> The state here should be Indiana.

*Edition: Letter 05:*

*From Sylwia [Haven] and her father John Haven in Shalersville, Ohio, to Sylwia's brother and John's son [George Washington Haven], January 22, 1852.*

[page 1, half sheet fold]

Shalersville Jan 22<sup>nd</sup> 1852

Dear Brother

It is almost 20 / ~~minutes past~~ 7 and have just sit down to write a few words to brother. Justin<sup>49</sup> and Julia<sup>50</sup> and Plymon<sup>51</sup> are in the other room and pa and Justin are talking over some of their matters and me and Julia also. Ma and pa and Elson Sophronia<sup>52</sup> and I have had our likenesses taken and they look very natural. Julia says she guesses she wont write this time but wait and see if Justin wont write and if he dont she will tell you all when you come home Maria came down here to stay to night but Mr Trobridge came after her. The Mercury stood 20 degrees below zero Tuesday morning; it is exelent sleighing here and has been for a week past; many are the sleighrides. I have been a number of times and can go to Hiram<sup>53</sup> to morrow night if I want to to a lyceum but it is doubtful whether I go or not they have gone somewhere to night I dont know where. Ashley nor Bentley do not go to school Ashley went about half an hour the first day but something was the matter of his eye and has not been since. Bentley has not been much. Ed Ross boarded to Mrs Ieranes and is a going to work in sugaring with them he went to school awhile and stopped. Kollin does not go much because he has no coat. Frances has noy been half of the time this winter. I get along pretty well in Latin, but we had to go back and review for Girde Horr and another boy. That French sentence is "Our lady of the lake" I know enough about Latin to know that you made a mistake in the sentence "bonus puella" it had ought to be bona puella,<sup>54</sup> the adjective must agree with its noun in gender bonus

[page 2]

is in the masculine gender bona the feminine bonum the neuter you must be a "bonus puer."<sup>55</sup> Aimez vous votre ecole I do not know whether you can translate it or not it is "Do you love your school." That sentence you wrote to me was spelled "Notre dame du lac."<sup>56</sup> Mother and Julia and Justin went up to uncle Darwin's this afternoon and they say they dont have a very good school but Mr Lisks folks like

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<sup>49</sup> Dr. Justin Hayes (1825–1892), husband of Julia Hayes, née Haven (George's sister).

<sup>50</sup> Julia Ann Haven (1827–1903), sister of George Haven.

<sup>51</sup> Plymmon Sanford Hayes (1850–1894), son of Julia Hayes, née Haven (George's sister).

<sup>52</sup> Sophronia Haven (1841–1918), sister of George Haven.

<sup>53</sup> Village in northeastern Ohio.

<sup>54</sup> Latin for "good girl."

<sup>55</sup> Latin for "good boy."

<sup>56</sup> French for "our lady of the lake."

it I guess it is because he hired the teacher. Uncle Edwins<sup>57</sup> folks have ~~and~~ sent Lucia<sup>58</sup> but about a week and samuel<sup>59</sup> has not been much. Lucia is not well. I just found out that uncle Darwins folks were not at home but were to Mentor<sup>60</sup> ~~up to~~ [?] they went to uncle Edwins ~~there too~~. We have got a chain pump in our well and so have Justins folks. "Elson says write I have froze my ears twice" Elson has I have froze my heels twice and side of my feet once pa has ~~froze his froo[z]~~ the bottom of his feet ~~to~~ aussi (too). Le ney goes to school and dont act very pretty some of the time she considers herself as big as those 20 years old and she is talked about some. Mr Morrill the likeness taker<sup>61</sup> is kind of a mean man he bought some oysters for Amelia Whelen and they had an oyster supper they made a goudeel [good deal] of fun about it she cuts around with the married men and wrote to one the other day, but it is 8 o clock and I must stop.  
your sister S Sylvia

[page 3]

Shalersville Jan[uary] 22<sup>nd</sup> 1852

Dear Son

It takes about me all of the time take care of the cattle and cut firewood I have drawed a few logs to the mill. Mr Hayden<sup>62</sup> preached last Sunday and is aging to preach ½ of the time. Dr Belding<sup>63</sup> ~~preached last~~ will preach Saturday evening and Dr Belding and Mr Smith<sup>64</sup> Sunday. Joseph has got your letter so has James and Augustus.<sup>65</sup> Joseph boards to Justins and and goes to school. La Fayette gets along well in his school. Tuesday it was so cold that he did not have but 3 scholars. Sylvia writes for me while I make a last<sup>66</sup> for Elson boot. We have got a very good meeting house, two stoves 6 lamps and the rest you will see when you come. Mr Eldrige has not been to meeting for three or four Sundays. Royal Cort lives with uncle Davis<sup>67</sup> this winter. Mary Sanford is coming up here next week Friday going to stay over Sunday and we wish you could be here if it was convenient with your business. But I must stop and go to bed. I wish your good nights rest. Good evening

‡ John Haven

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<sup>57</sup> Edwin Sanford (1817-1899), brother of Julia Haven, née Sanford (George's mother).

<sup>58</sup> Lucia Sanford (1842-1926), daughter of Edwin Sanford (George's mother's brother).

<sup>59</sup> Samuel S. Sanford (1844-1918), son of Edwin Sanford (George's mother's brother).

<sup>60</sup> City in northeastern Ohio.

<sup>61</sup> Photographer or passepartouist.

<sup>62</sup> Perhaps Rev. Amos Sutton Hayden (1813-1880).

<sup>63</sup> Perhaps Dr. Alvin Belding (1812-1880).

<sup>64</sup> Perhaps William Smith (1833-1863).

<sup>65</sup> Perhaps Augustus Haven (1833-1912), son of Davis Haven (George's father's brother).

<sup>66</sup> A form shaped like the human foot over which a shoe is shaped or repaired.

<sup>67</sup> Davis Haven (1807-1869), brother John Haven (George's father).

[page 4]

Sunday Evening

Dear Brother

I must write a word or two and then go down and stay with Sarah Jane while he[r] folks are gone but I must write something of more consequence. Jame eat supper here to night and went up to meeting Mr. Leonky Mrs. Norway's father started of[f] for Calafornia<sup>68</sup> with a number of others last fall he had been gone awhile when the whole Company were taken sick he and another one of them died 1 month and 1 day after he left home. Ashley came down here just now and leather and harness and is I guess going to take a sleighride. Fred Beecher and Sary are up to Mrs Leranes and they are a going I guess Je ve votre un plaisant école demain (I wish you a pleasant school tomorrow) but I shall be too late if I do not close it now. It looks like rain. Pa is drawing lumber to fix the house with and I expect it will be commenced before you come home, an addition put on so that it will be out most to the well a cheeseroom where the little bedroom and &c[etera] I have no more time to write.

Your sister Sylvia

*Edition: Letter 06:*

*From Arvilla Wilmot in Kingsbury, Indiana,  
to her aunt Lucia Wilmot in Laporte, Ohio,  
August 22, 1852.*

[page 1 front, single sheet format, with the letter itself functioning as the envelope;  
traces of a red wax seal]

August 22 [1852]<sup>69</sup>

Dear Aunt

I take this opportunity to write a few lines to ~~our~~ you. And let you know that we were all well. I have got another little sister. We call it Martha Jane.<sup>70</sup> Aunt Adoline<sup>71</sup> has got another little girl. give my love to all. I Would like to see you And Aunt Betsy and her little Emma.<sup>72</sup> tell grandfather<sup>73</sup> and g[r]andmother<sup>74</sup> that I would like to see them very much. we shall look for you this summer. Adoline

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<sup>68</sup> State on the Pacific coast of the United States.

<sup>69</sup> Year inferred from page 1 back, which notes "Aug 26 / [18]52."

<sup>70</sup> Martha Jane Wilmot (1852–1905), daughter of Hubbard Wilmot (Lucia's brother).

<sup>71</sup> Adaline Dorothy Stocking (1826–1879), sister of Electa Wilmot, née Stocking (Lucia's brother Hubbard's wife).

<sup>72</sup> Emma Oelpha Phillips (1848–1923), daughter of Betsey E. Phillips, née Wilmot (Lucia's sister).

<sup>73</sup> Silas Wilmot (1790–1855), father of Lucia Wilmot.

<sup>74</sup> Unknown. Chloe Jane Wilmot, née Hubbard (1793–1838), mother of Lucia Wilmot, was no longer alive. Perhaps a reference to a stepmother.

and Amanda says that they would like to see you. Bertrand<sup>75</sup> and Mary is as full of mischief as they can s-I be. it is very warm here by spells. they has not been much rain here. it was a very cold winter last winter. though we enjoyed it very much with pop corn we had no apples to eat.

Arvilla Wilmot

Leucia Wilmot

you must excuse poor writing for I will try to do better next time  
write as soon as you receive this letter

[page 1 back, modern hand/pencil: Arvilla Wilmot]

5 Miss Lucia Wilmot.

Laporte, Lorain Co[ounty].

Ohio,

Kingsbury Ind.

Aug[ust] 26 / [18]52

*Edition: Letter 07:*

*From Sylvia [Haven] in Shalersville, Ohio,*

*to her brother Geor[ge]. [Washington] Haven in South Bend, Indiana,*

*between November 3, 1851 and December 17, 1852.*

[The missing letter that was sent in this surviving envelope was posted on November 18 in Shalersville, Ohio, and received on November 24 in South Bend, Indiana. Based on the other letters from this collection edited here George Washington Haven was still in Shalersville Ohio, on November 3, 1851; he then moved to South Bend, Indiana (where correspondence was addressed to him on December 9, 1851); and he was in North Eaton, Ohio, by December 17, 1852. Thus, it appears that the missing letter was posted either on November 18, 1851, or on November 18, 1852.]

[ENVELOPE, pencil/date received: Nov 24; modern hand/pencil: Sylvia; backside, blank]

Mr. Geo[rge]. Haven

South Bend

St. Josephs Co.

Ind[iana]

Shalersville Oh[io]

Nov. 18

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<sup>75</sup> Perhaps Bertrand N. Wilmot (1823–1871), brother of Lucia Wilmot.



*Edition: Letter 08:*

*From Sylvia Haven in Shalersville, Ohio,  
to her brother George Haven in North Eaton, Ohio,  
December 17, 1852.*

[page 1 front, single sheet format]

Shalersville Dec[ember]. 17<sup>th</sup> 1852

Dear Brother

Received yours about 15 minutes ago and hastened to answer it. We are all well and Hannah doing well. Father says he supposed Raymonds could let him have ~~one~~ a pig as well as not by what he said when he was out here but he says you need not trouble yourselves about it he will get one here and all he cared about getting one there was for the stock. We want you~~r~~ to tell us how you get along with your school. We had three preachers to day. Dr Belding is a going to preach next Saturday and we are to have a meeting of several days commencing 1 week from next Friday. Mr Leanfear is to be ~~be~~ here or at least I think it is his name. Father says his Englishman ~~does so well~~ has got so big he cant Elson cant see him if he flops his tail against him and he fights the cows about right. Julia and little John<sup>76</sup> are about sick with a hard cold and that is a pretty general complaint about here. Father says he has not sold any horses yet. I suppose Hannah will go home in about a week and then we shall be most alone here. We write so often I cannot think of anything new to write.

Your sister Sylvia Haven

[page 1 back, blank]

[ENVELOPE, modern hand/pencil: Sylvia; backside, blank]

Mr. George Haven

North Eaton

Lorain co[unty]

Ohio

*Edition: Letter 09:*

*From Sylvia [Haven] in Shalersville, Ohio,  
to her brother George W[ashington]. Haven in North Eaton, Ohio,  
November 18, 1853.*

[page 1 front, single sheet format]

Shalersville Nov[ember]. 18 1853

Dear Brother,

We are all well except Mother who father thinks is some better now but does not know whether she will remain so. Justin says her fever has left her, and there is

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<sup>76</sup> John M. Hayes (1852–1919), son of Julia Hayes, née Haven (George's sister).

scarcely any coat on her tongue, and I think she is consadirable better than she was when you left, she is very weak but Justin says it is because she has no fever. Our horses had a runaway escape last Tuesday. Father went down to Mrs. Bunnell's<sup>77</sup> to get the rags and warp the warp was so coarse that we concluded I not to have the carpet wove. he had hitched the horses and had gone into the Store Mr Porter was to the old Store unloading cheese his horses not hitched. Bill Heines colts were in the road. they ran and scar[e]t Mr Porters horses which run across the road. (and father came out of the store just then to get the warp.) father stepped back and one horse jumped on to Jim. and hurt considerable breaking his halter, and untying the colts. scaring them they ran to the south (stringing the rags finely) as far as Bill Hines where they ran against a stumpe and left the wagon. they ran to Mr. Nelsons where they were stopped Rhodes being pretty well tuckered. Ira Burroughs<sup>78</sup> saw them and sent Sidney<sup>79</sup> after them. Henry Perane went with Sidney and the[y] got them, and took back. The buggy was broken pretty bad but we are having it fixed.

[page 1 back]

I I guess you think I have strung a yarn but I thought you would like to hear something about it and so of course I must tell it all. I wrote a letter to George Sanford Tuesday. and I wish you would write to him too. We have got your stockings most done and will send them when we have a chance. I want you to write as soon as you get this if you have not written before.

Yours, Sylvia.

[ENVELOPE, postmark, red: Paid / 3; postmark, red: SHALERSVILLE OHIO / NOV 19; modern hand/pencil: Sylvia; backside, blank]

Mr. George W[ashington]. Haven  
North Eaton  
Lorain co[unty]  
Ohio

*Edition: Letter 10:  
From Sylvia [Haven]  
to [George Washington Haven],  
before October 5, 1854.*

[Because of this letter's contents, its most likely addressee is George Washington Haven. Since his wife is not mentioned, the letter was most likely written some time before his wedding to Lucia Amanda Wilmot on October 5, 1854].

[page 1 front, single sheet format]

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<sup>77</sup> Perhaps Nancy E. Bonnell (1815–1878).

<sup>78</sup> Perhaps Ira Burroughs (1811–1894).

<sup>79</sup> Perhaps James Sidney Tull (1838–1926).

Monday Morning, Pa wants me to write a little for him. He says what he has sold from the cows comes to over 36 dollars apiece. He thinks you had not better be in any hurry about selling your place and if you do sell it have the most if not the whole paid down. He says he wants you to write all the particulars about what you are calculating to do, Mr Horr<sup>80</sup> is pretty sick with the Typhoid fever, and George Daily<sup>81</sup> also with the Erysipelas.<sup>82</sup> Ma wants you to let Raymond read Fronias<sup>83</sup> letter, she sends her love to all, (you and yours and Raymonds folks) we did not get ~~the~~ your letter till Saturday night (the 5<sup>th</sup>). Write soon  
Sylvia,

[page 1 back, modern hand/pencil: Sylvia]

*Edition: Letter 11:*

*From Sylvia [Haven] in Shalersville, Ohio,  
to her brother George W[ashington]. Haven  
and his wife Lucia [née Wilmot] in North Eaton, Ohio,  
August 3, 1855.*

[page 1, half sheet fold]

Shalersville Aug[ust]. 3rd 1855.

Dear Brother & Sister.

I received your letter Wednesday night and was very glad to hear the news,<sup>84</sup> ~~though~~ and I must confess they were none of them very stale to us. Mother says she would be very glad to see the — baby<sup>85</sup> — you know what, and says she thinks if she was well enough they should come out and see you. but she says she don't think she shall see you & baby until you come out here. Cannot say what pa does think about it. but think he is pleased. Sophronia is wonderfully elated and the news spreads like wildfire where she is. she wants to behold the "little one" very much

[page 2]

and is very sure that it is pretty. As for me of course I am pleased. how could I be any thing else. And sure enough George is father, and Lucia mother, yes and I am "aunty" again, too. Your town too is a very growing enterprising and flourishing, one. Father is drawing wheat to day and intends to finish to day. has a good crop.

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<sup>80</sup> Perhaps Adam Veddar Horr (1819–1856).

<sup>81</sup> Perhaps George Daily (1830–1862).

<sup>82</sup> Skin infection.

<sup>83</sup> Sophronia Haven (1841–1918), sister of George Haven.

<sup>84</sup> Reference to the birth of Edwin Melancthon Haven (1855–1917), son of George and Lucia, on July 11, 1855.

<sup>85</sup> Edwin Melancthon Haven (1855–1917), son of George and Lucia. The word "baby" appears in small subscript.

enough to fill the east barn. loses little by growing. Mr Lamb (lives in Black House) works for him some. Mr Kent, also, he has a mowing and machine and intends cutting his grass with it. It has been very wet here until this week. I have taught 3 months. have vacation 1½ weeks. commence next Monday. 1 month longer. A man by the name of Howard was killed in Mantua<sup>86</sup> last Sunday<sup>87</sup> by lightning and 4 others shocked who recovered. The Friday night before Mr Stearns had a horse killed by the same cause.

[page 3]

Justin's folks are as well as usual I beleive. some sickness, though not much hard sickness. You may expect to see some of us out there this fall. Annis I think intends to. Julia wants to. and so do we very much. and we want you to be sure and come and see us. Mother wants to see that baby. 'Fronia' intends to write soon, when there is any news to tell, Be sure and write soon. good bye.  
Sylvia.

P.S. I intend now to write to G. K. Sanford

[page 4, blank]

[ENVELOPE, postmark, black: SHALERSVILLE OHIO / AUG 4; modern hand/pencil: Sylvia Haven; backside, blank]

Mr George W[ashington]. Haven  
North Eaton  
Lorain co[unty]  
Ohio

*Edition: Letter 12:*

*From Sylvia [Haven] in Shalersville, Ohio,  
to her brother George W[ashington]. Haven  
and his wife [Lucia (née Wilmot)] in North Eaton, Ohio,  
April 5, 1856.*

[page 1, half sheet fold]

Shalersville April 5<sup>th</sup> 1856

Dear Brother and Sister,

Saturday evening and I have been to Ravenna<sup>88</sup> all day almost, to an examination, and think I shall without doubt get a certificate, though mine lasts a year yet, so I shall not be found wanting if I fail. What is in the head is written first you know. Well our folks are all well I believe. Elson and "Fronia" have gone to singing school.

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<sup>86</sup> Village in northeastern Ohio.

<sup>87</sup> The words "last Sunday" are inserted in pencil.

<sup>88</sup> City in northeastern Ohio.

pa is going to caucus<sup>89</sup> and mother and I stay at home. Justin's folks moved last Tuesday. Bro Sala's folks moved into the Justin's house. Joseph and Maria intend to live in the two front rooms of the same house, with a bedroom or two. George Daily

[page 2]

and Harriet moved into the house which bro Sala left. Dr. Crafts<sup>90</sup> has moved into the house with Bill De Pue. Quite a moving time. Father says he didn't want you to feel bad about his getting out that timber for he done it when he could do nothing else. But George I don't like to have him do such work any too well. Grandpa Crane is dead, he died Tuesday night. Funeral to-morrow. Ashley is having the yellow house fixed over, and intend to live there. There has been no less than 17 or 18 weddings in town since last fall I believe, Russel Ross lives in the black house. One week ago to night I returned from Franklin,<sup>91</sup> after attending an Institute there for two weeks. We had a very pleasant time indeed. Mr Sherman Blake<sup>92</sup> acting as chairman and quite an efficient body of teachers, among whom was his brother "J. Blake" our teacher in Geography. I became acquainted with a Miss. Churchill of Randolph, sister of Julius Churchill, (you remember him I presume, attended school at Hiram when you did.) He is in the west part

[page 3]

of this state now. I think a clerk in a store. George Daily and Mark are keeping store at the center under the name of "Streator, Daily. & Co," Henry Beecher I suppose owns a share in it. Aunt Harriet Streator's health is very poor though they think she is a little better than she was a while ago. James has bought him a farm in the north west part of this town of about 110 acres. Old Mr Marvin<sup>93</sup> died about three weeks ago. Fayette has hired widow Thomson's farm for this summer. he is not married yet. and I do not [know] whether he intends to be this spring or not. I do not know that you know where Justin lives. He and Mr Sulezey [?]changed farms places. Justin giving \$200.00. We have heard that you intended to come out here this spring and really hope 'tis so. will you inform us on the subject? Frederic Wilmott has failed and is in debt a good deal, but Mr Converse with whom he was in company talks as though he would pay the debts. I believe I have scattered the news along in, and now won't you write us a good long letter. both of you write. We hope to hear that you are coming out this spring.

Yours, Sylvia

[page 4, blank]

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<sup>89</sup> Meeting where local constituents register their preference for candidates running for office.

<sup>90</sup> Perhaps Dr. Ambrose Spencer Crafts (1819-1879).

<sup>91</sup> City in southeastern Ohio.

<sup>92</sup> Perhaps Sherman Blake (1831-1884).

<sup>93</sup> Perhaps Leland Marvin, (1789-1856).

[ENVELOPE, postage stamp, featuring a portrait of George Washington, red: U.S. POSTA[GE] / THREE CENTS; postmark, black: SHALERSVILLE OHIO / APR 9; modern hand/pencil: Sylvia; backside, blank]

Mr. George W[ashington]. Haven.  
North Eaton.  
Lorain Co[unty].  
Ohio.

*Edition: Letter 13:*

*From Sylvia [Haven] in Shalersville, Ohio,  
to her brother G[eorge]. W[ashington]. Haven  
and his wife [Lucia (née Wilmot)] in North Eaton, Ohio,  
September 9, 1856.*

[page 1, half sheet fold]

Shalersville. Sept[ember]. 16<sup>th</sup> 1856.

Dear Brother and Sister

It is Tuesday morning. a very pleasant morning though a little cool just now. Father and Olson are milking, Lucinda<sup>94</sup> getting breakfast. Fronia has not yet made her appearances and you can imagine the rest. Father is a good deal better. he thinks he feels better than he had for some time before with the exception of his head which is much better. almost well I guess.

[page 2]

Mother too is getting better. she was at home Sunday and staid all night. Justin's folks are as well as common I think, and Frank's folks for ought we know. We have had rain since you left but not as much as most folks would have been glad of. We thought last night that we were going to have rain but the shower went somewhere else but still we hope for rain soon. If you know when Raymond's folks are coming out I wish you to write that we may know when to expect them. Father has been cutting the tops off the corn for a few days past, and yesterday he was at work around the barn. Francis has been quite sick since you left but is getting some

[page 3]

better now though she is quite sick yet. Several are sick now. I found your bosom pin on this curtin in your room a few days after you left. I will try and send it at the first opportunity. How is little Edwin.<sup>95</sup> it would be quite a treat to see him here. You must give him two or three ~~you~~ kisses for us, for if he were here he

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<sup>94</sup> Lucinda Catherine Haven, née Scouton (1828–1915), wife of Raymond Haven (George's brother).

<sup>95</sup> Edwin Melancthon Haven (1855–1917), son of George and Lucia. The word "baby" appears in small subscript.

would be apt to get a good many times that many. I do not know but I have written all the news. Maybe you would like to know how "Frank"<sup>96</sup> is. he is well I guess. We received your letter last week Thursday. Write soon as convenient and write a long letter.

Yours Sylvia

[page 4, blank]

[ENVELOPE, modern hand/pencil: Sylvia; backside, blank]

Mr. G[eorge] W[ashington]. Haven  
North Eaton  
Lorain co[unty].  
Ohio.

*Edition: Letter 14:*

*From Sylvia [Haven] in Shalersville, Ohio,  
to her brother [George Washington Haven],  
November 29, 1857.*

[page 1, half sheet fold]

Shalersville Nov[ember]. 29<sup>th</sup> / [18]57.

My Dear Brother.

It is Sunday even. Sheldon Streator has just left here. He told us that Lucia was so that she could not walk. we are very sorry indeed to hear such news from you. How do you get along and do the work, take care of your cows, &c[etera]. Father has quite a hard cold but we hope he will be better in a few days. Mother is not as well, near. She sits up about half of the day. Justin does not think she can live long. he says she may not live three months and that she may live six months

[page 2]

or more. he cannot tell I am teaching come home a good deal. Francis is at home doing the work with my help. Elson goes to school at the center. Mother says she feels uneasy about Lucia's hip. and that she wants you to have all done for it you can. We did intend to go out to see you this fall. but father had so much to do he did not know how to spare Elson or the time to go. Mother wanted to have father go but he will not leave her. And he probably will not come at present. Justin's folks are about as well as usual. they have been fixing the inside of their house over for about ten weeks, I think. He has got the office which he used to have moved over to that place. between the house and barn. Tell Raymond's folks if they can come out here we should be very glad to have them come.

[page 3]

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<sup>96</sup> Perhaps Benjamin Franklin Pardy (1818-1884), husband of Annis Haven (George's sister); or perhaps Franklin Benjamin Wilmot (1834-?), brother of Lucia Haven, née Wilmot.

We hope they will come if they can this Winter. Father says that Harvey Sage (I do not know but you are acquainted with him. an old clerk in the store) says that he would not sell the cheese this fall at the price it is bringing that if kept in a good place it will pay to keep it during the winter. Mother says she wants you to write as often as you can and tell us how Lucia is. It has got so dark I cannot tell whether I write on the line or not. Tell us how you and Raymond's folks get along. We send this by Sheldon.<sup>97</sup> Mother wants you to remember and write.

Yours from. Sylvia

[page 4, blank]

*Edition: Letter 15:*

*From Sylwia [Haven] in Shalersville, Ohio,  
to her brother G[eorge]. W[ashington]. Haven in North Eaton, Ohio,  
February 12, 1858.*

[page 1 front, single sheet format]

Shalersville Feb[ruary] 12<sup>th</sup> / [18]58

My Dear Brother,

Your welcome letter was received last week. We need not tell you that we were happy to hear from you, we always are. We had thoughts of writing before ~~we received~~ we received yours but mother getting no worse we had neglected to write. I have been very busy this winter. In school five days and on Saturday's washing and doing other work. I have now three weeks of school. I expect Fronia will go to Hiram to attend school the week after the close of my school. she intends to have a room and board herself. I am to remain at home and we intend to have a girl about the middle of March. We were very glad to hear that Lucia was some better and hope she may not get worse again. Do you have a girl now or do the work yourselves.

[page 1 back]

Mother's health is about the same that it has been for sometime. she sits up about half of the day. ~~Her~~ She coughs some. Father says in regard to your leads. that if you have not and can you had better get the Mood to be beholden to Mr Cenwell instead of you being the one. He thinks you had better do it now if you can. I am so tired to night that I think I must stop writing soon and retire. Bro Newcomb has been holding a meeting here. we have a good meeting though there has been but four conversions. Justin's and Frank's folks are as well as usual I believe. Write as soon as convenient. Our love to Raymond's folks with yours of course Not forgetting our little Eddie.<sup>98</sup>

Truly, Sylvia

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<sup>97</sup> Sheldon Streator, mentioned earlier in this letter.

<sup>98</sup> Reference to Edwin Melancthon Haven (1855–1917), son of George and Lucia.



P. S. He is married, was married some eleven weeks ago I think. 'All's well.'

[ENVELOPE, postmark, black: SHALE[RSVILLE] / OH[IO]; backside, blank]

Mr. G[eorge]. W[ashington]. Haven.  
North Eaton.  
Lorain Co[unty].  
Ohio.

*Edition: Letter 16:*

*From Deborah Wilmot and her daughter Amelia in Washington, Iowa,  
to Deborah's sister-in-law and Amelia's aunt Lucia [Haven (née Wilmot)],  
May 10 and 7, 1861.*

[page 1 front, single sheet format; upside-down text at the top of this page belongs to the end of the letter and is inserted there]

Washington<sup>99</sup>

May 10<sup>th</sup>, '[18]61

Sister Lucia,

I have received yours of April 23<sup>d</sup>, and should have answered it before now, but its not always convenient for us to go or send to the Office, it being seven miles from us, Carlos is in Chicago<sup>100</sup> he went from here the last of March, Byron<sup>101</sup> lives there, is working in the I, C, R R,<sup>102</sup> Machine Shop, Carlos thinks he has got a good wife,<sup>103</sup> their boy was a year old last Dec[ember], they call him Edgar Carlos,<sup>104</sup> If Carlos should get into business there, which he thinks he shall do after the war<sup>105</sup> excitement is over, I and the children shall go there too, then I hope a way will be opened for me to go to Ohio once more, I do very much want to see all of our friends and relatives in that part of the world, and there are your little boys I would like to see how they look and act, well, I suppose very much like other folks children, only a little bit smarter, just as every mother thinks. I was glad to get a letter from you. I had often tho[ugh]t about writing to you and Betsey, but it is so seldom that I write to any one except Byron that I hardly know how to set myself about it Lucia, we know something about Pioneer life in the west, its toil, its trials, its privations, and I have had my family sick around me without a cent in the house to purchase the common necessaries of life, but those dark days are past, we

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<sup>99</sup> City in eastern Iowa.

<sup>100</sup> City on Lake Michigan in Illinois.

<sup>101</sup> Byron Eugene Wilmot (1834–1906), son of Don Carlos Wilmot (Lucia's brother).

<sup>102</sup> Illinois Central Railroad, a company established 1851.

<sup>103</sup> Reference to Margaret Wilmot, née Sullivan (1838–1884), wife of Byron Eugene Wilmot (Lucia's brother Don Carlos's son).

<sup>104</sup> Edgar Carland Wilmot (1854–1924), son of Byron Eugene Wilmot (Lucia's brother Don Carlos's son).

<sup>105</sup> American Civil War (1861–1865).

have struggled thro' many hardships far from our childhoods home, among strangers in a strange land, the Lord has tempered the wind to the shorn lamb,<sup>106</sup> and we can now look

[page 1 back]

forward to a brighter prospect in the future, but I must not anticipate, I must not hope to much, for bitter disappointments has been my lot for a few years past, this part of Iowa<sup>107</sup> has great reason to rejoice, for the last year bro[ugh]t an abundance to those who had long waited for the earth to yield something in return for their privations and hard labor, this year is the first that we have had wheat enough for our own use, and some to sell besides, It brings only 40, c[en]ts a bushel, corn 15, c[en]ts, store pay at that. Our place was rented for three years, one is past, we were obliged to let it, for for Carlos has not been able to labor any for most two years, and Edgar<sup>108</sup> is not stout enough to work hard, he has been sick as great deal. My health is pretty good. Amelia<sup>109</sup> is a big girl, I want to go where I can send her to school, she can write better than this, but we are troubled with the old complaint, 'poor ink, poor pen' Savila<sup>110</sup> lives in town they have rented their farm, and bo[ugh]t village property, he works at his trade, (tailoring) she has two boys, give my love to all the brothers and sisters, tell Jenelle<sup>111</sup> I am coming to see her, you and Betsey write  
Deborah<sup>112</sup>

[page 1 back, different hand]

Washington

May 7<sup>th</sup> [18]61 Iowa

Dear Aunt,

This is the first time I have ever wrote to Ohio, only to Aunt Mary,<sup>113</sup> I were all glad to here from you, I would like very much to see all of the folks thare I used to know I would like Iowa very well if I could go to school I have not been since we came here, thare is a school home two miles from here, but Ed<sup>114</sup> has not yet gone,

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<sup>106</sup> The quote appears in *Doctor Thorne* (1858), a novel by Anthony Trollope (1815–1882), but it is probably older.

<sup>107</sup> State in the midwestern United States.

<sup>108</sup> Edgar E. Wilmot (1843–1901), son of Don Carlos Wilmot (Lucia's brother).

<sup>109</sup> Amelia Wilmot (1848–?), daughter of Don Carlos Wilmot (Lucia's brother).

<sup>110</sup> Savilla W. Phillips (1827–1894), sister of Deborah Ann Wilmot, née Phillips (Lucia's brother Don Carlos's wife).

<sup>111</sup> Perhaps Jennette C. Wilmot (1819–1897), sister of Lucia Haven, née Wilmot.

<sup>112</sup> Deborah Ann Wilmot, née Phillips (1811–1880), wife of Don Carlos Wilmot (Lucia's brother).

<sup>113</sup> Mary Jane Phillips (1820–1892), sister of Deborah Ann Wilmot, née Phillips (Lucia's brother Don Carlos's wife).

<sup>114</sup> Reference to Edgar E. Wilmot (1843–1901), son of Don Carlos Wilmot (Lucia's brother).

and I thought it to[o] far to go alone, so all I have ~~larned~~ lerar[n]ed since I came here I have lerar[n]ed at home, tell Emma. I would like to see her, I se send my love to her and Aunt Betsy and all the rest, I send one of Byrons likeness taken a year ago, soon after he was marr[i]ed. I send my love to the little boys ~~and~~. Amelia. Wilmot.

[page 1 front, upside-down text]

I am out of paper, or I would not send such a looping letter as this

*Edition: Letter 17:*

*From Bertrand N. Wilmot in Laporte, Ohio,  
to his sister Lucia Haven [née Wilmot] in Bloomingdale, Michigan,  
between February 12, 1858, and December 6, 1861.*

[Based on this letter's contents, it was written after Lucia Haven, her husband George, and their son Edwin had moved from Ohio to Michigan, which, based on the other letters from this collection edited here, occurred some time between February 12, 1858 and December 6, 1861.]

[page 1, half sheet fold]

La Porte August 17<sup>th</sup>

Dear Sister

Feeling ancious to hear how you get along & how you like Mich[igan] &c[eter]a I thought porhapse I mihte persuade you to write and let me know if I should give you notice of the fact it has been nearly one year since you and myself wer in Mich[igan] on a visit for the first time I enjoyed myself first-rate. I have had one Letter from you since you mooved to Mich[igan] and that is all that I answered soon after. do you like it as well as you expected &c[eter]a

[page 2]

Father Abraham has called for us again and we are trying to find men that are wiling to gow for money Eaton is offering six hundred dollars for men & they may offer one thousand dollars & then they will not get them they are not to be had the thing comes rite home now every man for himself. We shall see what we shall see. We are doing a verry good buisness in La Porte have done much better than I expected our trade has been good so far it has everaged about one hundred dollars per day we pay cash for all kinds of Produce Cheese is worth 17 c[ents] per pound Butter 40 c[ents] per pound & every thing in purportion Mr. Wait starts for Mich[igan] next

[page 3]

tuesday will be there I prosume before you recive this we are are all well the Boys gow to School they are growing like ~~weads~~ weeds W[illia]<sup>m</sup> H Lucke is on the track for the recordirs offic[e] I think he well get it. the folks are all well. the crops are

very good. how do you get along with the draft in Bloom[in]gdale.<sup>115</sup> tell George to write to me once tell Edwin what I wish he would write to me & then I will write to him Johny how do you do have you been a fishing yet. I suppose you are buisey helping your mother when you are not fishing I suppose. My Respects to all the folks. Write Soon

yours B[ertrand] N Wilmot<sup>116</sup>

[page 4]

Dale<sup>117</sup> & Don<sup>118</sup> wants I should say to Edwin & John<sup>119</sup> that they would like to see you & Aunt Lucia. Write as soon as you get this and then it will be along time gow the rounds your they mails once a weak

[ENVELOPE, a second name, presumably added later; modern hand/pencil: Bert Wilmot; backside, ink: 9978 88; pencil: com[mencing] in the cen[ter] highway at the N[orth] E[ast]. cor[ner] of N[orth]. W[est]. quar[ter] of the S[outh]. W[est]. q[uar]ter of sec[tion] 16. Town 1<sup>s</sup> rang[e] [?] W[est]. thence south 4 chains thence west 5 ch[ains], thence N[orth]. parall[el] with east line to the cen[ter] of Highway 4 ch[ains] thence east 5 ch[ains] to the place of begin[ning] contain[ing] two acres of land]

Mrs. Lucia Haven  
Bloomingtondale  
Van Buren Co[unty] Michigan

Mrs. Martha  
Doane

*Edition: Letter 18:*

*From Alice Haven and her sister Ellen in North Eaton, Ohio,  
to their aunt Lucia, their cousin Edwin,  
and their uncle [George Washington] Haven in Bloomingtondale, Michigan,  
December 6, 1861.*

[page 1, half sheet fold]

Eaton Dec 6<sup>th</sup> 1861

Dear Aunt

we received your letter last Friday and was glad to hear from you we are all well we was glad to hear you were enjoying yourself yourselves so well it is now Sundy Morning and I havent much time to write but seeing I had time to write a little I thought I would you said that letter that ~~both~~ I wrote was the first one you had got since you had been there I sposed you had heard from Eaton before that time as I

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<sup>115</sup> Village in southwestern Michigan.

<sup>116</sup> Bertrand N. Wilmot (1823–1871), brother of Lucia Haven, née Wilmot.

<sup>117</sup> Dale Dowe Dall Wilmot (1854–1903), son of Bertrand N. Wilmot (Lucia's brother).

<sup>118</sup> Donald Bertrand "Don" Wilmot (1856–1914), son of Bertrand N. Wilmot (Lucia's brother).

<sup>119</sup> John Mason Haven (1859–1923), son of George and Lucia.

should have written before then our School commences next week Tuesday William Tuches is going to teach he is going to have \$25 a month we think it is a pretty big price but then ~~they say~~ Father<sup>120</sup> ses he would rather have him and pay little more and have a good school. there has been some ~~sichenes~~ sickness around here Beeds folks have all had the Diphtheria<sup>121</sup> Marshall died with it and they didnt think Sarah for a long time ~~they didnt think~~ would live but they say they are all getting better now Clara Bannington has had the Dephtheria and she ~~was being to long~~ is getting better now, you wanted to [k]no[w] ~~when Brother that~~ if William Allen[s] wife was coming back yes she has come back I dont [k]no[w] where bouts she is living we are expecting to be a grand time Christmas night our class altogether ~~have~~ I are going to throw in enough to get Miss Vanourmes a present and I do wish you could be here we are going to have such a nice time and Edwin & Johny<sup>122</sup> would enjoy it so much. you wanted to know how little Hattie<sup>123</sup> got a long she is well and sets a lone and has got t[w]o teeth and Father ses she is a very smart baby our folks went to Elyria<sup>124</sup> last Wednesday and got their Photograph took we have not got them yet or we would send

[page 2]

them in this letter we shall write again before long and send them we took Newton<sup>125</sup> ~~dowan~~ down and got his picture took tell Johny that Newty<sup>126</sup> has got burnt ~~right~~ last week when I was dipping candles I went to fill up the kittle and he was around a playing and Just as I was a going to pour the watter in the kittle he hit the dipper and spilt the watter all on the back of his neck and burnt it in some places to a blister and the watter was scalding hot and it burnt his ear pretty bad but it is getting better I must bring my letter to a close for Father wants to write little and I have got another letter to write Evaline Tucker is here a spinning and she sends her respects to you Ellen<sup>127</sup> has been writting to ~~She~~ Sarah Parda ~~girls~~ and Julia has been writing to Wallace & Evaline is a writing to Wallace and Father is writing Uncle Frank and we are haveing a regular writting bee to night I hav[e] made a good many blunders and you must read this the best way you can give my love to all Enquiring friends tell Edwin he must write write soon

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<sup>120</sup> Raymond Haven (1823–1903), brother of George Haven.

<sup>121</sup> Infection of the nose and throat.

<sup>122</sup> Reference to John Mason Haven (1859–1923), son of George and Lucia.

<sup>123</sup> Perhaps a reference to a daughter (who did not survive infancy) of Raymond Haven (George's brother). Hattie L. Haven (1863–1890), daughter of Raymond Haven, had not yet been born at this time. It was not unusual for parents to re-use the name of a child who had died for a sibling born later.

<sup>124</sup> City in northeastern Ohio.

<sup>125</sup> Isaac Newton Haven (1860–1937), son of Raymond Haven (George's brother).

<sup>126</sup> Reference to Isaac Newton Haven (1860–1937), son of Raymond Haven (George's brother).

<sup>127</sup> Ellen Sophronia Haven (1846–1920), daughter of Raymond Haven (George's brother).

From Alice<sup>128</sup> Haven

Dear Cousin Edwin

I thought I wouldnt write any more but I have got little more time to write George<sup>129</sup> and Frank<sup>130</sup> have gone to bed I went to Elyria the other day and Just before I was going to go home they was a great big brindel dog following me around and I couldnt get red of ð him and so ð he followed me home and the boys had great times with him I don't think of much more to write this time I and perhaps the next time I will write more you must write and tell all the news. so good night.

From Cousin Alice

[page 3]

Eaton Dec[ember] the 6 1861

Dear Uncle

I wrote that Father was going to write but now I have left room for him to write he ses he has written to Uncle Frank and he hant in a writting mood to night Father is going to tell me what to write he ses he wants to [k]no[w] how much land you have got and how many cows you are keeping and what you are doing he ses he hant herd much only Just you have got a farm Father has hirerd Smith Gillet for a bout half a month Father has carried of[f] [a]bout the last of his Cheese the last 23 he took of[f] come to \$160. he has killed 9 of his hogs and took them to Cleveland<sup>131</sup> and got 6 c[en]ts a pound there is going to be a wood bee down where you lived we went to Meeting to day and had a real good Meeting our ~~sundy~~ sund[a]y school is out it is getting late and Father ses he dont think of any more this time but the next time we write I shall try and make him write if I can I should a good [d]eal rather he would have written this time but then I couldnt get him to Father sends his best respects to you all and wants you to write soon please excuse all the bad writting

Yours Truely Alice Haven

[page 4, different hand]

Dear Uncle

as all the rest were writing I thought I would writ[e] a few lines we were real glad to hear from you and am glad you are happy and contented for if a person is not content he does not get a long very well I wish I were up there just to see how things look but not to live I think it must be very pleasant to be up there amongst

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<sup>128</sup> Alice Bell Haven (1847-1873), daughter of Raymond Haven (George's brother). In the references to this edition, "Alice" (unless otherwise specified) refers to this individual.

<sup>129</sup> George W. Haven (1852-1865), son of Raymond Haven (George's brother).

<sup>130</sup> Franklin Haven (1855-1923), son of Raymond Haven (George's brother).

<sup>131</sup> City in northeastern Ohio.

those he the lakes woods I havent got time to write any more fore I must writ[e] to  
Wallace writ[e] soon  
ever your friend Ellen Haven<sup>132</sup>

[ENVELOPE, modern hand/pencil: Ellen Haven; backside, blank]

No[rth] Eaton  
Dec[ember] 7

Mrs Lucia Haven  
Bloomingdale  
Van Buren Co[unty]  
Mich[igan]

Answered

*Edition: Letter 19:*

*From Alice Haven in North Eaton, Ohio,  
to her uncle G[eorge]. W[ashington]. Haven  
and his wife Lucia [née Wilmot] in Bloomingdale, Michigan,  
November 11, 1863.*

[page 1 front, single sheet format; first word at the top, different hand]

Answered  
Eaton Nov[ember] 1th 1863  
Dear Unckle & Aunt

I now take the opportunity of writing you a few lines we are all well and hop[e] this will find you the same you wrote to father and expected he would answer it but he kept putting it off and finally wanted me to write in his place we went to meeting to day and expected that they would be preaching but something happened that he wasent there but after all we had a good meeting we had the last of them exercises to day for this year sunday school is going to last t[w]o more weeks and I dont [k]no[w] how much longer the bible class will last but I hope it will last all this winter. Mr Krellin takes your place in teaching the bible class. our fall school keeps t[w]o weeks longer and I think I have learnt a considerable I expect if George Piercegets a Certificate he will teach our school this winter. Mr Masons folks have Children have got the black tongue the worst kind of soar throat they had five Children[n] and they is t[w]o out of the five living Ellen Mason was buried to day. Wallace started week ago to morrow morning and I spose you have got up there and got s[e]ttled down Newty ses tell

[page 1 back]

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<sup>132</sup> Ellen Sophronia Haven (1846–1920), daughter of Raymond Haven (George's brother).

Johny he has got a new pare off boots Father took of his Cheese here last week and got 11 ½ c[en]ts for it he is making Cheese to night we herd that Martha<sup>133</sup> had got homesick and was coming back where you are I hope you wont get homesick as quick as she has I spose you have heard that John Alwales is Married. William Chapman has got back and he was to our meeting to day William Allen has enlisted.<sup>134</sup> Father has got me to ~~wr~~ write and I asked him what to write and he ses write bout all the things it is getting to be almost bedtime and I must close ~~are~~ we all send our love to you

Your Affectionate Nease Alice Haven

excuse the bad writing and misspelt words

P. S[.] write

[ENVELOPE, modern hand/pencil: Alice Haven, rec[eive]d; backside: answered]

No[rth] Eaton O[hio]

Nov[ember] 2

Mr G[eorge] W[ashington] Haven

Bloomingtondale

Vanburen Co[unty]

Mich[igan]

Bentron

Alice

Bentron

answered

Bloomingtondale

*Edition: Letter 20:*

*From Addie Mill [née Adeline Wilmot] in Union Mills, Indiana, to her aunt [Lucia Haven (née Wilmot)],*

*March 3, 1864.*

[page 1, half sheet fold; modern hand/pencil: Addie mills]

Union Mills<sup>135</sup> March 3<sup>rd</sup> 1864

Much loved Aunt

Your long looked for letter was received last evening and was very glad to hear from you and more I am well and enjoying myself fineley Aunt to tell the truth I think I have one of the best men<sup>136</sup> this County Affords, he is just my size And real

<sup>133</sup> Perhaps Martha Jane Wilmot (1852–1905), daughter of Hubbard Wilmot (Lucia’s brother).

<sup>134</sup> Reference to the American Civil War (1861–1865).

<sup>135</sup> Township in northwestern Indiana.

<sup>136</sup> Perhaps a reference to the letter’s author’s husband.



good looking (I think) and more than that he is mighty good well I guess it will hardley do to let him see this so I will finish before he comes home, as he has gone off on business Father Mill<sup>137</sup> went East this winter

[page 2]

on the roads there was exposed to the small pox has been quite sick with it has been gone I seven weekes did not expect to be gone more then two when he left home, he started the Monday before we were married was not at the weding—I saw Ma<sup>138</sup> yesterday she said Arvilla<sup>139</sup> was quite sick Ma has been sick I believe the rest are all well there is a great deal of sickness in this part of the Country and a great many deatnes Wes Mill<sup>140</sup> Artess brother<sup>141</sup> has just come home from Stillwell<sup>142</sup> he said there was two sick withe small pox one case not far from me. I am so fraid our folkes will get it, if they should what would they do. There is so many coming home from the army who could expect anything els.<sup>143</sup> how much I should like to see you and Edwin and Johny and Unkle

[page 3]

I am very sorry you could not have come out and made ous a visite for I want to see you all so much yes I well know you can get along with a small house if any body can that so I real[l]y think you did not gouse me just right about the Photographes as long as you had mine you might have sent me yours. I am almost mad and have a good notion not to send you one of Petes's,<sup>144</sup> but guess I will for I want you to see him if the sleighing had not left us so quick we would have been out and made you a visite, but the roads are so bad we canot get there now. when I get to house keeping then you must shurely come and see me and you can have the best the house affords quite an indusement I imagine you will not tarry long

[page 4, different hand: Bentron]

does Aunt Betsey think of moving up into Michigan Ema<sup>145</sup> does not answer my letters any more what she is mad at is more than I can tell she is very peculiar any way I think. well I am expressing my mind very freely any way about my cousin but cant help it, I think so give my love to Ms Cowleys People also to Unkle

<sup>137</sup> Perhaps a reference to the letter's author's father-in-law.

<sup>138</sup> Electa Wilmot, née Stocking (1820–1883), wife of Hubbard Wilmot (Lucia's brother).

<sup>139</sup> Arvilla Wilmot (1843–?), daughter of Hubbard Wilmot (Lucia's brother).

<sup>140</sup> Perhaps a reference to the letter's author's husband's brother.

<sup>141</sup> Perhaps a reference to the letter's author's husband.

<sup>142</sup> Township in northwestern Indiana.

<sup>143</sup> Filling flourishes complete this line

<sup>144</sup> Perhaps a reference to the letter's author's son.

<sup>145</sup> Perhaps Emma Oelpha Phillips (1848–1923), daughter of Betsey E. Phillips, née Wilmot (Lucia's sister).

Norry<sup>146</sup> and wife<sup>147</sup> dont fail to come and see ous just as soon as you can, I just know you will like ~~Pd~~ Petes it seams to me you cant help it we are living with Fathers<sup>148</sup> folks now we want to go to house keeping this spring if can we are going to La Porte tomorow if nothing Prevents. I cant think of anything more this time write soon Petes joins with me in sending love to you and Unkle and Cousins  
From Your Niece Addie Mill<sup>149</sup>

*Edition: Letter 21:*

*From Alice Haven in Mt. Vernon, Ohio,  
her uncle [George Washington Haven]  
and his wife Lucia [née Wilmot] in Bloomingdale, Michigan,  
February 18–19, 1865.*

[page 1, half sheet fold]

Mt Vernon<sup>150</sup> Feb 18 / [18]65

Dear Uncle and Aunt

Here I am trying to improve my time in writing you a few lines I am well and hope this will find you the same. I am in Mt Vernon going to school<sup>151</sup> I like it first trate and think now I have a chance to improve my time in studdying if I ever did Warinda Streetes [?] ~~and I am~~ is going to Father thought it wasent best for me to go at first but I fina[l]y teased him up to let me go. They have three teachers in the school they is two of the teacher well aquainted with Hattie Drake their names are Miss Willet & Miss Bartlet and they seemed to talk as if they was very intimate friends of hers. The School room and boarding rooms are all in one house. our room is about as large as a good sized bed room the furniture in it is one small table and a wardrobe wash stand two chairs and bed and they is one window

[page 2]

Sundy Feb 19

It is two weeks yesterday since we came here it is the longest I was ever away from home I expected I should be awful homesick before this time but I havent been homesick but a very little School is going to keep till next June five months school and I dont know as I shall go home till at is out I expect I shall get a little bit homesick before that time but I guess I shall stand it I must tell you what a time us

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<sup>146</sup> Perhaps Norris Tyler Wilmot (1838–1924), brother of Lucia Wilmot.

<sup>147</sup> Perhaps Arvilla Wilmot, née Reichard (1839–1908), wife of Norris Tyler Wilmot (Lucia's brother).

<sup>148</sup> Reference to the family of the letter author's father, Hubbard Wilmot (1818–1858), brother of Lucia Haven, née Wilmot.

<sup>149</sup> Adeline "Addie" Mill, née Wilmot (1844–?), daughter of Hubbard Wilmot (Lucia's brother).

<sup>150</sup> City in central Ohio.

<sup>151</sup> The Young Ladies Seminary, Mt. Vernon, Ohio, established September 1, 1856, closed after the Civil War.

girls had last night after supper Mrs Slone (she is the principal of the school) she invited us girls all to her room and treated us with ice cream cake apples pop corn and I tell you us girls had some high times. Mr. Slones folks have got two daughters the oldest one teaches music lessons she is about 22 years old I think she looks Very much like Emaline Haskin but dont appear much like as she does I think her ways are some like hers she carries her head about as Emmaline does. I think they are pritty strict here they have just twenty rules that we musent break not to say anything about school rules so you see we have to carry our

[page 3]

selves pritty strait I ~~have been~~ went to Bible class this morning and after Bible class went to meeting Mr. Morsfert preached we had a very good meeting I received a letter from our folks last night they were all well but Hattie and she had been very sick with the lung fever but was getting better, they write that Uncle C. Oliver was pretty bad of and they didnt think he would ever be any better well I must draw this to a close my love to all enquiring friends ~~our~~ if there be any such please write soon

From Alice Haven

PS Direct ~~with~~  
Ladies Seminary  
Mt Vernon Ohio

[page 4, blank]

[ENVELOPE, postmark, blue: MOUNTVERNON / FEB 20 / 0; postage stamp, featuring a portrait of George Washington, red: 3 U.S. 3 / POSTAGE / U - THREE S / CENTS; modern hand/pencil: Alice Haven, rec[eive]d; backside, blank]

Mrs. Lucia Haven  
Bloomingdale Vanburen Co[unty]  
~~Ohio~~  
MI Michigan

*Edition: Letter 22:  
From Amelia Wilmot in Adel, Iowa,  
to her aunt Lucia Haven (née Wilmot) in Bloomingdale, Michigan,  
March 19, 1865.*

[page 1, half sheet fold; upside-down text at the top of this page belongs to the end of the letter and is inserted there]

Adel<sup>152</sup> Dallas Co Iowa  
March 19<sup>th</sup> 1865.  
My Dear Aunt.

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<sup>152</sup> City in central Iowa.

You may be surprised to [hear] from me, as you remember me as a little girl. the last time you saw me, but you know time will not let us stay little, even if we want to. and I have not escaped a touch of his finger, so you see I am no longer the little girl I once was, but belong to the large folks, and am pretty tall at that. But as you have never received a letter from this part of Iowa. I thought I would write and let you know that we are still in this part of Iowa where folks are still living. we are all well as usual are haveing very pretty spring weather. it will not be long before farmers will put in their crops, if the weather continues as pleasant. I realy hope it will, for I am tyred of winter. have had a very severe winter for Iowa. I got a letter from Emma not long go, and mother got one from Aunt Catherine.<sup>153</sup> I persume you have heard the news about Aunt Mary.<sup>154</sup> I don't wish Jhon Bursell<sup>155</sup>

[page 2]

a moments peace or his wife eather. I think he has shown what he is by moving again. but I hope Aunt Mary is better off without him. I remember what good times I used to have [at] Grandpas<sup>156</sup> when we were back to Ohio. I should like so well to see all the folks back there once more. I hope it will ~~not~~ be so that I can before long. I suppose you know that Byrons folks have been out here to see us. they were here last October but they only stayed two weeks, which you know was not half long enough. for he had not been at home before in seven years. Ma and I had not seen him in all that time. it is no wonder he seemed like a stranger to us. but he got to be By before he left. I like his wife<sup>157</sup> very much. and the little boy<sup>158</sup> is the prettest nephew I have got if he is the only one. he is on the Chicago and Northwestern R[ail] R[oad]<sup>159</sup> now. he runs from Chicago to Nevada Iowa, which is fourty miles from here, he is going to move there, so you see they will be where we can go and see them. Edgar<sup>160</sup> is at home, has been every since he left the army. dont this war<sup>161</sup> make lone some times for the ones that have to stay at home. no [?] at least it does here, but it is some better than it was, for there has a good many to veterans come home around here.

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<sup>153</sup> Catherine Philips (1813–1868), sister of Deborah Ann Wilmot, née Phillips (Lucia's brother Don Carlos's wife).

<sup>154</sup> Mary Jane Phillips (1820–1892), sister of Deborah Ann Wilmot, née Phillips (Lucia's brother Don Carlos's wife).

<sup>155</sup> Perhaps John William Burrell (1816–1890), the ex-husband of Mary Jane Philips, sister of Deborah Ann Wilmot, née Phillips (Lucia's brother Don Carlos's wife).

<sup>156</sup> Silas Wilmot (1790–1855), father of Lucia Wilmot.

<sup>157</sup> Reference to Margaret Wilmot, née Sullivan (1838–1884), wife of Byron Eugene Wilmot (Lucia's brother Don Carlos's son).

<sup>158</sup> Reference to Edgar Carland Wilmot (1854–1924), son of Byron Eugene Wilmot (Lucia's brother Don Carlos's son).

<sup>159</sup> Chicago and North Western Transportation Company, established 1859.

<sup>160</sup> Probably Edgar E. Wilmot (1843–1901), son of Don Carlos Wilmot (Lucia's brother).

<sup>161</sup> American Civil War (1861–1865).

[page 3]

but we ought not complain of our lot if it is a lonely one for we can stay at home, while the poor sholdiers are denied that privlage. Oh how I do want this war to stop. that is I want Grant<sup>162</sup> to hurry and whip the rebles, it is awful to think how many are being killed, all the time to cary on this expensive war. but as I am not much used to talking on the war question for fear I will make some blunder I will stop, but I do think we young ladys will have a good time when the boys come home. seeing I have told you about the rest of the folks, I will tell you little some thing about myself. and how I have spent my time lately. Well I have been going to s[c]hool in Adel the county seat. this winter, where Aunt Savila<sup>163</sup> lives. school was out four weeks ago, have been at home since, expect to see teach our school here at home this summer. I have never taught any. will write and let you know how I get along. these little Cousins of mine. kiss them for Amelia. and tell them they have got a Cousin in Iowa. will slose [close]. for I guess by the time you have read all I have scribbled on this big fools cap you will feel like takeing a cup of tea & resting.

Your Affectionately Amelia Wilmot<sup>164</sup>

you see I have not let the name Wilmot go yet. I like it very well. it is about as well as I can do till the war is over.

[page 1, upside-down text]

our family send their love to all of you. Give my love to Uncle.<sup>165</sup> write soon and let us know how you all get along. as ever Amelia. Our health is very good.

[page 4, pencil]

Uncle Carlos  
Daughter

[ENVELOPE, postmark, black: ADE[L] / MAR 25 / [?]; postage stamp, featuring a portrait of George Washington, red: 3 U.S. 3 / POSTAGE / U - THREE S / CENTS; modern hand/pencil: Amelia Wilmot, Iowa 1865; backside, blank]

Mrs. Lucia Haven  
Bloomingdale.  
Vanburen Co[unty].  
Mich[igan].

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<sup>162</sup> Ulysses S. Grant (1822-1885), Union Army general, later president of the United States (1869-1877).

<sup>163</sup> Savilla W. Phillips (1827-1894), sister of Deborah Ann Wilmot, née Phillips (Lucia's brother Don Carlos's wife).

<sup>164</sup> Amelia Wilmot (1848-?), daughter of Don Carlos Wilmot (Lucia's brother).

<sup>165</sup> Reference to George Haven (Lucia's husband).

*Edition: Letter 23:*

*From Alice [Haven] in [North] Eaton, Ohio,  
to her aunt [Lucia Haven (née Wilmot)] in Bloomingdale, Michigan,  
April 30, 1865.*

[page 1 front, single sheet format]

Eaton Apr[il] 30<sup>th</sup> / [18]65

Dear Aunt

I have just writen to Grandpas<sup>166</sup> folks and have been trying to get Father<sup>167</sup> to write to you but hopes for me to write. O aunt Lucia it seems so hard George<sup>168</sup> is gone he died this morning half past eleven it seems as if we I could not give him up he has been sick nearly nine weeks Mother<sup>169</sup> is just about worn out, He is to be burried tuesday they is nothing of him but skin and bone he dosent look natural at all, Ellen<sup>170</sup> is sick with a feever but is getting better

[page 1 back]

she wont be ~~able~~ able to go to the funeral our hierd man went ~~some~~ of[f] sick last week he is better than he was I have got such a head ache I cant hardly write I will write more about it the next time I would write more this time but it seemed as if I couldent write as much as I have write soon my love to all

From Alice

[ENVELOPE, modern hand/pencil: Alice Haven; backside, blank]

Mrs. G[eorge] W[ashington] Haven  
Bloomingdale  
Vanburen Co[unty]  
Mich[igan]

*Edition: Letter 24:*

*From Julia Hoskin in North Eaton, Ohio,  
to her sibilings "in hope" Geo[rge]. W[ashington]. Haven  
and his wife [Lucia (née Wilmot)] in Bloomingdale, Michigan,  
July 28, 1865.*

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<sup>166</sup> Reference to John Haven (1795–1883), father of George Haven (Lucia’s husband) and Raymond Haven (Alice’s father).

<sup>167</sup> Reference to Raymond Haven (1823–1903), brother of George Haven (Lucia’s husband) and father of Alice Haven.

<sup>168</sup> George W. Haven (1852–1865), son of Raymond Haven (George’s brother) and brother of Alice Haven.

<sup>169</sup> Reference to Lucinda Catherine Haven, née Scouton (1828–1915), wife of Raymond Haven (George’s brother) and mother of Alice Haven.

<sup>170</sup> Ellen Soporonia Haven, (1846–1920), daughter of Raymond Haven (George’s brother) and sister of Alice Haven.

[page 1, half sheet fold]

Home<sup>171</sup> July 28<sup>th</sup> [18]65

Dear Brother & Sister<sup>172</sup>

For the first time since you left Ohio I am going to write to you I cannot frame any excuse for not writing before but am going to try and make up lost time we are very busy haying and harvesting but shall finish next week I expect you have heard ere this of the death of Sister Joann Nichols<sup>173</sup> there is a place in that family that can never be filled the children all but Arthur<sup>174</sup> did not mind much about it but he cried as

[page 2]

if his heart was broken poor children they will soon forget her. she died a very hard death but she has gone to God and there is no sickness in Heaven Mr Nichols<sup>175</sup> is very sad and does not seem like himself. Mary Mead<sup>176</sup> is staying with him now. all the family were at the funeral Merritt had just returned from the army<sup>177</sup> had been at home only a week when she died. Mr Nichols Mother is very sick he is going to see her this week they do not think she ~~g~~ will get well. I have been to school this summer and it will be out in three weeks from today and the next Monday morning Henry Allens school commences and I am going to him this fall and next spring I am going to Elyria so I shant get much vacation but as Mr Allen says I shant forget what I have learned this summer he has got 25 schollars

[page 3]

To commence with and will have more after a while Sarah Wight<sup>178</sup> is teaching school this summer on the Island<sup>179</sup> Emma took the school in Mr Durkee's district I expect Emma is on the road to Mich[igan] she hasent got there already the 103<sup>rd</sup> reg[imen]t<sup>180</sup> have all got home and they help to fill the Bible classes so they look ~~g~~ quite decent it seems good to see them all here again all I said but there are several that will never come home and Cephas for one his Mother felt pretty bad when she saw all the boys but hers she has got his picture painted and it looks very natural but it is not any harder for her to lose her boy than for us to lose our Grandma and dear little sister it does not seem like home since they were called

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<sup>171</sup> Reference to North Eaton, Ohio.

<sup>172</sup> The author of this letter ("Julia Hoskin") refers to herself as a "sister in hope," i.e., a fellow practicing Christian, not a family member.

<sup>173</sup> Perhaps Joann Nicols, née Mead (1829–1865), wife of Mason Elisah Nicols.

<sup>174</sup> Perhaps Arthur William Nichols (1854–1886).

<sup>175</sup> Perhaps Mason Elisah Nicols (1829–1883).

<sup>176</sup> Perhaps Mary M. Mead (1839–1901) or Mary B. Mead (1844–1883).

<sup>177</sup> Reference to the American Civil War (1861–1865).

<sup>178</sup> Perhaps Sarah Ann Wright (1814–1888).

<sup>179</sup> Perhaps an island in Lake Erie.

<sup>180</sup> 103<sup>rd</sup> Infantry Regiment (United States).

home away but we try not to murmur for they are better off than any of us although it was hard to part with them. we have got a grave stone for Cybelia and

[page 4]

are going to have one for Grandma before long Cybelias was \$51 it is very pretty. Well I think I have written all the news for this time please excuse all mistakes and spelling for my class spells next and I havent looked at the lesson and I am at the head too. all join me in sending love to all kiss Johnnie<sup>181</sup> and Edwin for me all well

Your Sister in Hope Julia Hoskin

please write on the receipt of this

[ENVELOPE, postage stamp, featuring a portrait of George Washington, red: U.S. POSTAGE / THREE CENTS; modern hand/pencil: Julia Hoskin 1865; pencil, series of numbers/tallies: 25 7 / 175 6 / 169 5 / 174; 5.30 3.72 / 1.58 .75 / .73; backside: pencil, list, crossed out: 1¼ lbs Sal Soda, 4 oz Borax, 2 [oz] lime, 1 Salt of Tartar, ¾ Liq Amin [?], cards, 25 Fence mails, 7 / 1.75 ten pen Do, 5, 1.80 Brooms Do, twine, Ves / 120 Spit, 15, End, past End]]

No[rth] Eaton O[hio]

July 31

Mr Geo[rge]. W[ashington]. Haven.

Bloomington

Van Buren County

Mich[igan]

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<sup>181</sup> Reference to John Mason Haven (1859–1923), son of George and Lucia.



*Edition: Letter 25:*

*From S[ilas]. G[ilbert]. Wilmot in Rawsonville, Ohio,  
to his brother-in-law George W[ashington]. Haven in Bloomingdale, Michigan,  
December 27, 1866.*

[page 1 front, single sheet format]

Rawsonville<sup>182</sup> Ohio

Dec[ember] 27-1866

Mr G[eorge]. W[ashington]. Haven

My Dear Sir

Some week ago I rec[eive]<sup>d</sup> your friendly letter and we all were very glad to hear from you, and family, And that you were all contented and enjoying comfortable health, and were happy, Three of the gratest blessing that a kind provedance can bestow upon on any one, I have learned one thing, and that is this, to be contented with my lot though it may seam to be hard. It is not so hard but that it might be worse. Therefore all that I can do ð is to submit and thank God that it is no worse. I wrote Albert<sup>183</sup> and Sarah<sup>184</sup> a long letter and, and told Albert that the next letter belong to you. Lysander<sup>185</sup> & Betsey<sup>186</sup> were here last week, and we intended to have spent Christmas with them but the weather was so bad that we did not go down there. Consequently we stop[p]ed at home and had a very pleasent time all alone. We are having snow and very cold weather which shuts me up. And I do not much expect to get out much before spring. My health is much better than it was one year ago. I feal quite comfortable most of the time, And this trouble about the chest appears to be weaning off slowley. I have no cough now

[page 1 back]

unless I have a cold. But I have more or less pain about my chest with a great deal of lameness and soreness, which make me rather short winded as a backwoods man would say. Is Norris<sup>187</sup> going to sell out and come back to Ohio I have been told so, tell him to write. If he was here now I could give him employment for a while. I pass off my time by reading and writing and do a small office business. time passes off quite as pleasantly as could be expected. Priscilla<sup>188</sup> health is good & She does all the chorse at the barn, takes care of the old horse &c[etera]. The

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<sup>182</sup> Today's township of Belden in northeastern Ohio.

<sup>183</sup> Albert John Wilmot (1829-1913), brother of Lucia Haven, née Wilmot.

<sup>184</sup> Perhaps Sarah L. Wilmot, née Johnson (1826-?), wife of Lucius J. Wilmot (Lucia's brother).

<sup>185</sup> Jacob Lysander Tucker (1822-1890), husband of Betsey E. Wilmot (Lucia's sister).

<sup>186</sup> Betsey E. Wilmot (1816-1891), sister of Lucia Haven, née Wilmot.

<sup>187</sup> Norris Tyler Wilmot (1838-1924), brother of Lucia Haven, née Wilmot.

<sup>188</sup> Priscilla Randall Wilmot, née Cragin (1825-1904), wife of Silas Gilbert Wilmot (Lucia's brother).

Girls go to School every day. we can not call them little girls any longer Nettie,<sup>189</sup> is almost as tall as her mother Nellie<sup>190</sup> is more chunked. They sometimes do house worke, as all girls should. The girls I suppose would like to see those boys of yours. They often talk about them. We should be glad to hear from you again soon, and shall expect a letter little oftener then three or four years. We all join in send our best regards to you all, the boys in particular

With much regard I am Yours Truly S[ilas] G[ilbert] Wilmot<sup>191</sup>

[ENVELOPE, postmark, black: RAWSONVILLE / DEC 27 / 0; modern hand/pencil: S. G. Wilmot; backside: pencil, series of numbers/tallies: 371 480E 63 475 86 484 64 461 Recipe; pencil: Edwin You can get Supplies]

George. W[ashington]. Haven Esq[uires]  
 Bloomingdale  
 Van Buren Co[unty].  
 Michigan

*Edition: Letter 26:*

*From S[ilas]. G[ilbert]. Wilmot in Rawsonville, Ohio, to his brother-in-law Geo[rge]. W[ashington]. Haven, November 6, 1869.*

[page 1 front, single sheet format; written in purple ink]

Rawsonville Ohio  
 Nov[ember] 6 1869  
 Geo[rge]. W[ashington]. Haven  
Dear Sir

Yours was rec[eiv]ed informing me of Lucia's Sickness & C[etera] – (I have mislaid the letter and shall not be able to reply in full) If I remember correctly one of her lower limbs is troublesome, & c[etera] I am of the opinion that the time for using Pulsatille<sup>192</sup> has passed by – Calcava Carb 500 or the 200. potency – one or two doses a week. Rhus tox the 270 – also if there is much pain on remaining quit – give a dose of Salpho high – once in a week or two – I wish you would write again on the receipt of this – and let me know all you can, in relation to her case / I was called away the next morning after I rec[eiv]ed your letter and did not get home for 4 or 5 days and on looking after the letter. I found that it was lost some were and I have not been able to find it – I am satisfied that she will not recover rappidly, and again you will find that the higher dilutions will work the best with her – I could sight [cite] you to[o]

<sup>189</sup> Lucia Jeanette "Nettie" Wilmot (1853–1921), daughter of Silas Gilbert Wilmot (Lucia's brother).

<sup>190</sup> Nellie Edith Wilmot (1856–1923), daughter of Silas Gilbert Wilmot (Lucia's brother).

<sup>191</sup> Silas Gilbert Wilmot (1821–1872), brother of Lucia Haven, née Wilmot.

<sup>192</sup> This letter lists a number of medicinal remedies.

[page 1 back]

Many cases that had been treated for month with the proper remedies – in the low dilutions – without one particle of benefeet which would soon get well when treated with the high dilution – of the same medicine – Let me hear from you again. My family are well – and the friend generally – It is very cold and freezing to day – with snow on the ground  
Very truly S[ilas]. G[ilbert]. Wilmot

*Edition: Letter 27:*

*From R[aymond]. Haven in [North] Eaton, Ohio,  
to his brother G[eorge]. W[ashington]. Haven in Bloomingdale, Michigan,  
January 1, 1875.*

[page 1, half sheet fold]

Eaton Jan[uary] the 31 / [18]75

Dear Brother

I take my pen in hand to write you a few lines we are well and kicking around Henry Dye Came and got that check a day or to after I got it and end[o]rsed it on the note Mason Nichols<sup>193</sup> has been q[u]ite sick but is some better had congestion of the lungs he thinks he will be arond in a few days Delonson Scoutten<sup>194</sup> is dead he died about the middle of Decem[ber] he was sick some two mo[n]ths he Died with

[page 2]

Canser on his back inside they said it crowded his stomach so he could not eat any thing they said he was blind for about two weeks before died had property so he gave his mother and all of the brothers and sisters about 3.000 dollars each his wife he gave about 6.000 dollars there was a man by the name of herick died in Ridgeville<sup>195</sup> last weak he d[i]ed with the lung feaver he left a wife and three small children Stanly parmily had two little girls they went to Sullivan a visiting and both of thee children was taken sick

[page 3]

wit[h] the scarlet feaver<sup>196</sup> and one died the other on[e] was very sick I belive they think that they can save the other. Julia<sup>197</sup> & O[sacr] Durkee<sup>198</sup> have been out to

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<sup>193</sup> Perhaps Philander M. Nichols, (1850-?).

<sup>194</sup> Perhaps a member of the family of Lucinda Catherine Haven, née Scouton (1828-1915), wife of Raymond Haven (George's brother).

<sup>195</sup> Township in northeastern Ohio.

<sup>196</sup> Bacterial illness.

<sup>197</sup> Julia A. Haven (1850-1932), daughter of Raymond Haven (George's brother).

<sup>198</sup> Oscar Alfred Durkee (1849-1910), husband of Julia A. Haven (George's brother Raymond's daughter).

port[a]ge County<sup>199</sup> they went to Franks they were well young Frank went over to fathers they said father loocked real old and health q[u]ite poo[r] but they said he enjoyed himself in tell ing tel[l]ing how he use to drive team and log and mow and bradle I think I will go and see him somoure time before long we had very mild weather till about the Christmas since that it has been

[page 4]

that it, has bee[n] cold enough it is terable icy now not much snow now we have got our wo[o]ld sawed and hall [hauled] up to house the boyes are going to school this winter hear at home we have a vary good school we are wintering about fifty five head of cattle on both farms we have thirty too sheep we have four horses and two colts

R[aymond] Haven

write soon and tell all the news

two weeks [a]go to night Bev Marsh was out to m[e]eting and slip[p]ed and fell and broke her [w]rist or arm

[ENVELOPE, postmark, black: NORTH EATON / FEB 2; postage stamp, featuring a portrait of George Washington, green: U.S. POSTAGE / THREE 3 CENTS; modern hand/pencil: Raymond Haven; backside: pencil, to-do list: authengating peach, boxtable, bottom barn, down fastenings, split wood, grape vines, setting trees, taking out potatoes, spreading manure, Hauling manure, every days, repairing fence, picking up, setting cabbage, grafting peer, [grafting] apple]

Mr. G[eorge] W[ashington] Haven

Bloomindale

Vanburen Co[unty]

Mich[igan]

*Edition: Letter 28:*

*From [George Norris Haven in Bloomindale, Michigan]*

*to one or both of his older brothers [either Edwin Melancthon Haven*

*or John Haven or both],*

*before January 31, 1875.*

[Based on the other letters from this collection edited here, the only “Georgie” who could have written (or have someone else – in this case his father – writing this letter on his behalf to one or both of his older brothers) would appear to have been George Norris Haven (1871–1933). The older brother(s) in question would then be either Edwin Melancthon Haven (1855–1917) or John Haven (1859–1923) or both; as the letter suggests, the older brother(s) seem(s) to have been away from the family home in Bloomindale, Michigan, at this time. The father (“pa”) would then be George Washington Haven, the “ma” would be the latter’s wife Lucia, née Wilmot, and the “baby” would be Ralph Haven (1874–1932), the latest addition to the family. As for

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<sup>199</sup> County in northeastern Ohio.

this letter's date, a possible "terminus ante quem" would then be the youngest letter in this collection (which dates to January 31, 1875).]

[page 1 front, single sheet format; pencil]

It Snows – I am well – So is baby.<sup>200</sup> Baby grows, laughs out loud. I am writing to you my pa<sup>201</sup> holds my hand and I hold the pencil I send you some candy and some sugar, shirts in the box too. I am going to send you my picture if I can get it. I have got a little wagon about a foot long, cousin Marline made it for me. It snows real hard. I want to see you real bad. My ma<sup>202</sup> has put a lot of things in this box for you isnt she real good. I am tired now. so good by[e].  
I am your<sup>203</sup> little brother Georgie<sup>204</sup>

[page 1 back, blank]

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<sup>200</sup> Ralph Haven (1874–1932), son of George and Lucia,

<sup>201</sup> George Haven.

<sup>202</sup> Lucia Haven, née Wimot.

<sup>203</sup> Reference to George's and Lucia's sons Edwin Melancthon Haven (1855–1917) and John Haven (1859–1923).

<sup>204</sup> George Norris Haven (1871–1933), son of George and Lucia.

Vincent de la Torre, Ashley Munson, and Karina Serrato (editors)

*Sowing Seasons and Rural Reflections:  
Young Edwin Haven's 1868 Diary*

*Shelfmark*

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).  
University Archives and Special Collections (UA&SC)  
Haven Seed Company Records Collection.  
LH-2014-01, Carton 1, Folder 11.  
Diary of Edwin (Melancthon) Haven (1855–1917).  
January 1, 1868, to December 31, 1868.

*Introduction*

The 1868 diary of Edwin (Melancthon) Haven (July 11, 1855–September 17, 1917) edited below is held in the University Archives and Special Collections (UA&SC) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). It is part of the Haven Seed Company Records that CSUF purchased from the Orange County Historical Society (OCHS) in 2014. Randy Ema, the stepson of Archibald B. Haven Jr. (1914–1986, Edwin Haven's grandson), had donated these materials to the OCHS between the years 1978 and 1981. The diary is small (binding 12.5 x 8 cm, pages 12.2 x 7.2 cm), is bound in weathered black leather with "Diary 1868" embossed in gold on the binding, and features "Edwin Haven" written in cursive black ink on its first flyleaf. The flyleaf is followed by several pages of printed material, including a cover page, a calendar for the year 1868, and information about U.S. time zones and postage rates. The diary itself consists of lined pages with printed dates. Edwin Haven wrote his short daily entries in cursive pencil (with a few later corrections in black ink). The diary's final 32 pages feature printed templates to record cash accounts and memoranda; these, too, contain entries by Edwin Haven.

The diary chronicles the year 1868, when Edwin Haven was twelve and thirteen years old, and it duly notes his birthday on July 11. The entries present a rich and intricate snapshot of daily life in the American Midwest during the second half of the nineteenth century, painting a vivid picture of rural life from the perspective of a young boy. Edwin Haven meticulously records the weather, agricultural tasks, and family activities, offering insights into the challenges and joys of daily routines on a farm. From plowing and planting to religious meetings and visits from neighbors, the entries capture the ebb and flow of life in the close-knit community of Bloomingdale, Michigan. Edwin Haven notes significant events, including several deaths and a marriage. His family traveled to nearby towns throughout the year (as well as to see relatives in Ohio during the late summer), showcasing the interconnectedness of Midwestern communities during this time period. The entries document the family's encounters with friends and relatives, attendance at meetings, and experiences on the road. Edwin Haven also

records his personal routines, including school attendance and chores. In the fall, he details activities associated with the harvest and the onset of winter. In the final pages of the diary, he tracks notable events and personal accomplishments throughout the year, including visits by preachers from several different denominations, the number of verses he learned for Sunday school, the number of mice he caught during the month of November, and a catastrophic fire that destroyed several local businesses. These final pages also contain Edwin Haven's financial accounts. He notes borrowing a few cents from his mother on several occasions, reports the repayment of these debts, and records goods received from friends and relatives. The meticulous accounting for various aspects of life—from the mundane to the significant—underscores Edwin Haven's commitment to preserving a comprehensive account of this year in his life.

This 1868 diary serves as a captivating historical document and a microcosm of nineteenth-century American life. It transcends a mere record of events, providing a nuanced portrayal of the author's thoughts, emotions, and reflections. The entries not only capture the rhythms of agricultural life and community interactions but also reveal glimpses of personal growth and evolving perspectives. The diary offers particularly valuable insight into the experience of adolescence, centering the young author's perspective. It stands as a testament to Edwin Haven's dedication to preserving his experiences and contributes significantly to our understanding of the socio-cultural fabric of American history.

The transcription below preserves the spelling and capitalization of the original documents. Any additions, including punctuation to enhance comprehension, are enclosed by square brackets. Identifiable individuals, locations, and technical terms have been referenced in the footnotes, usually only when they first appear. The diary's printed dates appear (as in the diary itself) in bold small caps.

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*The primary-source edition published below originated in the "History and Editing" course offered by CSUF's Department of History.*

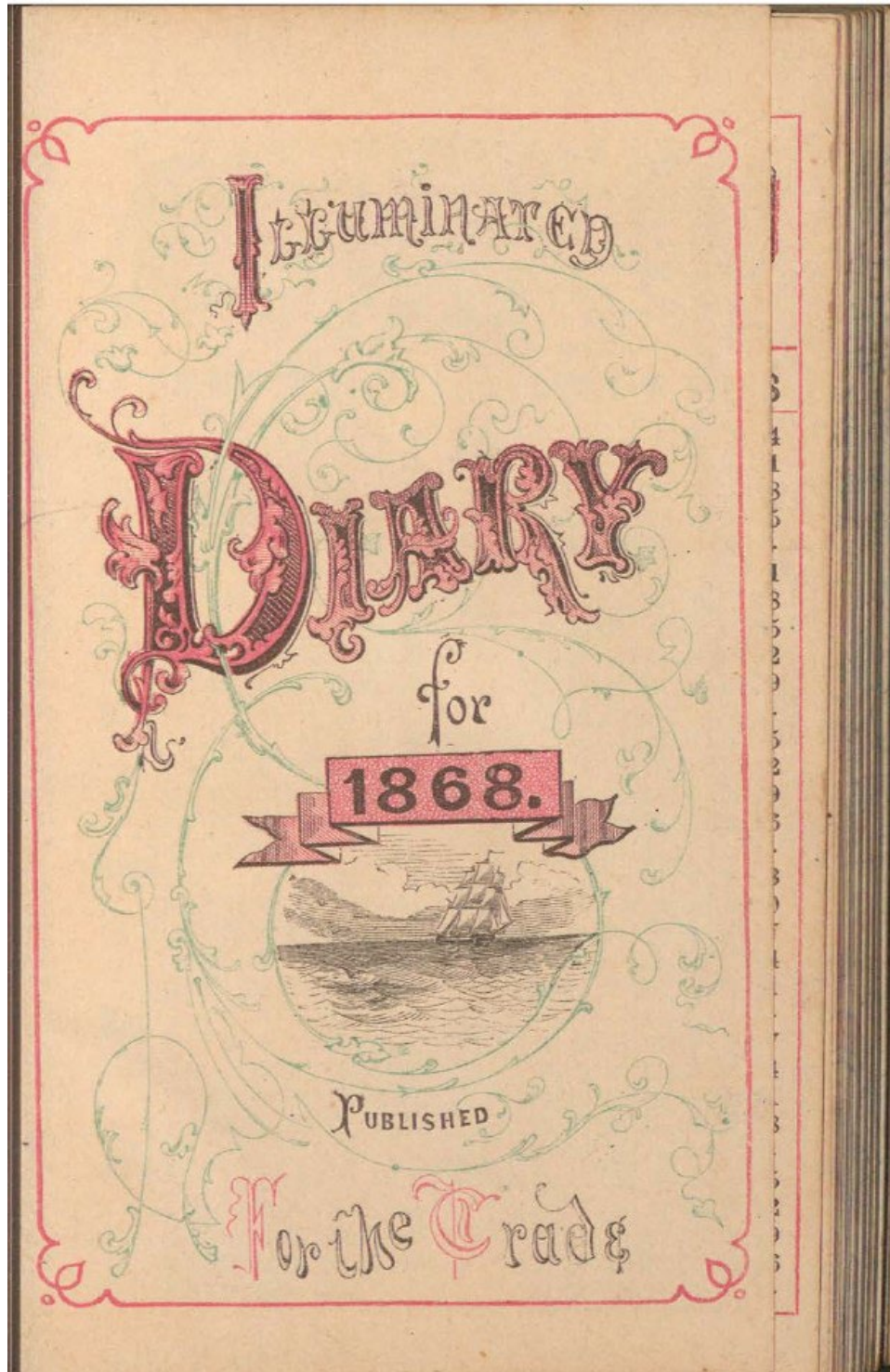


Figure 1: Edwin Haven 1868 Diary, front page, CSUF, UA&SC.



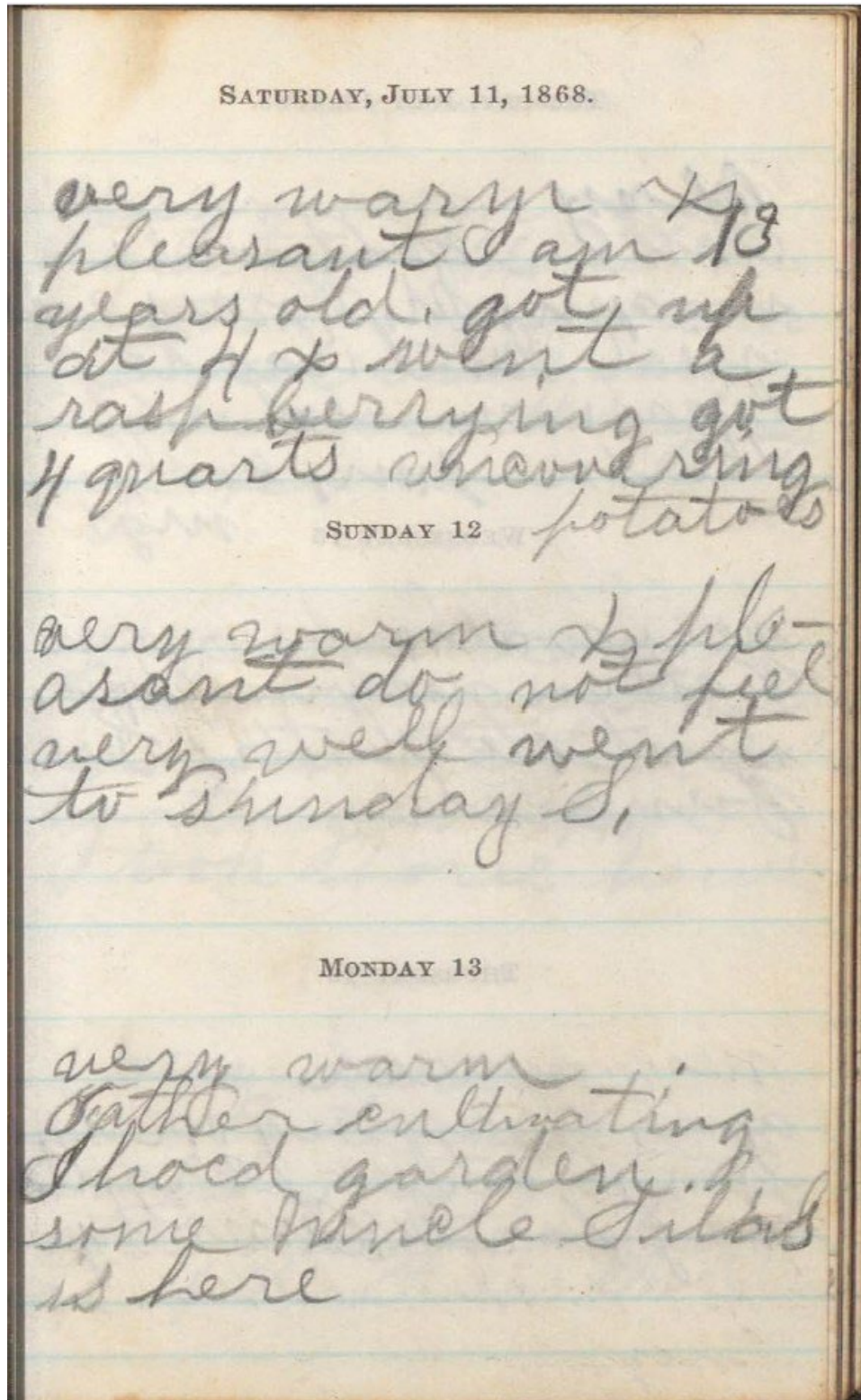


Figure 2: Edwin Haven 1868 Diary, entries for July 11, 12, and 13, CSUF, UA&SC.

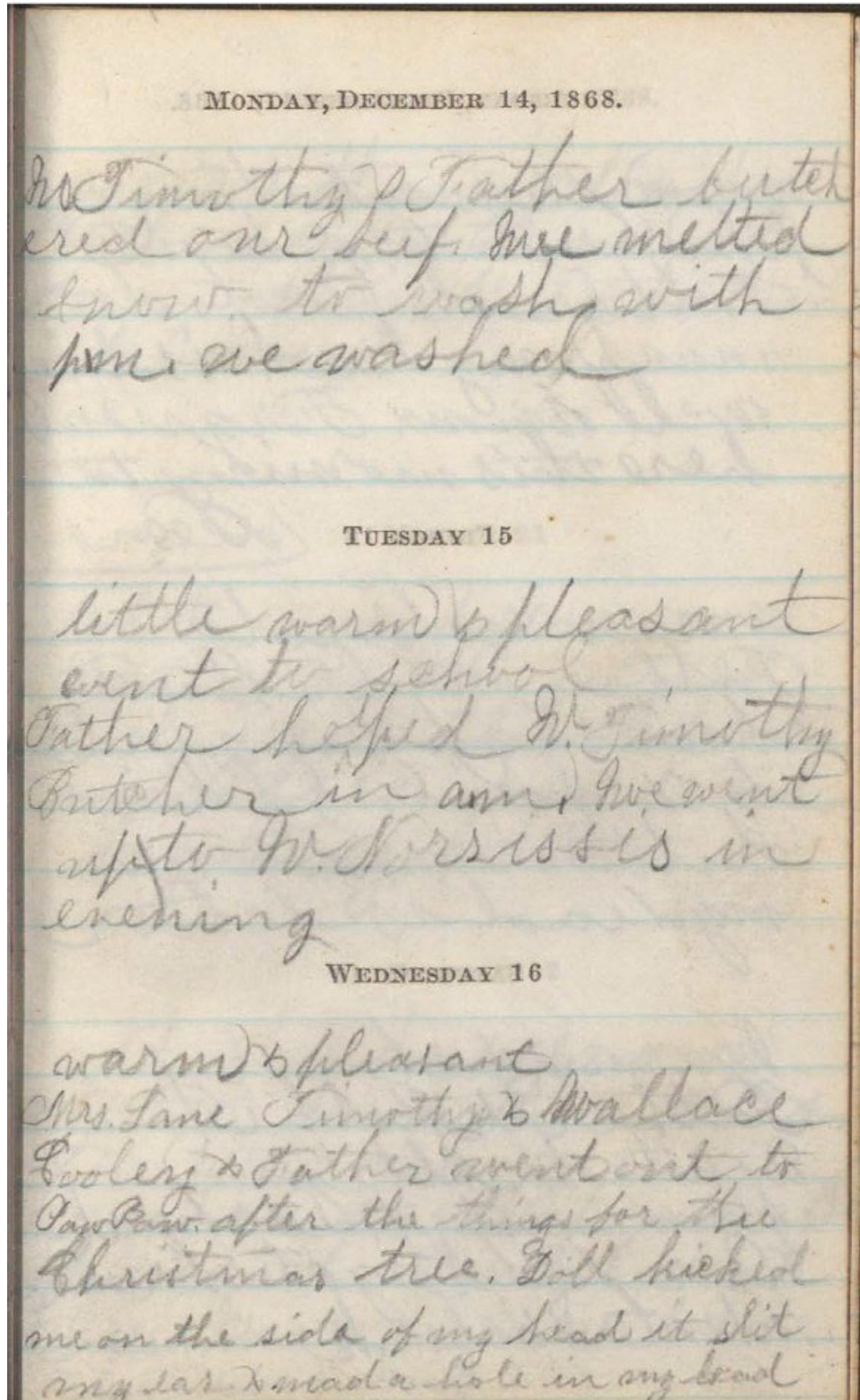


Figure 3: Edwin Haven 1868 Diary, entries for December 14, 15, and 16, CSUF, UA&SC.



29

MEMORANDA.

Date.	Dolls.	Cts.
Sugared off first time March 23 <sup>rd</sup>		
Apr. 23 <sup>rd</sup> ground white with snow. Peas in bloom June 20 <sup>th</sup>		
Carnatoes in bloom June June 30 <sup>th</sup> in shade thermometer 92 deg.		
July 11 in shade thermometer at 94 deg.		
July 17 in shade thermometer at 98		
first new potatoes Friday July 1 <sup>st</sup>		
first frost Sept 18 quite light		
Dec. 12 <sup>th</sup> thermometer at 4 deg.		

Figure 4: Edwin Haven 1868 Diary, Memoranda, page 29, CSUF, UA&amp;SC.

*Edition: January 1868.*

**WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 1, 1868.**

little<sup>1</sup> cold & snowy. Aunt<sup>2</sup> Adelaide<sup>3</sup> & Uncle Frank<sup>4</sup> came here about noon [.] he went home [.] she & Eddy staid here till 8 o'clock. had a happy time.

**THURSDAY 2**

little thawy. pleasant. went to school. had some sorghum candy<sup>5</sup> tonight. Pray[er] meeting tonight. the snow is going off.

**FRIDAY 3**

cloudy little rain thawy. went to school. Father<sup>6</sup> went to Lake Mill & Gays Mill to post up notices. Frank<sup>7</sup> John & Ervine Cooley. Burdett Elbert Melvin Galespa [Ferguson]<sup>8</sup> here to eat candy

**SATURDAY, JANUARY 4, 1868.**

cold cloudy. went to school. we have got a sick pig. evening went to singing school

**SUNDAY 5**

little warm & pleasant [.] Mother<sup>9</sup> up to Mrs Macks most all day. the rest of us went to meeting.<sup>10</sup> Mrs Mack is worse.

**MONDAY 6**

little warm rain & thawy [.] Mother & I done the washing. Father helped Uncle Timothy<sup>11</sup> further [.] in [be]fore noon p.m. did not do much.

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<sup>1</sup> The diary's author, Edwin Melancthon Haven (1855–1917), identifies himself as "Edwin Haven" on the diary's first flyleaf.

<sup>2</sup> The respective families of Edwin Haven's parents were extensive. However, in 1868, when this diary was written, most relatives on both the paternal side and the maternal side of his family were residing in Ohio, not Michigan (where Edwin Haven's nuclear family was living at that time). Therefore, not everyone referred to as "uncle" or "aunt" in this diary was actually a relative. In cases where family members are clearly identifiable, this has been noted.

<sup>3</sup> Individual who appears repeatedly throughout this diary; her precise relationship to the family (if any) is unclear.

<sup>4</sup> Individual who appears repeatedly throughout this diary; his precise relationship to the family (if any) is unclear. Perhaps Benjamin Franklin Parly (1818–1884), husband of Annis Haven (Edwin Haven's father's sister), see entry of September 3, 1868; or perhaps Franklin Benjamin Wilmot (1834–?), brother of Lucia Haven (who was Edwin Haven's mother).

<sup>5</sup> Type of hard candy.

<sup>6</sup> George Washington Haven (1831–1906).

<sup>7</sup> Members of several local families appear repeatedly throughout this diary; their last names include Barber, Barnum, Beeman, Burdett, Calvin, Carriff, Cooley, Drake, Ferguson, Hodgson, Hopkins, Howard, Joy, Killheffer, Kingsley, Kirk, Lane, Lent, Loomis, Melvin, Miller, O'Brien, Parker, Phelon, Powers, Rick, Robinson, Sabins, Sutton, Tucker, Vaughan (also spelled "Von"), and White (also spelled "Wight").

<sup>8</sup> For Galesha Ferguson, see entry of October 4, 1868.

<sup>9</sup> Lucia Amanda Haven, née Wilmot (1836–1899).

<sup>10</sup> In an entry for a Sunday, "meeting" usually refers to a religious gathering.

<sup>11</sup> Individual who appears repeatedly throughout this diary; his precise relationship to the family (if any) is unclear.

**TUESDAY, JANUARY 7, 1868.**

cold & cloudy [.] went to school. Lucira went up to Harrison Cooleys in evening

**WEDNESDAY 8**

cold snow. evening very cold [.] went to school [.] Mary Jay came home with Lucira after school. Went to singing school in evening

**THURSDAY 9**

cold & flustering snow [.] snow about 8 inches deep. went to school [.] Father thrashing.<sup>12</sup> Lucira went up to Mr. Jays to night to stay with Mary

**FRIDAY, JANUARY 10, 1868.**

cold & flustering. little warmer [.] went to school. Mr. J. Spaulding was here in evening [.] Lucira went to meeting.

**SATURDAY 11**

little cold & snowy. went to school. evening went to singing school. Warren Cooley was here after singing school. Elber Powers was here after school

**SUNDAY 12**

little cold & cloudy snow [.] went to meeting. Mother went up to Mrs. Macks in a.m. I got supper

**MONDAY, JANUARY 13, 1868.**

cold & cloudy little snowy [.] Mr. Spaulding was here to dinner [.] Father thrashed a little. got the fanning mill in p.m. James Kingsley was here

**TUESDAY 14**

cold & little snow some wind [.] I was quite sick last night [.] feel better today. Father up to Mr. Kill[h]ef[f]ers<sup>13</sup> on town buisness [sic]. Lucira came after school. Mother baked some

**WEDNESDAY 15**

cold & flustering some snow [.] John<sup>14</sup> was quite sick last night [.] Father made him a flail to day. Ma baked some bread [.] Emily Cooley was here after school

**THURSDAY, JANUARY 16, 1868.**

cold & little snow wind [.] Mrs. Mack died yesterday at 3 o'clock a. m. her funeral is today. Mr. Ball preached the sermon [.] school in a.m. I did not go

**FRIDAY 17**

cold & quite snowy. John & I did not go to school. Father went up to the sale [.] he bought 2 lamps & a whole lot of traps

**SATURDAY 18**

cold & quite snowy [.] I done the housework as mother is sick. Father cleaned up the wheat [.] had over three bush[els].

**SUNDAY, JANUARY 19, 1868.**

little snow & little warm [.] Father & John went meeting [.] Mother & I staid at home. she is sick

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<sup>12</sup> Separating the edible grain from a plant; modern spelling is "threshing."

<sup>13</sup> For this local store owner, see entry of December 12, 1969, and Memoranda page 22.

<sup>14</sup> John Mason Haven (1859–1923), Edwin Haven's younger brother.

**MONDAY 20**

very little snow cloudy [.] I mop[p]ed [.] Mother helped some. Father is thrashing. I made John a whirligig<sup>15</sup>

**TUESDAY 21**

pleasant & little warm [.] went to school. Mother went over to Milton Healy with Uncle Timothys folk [.] Father thrashing

**WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 22, 1868.**

little warm & cloudy little snow [.] Father thrashing. he cleaned up 4 bushel this afternoon. Mrs. Vaughan & Polly [Vaughan] were here a little. went to school

**THURSDAY 23**

little snow flustering [.] Father & Uncle Timothy visited school in P.M. [.] went to school. Lucira & Elber Powers are not coming to school any more. they stop[p]ed tuesday

**FRIDAY 24**

cold & snow went to school Father thrashed some. it has snowed every day for 17 days but 1

**SATURDAY, JANUARY 25, 1868.**

little warm & cloudy. little snow [.] went to school. Father thrashed some in a.m. Mr. & Mrs. Tucker came here about half past 11 o'clock

**SUNDAY 26**

cold & snow in a.m. p.m. pleasant [.] went to meeting. an Advent[ist]<sup>16</sup> Preacher preached today [.] he is a young man

**MONDAY 27**

a.m. little snow p.m. little warm & pleasant [.] Melted snow to wash with [.] Father finished thrashing the wheat [.] he had 13 ½ [bushels] in all. he has gone up to William Saunders tonight

**TUESDAY, JANUARY 28, 1868.**

early in a.m. little snow. rest of day pleasant. went to school [.] Father & Uncle Timothy butchered three of our little pigs

**WEDNESDAY 29**

cold & flustering lots of snow [.] Father & Mother have gone to Allegan<sup>17</sup> to get her a new sett [sic] off teeth. they got home at 8 o'clock p.m. Uncle Timothy was here with me tonight

**THURSDAY 30**

a.m. cold & pleasant p.m. snow [.] went to school. it is quite cold. 1 deg[ree]. above zero. Father chop[p]ed some fire wood

**FRIDAY, JANUARY 31, 1868.**

a.m. cloudy & snow. p.m. pleasant [.] went to school. Father helped Uncle Timothy clean up his oats. he did not do much

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<sup>15</sup> Toy that spins around like a pinwheel.

<sup>16</sup> Protestant Christian denomination, established in Michigan in the early 1860s.

<sup>17</sup> Town in southwestern Michigan.

*Edition: February 1868.*

**SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 1**

cold & pleasant [.] Father & Ma. went over to Mr. Obriens with Uncle Timothys folk [.] staid all day. school did not keep today. John & I went up to Uncle Norrisses<sup>18</sup> [.] got home at 4 p.m.

**SUNDAY 2**

a.m. snow p.m. pleasant & cold & wind. we all went to meeting. I got supper

**MONDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1868.**

a.m. little snow [.] thermometer at 13 below zero in morning

**TUESDAY 4**

little warm & pleasant [.] Father Mother & John went to Allegam [*sic*]. Burdett & Elbert staid with me in evening. they got home at half past 10 p.m.

**WEDNESDAY 5**

a.m. pleasant. p.m. stormy. went to school. Father chopping fire wood. Ma got her new teeth yesterday

**THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1868.**

cold & flustering [.] went to school. Dennis [Cooley]<sup>19</sup> was here in evening. I went up to the store in evening to mail a letter

**FRIDAY 7**

little cold & pleasant. went to school. Father drewed up a lot of wood.

**SATURDAY 8**

little cold & snowy. I went to to [*sic*] school

**SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1868.**

cold & little snow [.] I went to meeting. Mr. Tucker preached. it snowed about 1 foot last yesterday & last night

**MONDAY 10**

cold & pleasant [.] I melted snow to wash with [.] washed in p.m. Father carried up 2 hams & 2 shoulders [.] I carried 3 ½ dozen of eggs [.] got 20 c[en]ts a doz[en].

**TUESDAY 11**

cold & snowy [.] went to school. I wrote to Emma Durgee [Durkee] my cousin in Henry Co[unty].<sup>20</sup>

**WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1868.**

little warm & pleasant [.] I went to school. Father chopping wood. Charles Kingsley was here

**THURSDAY 13**

little cloudy & snow. went to school got six eggs to night. evening Father went to meeting.

**FRIDAY 14**

little warm & cloudy [.] went to school. Mr. Brewstar had the cattle to day

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<sup>18</sup> Norris Tyler Wilmot (1838–1924), brother of Lucia Haven (who was Edwin Haven's mother).

<sup>19</sup> For Dennis Cooley, see entry of December 22, 1868.

<sup>20</sup> County in northwestern Ohio.

**SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1868.**

warm & cloudy. good snow falling. I went to school. Father drawed up a lot of wood

**SUNDAY 16**

warm & cloudy thawy [.] we went to meeting [.] Father went up to E. school house to meeting in evening

**MONDAY 17**

warm & pleasant a.m. Mother & I washed [.] Father chop[p]ed. p.m. we went up to Uncle Norrisses

**TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1868.**

a.m. little cold. p.m. warm [.] a hard crust on the snow this morning [.] can slide on it [.] Father went to Paw Paw<sup>21</sup> after medicine [.] got hom[e] at 4. went to school  $\frac{3}{4}$  of day

**WEDNESDAY 19**

warm & pleasant [.] went to school. Father chopping fire wood. Warren Cooley & Lucira Powers were married today by Elder Barnum.

**THURSDAY 20**

warm pleasant & thawy [.] went to school. got an apron for Mother tonight & paid with eggs. Father went to meeting in evening

**FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1868.**

cold east wind cloudy. Father & Egbert Cooley visited school [.] went to school

**SATURDAY 22**

went to school [.] it is the last day. several boys from bear lake<sup>22</sup> visited school.

**SUNDAY 23**

cold & stormy. Father & John went to meeting. I staid to turn out cattle.

**MONDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1868.**

little cold & cloudy a.m. melted snow to wash with. Mother washed in p.m. Father writing all day. got my boots taped

**TUESDAY 25**

little cold & cloudy a.m. Ma. washed the woolen clothes. p.m. went with Uncle Norrisses folk to Mr. Watts.

**WEDNESDAY 26**

a.m. cold cloudy. p.m. snow [.] we are at home. Father is writing. at Town buisness [sic] p.m. two men got dinner here from Pipe stone. Messrs. E. & W. Emmons

**THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1868.**

cold & snowy. Father tending to Town buisness [sic]. Mother sewing [.] Father got a can of oysters tonight.

**FRIDAY 28**

little cold & cloudy some snow [.] we had some oysters for supper. carried 15 bushels of corn to mill [.] got it ground

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<sup>21</sup> Village in southwestern Michigan.

<sup>22</sup> Village in northwestern Michigan.



**SATURDAY 29**

little warm & pleasant a.m. Ma. mop[p]ed & got ready to go over to Uncle Franks. went. Father staid at home

*Edition: March 1868.*

**SUNDAY, MARCH 1, 1868.**

cold & cloudy little snow [.] we all went to meeting [.] Beldin Johnson was here after meeting [.] a cold storm com[m]enced tonight.

**MONDAY 2**

cold wind & pleasant [.] Father writing. p.m. brought in a lot of snow [.] Our three year old<sup>23</sup> has come in. a snow bank in the road 4 feet deep

**TUESDAY 3**

cold & little snow. storm continues. not so bad. Father writing.

**WEDNESDAY, MARCH 4, 1868.**

a.m.<sup>24</sup> 5 deg[rees]. below zero. p.m. warm & pleasant. Father writing & Mother sewing

**THURSDAY 5**

cloudy & warm little rain [.] Father & Uncle Timothy went to Paw. Mrs. Miller was here in p.m. Hattie [Vaughan]<sup>25</sup> here too [.] Father got home at 6.

**FRIDAY 6**

rainy & warm thawy [.] Father killed the calf. I wrote to George Phelon. Father went to the store in the evening

**SATURDAY, MARCH 7, 1868.**

warm rain. the snow is going off fast. we sold some pork [.] Father writing. I split some wood

**SUNDAY 8**

a.m. cold p.m. warm & thawy [.] went to meeting. Mr. Rascoe<sup>26</sup> preached at the school house in afternoon

**MONDAY 9**

warm & cloudy [.] I got Aunt Margarets candles moulds. Maroon 6 doz[en]. candles [.] Father made me an ax helve<sup>27</sup>

**TUESDAY, MARCH 10, 1868.**

warm & pleasant [.] ground up the axes in a.m. Father & John chopping fire wood.

**WEDNESDAY 11**

warm & pleasant [.] Father & I chop[p]ed sugar wood<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Perhaps a reference to a farm animal.

<sup>24</sup> While the diary's entries are usually written in pencil, this day's entry is written in black ink.

<sup>25</sup> For Hattie Vaughan, see entry of November 23, 1868.

<sup>26</sup> For this Baptist preacher, see Memoranda page 1.

<sup>27</sup> Handle of a tool.

<sup>28</sup> Fuel to produce wood-fired maple syrup.

**THURSDAY 12**

a.m. cloudy. warm p.m. pleasant [.] chopped some wood & made me a bow (to shoot with). got some crackers & a knife

**FRIDAY, MARCH 13, 1868.**

warm & pleasant but no sugar weather [.] at work in the bush P.M. we drewed & chop[p]ed sugar wood. Mrs.es Ferguson & Olive Joy were here

**SATURDAY 14**

quite warm & pleasant [.] Father & I c[h]opped fire wood in the woods. p.m. trim[m]ed nursery trees [.] I carried some butter to store in a.m.

**SUNDAY 15**

warm & pleasant [.] went to meeting [.] Polly Vaughan was here tonight

**MONDAY, MARCH 16, 1868.**

a.m. warm & rain p.m. pleasant. we had a thunder storm this morning. Ma washed. John Beeman got some pork p.m. very warm

**TUESDAY 17**

cloudy<sup>29</sup> and wind [.] Mrs. Drake & Emma Van [Vaughan?] Brunt were here [.] we have got the Broom Machine from [them?] [.] sent for flower seed

**WEDNESDAY 18**

some warm & pleasant. we tapped our sugar bush today [.] sap did not run much. Father built part of the arch

**THURSDAY, MARCH 19, 1868.**

cloudy & some rain [.] I carried Mr. Cooleys saw home. Mrs. Vaughan. Polly & Willie [Vaughan] were here [.] we all went down to Uncle Timothys in evening but Mother

**FRIDAY 20**

cold & cloudy. a.m. warm & pleasant a.m. [sic] I went up to John Lents. p.m. got some pites [?] Ma went to Uncle Timothys

**SATURDAY 21**

a.m. cold p.m. some warm [.] Father gathered the sap this morning & commenced boiling [.] Ma. went over in p.m. came up at ½ past 3

**SUNDAY, MARCH 22, 1868.**

warm & pleasant [.] went to meeting [.] Mr. Rascoe preached [.] some cattle tipped over a lot of our buckets & spil[l]ed sap

**MONDAY 23**

sugared off<sup>30</sup> [.] warm & very smoky [.] evening thunder storm. Father boiling sap. brought up some sirup [.] Uncle Timothy had the cattle

**TUESDAY 24**

a.m. pleasant. p.m. cold & cloudy. Father boiling sap [.] brought some sirup. we sugared off [.] sugar very white

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<sup>29</sup> Edwin Haven edited the syntax of this day's entry.

<sup>30</sup> Boiling down maple sap until it thickens into sugar.

**WEDNESDAY, MARCH 25, 1868.**

cold & cloudy [.] Father boiling sap all day. I have got a hard cold. we sugared off

**THURSDAY 26**

little cold & cloudy [.] John Hayes<sup>31</sup> (my c[o]usin) came from Chicago<sup>32</sup> last night [.] we sugared off. John went hunting. I staid in the house most all day with a cold

**FRIDAY 27**

little cold & cloudy a.m. the two Johns & I went hunting. p.m. went hunting & kil[l]ed 3 squirrels [.] I killed a sapsucker<sup>33</sup>

**SATURDAY, MARCH 28, 1868.**

warm & pleasant [.] John & I went hunting [.] we kil[l]e[d] 5 squirrels & 1 owl. Uncle Norris folks were here

**SUNDAY 29**

quite warm & pleasant [.] went to meeting as usual. John & I went down to Warren Havens<sup>34</sup> in p.m. & in the sugar bush

**MONDAY 30**

warm & pleasant [.] we gathered the buckets. I helped Mother in a.m. help get buckets in p.m.

**TUESDAY, MARCH 31, 1868.**

warm & pleasant [.] the two Johns & I went over to Man Lake<sup>35</sup> [.] Mrs. Robinson Mrs. Powers & Mrs. Carriff were here

*Edition: April 1868.*

**WEDNESDAY, APRIL 1**

warm & pleasant. I set out a few onions & trim[m]ed nursery trees in a.m. p.m. Ma went down to Uncle Timothys. John killed\* a red head[.]<sup>36</sup> \*Made top of this on Oct 25 1869

**THURSDAY 2**

cold & cloudy [.] Father Chester Coley get logs on the logway. he got some apple trees here. Mrs. Robinson. Cooley & Fergusons were here

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<sup>31</sup> John Hayes, son of Julia Haven (who was Edwin Haven's father's sister) and Dr. Justin Hayes.

<sup>32</sup> City on Lake Michigan in Illinois.

<sup>33</sup> Bird, species of North American woodpecker.

<sup>34</sup> Warren Haven (1844-1886), son of Davis Haven (who was Edwin Haven's great uncle's son) and Julia Adams.

<sup>35</sup> Location unclear; the "Man Lake" in Michigan's Upper Peninsula is too far away from Bloomingdale (where Edwin Haven's family was residing in 1868).

<sup>36</sup> Bird, diving duck.

**FRIDAY, APRIL 3, 1868.**

cold<sup>37</sup> & cloudy [.] John and I went over to Uncle Alberts.<sup>38</sup> to go a fishing [.] got there at ½ 11 a.m. staid all night. did not fish [.] the lake was so rought [*sic*]

**SATURDAY 4**

cold & snowy [.] it snowed about 2 inches last night [.] John & I started home [.] 2 hours coming. Mr F. Cooley here in evening

**SUNDAY 5**

a.m. some cold. p.m. warm & thawy. Father & the Johns went to meeting. snow is going off

**MONDAY, APRIL 6, 1868.**

Allen Miller & Elbert Melvin were here in a.m. John æ killed a duck & wounded another [.] Father was out till 2 o clock a.m. counting votes<sup>39</sup>

**TUESDAY 7**

cloudy & little warm [.] John & I went a hunting in the morning & killed a duck & partridge. evening blasted a stump & burnt the rest of the the [*sic*] powder.

**WEDNESDAY 8**

cold cloudy & some snow [.] John (my Cousin) started [for] Chicago this morning [.] Mother & I washed. Polly Von [Vaughan] was here

**THURSDAY, APRIL 9, 1868.**

cloudy & little cold [.] Father writing all day [.] Uncle Lysander<sup>40</sup> came in about noon. Eddie Sutton was here

**FRIDAY 10**

little warm & pleasant [.] Father writing [.] I chop[p]ed some. p.m. John & I built a dam in the brook [.] we picked up the clover lot. Ma went up to Mrs. Hopkins

**SATURDAY 11**

cloudy & little warm p.m. some rain. Father. John & I worked in the slashing. Uncles Lysander & Bertrand<sup>41</sup> were here [.] Dolla & Lenna Edgerton were here

**SUNDAY, APRIL 12, 1868.**

a.m. cold & cloudy p.m. warm & pleasant. went to meeting. Uncle Timothys folks were here in evening [.] Uncle Lysander staid here tonight.

**MONDAY 13**

pleasant little warm & windy [.] Ward Kirk is at work ditching for Father [.] Father is drawing rail cuts. I picked up some. Ma's got the toothache

**TUESDAY 14**

a.m. rain. p.m. pleasant [.] Uncle Lysander started for home this morning. I went down to Mr. Kingsleys. got some gum

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<sup>37</sup> Edwin Haven edited the syntax of this day's entry.

<sup>38</sup> Perhaps Albert M. Nichols (1839–1914), son of Sally Haven (who was Edwin Haven's great aunt) and Andrew Nichols.

<sup>39</sup> Perhaps a reference to Michigan's referendum vote held in April 1868.

<sup>40</sup> Jacob Lysander Tucker (1822–1890), husband of Betsy E. Wilmot (who was Edwin Haven's mother's sister).

<sup>41</sup> Bertrand N. Wilmot (1825–1871), brother of Lucia Haven (who was Edwin Haven's mother).

**WEDNESDAY, APRIL 15, 1868.**

warm rain [.] I carried some potatoes up to Mrs. Sutton. we drew some manure onto the garden. I went a fishing. Ma. to Mrs. Fergusons

**THURSDAY 16**

little cold & cloudy [.] Father with the Town board. Mr. Kirk is ditching for Father [.] Mother & I washed

**FRIDAY 17**

cold & cloudy [.] Mr. Kirk is ditching [.] W. Killheffer came after the Town Clerks things (he is Clerk) [.] Mrs. Vaughan Polly & Willy [Vaughan] were here

**SATURDAY, APRIL 18, 1868.**

warm & pleasant [.] I wheeled dirt grape vines [.] John Lent got 33 apple trees P.M. helped Emily Cooley clean school house. went to J[ohn]. L[ent]. & brought oxen home

**SUNDAY 19**

a.m. cloudy. warm. P.M. warm & pleasant. went to meeting as usual [.] Uncle Norris & Bertrand were here in evening [.] Uncle Bert[rand]. goes home tomorrow

**MONDAY 20**

warm & pleasant [.] we took our 35 bu[shels]. of potatoes. Mr. Kirk 7 bu[shels]. & 30 apple trees. he took the cattle to take them home. I took them home. Ma washed some he (w[ard].k[irk].) dashed

**TUESDAY, APRIL 21, 1868.**

little warm & pleasant [.] Mr. Hopkins got 40 apple trees p.m. went to the funeral of Mr. Sabines bro[ther]. Father went down to C. Cooleys

**WEDNESDAY 22**

warm & pleasant [.] Father dr[a]wed manure on the garden & plowed in a.m. I dug the grass from the currant<sup>42</sup> bushes. p.m. moved our bush. planted peas

**THURSDAY 23**

warm & pleasant [.] Father went to mill in a.m. p.m. went to Mr. Tuckers & sat up with him. Ma. John & I went to a show in evening

**FRIDAY, APRIL 24, 1868.**

little cold in a.m. p.m. rainy. a.m. Father & John plowed [.] I set out onions. Eddie Sutton & Dick. Hodgson were here p.m. we set [sat] in the house

**SATURDAY 25**

warm & pleasant [.] I was a fishing most all day. p.m. Father was at A[lvinza]. Calvins<sup>43</sup> logging bee<sup>44</sup> [.] got a letter from Plymmon<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Flowering plant with edible fruit.

<sup>43</sup> For Alvinza Calvin, see entry of November 10, 1868.

<sup>44</sup> Clearing forest space for the planting of crops.

<sup>45</sup> Plymmon Sanford Hayes, son of Julia Haven (who was Edwin Haven's father's sister) and Dr. Justin Hayes.

**SUNDAY 26**

warm & pleasant [.] went to meeting as usual [.] Harriet & Rachel Cooley were here. we went down to Uncle Timothy's

**MONDAY, APRIL 27, 1868.**

warm & pleasant [.] Father plowing all day a.m. I helped Ma wash p.m. made garden.

**TUESDAY 28**

p.m. cloudy [.] quite warm & pleasant [.] I sowed a lot of onions [.] Emily Cooley Mrs Vose & Shaw were here [.] I grubbed<sup>46</sup> some

**WEDNESDAY 29**

warm & rainy [.] we had a nice shower in the night. Ma. went up to Mr. Tuckers. Father sowed grass seed & log[g]ed. I went up to H. Cooleys after flowers

**THURSDAY, APRIL 30, 1868.**

little cold & cloudy [.] Father drawing rail timber. I have got the Chicken Pox. Polly Von [Vaughan] was here

*Edition: May 1868.*

**FRIDAY, MAY 1**

a.m. pleasant. p.m. rain A[hira]. Haven<sup>47</sup> got somee [sic] apple trees here. p.m. Father went to mill

**SATURDAY 2**

a.m. pleasant. p.m. rain [.] Father went a fishing last night [.] his share was 30 all small. W[arren]. Haven<sup>48</sup> got some apple trees here

**SUNDAY, MAY 3, 1868.**

very warm. pleasant [.] the Methodist<sup>49</sup> had a quarterly meeting here today. quite a number out [.] Sunday School as usual

**MONDAY 4**

heavy shower in night [.] I took our oxen up to Uncle Norrisses. staid till noon

**TUESDAY 5**

warm & pleasant. morning rain. Moved stove. see[d]e'd 102 evergreens in p.m. grafted 26 trees in a.m. p set leeck<sup>50</sup> [sic] up & cleansed soap grease [.] John went down to Warren Co[oley]s

**WEDNESDAY, MAY 6, 1868.**

little cold & cloudy evening rain. Mr. R. Tucker & had his legs amputated this p.m. we made about 40 of a barrel of soap [.] Father set up with Mr. T[ucker].

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<sup>46</sup> Scavenging.

<sup>47</sup> Perhaps Ahira Haven (1811-1872), brother of John Haven (who was Edwin Haven's grandfather).

<sup>48</sup> Warren Haven (1844-1886), son of Davis Haven (who was Edwin Haven's great uncle's son) and Julia Adams.

<sup>49</sup> Protestant Christian denomination, established in eighteenth-century England.

<sup>50</sup> Vegetable.

**THURSDAY 7**

a.m. little cold p.m. warm & pleasant. Father split rails & trim[m]ed orchard [.] I washed 30 peach trees [.] Mrs. Vaughan was here [.] John went to school

**FRIDAY 8**

some warm comfortable. I finished washing trees in a.m. p.m. Brady & Galespa & Willy Von [Vaughan] were here [.] Father working at fence

**SATURDAY, MAY 9, 1868.**

some warm & pleasant [.] John Lent worked here. today I hoed<sup>51</sup> my onions [.] went a fishing [.] I caught 1. Hattie was here after school

**SUNDAY 10**

little cool but pleasant [.] went to meeting as usual. Allen & Maggie Miller were here after Sunday School

**MONDAY 11**

warm & pleasant [.] Father plowing. got me a straw hat [.] Fixed hops & poles [.] done several jobs

**TUESDAY, MAY 12, 1868.**

some warm & cloudy a.m. sowed and dr[a]gged in our oats. some rain in ev[e]ning [.] chored<sup>52</sup> some [.] John at school

**WEDNESDAY 13**

cool & rainy a.m. went to school p.m. cleaned out cellar. Father made him a new drag<sup>53</sup> [.] John at school

**THURSDAY 14**

little cool & rainy [.] John has got the chic[k]en pox [.] we did not do much [.] Father sat up with Mr. Tucker [.] he slept to day

**FRIDAY, MAY 15, 1868.**

some cloudy little warm. Father & I finished trim[m]ing nursery. picked stone around nursery [.] bought a basket of an Indian woman

**SATURDAY 16**

some warm a few little showers. drawing manure.

**SUNDAY 17**

little pleasant & little rain [.] went to meeting. quite warm.

**MONDAY, MAY 18, 1868.**

a.m. little cool [.] arose a  $\frac{3}{4}$  4 [.] got done washing at 10 o'clock. Father drawing manure. p.m. ploughing. I gathered the brush from the orchard

**TUESDAY 19**

warm & pleasant a.m. Father sowed & drag[g]ed in grass seed & plowed [.] I helped Ma. p.m. he went to a logging bee [.] I sprouted potatoes

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<sup>51</sup> Using a tool (hoe) to dig, thin out, or dig up.

<sup>52</sup> Doing assigned tasks.

<sup>53</sup> Perhaps a fishing net.

**WEDNESDAY 20**

quite & pleasant [.]. Father plowing [.]. I helped Ma [.]. got up at a little past 4 [.]. Mrs. Ferguson & Cooley & Beeman & Ally Woodruff were here in p.m.

**THURSDAY, MAY 21, 1868.**

warm & pleasant [.]. Father plowing [.]. I hoed my onions [.]. Ma. visited Daniels wife [.]. the Teacher boards here this week

**FRIDAY 22**

little cool some rain. not enough to stop work. planted potatoes [.]. got most done [.]. I cut about 2 ½ bushel

**SATURDAY 23**

some cool little cloudy. a.m. finished planting potatoes & some corn field [.]. corn [.]. pop corn [.]. sweet corn

**SUNDAY, MAY 24, 1868.**

warm & pleasant [.]. went to meeting [.]. Mr. Ricks folk were [.]. here. Mr. Rascoe preached

**MONDAY 25**

quite warm & pleasant. I drag[g]ed some in a.m. & got brush for Ma's flower seeds p.m. got brush for peas [.]. took off my boots

**TUESDAY 26**

a.m. warm p.m. some rain. planted over ½ acre of corn [.]. Father plowed some [.]. planted till dark

**WEDNESDAY, MAY 27, 1868.**

some rain in a.m. p.m. cloudy [.]. got out 56 splints [.]. 11' bout 8 feet [.]. 45 bout 10 f[ee]t. Father went to Mr. Millers raising<sup>54</sup> [.]. I went a fishing. Ma. down to Uncl[e] Timothys

**THURSDAY 28**

warm & pleasant a.m. I went over to Mr. Kirks [.]. Father plowing. I planted some corn

**FRIDAY 29**

little cool & rainy a.m. set out strawberry bed. p.m. went a fishing in Man Lake [.]. caught 18. 6 were bad. got home at ½ 6

**SATURDAY, MAY 30, 1868.**

warm & pleasant [.]. Aunt Adelaid came here about 10 o'clock [.]. staid all day [.]. Father plowing

**SUNDAY 31**

warm & pleasant [.]. went to meeting [.]. David Phelons folk were here after meeting

*Edition: June 1868.*

**MONDAY, JUNE 1**

a.m. pleasant p.m. cloudy [.]. Father drag[g]ed in a.m. p.m. Marked out all of our corn grov [sic] & planted 816 hills and [?] (over ⅓ acre) [.]. little rain in eve[ning].

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<sup>54</sup> Collective (barn) building.



**TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1868.**

little cool & cloudy. planted corn till 3 o'clock. I got Uncle Norrisses horse to cultivate nursery

**WEDNESDAY 3**

warm & some rain a.m. grubbing. p.m. hoed my onions [.] Father cultivated. Mrs. Von [Vaughan] here [.] dressing splints

**THURSDAY 4**

warm & cloudy [.] log[g]ed all day north of the corn

**FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1868.**

warm & some rain [.] hard thunder shower last night [.] Mr. M. Munns farm was struck [.] Mrs. Vaughan made us a ½ bu[shel]. basket. I cut my big toe chopping

**SATURDAY 6**

little<sup>55</sup> cool & pleasant in p.m. made brooms all day [.] I sowed some [.] carried 6 lbs. 7 ½ oz. [ounces] of butter to store. Galespa F[erguson]. cut his foot with an ax whole length

**SUNDAY 7**

warm & pleasant [.] went to meeting [.] went to see Galespa [.] then went to Uncle Timothys

**MONDAY, JUNE 8, 1868.**

warm. a.m. cloudy p.m. pleasant [.] helped Ma wash p.m. scraped broomcorn<sup>56</sup> [.] Father made 10 brooms for Mr. Killheffer

**TUESDAY 9**

warm & pleasant [.] pulling cockel<sup>57</sup> in wheat. Mother went up to Uncle Harrison [Cooley]<sup>58</sup> in p.m. Father at work on the road

**WEDNESDAY 10**

warm & pleasant [.] I pul[l]ed cockel out of the wheat. Father made 7 brooms for Uncle Timothy.

**THURSDAY, JUNE 11, 1868.**

warm & pleasant [.] pulling cockel [.] Father working on the road

**FRIDAY 12**

pretty warm [.] pulling cockel [.] Mrs. Ferguson & Galespa were here in p.m. Father clearing path for a ditch

**SATURDAY 13**

warm [.] pulling cockel [.] Father clearing ditch track [.] John at school

**SUNDAY, JUNE 14, 1868.**

very warm & pleasant [.] went to meeting [.] Emma & Hattie were here

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<sup>55</sup> Edwin Haven edited the syntax of this day's entry.

<sup>56</sup> Sorghum, grass species.

<sup>57</sup> Weed; modern spelling is "cockle."

<sup>58</sup> For Harrison Cooley, see entry of January 7, 1868.

**MONDAY 15**

warm. a.m. rain p.m. pleasant [.] went [to] Mr. R. Tucker planting bee [.] finished it [.] got home at 7

**TUESDAY 16**

a.m. pleasant p.m. rain [.] scraping broomcorn & making bro[o]ms [.] Willie & Galespa were here

**WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1868.**

a.m. cloudy p.m. pleasant [.] Father making brooms [.] I carried some calico<sup>59</sup> to Mr. Tucker p.m. Father at work for Uncle Timothy

**THURSDAY 18**

very warm [.] pulling cokel [sic] p.m. went to Uncle Timothy raising [.] went in swimming 3 times

**FRIDAY 19**

warm & pleasant [.] finished pulling cockel in morning [.] Father splitting rails. Mr. Miller was here

**SATURDAY, JUNE 20, 1868.**

a.m. cool p.m. cloudy [.] Father splitting rails & fixing fence [.] scraping broomcorn [.] Galespa here in p.m. carried 1 doz[en]. brooms to store

**SUNDAY 21**

cool & pleasant. went to meeting [.] Aunt Margaret & Hattie were here in p.m.

**MONDAY 22**

Some warm pleasant [.] got Uncl[e] Norrisses mare to cultivate corn p.m. hoed onions & strawberries [.] Ma. went down to Uncle Timothys

**TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1868.**

warm & pleasant [.] Father finished cultivating about 10 o'clock [.] he made ma a flower bed. I took the mare home. Pa. hoed corn [.] helped Ma set out flowers

**WEDNESDAY 24**

warm & pleasant [.] Hoed potatoes all day. went in swimming [.] John at school

**THURSDAY 25**

warm & pleasant a.m. helped Ma [.] washed [.] Mrs. Ferguson Mrs. A[hira]. Haven<sup>60</sup> & Galespa were here [.] finished hoeing potatoes [.] went to Mr. T[ucker].s in p.m.

**FRIDAY, JUNE 26, 1868.**

warm & pleasant [.] got uncle Norrisses horse in morning [.] Ma shingled<sup>61</sup> my hair in p.m. set out some cabbage & tomato plants

**SATURDAY 27**

warm & pleasant a.m. planted sweet corn & beans [.] Father cultivating

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<sup>59</sup> Textile, made from unbleached cotton.

<sup>60</sup> Perhaps Lota Haven, née Ross, wife of Ahira Haven (who was Edwin Haven's great uncle).

<sup>61</sup> Cutting (hair) to an even length.

**SUNDAY 28**

warm & pleasant [.] went to meeting as usual. Mr. Ricks folk were here after meeting

**MONDAY, JUNE 29, 1868.**

warm. a.m. pleasant p.m. cloudy. a.m. helped Ma wash. p.m. hoed corn. Father finished cultivating. John planting corn over.

**TUESDAY 30**

very warm. hoeing corn. John at school [.] went in swimming

*Edition: July 1868.*

**WEDNESDAY, JULY 1**

warm & pleasant [.] rain in evening. hoeing [.] Uncle Silas<sup>62</sup> came in ~~last~~ to night

**THURSDAY, JULY 2, 1868.**

warm & pleasant [.] I went up to Egbert Cooleys in a.m.

**FRIDAY 3**

a.m. rain p.m. pleasant [.] Father fixing the bridge [.] cut some tack

**SATURDAY 4**

very warm & pleasant [.] Father Uncle Silas John went over to Uncle Alberts. Elbert & Burdett & Charley Powers were here [.] had a good time

**SUNDAY, JULY 5, 1868.**

a.m. pleasant p.m. rain [.] went S[unday]. S[chool]. Mrs. Baxter was here after meeting.

**MONDAY 6**

warm & pleasant [.] Father mowed some. Uncle Silas is here

**TUESDAY 7**

little cool & cloudy. a.m. hard rain p.m. Father mowing [.] Mr. Bose was here

**WEDNESDAY, JULY 8, 1868.**

warm & cloudy [.] Father mowing all day [.] I speread [*sic*] & turned over swaths

**THURSDAY 9**

warm & pleasant a.m. spread hay p.m. spread. Uncle Timothy helped draw hay

**FRIDAY 10**

warm & pleasant [.] went a raspberrying<sup>63</sup> in Morning [.] got 2 quarts [.] Father carried<sup>64</sup> Celia [Phelon]<sup>65</sup> home [.] I hoed some

**SATURDAY, JULY 11, 1868.**

very warm & pleasant [.] I am 13 years old.<sup>66</sup> got up at 4 & went a raspberrying [.] got 4 quarts [.] uncovering potatoes

**SUNDAY 12**

very warm & pleasant [.] do not feel very well [.] went to sunday S[chool].

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<sup>62</sup> Silas Gilbert Wilmot (1821–1872), brother of Lucia Haven (who was Edwin Haven’s mother).

<sup>63</sup> Collecting (wild) raspberries.

<sup>64</sup> When “carried” has a person as its direct object, it means “took” or “accompanied.”

<sup>65</sup> For Celia Phelon, see entry of November 11, 1868.

<sup>66</sup> Edwin Melancthon Haven’s birthday (b. July 11, 1855).

**MONDAY 13**

very warm [.] Father cultivating [.] I hoed garden some [.] Uncle Silas is here

**TUESDAY, JULY 14, 1868.**

very warm [.] Father cultivating in a.m. U[ncl]. Norris carried U[ncl]. Silas to Allegan. mowed a little in p.m. cool night

**WEDNESDAY 15**

very warm [.] Father mowing p.m. went to Hattie Green funeral

**THURSDAY 16**

very warm a.m. drawing in hay p.m. Father cradleing<sup>67</sup> for U[ncl]. Timothy

**FRIDAY, JULY 17, 1868.**

very warm [.] Finished Un[cl]. T[imothy].s wheat in a.m. commenced ours [.] very warm [.] every thing drying up

**SATURDAY 18**

very warm [.] Finished our wheat in a.m. Father cultivating in p.m. I took horse home

**SUNDAY 19**

very warm [.] went to meeting [.] Father & U[ncl]. Timothy attended the funeral of Mr. Ricks Mother

**MONDAY, JULY 20, 1868.**

very warm [.] Father & I mad[e] 13 brooms

**TUESDAY 21**

warm & cloudy [.] Father mowing [.] hoed some. John is sick

**WEDNESDAY 22**

some warm & pleasant a.m. drewed wheat [.] Father mowed some p.m. drewed 2 loads of ours & 2 of U[ncl]. T[imothy].s hay

**THURSDAY, JULY 23, 1868.**

warm & cloudy a.m. Father mowing [.] I spread. raked & cocked<sup>68</sup> it up

**FRIDAY 24**

little cool some cloudy. no rain for 2 ½ weeks. haying. drewed in one load

**SATURDAY 25**

little cool a.m. raked & Father mowed p.m. rested. Galespa was here

**SUNDAY, JULY 26, 1868.**

warm [.] went to meeting [.] Father has got the ague.<sup>69</sup> but went to mee[t]ing

**MONDAY 27**

very warm [.] Father has got the ague. I did not do much

**TUESDAY 28**

some warm [.] grunting.<sup>70</sup> Father the same [.] Mr. Hopkins worked here

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<sup>67</sup> Cutting grain.

<sup>68</sup> Raising up bundles of raked plant matter.

<sup>69</sup> Sharp fever or shivering chills.

<sup>70</sup> Perhaps "breaking wind."

**WEDNESDAY, JULY 29, 1868.**

a.m. rain & hail [.] abut sick [.] Mr. H[opkins]. worked here in p.m.

**THURSDAY 30**

a.m. pleasant p.m. rain. a.m. fixed hedge. Mr. Barnum was here

**FRIDAY 31**

little cool & rainy a.m. went a huckleberying<sup>71</sup> [.] got 4. q[uar]ts. played with John

*Edition: August 1868.*

**SATURDAY, AUGUST 1, 1868.**

warm & pleasant [.] Donnie & Aunt Serepta<sup>72</sup> came here p.m. drawed in some hay

**SUNDAY 2**

cool & pleasant [.] went meeting [.] Aunt Se[re]p[ta]. & Don are here

**MONDAY 3**

rain in morning [.] pleasant the rest [.] making brooms for Mr. Kil[l]efers [.] Don & Aunt Se[re]p[ta] are here

**TUESDAY, AUGUST 4, 1868.**

cool & pleasant [.] Father. Don & I went a blackberrying<sup>73</sup> in the Pinery<sup>74</sup> with U[n]cle. Norrises [.] Father and I picked about 1 q[ua]rt. there isn't any

**WEDNESDAY 5**

little warm & pleasant a.m. Father mowed a little p.m. he cradled oats [.] I raked up the hay & we drawed it in

**THURSDAY 6**

warm & pleasant [.] went huckleberrying [.] got about 4 qu[ar]ts. Father cradling [.] Mr. Lane helped rake & bind

**FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1868.**

cloudy p.m. rain. we went to bear lake to trade & get me a coat made

**SATURDAY 8**

cool & cloudy [.] Father mowing [.] Ma sewing [.] I helped her. we are getting ready to go to Ohio<sup>75</sup>

**SUNDAY 9**

cool & cloudy [.] went to meeting [.] Mr. Ricks folks were here

**MONDAY, AUGUST 10, 1868.**

cool & cloudy some rain [.] Father seeing about a school. Ma sewing & washing [.] I helped her

**TUESDAY 11**

cool & cloudy [.] Ma. went up to U[n]cle. Norrises [.] I staid at home. p.m. cut onion seed. we went after Ma.

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<sup>71</sup> Collecting (wild) huckleberries (a.k.a. hurtleberries or whortleberries).

<sup>72</sup> Cerepta M. Wilmot, née Terrill (1829–1897), wife of Bertrand N. Wilmot (who was Edwin Haven's mother's brother).

<sup>73</sup> Collecting (wild) blackberries.

<sup>74</sup> Grove or forest of pines.

<sup>75</sup> State in the midwestern United States.

**WEDNESDAY 12**

warm & pleasant a.m. Father mowed [.] I spread. p.m. raked & cocked it up. Father mowed after supper

**THURSDAY, AUGUST 13, 1868.**

warm & pleasant a.m. Father mowed [.] I helped Ma. & spread hay. p.m. U[n]cle. Timothy helped us draw our hay in. finished haying

**FRIDAY 14**

warm & pleasant a.m. helping Ma. Father put a lock on the trunk. p.m. at work making brooms

**SATURDAY 15**

warm & pleasant [.] making brooms for D. H. Anderson p.m. carried them down there & done some trading. got me a coat

**SUNDAY, AUGUST 16, 1868.**

a.m. warm & pleasant p.m. cool & some cloudy [.] went to meeting the last Sunday for 4 weeks. U[n]cle. Timothys folks were here

**MONDAY 17**

warm & pleasant [.] Father went after Aunt Se[re]p[ta]. to help [.] Ma sew. helped Ma [.] scraped a little broomcorn [.] A[unt]. Adelaide was here

**TUESDAY 18**

cloudy & some rain a.m. finished pulling onions. p.m. Father carried Aunt Se[re]p[ta]. up to U[n]cle. Norrises [.] Father made brooms in p.m. Start for Ohio in morn[ing].

**WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1868.**

warm & pleasant [.] started for Paw Paw [.] got there about noon [.] Started for Lawton<sup>76</sup> at 2 ½ o'clock p.m. there at 10 o'clock [.] started for Jackson

**THURSDAY 20**

warm & pleasant [.] got to J[ackson]. about 2 [.] staid about 2 ½ h[ou]rs. [.] then for Toledo<sup>77</sup> [.] got there between 6 & 7 [.] waited 30 min[utes]. then started for Elyria<sup>78</sup> [.] got here between 10 & 11 [.] went to Mr. W. Tuckers

**FRIDAY 21**

warm & pleasant [.] Staid at U[n]cle. Lysander [.] went to Cheese Factory

**SATURDAY, AUGUST 22, 1868.**

warm & pleasant [.] went to yearly meeting.<sup>79</sup> after meeting went up to U[n]cle. Raymonds.<sup>80</sup> went to Mr. Hoskins after evening meeting

**SUNDAY 23**

warm & pleasant [.] went to meeting [.] after meeting came to Uncle Lysanders.

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<sup>76</sup> Village in southwestern Michigan.

<sup>77</sup> City in northeastern Ohio.

<sup>78</sup> City in northeastern Ohio.

<sup>79</sup> Perhaps a reference to an annual (multi-day) family reunion.

<sup>80</sup> Raymond Haven (1823–1903), brother of George Haven (who was Edwin Haven's father).

**MONDAY 24**

warm & pleasant [.] they all went to meeting [.] Mary & Evoline & Elmer<sup>81</sup> & I we kept house. U[ncl]. L[ysander]. & John came home at 4 o'clock

**TUESDAY, AUGUST 25, 1868.**

warm & pleasant [.] Ma. & Uncle Lysander went to Jim Robinsons. the rest staid at home. p.m. Mary went to her Aunts in La grang[e]<sup>82</sup>

**WEDNESDAY 26**

warm & pleasant [.] went to U[ncl]. A[lbe]rts.<sup>83</sup> Evoline staid at home

**THURSDAY 27**

warm & pleasant [.] they all went to Mr. Dyes but Mary & I. we had a good time

**FRIDAY, AUGUST 28, 1868.**

warm & some rain. went up to Uncle Raymonds & Alices<sup>84</sup> [.] had a goot [*sic*] time at the Railroad

**SATURDAY 29**

warm & cloudy [.] staid at U[ncl]. Lysanders. Uncle & Aunt went to Elyria

**SUNDAY 30**

warm & pleasant [.] went to meeting [.] saw a Turkey Buzzard<sup>85</sup> on the fence coming home. went to Sunday School in p.m. in brick school house

**MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1868.**

warm & some rain [.] staid here. A[unt]. Betsey<sup>86</sup> helped Mary. rained hard in p.m.

*Edition: September 1868.*

**TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 1**

warm & pleasant [.] Uncle carried us to Elyria. met Father at ½ 10 a.m. waited till 9 then started for Grandpa's<sup>87</sup> [.] got there at sun down

**WEDNESDAY 2**

warm & pleasant [.] we are at Grand Fathers. went down to the burying ground [.] John is sick.

**THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1868.**

little cool & some rain [.] Grandpa carried us over to U[ncl]. Frank Pordys [.] we staid all night [.] John sick. had a good visit.

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<sup>81</sup> Elmer E. Tucker (1862–1907), son of Betsey E. Tucker, née Wilmot (who was Edwin Haven's mother's sister).

<sup>82</sup> Probably a village in northeastern Ohio; modern spelling is "LaGrange."

<sup>83</sup> Perhaps Albert M. Nichols (1839–1914), son of Sally Haven (who was Edwin Haven's great aunt) and Andrew Nichols.

<sup>84</sup> Alice Bell Haven (1847–1873), daughter of Raymond Haven (who was Edwin Haven's father's brother).

<sup>85</sup> Scavenger bird, vulture.

<sup>86</sup> Betsey E. Tucker, née Wilmot (1816–1891), sister of Lucia Haven (who was Edwin Haven's mother).

<sup>87</sup> John Haven (1795–1883), father of George Washington Haven (who was Edwin Haven's father).

**FRIDAY 4**

warm & pleasant [.] Frank Jr. brought us [to] Grandpa's p.m. Father & Mother went over to Joel Smiths. I staid with John

**SATURDAY 5**

warm & pleasant [.] we all went over to Aunt Charlotte [.] Goodies

**SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1868.**

cool & cloudy [.] we went to Mantua<sup>88</sup> to meeting [.] J. Atwater preached. went home with U[n]cle. Edwin. Ma. went down to Mr. Jennings

**MONDAY 7**

cool & cloudy [.] Grandpa carried us to Mantua [.] we took the cars<sup>89</sup> for Cleveland.<sup>90</sup> waited 4 hours [.] got to Elyria 3-45 [.] U[n]cle. took us home

**TUESDAY 8**

some warm. little rain [.] we took Uncles team<sup>91</sup> & made 8 or ten calls.<sup>92</sup> I took the team home. we staid at U[n]cle. Raymonds

**WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1868.**

warm & some rain [.] we staid at U[n]cle. Raymonds all night [.] had a good time

**THURSDAY 10**

warm & some rain [.] U[n]cle. Lysander carried us up to U[n]cle. Silases [.] had a good visit

**FRIDAY 11**

some warm & little rain [.] we went over to Uncle Burts.<sup>93</sup> staid till after dinner. U[n]cle. L[ysander]. took us to Elyria [.] started for Toledo at 3:40 p.m. staid in T[oledo]. 30 min[ute]s. got to Jackson<sup>94</sup> at 11 [.] staid 1 h[ou]r. got to Lawton 3:30 [.] staid till 7 [.] next to P[aw]. P[aw].

**SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1868.**

warm & pleasant [.] staid in Lawton till 7 [.] got to Paw Paw at a bout 7:30 [.] W[illiam]. Drake brought us home [.] at supper at U[n]cle. Timothy

**SUNDAY 13**

warm & pleasant [.] went to meeting

**MONDAY 14**

some warm. Father mowed some around the house. we are straightening up around

---

<sup>88</sup> Village in northeastern Ohio.

<sup>89</sup> Train cars.

<sup>90</sup> City in northeastern Ohio.

<sup>91</sup> Mules or horses pulling a wagon.

<sup>92</sup> Visits.

<sup>93</sup> Perhaps Bertrand N. Wilmot (1825-1871), brother of Lucia Haven (who was Edwin Haven's mother).

<sup>94</sup> City in southern Michigan.



**TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1868.**

cool & pleasant. went to school. Miss Elen Rick is teacher [.] I study Reading Grammar Arithmetic (mental & practical) spelling

**WEDNESDAY 16**

warm & pleasant [.] went to school [.] Mother canning grapes & tomatoes & drying corn

**THURSDAY 17**

cool & pleasant [.] I went to school [.] Ma drying corn & canning grapes

**FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1868.**

warm & pleasant a.m. staid out of school to cut up corn in a.m. p.m. Mr. Tucker & Family were here<sup>95</sup> [.] went to school

**SATURDAY 19**

cool & rainy [.] Father boxed up some grapes [.] I went to school

**SUNDAY 20**

cool & pleasant. went to meeting [.] Miss Rick was here after meeting. Mr. Stone died this afternoon about 4 o'clock.

**MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1868.**

cool & some cloudy [.] frost in morning [.] Father got Mr. Rick come to Mr. Stones funeral. Ma went over to Celias. Mr Parker commenced treshing this a.m.

**TUESDAY 22**

warm & rainy [.] went to school [.] Mr. Parker is thrashing. The Teacher lives here now

**WEDNESDAY 23**

cool & pleasant [.] staid out of school in a.m. to help cut up [.] corn Mr. Hopkins helped us [.] fin[i]shed the corn

**THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1868.**

cloudy & cool. went to school. Ma washed [.] Mr. Parker finished threshing tonight [.] there was a lecture on Democrats<sup>96</sup> at the school house

**FRIDAY 25**

cool & cloudy. Father cleaned up some wheat [.] Uncle Norris & Aunt. were here [.] went to school

**SATURDAY 26**

cool & cloudy [.] school did not keep to day [.] the teacher at the Base Line.<sup>97</sup> cleaned up some wheat. went to concert in evening on the Base Line

**SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1868.**

cool & cloudy [.] went to meeting as usual [.] Mr. Rickes folks were here after meeting

---

<sup>95</sup> The word "here" is inserted in black ink.

<sup>96</sup> Democratic Party, political organization established in 1828.

<sup>97</sup> Perhaps a reference to the major road bisecting Michigan from east to west and running just north of Bloomingdale (where Edwin Haven's family was residing in 1868), also the name of a lake just north of Bloomingdale.

**MONDAY 28**

cool & pleasant [.] chored around some [.] gathered some apples [.] went up to see Burdetts [.] got some peaches

**TUESDAY 29**

warm & pleasant [.] went to school [.] Father sowed & drag[g]ed in wheat

**WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1868.**

cool & rainy [.] went to school [.] Father at work at the broomcorn [.] Uncle Timothys folk were here in evening

*Edition: October 1868.*

**THURSDAY, OCTOBER 1**

cool & cloudy [.] got up at five & l[e]arned 20 verses<sup>98</sup> [.] went to school [.] Father & Ma started for Uncles. but did not go

**FRIDAY 2**

warm & cloudy [.] John & I went to school [.] Father and Mother went up to Uncle Norrisses [.] got some apples & mutton

**SATURDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1868.**

warm & pleasant [.] went to to [sic] school [.] The Teacher staid here tonight. got no mail to night

**SUNDAY 4**

warm & pleasant [.] went to Mr. Rick and wife & Letta were here after meeting [.] Galespa Ferguson was here in p.m.

**MONDAY 5**

warm & pleasant [.] Father & I finished getting in our wheat [.] Mrs. Ferguson Martha White. John got u[n]cles horse & took it home

**TUESDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1868.**

cool & pleasant [.] went to school [.] the Teacher staid here to night

**WEDNESDAY 7**

cool & rainy. went to school. we did not do much

**THURSDAY 8**

cold & cloudy [.] a flock of wild geese & ducks flew over. went to school [.] Ma. went over to David Phelons with Olivia Joy.

**FRIDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1868.**

cold & cloudy [.] went to school [.] Mr. Ferguson helping Father cleaning out creek. Teacher staid

**SATURDAY 10**

cool & pleasant [.] got a hard cold [.] did not go to school

**SUNDAY 11**

cool & some cloudy [.] went to sunday School [.] got a hard cold [.] Teacher here

---

<sup>98</sup> Bible verses. See below in this edition of the diary: Memoranda.

**MONDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1868.**

warm & pleasant [.] husked<sup>99</sup> some pop corn a.m. chored fo[r] Mother [.] she is washing [.] Father & John husked 11 shocks.<sup>100</sup> p.m. drawed it & some pumpkins

**TUESDAY 13**

cold & rainy. went to school [.] Ma. went down to Aunt Margarets in evening [.] John & I went to Mr. Fergusons

**WEDNESDAY 14**

warm & pleasant [.] Henry F. took George & Martha Wight to the R[ail]. R[oad]. went to school

**THURSDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1868.**

cool & pleasant [.] U[n]cle. Norris got our oxen. went to school [.] Father working on the bottoms<sup>101</sup>

**FRIDAY 16**

cool & cloudy. some snow in evening [.] Father dug some potatoes. went to school

**SATURDAY 17**

cool & pleasant [.] went to school [.] Father digging potatoes. John was taken sick. Teacher went to a party on base lines

**SUNDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1868.**

cold & cloudy [.] went to Sunday school [.] John is worse [.] Jackson Loomis Mrs & Miss Vaughan were here in evening

**MONDAY 19**

cold & cloudy [.] Father went to Allegan to get Medicine for John. Ma & I took care of John

**TUESDAY 20**

cool & cloudy [.] went to school in p.m. a.m. helped husk corn [.] went down to U[n]cle. T[imothy]. in evening

**WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1868.**

cool & cloudy [.] went to school [.] Father made brooms [.] John is better. I went down to Mr. Fergusons in evening

**THURSDAY 22**

warm & pleasant [.] went to school. Celia sent for Mother. she is very sick. a.m. Father cleaned out creek p.m. dug potatoes

**FRIDAY 23**

I staid with John [.] cool & pleasant [.] Mrs. Ferguson & Ma went over to see Celia [.] Mr. & Mrs. Allen & un[cle] Timothys folk were here in evening

**SATURDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1868.**

warm & pleasant [.] went to school [.] teacher is here [.] Father went down to A[hira]. Havens<sup>102</sup> raising

---

<sup>99</sup> Removing the husks.

<sup>100</sup> Corn stalks bundled together.

<sup>101</sup> Reference to the "bottoms" of trees in the family's nursery.

<sup>102</sup> Perhaps Ahira Haven (1811-1872), brother of John Haven (who was Edwin Haven's grandfather).

**SUNDAY 25**

warm & pleasant [.] went to Sunday School [.] it closed today. Mr. Ricks folk were here

**MONDAY 26**

warm & pleasant [.] husked 14 shocks of corn in a.m. p.m. we dug potatoes. two loads of young folks were here from the base line in the evening

**TUESDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1868.**

warm & pleasant [.] went to school [.] Father worked at [sic] brooms some

**WEDNESDAY 28**

warm & pleasant [.] went to school [.] Father at work at brooms. Teacher staid here to night

**THURSDAY 29**

warm & pleasant [.] Father sold 176 apple trees. 150 to Mr. Buck & 26 to Mr. J[ohn]. Beeman

**FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1868.**

warm & pleasant [.] Father Making brooms [.] two men came to look at Fathers oxen

**SATURDAY 31**

cloudy & rainy [.] school is out [.] the teacher went home [.] [Al]Vin[za]. Calvin<sup>103</sup> bought 90 trees

*Edition: November 1868.*

**SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 1**

warm & pleasant [.] we went to meeting [.] a felon<sup>104</sup> commenced coming on my middle finger of my left hand

**MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1868.**

warm & pleasant. I went up to uncles on an errand [.] Father made some brooms

**TUESDAY 3**

warm & pleasant [.] Election day.<sup>105</sup> I went down to the school house a little while. Galespa peddle<sup>106</sup> popcorn

**WEDNESDAY 4**

cool & cloudy [.] John Beeman commenced washing to pay for trees [.] I got some sorghum at J. Lents. J. Lent & Mr. Sabins got some trees

**THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1868.**

cool & cloudy [.] John B[eeman] & Father finished moving nursery trees. dug potatoes the rest of the day.

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<sup>103</sup> For Alvinza Calvin, see entry of November 10, 1868.

<sup>104</sup> Infection of the finger tip (a.k.a. whitlow).

<sup>105</sup> Ulysses S. Grant (1822–1885), elected eighteenth President of the United States in 1868.

<sup>106</sup> Selling.

**FRIDAY 6**

cool & pleasant [.] John [Beeman] & Mr. Hayes finished our potatoes. sold U[n]cle. Chester [Cooley]<sup>107</sup> & Wallace [Cooley]<sup>108</sup> some trees.

**SATURDAY 7**

cool & rainy [.] John B[eeman]. scraped broomcorn in p.m. I tended my pet finger

**SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1868.**

warm & rainy [.] Father & John went to meeting. Mother took care of me [.] U[n]cle. Timothys folk Mr. Ferguson Katy & Polly were here

**MONDAY 9**

some cool rainy [.] John B[eeman]. scraped some Broomcorn. they butchered 1 pig. a bunch as large as a pea came on my finger in fore part of the night. a.m.

it broke

**TUESDAY 10**

cool & some snow. Father & Alvinza Calvin husked corn in a.m. p.m. they cut Under brush. my finger is running<sup>109</sup>

**WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1868.**

cold cloudy & snow a.m. Father chored around the house p.m. he and Ma went to see Celias Phelons corpse [.] she died 10 min[utes]. past 12 this morning

**THURSDAY 12**

cloudy & windy [.] Father helped John B[eeman]. & Alvinza [Calvin]<sup>110</sup> at husking [.] Wallace [Cooley]<sup>111</sup> & Henry Hitchcock got some trees here

**FRIDAY 13**

warm & very pleasant [*sic*] [.] John B[eeman]. & Alvinza husking for us [.] Father threshed our beans

**SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1868.**

cool & cloudy [.] we saw a good many Meteors this morning [.] Father & Min [?] stacked our cornstocks. I went down to Mr. Kingsleys

**SUNDAY 15**

warm & cloudy [.] went to meeting [.] Father & I went down to U[n]cle. Timothys in evening [.] my finger is better

**MONDAY 16**

cold & cloudy [.] Father got our Sorghum. got 3 and Serifers<sup>112</sup> for the Corporal Frank & Joseph Hodgson ran away last night

**TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1868.**

cold & cloudy little snow. 1 more subscriber. John shelled some corn & took it to mill

---

<sup>107</sup> For Chester Cooley, see entry of April 2, 1868.

<sup>108</sup> For Wallace Cooley, see entry of December 16, 1868.

<sup>109</sup> Perhaps oozing pus.

<sup>110</sup> For Alvinza Calvin, see entry of November 10, 1868.

<sup>111</sup> For Wallace Cooley, see entry of December 16, 1868.

<sup>112</sup> Perhaps a plant.

**WEDNESDAY 18**

cold & some snow [.] I went up to Mrs Loomises. had a good time. went down to Mr. O'Briens U[ncl]. Timothy folk were here in evening

**THURSDAY 19**

little warm & snow [.] Aunt Von [Vaughan] Caty & Polly were here [.] Father & U[ncl]. T[imothy]. got out 3 gums.<sup>113</sup>

**FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1868.**

warm & some cloudy [.] Father drawed fence in a.m. p.m. he made six brooms [.] we went down to U[ncl]. T[imothy]. in evening

**SATURDAY 21**

some cold pleasant a.m. Father cleaned out creek. p.m. he made brooms [.] Eddie Powers was here

**SUNDAY 22**

cold wind pleasant [.] went to meeting [.] Polly & Willy were here [.] in evening

**MONDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1868.**

cool & pleasant [.] John & I went up to Uncles after some pitch. Emma & Galespa Hattie & Millie Von [Vaughan] were here in evening

**TUESDAY 24**

cool & cloudy [.] Father plowing & scraping<sup>114</sup> [.] Ma worsed.<sup>115</sup> I caught 4 mice

**WEDNESDAY 25**

some cool & rainy [.] Father hoeing and scraping. he changed<sup>116</sup> with U[ncl]. Harrison Cooley. we have a horse now

**THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1868.**

Cool & pleasant [.] we scraped with Doll<sup>117</sup> in front of the Barn [.] finished [.] U[ncl]. Timothy was here this evening

**FRIDAY 27**

cool & pleasant [.] we surveyed of part of our Orchard to set 60 trees [.] Ella Howard & her cousin were here in p.m.

**SATURDAY 28**

cold som[e] snow & rain [.] finished setting Orchard trees. John pulled the turnips [.] Polly Von [Vaughan] was here. E[dwin]. M[elancthon]. Haven<sup>118</sup>

**SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1868.**

cool & pleasant [.] Mr. Ricks folk were at meeting

**MONDAY 30**

cold & cloudy [.] Ma washed [.] Father laid up fence [.] U[ncl]. Norris was here [.] My finger is getting better

---

<sup>113</sup> Perhaps sorghum, or perhaps misspelling/misreading for "guns."

<sup>114</sup> Perhaps grating.

<sup>115</sup> Perhaps getting worse (sick).

<sup>116</sup> Trading.

<sup>117</sup> Perhaps the name of the new horse. See entry of Wednesday, December 16, 1868.

<sup>118</sup> Edwin Melancthon Haven signing off on his own diary entry.

*Edition: December 1868.*

**TUESDAY, DECEMBER 1**

cold & pleasant [.] School commenced [.] Father went to Bear Lake. Our Teachers name is Cora Barber. some 3 in[ches]. of snow fell last night

**WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1868.**

cold & cloudy [.] went to school [.] Father drewed some wood. went up to U[n]cle. Norrisses with Doll [.] roads are quite bad

**THURSDAY 3**

cold & cloudy [.] went to school [.] Father & Alvinza Calvin Butchered our hogs (six) [.] Mrs. Vaugh[a]n was here

**FRIDAY 4**

cold & driving wind [.] some snow. went to school [.] Father cutting & packing pork [.] John is not very well

**SATURDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1868.**

warm & some cloudy [.] went to school [.] Father bought 2 cows of A[hira]. Haven<sup>119</sup> for \$30 a piece [.] my finger is getting better

**SUNDAY 6**

cold & cloudy [.] went to meeting as usual

**MONDAY 7**

cold & snowy [.] Drawed up 2 sticks of timber to fix the stable with. went up to the store. Polly Von [Vaughan] was here

**TUESDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1868.**

cold stormy blustering snow storm [.] John went to school [.] I have a hard cold [.] Father fixing the stable for the cows

**WEDNESDAY 9**

cold cloudy [.] John staid at home [.] he was some sick. Father at work in the stable. I went to school

**THURSDAY 10**

cold some snow [.] J[ohn]. & I went to school [.] Father at work at the stable

**FRIDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1868.**

cold snowy & cloudy [.] snow over 2 f[ee]t. deep [.] U[n]cle. Frank was here. Father got the stable most finished [.] I went to school

**SATURDAY 12**

very cold & cloudy [.] Mr. Killheffers store burned to the ground early this morning [.] No school. Father & I helped Mr. Killheffer

**SUNDAY 13**

cold cloudy & some snow [.] Father John & I went to meeting [.] snow 2 or 3 f[ee]t. deep

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<sup>119</sup> Perhaps Ahira Haven (1811-1872), brother of John Haven (who was Edwin Haven's grandfather).

**MONDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1868.**

U[ncl]. Timothy & Father butchered our beef. we melted snow to wash with  
p.m. we washed

**TUESDAY 15**

little warm & pleasant [.] went to school [.] Father helped U[ncl]. Timothy Butcher  
in a.m. We went up to U[ncl]. Norisses in evening

**WEDNESDAY 16**

warm & pleasant [.] Mrs. Lane Timothy & Wallace Cooley & Father went out to  
Paw after the things for the Christmas tree. Doll<sup>120</sup> kicked me on the side of my  
head [.] it slit my ear & made a hole in my head

**THURSDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1868.**

warm pleasant thawy [.] John went to school [.] Father did not do much. my head  
is doing well [.] Emma Ferguson here this morning to see me

**FRIDAY 18**

warm & cloudy [.] Father made some brooms [.] John went to school. Eddie Sutton  
was here [.] my head is better

**SATURDAY 19**

warm & cloudy [.] Father & Mother went to Allegan [.] John went to school [.] Our  
folks got home about 7 o'clock

**SUNDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1868.**

warm & thawy cloudy [.] Father & John went to meeting. Ma & I staid at home

**MONDAY 21**

cold windy snowy [.] Father & Warren Cooley got the Christmas tree. my head is  
getting better

**TUESDAY 22**

cold cloudy & snowy [.] Father down to Uncle Timothys fixing the S[unday]  
S[chool]. presents. John went to school. Denis Cooley & W[illia]m. Vaugh[a]n were  
here in evening

**WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1868.**

cold cloudy & snowy [.] I helped make out the S[unday]. S[chool]. report [.] see  
page 3&4 Memoranda<sup>121</sup> [.] Father helped Ma. wash [.] John went to school [.]  
Father up some wood

**THURSDAY 24**

cold cloudy & snowy [.] Mr. Millers boys were here. Father helped fix the  
Christmas tree. We went to the Christmas tree in the evening. John got a paid a  
bag of candy a picture & a knife [.] I got a knife & diary for 1869

**FRIDAY 25**

Christmas [.] cold & pleasant [.] Father John and I cleaned out the school house [.]  
Aunt Von [Vaughan] Polly & Emma Von [Vaughan] were in evening. had "A  
merry Christmas"

---

<sup>120</sup> Perhaps the new horse, see entries of November 25 and 26, 1868.

<sup>121</sup> See below in this edition of the diary: Memoranda.



**SATURDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1868.**

cold cloudy & little snow [.] Father drew up some wood. got our new sled down to the black smith shop to get it ironed<sup>122</sup>

**SUNDAY 27**

cold & windy [.] we went to meeting [.] Mr. Ricks folks were here. snowed quite hard in evening

**MONDAY 28**

some warm & pleasant most of the time. a little snow [.] Edwin Carriff was here [.] Father helping Daniel Cooley iron our sled

**TUESDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1868.**

little cold & pleasant [.] went to school in p.m. Father helping Dan[iel]. Cooley iron our sled. Polly Von [Vaughan] & Katy Rogers were here in the evening

**WEDNESDAY 30**

little warm & pleasant [.] Father made a box for our new sleigh [.] went to school. went to singing school on the Base Line in evening

**THURSDAY 31**

cold & cloudy [.] John & I went to school [.] Ellen Rick (she taught the school last fall) was her[e]. Father chop[p]ed a little wood [.] we went to a concert in evening

---

<sup>122</sup> Perhaps equipping it with iron runners.

Edition: Memoranda

[page] 1

**The number of times we had preaching 1868**

Date	Name	Denomination
Jan 12 <sup>th</sup>	Mr. Cram	—
Jan 26 <sup>th</sup>	Mr. Horton	Advents
Feb. 16 <sup>th</sup>	Mr. North	Christians
May 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Mr. Buel	Methodist
May 10 <sup>th</sup>	Mr. Rascoe	Baptist <sup>123</sup>
[May] 24 <sup>th</sup>	[Mr. Rascoe]	[Baptist]
June 7 <sup>th</sup>	[Mr. Rascoe]	[Baptist]
[June] 21 <sup>st</sup>	[Mr. Rascoe]	[Baptist]
Aug. 16 <sup>th</sup>	Eld. Rhodes	—

[page] 2 [left blank]

[page] 3

**The No. of verses I learned at Sunday School****The S[unday]. S[chool]. organized**

Apr.	12 <sup>th</sup>		No. verses
[Apr.]	19		22
[Apr.]	26		23
May	3 <sup>rd</sup>		28
[May]	10		35
[May]	17		41
[May]	24		34
[May]	31		25
		Monthly report	208
June	7 <sup>th</sup>		40
[June]	14		37
[June]	21		38
[June]	28		30
		Monthly Report	145
July	5		33
[July]	12		28
[July]	19		30

---

<sup>123</sup> Protestant Christian denomination, established in seventeenth-century England.

[page] 4

Date			No. verses
July	26		26
		Monthly report	117
Aug.	2		22
[Aug.]	9		30
[Aug.]	16		26
[Aug.]	23		Away
[Aug.]	30		From
		Monthly report	78
Sept.	6 <sup>th</sup>		Home
[Sept.]	13		15
[Sept.]	20		47
[Sept.]	27		47
		Monthly Report	109
Oct.	4		45
[Oct.]	11		40
[Oct.]	18		25
[Oct.]	25		23
		Monthly report	133
		Whole No. verses	790
		No. Sundays present	28
		away visiting 3 Sundays	25

[page] 5 [left blank]

[page] 6 [crossed out]

**Account of what I put in my Bags [?]<sup>124</sup>**

[pages] 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. [left blank]

[page] 18

Blessed is the Man that Walketh Not in the Counsel of the ungodly Nor stande[th]  
in the way of sinners Nor Sitteth in the Seat of the Scornful.

[Psalm 1:1/King James Version]

Mary E. Smith<sup>125</sup>

[pages] 19. 20. [left blank]

<sup>124</sup> The dates and numbers on this page have been crossed out. They appear incomplete and inconclusive and have therefore been omitted from this edition.

<sup>125</sup> It appears that Mary E. Smith wrote this Old Testament verse into Edwin Haven's diary.

[page] 21

**No. of mice I caught**

Nov. 24	4	.4
[Nov.] 25	1	.1
[Nov.] 27	1	.1
[Nov.] 28	2	.2
	8	0.8

[page] 22

**Big Fire Dec. 12<sup>th</sup> / [18]68**

Messrs. Killhefer Howard & Barbers Stores were burned to the ground [.] Messrs. Howard & Barbers Stores were empty. Supposed to have been fired by an Incendary. Loss supposed to be betwixt \$2.000 & \$3.000. No insurance

[page] 23

Borrowed of Ma 10 c[en]ts. Nov. 19<sup>th</sup> [.] paid [Nov.] 28<sup>th</sup>

Borrowed of Ma 25 [cents] Dec. 19<sup>th</sup> [.] Paid (see diary for [18]69)

[page] 24

**CASH ACCOUNT**

Date		Received.	Paid.	
Jan. 9 <sup>th</sup>	Emily C. going to store		.01	
Jan. 10 <sup>th</sup>	Denis Cooley for apple		.01	
Jan. 31 <sup>st</sup>	2 slate pencils			.02
Jan. 7 <sup>th</sup>	Ma gave me		.01	
Feb. 2 <sup>nd</sup>	Father gave		.01	
Feb. 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Licorice root			.01
March 12 <sup>th</sup>	onion setts	1	.10	
[March 12 <sup>th</sup> ]	Ma gave me / knife		.10	.75
[March 12 <sup>th</sup> ]	crackers			.10
[March 12 <sup>th</sup> ]	help pay for pants			.25
[March 12 <sup>th</sup> ]	John (my cousin) gave me		.08	
Apr. 8 <sup>th</sup>	John gave me		.06	
Apr. 9 <sup>th</sup>	Father gave me		.01	
May 6 <sup>th</sup>	[Father gave me]		.04	
May 15 <sup>th</sup>	basket			.13
May 17 <sup>th</sup>	Father gave me		.01	
May [17]	gave S[unday]. S[chool].			.03
May 22 <sup>nd</sup>	for Corporal			.10
May 26	Ma gave me		.01	
May 31 <sup>st</sup>	gave S[unday]. S[chool].			.01
June 2 *	U[n]cle. T[imothy]. gave me		.01	

[page] 25

**CASH ACCOUNT**

Date		Received.	Paid.
July 3 <sup>rd</sup>	U[ncl]. S[ilas]. gave me	.05	
[July] 4 <sup>th</sup>	candy raisins		.05
Sept. 10 <sup>th</sup>	A. L. gave me	.05	
[Sept. ] 12 <sup>th</sup>	confectionary		.05
[Sept. ] 12 <sup>th</sup>	Father gave me	.01	
Sept. 15 <sup>th</sup>	Spelling books		.25
Oct 2 <sup>nd</sup>	Father gave me	.01	
Oct 9 <sup>th</sup>	slate pencil		.01
Nov 18 <sup>th</sup>	vinegar	.25	
Nov 18 <sup>th</sup>	carrying "		
	I paid John		.05
[Nov.] 20	Ma gave me	.02	
[Nov.] 20 <sup>th</sup>	regist[ere]d letter		.12
[Nov. 20 <sup>th</sup> ]	postage		.03
[Nov.] 28	catching mice	.08	
[Nov.] 29	1 mouse	.02	
Dec. 7	candy		5
[Dec.] 11	to Geography		.04
[Dec.] 19	things for Geography		.15

[page] 26

**SUMMARY OF CASH ACCOUNT**

	Received.	Paid.
JAN.	.3	.2
FEB.	.01	.01
MAR.	1 .28	1 .10
APR.	.07	
MAY.	.06	.27
JUNE.	.01	
JULY.	.05	.05
AUG.	0 .00	000
SEPT.	.06	.30
OCT.	.01	.01
NOV.	.37	.20
DEC.		.24
	1 .95	2.20

[page] 27

Feb. 3rd thermometer at 13 deg[rees]. below zero.  
 most severe snow storm commenced March 11<sup>th</sup>  
 morning Apr. 5<sup>th</sup> snow 2 inches deep  
 finished planting corn tuesday June 2<sup>nd</sup>  
 Finished hayhing Aug. 13<sup>th</sup>  
 eat supper first time by candle Sept 21<sup>st</sup>  
 Su[n]day school closed Oct. 25 1868  
 Winter school commenced Dec. 1<sup>st</sup>  
 Winter set in Dec. 1<sup>st</sup>

[page] 28

### The number of eggs. we sold this year

Date	c[en]ts per day	no. doz[en].
Feb. 10 <sup>th</sup>	.20	3 ½
Feb. 15 <sup>th</sup>	.20	1 ¼
Feb. 20 <sup>th</sup>	.20	1 ¼
Feb. 27 <sup>th</sup>	.20	1 ½
July 25 <sup>th</sup>	.12 ½	2
	\$1.75	9 ½

[page] 29

Sugared off first time March 23<sup>rd</sup>  
 Apr. 23rd. ground white with snow.  
 Peas in bloom June 20<sup>th</sup>  
 Tomatoes in bloom June.  
 June 30<sup>th</sup> in shade Thermometer 92 deg[rees].  
 July 11 in shade thermometer at 94 deg[rees].  
 July 17<sup>th</sup> in shade thermometer at 98  
 first new potatoes friday July 31<sup>st</sup>  
 first frost Sept 1<sup>st</sup> quite light  
 Dec. 12<sup>th</sup> thermometer at 4 deg[rees].

[page] 30

### Deaths

Old Mr Loomis died April 2<sup>nd</sup> at 5 o'clock P.M.  
 Mr. Sabins Jr. died at 11 o'clock a.m. monday April 20<sup>th</sup>  
 July 14<sup>th</sup> by drowning Miss. Hattie Green A[ge]. 13 y[ea]rs. 10 mon[ths]  
 July 18 Mrs. Ann Carton having had a shock of Paralysis two weeks before  
 At Bear Lake thursday Aug[ust] 6 by drowning John Galager Ag[e]d. 9 or 10  
 y[ea]rs.  
 Sept[ember]. 20<sup>th</sup> about 4 o'clock p.m. Mr. Daniel Stone of old age.  
 Mrs. Celia Phelon at 10 min[utes]. past 12 A.M. in her 22 y[ea]r Nov 11

[page] 31

**Lent Money**

	C[en]ts.
Apr. 15 <sup>th</sup>	.10
[Apr.] 17 <sup>th</sup>	.05
[Apr.] 21 <sup>st</sup>	.03
[Apr.] 24 <sup>th</sup>	.03
[Apr.] 28 <sup>th</sup>	.02
May 4 <sup>th</sup>	.03
[May] 6 <sup>th</sup> rec[eiv]ed first	.26
[May] 11 <sup>th</sup>	.10
May 17 <sup>th</sup> rec[eiv]ed first	.10
July 14 <sup>th</sup>	.02
July 18 <sup>th</sup> rec[eiv]ed first	.02

[page] 32

I set two hens Apr. 29<sup>th</sup>& 1 May 5<sup>th</sup> will hatchfirst 2 May 20<sup>th</sup> other

May 26. Set Lamy,

(pet lame hen) May 23<sup>rd</sup>will hatch June 13<sup>th</sup>

Oct. 13                52 buttons

Oct. 25                64 [buttons]

Nov. 14<sup>th</sup>              67 [buttons]

Dec. 1                 75 [buttons]

Dec 31<sup>st</sup>                88 [buttons],

Borrowed 10 c[en]ts. of Ma. Nov. 16

David Castillo, Andrew M. Coleman-Brown, Sebastian Hoang, and Leslie Ramirez (editors)

*Administrative Frustrations and Linguistic Explorations:  
Panama (1889) and Malaysia (1914) in European Letters*

*Shelfmark*

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).

University Archives and Special Collections (UA&SC).

SC-RF-0-13, Box 1, Folder 25 and Folder 19.

“Panama Letter” (Folder 25),

Gustave Sautereau to Yves Guyot, Minister of Public Works, July 22, 1889.

“Kinabalu Letter” (Folder 19),

Ivor Hugh Norman Evans to Edward Owen Rutter, November 25, 1914.

*Introduction*

The “Panama Letter” (written in French) resides among the Rare Files in the University Archives and Special Collections (UA&SC) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), but it is unknown how and when CSUF acquired it. The letter, which is well preserved, is written in black ink on the first two pages of a bifolium measuring 27.5 x 21 cm when folded. The “Kinabalu Letter” (written in English and containing words in the Austronesian Dusun language) resides in the same box of Rare Files. According to an archival note from November 19, 1970, it was found in a book CSUF’s Pollak Library had “recently bought from Academic Library Service,” namely, Ivor H. N. Evans, *Studies in Religion, Folk-Lore, and Custom in British North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923), which is significant as Evans is also the author of this document. The letter, which is well preserved, is written (one-sided) in black ink on three pages measuring 25 x 20 cm.

Written in Paris, France, on July 22, 1889, by Gustave Sautereau, the director of the “Société Internationale d’Etudes pour l’Achèvement du Canal Interocéanique de Panama” (i.e., the International Society of Studies for the Completion of the Interoceanic Canal of Panama), and addressed to Yves Guyot, the “Ministre des Travaux Publics” (i.e., the French government’s Secretary of Public Works), the “Panama Letter” underscores its author’s efforts with regard to the matter at hand. Sautereau references his proposal for the completion of the Panama Canal (which apparently accompanied the letter, although this particular proposal is not held by the UA&SC), mentions his interventions with a committee of the French Senate, assures the Minister that he and his associates are ready and able to complete the project, and states that abandoning the project would lead to “the irredeemable loss of the prestige of France.”

The “Kinabalu Letter,” written by British anthropologist Ivor Hugh Norman Evans on November 25, 1914, at the Perak Museum in Taiping, Malaysia, and



addressed to British historian Edward Owen Rutter, relates its author's discoveries pertaining to the Dusun language and culture of North Borneo and references correspondence from Father Duxneuney of the Roman Catholic Mission at Putatan (Malaysia), who shares their passion for the Dusun language. Evans discusses several Dusun words, particularly "Kinabalu," the name of Borneo's highest mountain, explains that certain letters in the Dusun language are interchangeable, and provides examples to demonstrate this point. He requests Rutter's assistance to better understand certain Dusun practices, especially death rituals and the meaning of words related to death. He concludes that Father Duxneuney offers a compelling interpretation of the meaning of the word "Kinabalu."

The "Panama Letter" and the "Kinabalu Letter" should interest those studying late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century French, Latin American, British, and Malaysian history, particularly from the perspectives of political science and cultural anthropology. The "Panama Letter" adds to our knowledge of French political history, offers insights into France's political climate at the time, and emphasizes the nation's aspiration to demonstrate global power through achievements in engineering. It also alludes to the financial and political turmoil the project was facing in 1889. The "Kinabalu Letter" provides a window into the intellectual debates on the Dusun language and culture during British rule in Malaysia from the perspectives of British scholars and a Catholic clergy, reflecting the relationship between Indigenous groups and colonial powers. Both documents showcase the imperial interests of two prominent European nations.

The transcriptions below preserve the spelling, capitalization, and line breaks of the original documents. Any additions are enclosed by square brackets. Identifiable individuals, locations, and technical terms have been referenced in the footnotes. The "literal" English translation of the French "Panama Letter" makes every effort to imitate the original document's highly formal tone.

ABOUT THE EDITOR: *David Castillo of Garden Grove, California, earned his B.A. in Asian Studies and Japanese (2019) at California State University, Long Beach (CSULB), and his M.A. in History (2024) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).*

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*The primary-source edition published below originated in the "History and Editing" course offered by CSUF's Department of History*

*Société Internationale d'Etudes*  
*pour l'achèvement*  
*du Canal Interocéanique de Panama*  
3. RUE LOUIS-LE-GRAND  
Paris, le 22 Juillet 1880.

*Le dossier est  
parvenu au  
Ministre*

Monsieur Le Ministre des Travaux Publics  
à Paris.

Monsieur Le Ministre,

J'ai l'honneur de vous adresser,  
en vous priant de vouloir bien en accepter le  
respectueux hommage, les plans, profils, devis  
estimatif etc... de mon projet d'achèvement des  
travaux du Canal de Panama, projet que j'ai eu  
l'honneur de soumettre le 12 Juin dernier à  
Monsieur le Liquidateur de la Compagnie et  
qu'il a communiqué aux Commissions parlementaires  
de la Chambre et du Sénat chargées d'  
élaborer la Loi sur les obligations à être votées à  
mettre.

La plupart des Comités des ports de l'isthme de  
Panama se sont déjà ralliés à ce projet, et vous  
trouverez jointes au dossier, Monsieur le Ministre,  
les résolutions des comités de Toulouse, Lyon,  
Bordeaux, etc... sur lesquels j'ose appeler  
à Monsieur Yves Guichet Ministre des Travaux Publics.

Figure 1: "Panama Letter," page 1, UA&SC, CSUF.



Paraki Museum

Nov 25<sup>th</sup> 1914.

Letter  
237

Dear Rutter

I have been meaning to write to you for a long time about your interesting reply to my letter in the B. N. B. Herald. I have received another reply privately from Fr Duxnerey of Putatan which I am inclined to think has solved the mystery of the name Kinabalu. He agrees with you in saying that the word should be divided thus Ki-na-balu, and also with regard to na being a prefix which often denotes past time. He remarks, however, that the Duoms call the mountain <sup>habaku</sup> Habaku or habaku (in talking among themselves), and he says when he first went to Putatan nobody understood the word Kinabalu. (If you remember I draw attention to this point in my letter.) He also remarks that H or ~~H~~ are interchangeable (e.g; "here we say hamin (house) a few villages higher up it becomes hamin". In the same way mori (to go home) becomes moli. This is well worth noting as it has an important bearing on what follows in his letter. He goes on to tell me that when a person dies, the body is washed, and then taken out of the room and laid on the veranda. Here a kind of hut is built over the body which is covered with very old and costly clothes. This hut is called baku = house of the dead; the clothes themselves are also termed baku and Fr Duxnerey remarks that thus baku comes to get a meaning of pertaining to the dead. Mr Hamilton in his recent

Figure 2: "Kinabalu Letter," page 1, UA&SC, CSUF.

Edition: "Panama Letter,"  
[Gustave] Sautereau to Yves Guyot,  
Paris [France], July 22, 1889

[page 1, left margin/pencil, different hand: *Ce dossier est personnel au Ministre*; printed  
letterhead, date, month, and last two digits of the year inserted in black ink; bottom of  
the page/black ink, different hand: *A Monsieur Yves Guyot Ministre des Travaux Publics.*]

Société Internationale d'Etudes  
pour l'Achèvement  
du Canal Interocéanique de Panama  
3, RUE LOUIS-LE-GRAND

Paris, le 22 Juillet 18 89

A Monsieur Le Ministre des Travaux Publics  
a Paris

Monsieur Le Ministre

*J'ai l'honneur de vous adresser,  
en vous priant de vouloir bien en accepter le  
respectueux hommage, les plan, profils, devis  
estimatif etc... de mon projet d'achèvement des  
travaux du Canal de Panama, projet que j'ai eu  
l'honneur de soumettre le 12 Juin dernier à  
Monsieur le Liquidateur de la Compagnie et  
qu'il a communiqué aux Commissions parlement-  
-aires de la Chambre et du Sénat chargées d'  
élaborer la Loi sur les obligations a lots restant à  
émettre.*

*La plupart des comités des porteurs de titres de  
Panama se sont déjà ralliés a ce projet, et, vous  
trouverez jointes au dossier, Monsieur de Ministre,  
les circulaires des comités de Toulouse, Lyon  
Bordeaux etc.... Sur lesquelles j'ose appeler*

[page 2, bottom of the page/black ink, different hand: author's signature and title, see  
below]

*votre bienveillante attention.*

*La communication du ce projet que  
Monsieur le Liquidateur a faite spontanément  
a la Commission Sénatoriale a suffi pour démontrer  
aux honorables Sénateurs qui avaient perdu  
la confiance dans le succès définitif de*

*l'œuvre de Panama, que cette œuvre était  
réalisable dans des conditions relativement  
faciles; j'espère que son examen attentif vous  
amènera à reconnaître les efforts déjà faits  
pour ramener la confiance parmi les  
intéressés et à vous convaincre que nous sommes  
prêts, mes amis et moi à mettre tout ce  
que nous avons de force, d'énergie et de  
dévouement au service de cette entreprise  
gigantesque dont l'abandon serait à l'  
intérieur, la ruine de notre épargne et à  
l'Étranger, la perte irrémédiable du prestige de  
la France.*

*J'ai l'honneur d'être  
avec un profond respect  
Monsieur le Ministre  
votre très honoré serviteur*

*Le Directeur.  
Sautereau*

*Translation: "Panama Letter,"  
[Gustave] Sautereau to Yves Guyot,  
Paris [France], July 22, 1889*

[page 1, left margin/pencil, different hand: "This file is for the Minister personally";  
printed letterhead, date, month, and last two digits of the year inserted in black ink;  
bottom of the page/black ink, different hand: "To My Lord Yves Guyot, Minister of  
Public Works."]

International Society of Studies  
for the Completion  
of the Interoceanic Canal of Panama<sup>1</sup>  
3, RUE LOUIS-LE-GRAND<sup>2</sup>

Paris,<sup>3</sup> July 22<sup>nd</sup> 18 89

To My Lord Minister of Public Works<sup>4</sup> in Paris

---

<sup>1</sup> Organization est. 1889, with G. Sautereau as director and M. Saléta as deputy director.

<sup>2</sup> Street address in Paris's second arrondissement, near the Palais Garnier (Opéra).

<sup>3</sup> Capital of France.

<sup>4</sup> Yves Guyot (1843–1928), cabinet member of the French government.

My Lord Minister,

I have the honor to send to you – asking you that you would kindly accept it as a respectful service – the plans, profiles, estimated quote, etc. ... of my project for the completion of the labors of the Panama Canal<sup>5</sup> – a project which I had the honor to submit, on the last June 12<sup>th</sup>, to My Lord Liquidator<sup>6</sup> of the Company, and which he presented to the parliamentary commissions of the Chamber and the Senate<sup>7</sup> charged with drawing up the Law concerning the bonds that remain to be issued.

Most of the committees of the titles holders of Panama<sup>8</sup> have already rallied to the project, and you will find attached to the file, My Lord Minister, the circulars of the committees of Toulouse,<sup>9</sup> Lyon,<sup>10</sup> Bordeaux<sup>11</sup> etc. ... to which I presume to call

[page 2, bottom of the page/black ink, different hand: author's signature and title, see below]

your benevolent attention.

The presentation of this project, which My Lord Liquidator made spontaneously to the Senate Commission, was sufficient to show to the honorable Senators, who had lost confidence in the ultimate success of the work in Panama, that this work is achievable under relatively easy conditions. I hope that its attentive examination will cause you to recognize the efforts [that have] already [been] made to restore the confidence among those concerned and to convince you that we – my friends and I – are ready to place everything we have [in terms] of strength, energy, and dedication to the service of this gigantic endeavor, the abandonment of which would be – at home – the ruin of our savings and – abroad – the irredeemable loss of the prestige of France.

I have the honor to be – with profound respect – My Lord Minister, your very honored servant.

The Director.  
Sautereau<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> Waterway connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, built 1904–1914, originally proposed by Ferdinand de Lesseps, builder of the Suez Canal.

<sup>6</sup> Individual appointed to dissolve a company and its assets.

<sup>7</sup> Bicameral parliament of the French Third Republic.

<sup>8</sup> Country linking Central and South America.

<sup>9</sup> City in southwestern France.

<sup>10</sup> City in southeastern France.

<sup>11</sup> City in southwestern France.

<sup>12</sup> French engineer, promoter of the Panama Canal.

Edition: "Kinabalu Letter,"

I[gor]. H[ugh Norman] Evans to [Edward Owen] Rutter,  
Perak Museum [Taiping, Malaysia], November 25, 1914

[page 1, top left/pencil, different hand: Letter 28/7]

Perak Museum<sup>13</sup>

Nov[ember] 25<sup>th</sup> 1914.

Dear Rutter<sup>14</sup>

I have been meaning to write to you for a long time ~~ask~~ about your interesting reply to my letter in the B. N. B Herald.<sup>15</sup> I have received another reply privately from F[athe]r Duxneuney<sup>16</sup> of Putatan<sup>17</sup> which I am inclined to think has solved the mystery of the name Kinabalu.<sup>18</sup> He agrees with you in saying that the word should be divided thus ~~Kin~~ Ki-na-balu, and also with regard to na being a prefix which often denotes past time. He remarks, however, that the Dusuns<sup>19</sup> call the mountain ~~Habalu~~ Nabalul or Kabalu (~~in talking among themselves~~), and he says when he first went to Putatan nobody understood the word Kinabalu. (If you remember I drew attention to this point in my letter.) He also remarks that H & N L are interchangeable (eg; "here we say hamin (house) a few villages higher up it becomes lamin". In the same way mohi (to go home) becomes moli. This is well worth noting as it has an important bearing on what follows in his letter. He goes on to tell me that when a person dies, the body is washed, and then taken out of the room and laid on the verandas.<sup>20</sup> Here a kind of hut is built over the body which is covered with very old and costly cloths. "This hut is called bahu = house of the dead". The clothes themselves are also termed bahu and F[athe]r Duxneuney remarks

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<sup>13</sup> Public museum in Taiping, Malaysia, est. 1883.

<sup>14</sup> Edward Owen Rutter (1889–1944), British historian, travel writer, and novelist.

<sup>15</sup> British North Borneo Herald, government-published periodical (1883–1941).

<sup>16</sup> Member of the Roman Catholic Mission in Putatan, North Borneo.

<sup>17</sup> Municipality in North Borneo.

<sup>18</sup> Mountain in North Borneo, elevation 13,435 feet.

<sup>19</sup> Indigenous ethnic group in North Borneo.

<sup>20</sup> Porch.

that thus bahu comes to get a meaning of pertaining to the dead. Mr. Moulton<sup>21</sup> in his recent

[page 2]

letter to the Herald asks for further information as to whether bahu is used to denote both widow & widower. (1) Can you tell me if it is used for either one or the other by the up country Dusuns, or only by down country people who would have a larger opportunity [*sic*] of adopting Malay words?

(2) Will you enquire whether up country, ~~at~~ at Tuarau<sup>22</sup> or among the plain dwelling Dusuns of the Tempasuk<sup>23</sup> a bahu or balu hut is erected over the dead and whether the word can mean “belonging to the dead”?

The na part of Kinabalu you are both agreed upon so I think we may leave that.

Now for the Ki. F[athe]r Duxneuney considers that this is an abbreviation [*sic*] of the Dusun Kiwâo ~~au~~ = it is, it was, there is. (There seems a little contradiction here if the Dusuns never speak of Kinabalu); he thus translates Kinabalu

= There is place or home pertaining to the dead. He explains the na by saying that it denotes an action as passed but still existing and gives the following examples of its use in conjunction with Ki

1) Matai (I die), Kapalayan (death subst), ~~kuia~~ ki-na -palayan = the continuation of the death of the person. For instance for “one dies now to day he says napatai, (he dies); but to say his death occurred a week ago we use kinapalayan dan san mingo iyohu”.

[page 3]

(2) memekobang (to bury), kobongan a burial, kohobongan a burial ground. “If I want to say mention a burial of some time ago – long passed – I have to twist my tongue to Kinapomohobongan (Ki here means there is – , na denotes the passed time,

---

<sup>21</sup> John Coney Moulton (1886–1926), British military officer and amateur entomologist.

<sup>22</sup> Tuaran, town North Borneo.

<sup>23</sup> Tempasuk, Indigenous ethnic group in North Borneo.



– pomohoban (be made buried) is the passive from memehobang to bury.”

He considers Kinabatangan<sup>24</sup> to be “~~a Dunsunized~~” the Malay word batang “Dusunized”: Ki-na-batang-an, which is I suppose may be roughly translated the place where there is a batang or large river.

I think that he seems to have made out a very good care for his interpretation of Kinabalu, especially the balu. The only ~~pro~~ contradiction is with regard to the Ki ~~which~~ since the Dusuns seem to speak only of kabalu nabalu or Habalu.

Yours sincerely

I[gor]. H[ugh Norman] Evans.<sup>25</sup>

---

<sup>24</sup> Kinabatangan, town in North Borneo.

<sup>25</sup> Ivor Hugh Norman Evans (1885–1957), British anthropologist, ethnographer, archaeologist, and curator (1912–1932) at the Perak Museum in Taiping, Malaysia.

Adam Estes and Mitchell Granger (editors)

*Hollywood "Pret[end]Indian":  
Iron Eyes Cody on and off the Silver Screen (1971)*

*Shelfmark*

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).

The Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History (COPH).

Project: Indigenous.

O.H. 0554.

Oral Interview with Iron Eyes Cody, conducted by Georgia J. Brown,  
April 6, 1971, Los Angeles, California.

*Introduction*

The oral history transcribed below belongs to a collection held in CSUF's Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History (COPH) titled "Indigenous." The interview with Iron Eyes Cody was conducted by Georgia J. Brown on April 6, 1971, in Los Angeles, California. It is 1 hour, 17 minutes, and 41 seconds long, and it is archived as a digital recording/audio file at COPH (see "Copyright Advisory" below). The verbatim transcript edited here was prepared in the fall of 2023 by Adam Estes and Mitchell Granger.

Iron Eyes Cody was born on April 3, 1904, in Kaplan, Louisiana. A Hollywood actor known for portraying various Native American figures from the 1920s through the 1990s, he dedicated most of his life to Native American characters and traditions. His birth name, Espera Oscar de Corti, was given to him by his parents, Antonio de Corti and Francesca Salpietra, immigrants from Sicily. Film historian Angela Aleiss uncovered Cody's previously unknown Italian heritage in an article, "Native Son," published by the *New Orleans Times-Picayune* on May 26, 1996. Despite changing his name to Iron Eyes Cody and assuming a Cherokee and Cree identity, he was, in fact, not of Native American heritage. However, he saw success not only in portraying Native characters in more than two hundred films, television shows, and advertisements, but also in supporting Indigenous cultural traditions and the well-being of Indigenous peoples. At the age of 94, Iron Eyes Cody died on January 4, 1999, in Los Angeles.

In the 1920s, Cody moved to California and began working in Hollywood as a technical advisor and actor, adopting a new Indigenous identity. From shooting a bow and arrow in stunt scenes to playing a variety of Native American chiefs and medicine men, Iron Eyes Cody took on the persona of a Cherokee Indian. In this interview, he recalls working with Disney and as an advisor for the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), and starring in movies such as *A Man Called Horse* (1970) — a personal favorite that he deemed very authentic in its portrayal of Native Americans. Working alongside Hollywood actors such as Gary Cooper, Richard Harris, and Buffy Sainte-Marie, Cody became a mainstay in twentieth-century

Western films. His influence in Hollywood carried on, as he sought to help young Indigenous actors find their way to the big screen. Cody's success in Hollywood encouraged him to become personally invested in Native American culture, particularly in the greater Los Angeles region.

In 1936, Cody married Bertha "Birdie" Parker, an archaeologist of Abenaki and Seneca descent who worked at the Southwest Museum of the American Indian in Los Angeles and is believed to be the first Native American woman to become an archaeologist. The couple later adopted two sons, Robert and Arthur, who were of Native American descent. Both Robert and Arthur participated in Native American culture, attending powwows and entering dance competitions. Cody involved himself in Native American politics, working with the BIA, serving as director of his local Indian Center, and raising money for Indigenous communities. He offers unique insights into both Native American cultural production and Indigenous politics in the twentieth century. In this interview, he discusses the Red Power movement, the occupation of Alcatraz by Native American activists, and the preservation of culture and tradition. He also talks about Native American education and housing, as well as the treatment of alcoholism in Native American communities. Iron Eyes Cody engaged with many political and social issues, becoming more than just a Hollywood actor during his lifetime.

Cody's interview offers insights into the film industry in Hollywood while also highlighting the concerns of Indigenous communities in the greater Los Angeles region during this time period. While his adopted identity raises important concerns about authenticity, cultural appropriation, and representation, Iron Eyes Cody undoubtedly had a significant impact on both the American film industry and Native American communities throughout the nation. This interview describes Cody's efforts to actively help the people he portrayed on the big screen, including sponsoring and emceeding powwows, raising and donating money for toy and food drives, and helping to reunite a young Sioux woman with her dying mother. His discussion centers around the BIA and other government entities, Indigenous representation both locally and nationally, museums and the preservation of Native American artifacts, and countercultural movements of the 1960s and 1970s, all of which contributed to Cody's understanding of Indigenous culture. Iron Eyes Cody's interview is important for researchers interested in twentieth-century Native American history and culture. This interview is especially relevant for those studying representations of Native Americans in film, as well as researchers interested in Indigenous politics in the United States and the preservation of Native American traditions and culture.

Only identifiable individuals, locations, and technical terms have been referenced in the footnotes, usually when they first appear.

ABOUT THE EDITOR: *Adam Estes of Fullerton, California, earned his A.A. in History (2021) at Fullerton College and his B.A. in History (2024) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), where he is a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society).*

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*The primary-source edition published below originated in the "History and Editing" course offered by CSUF's History Department.*

### *Copyright Advisory*

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### *Verbatim Transcript (O.H. 0554)*

LAWRENCE DE GRAAF CENTER FOR ORAL AND PUBLIC HISTORY

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON

NARRATOR: Iron Eyes Cody [IC]

INTERVIEWER: Georgia J. Brown [GB]

DATE: April 6, 1971

LOCATION: Los Angeles, California

PROJECT: Indigenous

TRANSCRIBERS: Adam Estes and Mitchell Granger

GB: (pages being shuffled) This is an interview with Mr. Iron Eyes Cody, interviewee, and Georgia J. Brown, interviewer. The date is April 6, 1971, and we are at Mr. Cody's home, 2013 Griffith Park Avenue, Los Angeles. Uh, thank you, Mr. Cody, for letting me talk to you today. Now, could you tell me a little bit about yourself?

IC: First place, let me, uh, tell you what I (pauses) do, uh. My name is Iron Eyes Cody. I am a Cherokee Indian.<sup>1</sup> I'm married to a Seneca girl.<sup>2</sup> She's daughter of one of the, (pauses) greatest Indians (pauses) in America at one time. Her uncle was the great – the great, great, great, great uncle was – uh, General Ely Parker<sup>3</sup> (pauses) the chief of the Iroquois<sup>4</sup> at that time and then

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<sup>1</sup> Indigenous peoples of the Southeastern United States, originating in present-day North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama.

<sup>2</sup> Indigenous group of the Northeastern United States and Southeastern Canada.

<sup>3</sup> Ely S. Parker (1828–1895), Army officer, engineer, and tribal diplomat.

<sup>4</sup> Larger Indigenous group in the Northeastern United States, a.k.a. the Six Nations.

the Civil War.<sup>5</sup> He was an educated Indian, he studied law, but, but he didn't have a chance to practice his law, and then he became an engineer. Now, that's on my wife's side. So, there's big leaders in, among my wife's people, among the women, big leaders, the Iroquois they were that way. And, uh, General Ely Parker became (pauses) a sec – secretary general to General Grant.<sup>6</sup> After the Civil War, Grant (pauses) made him Commissioner of Indian Affairs.<sup>7</sup> He was the first Indian to become, become the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Since then, we had, uh, Mr. Bennett, Robert Bennett,<sup>8</sup> very (pauses) nice fellow and a good commissioner. He was, uh, of the same Iroquois, he was an Oneida.<sup>9</sup> Now we have a guy named Bruce.<sup>10</sup> He's, uh, Sioux<sup>11</sup> and Mohawk,<sup>12</sup> and he's done very well. Surprising what these Indian people can do (pauses) tied up in politics (chuckles). Well, I'm not tied up in politics, I'm here in the movies. I started in the movies as a technical advisor, a bow-and-arrow expert shooting arrows into actors and what have you. In '47, DeMille<sup>13</sup> made an actor out of me in a picture called *Unconquered*,<sup>14</sup> where I faced Boris Karloff<sup>15</sup> and Gary Cooper<sup>16</sup> for the show –

GB: – (inaudible) –

IC: – I mean, uh, Gary Cooper and, uh, Paulette Goddard.<sup>17</sup> I was Boris Karloff's right-hand man. I was his second chief in that (dishes clatter). Since then, I've become a pretty big actor, and I co-starred in the last three pictures, last three pictures, uh, and they are showing now in the theaters. And, uh, one I like very much – it's very authentic – *A Man Called Horse*.<sup>18</sup> We used about a hundred Sioux between men, women, and children. We went to Mexico, and we used all them Indian (dishes clatter), Panamanian

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<sup>5</sup> Military conflict between the Northern and Southern states (1861–1865).

<sup>6</sup> Ulysses S. Grant (1822–1885), leader of the Union Army and 18<sup>th</sup> U.S. president (1869–1877).

<sup>7</sup> Director of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

<sup>8</sup> Robert L. Bennet (1912–2002), member of the Oneida Indigenous group and the second Indian to serve as Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

<sup>9</sup> Indigenous peoples originating in Verona, New York.

<sup>10</sup> Louis R. Bruce (1906–1989), Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1969–1973).

<sup>11</sup> Indigenous peoples originating in present-day Minnesota and Wisconsin. Two linguistic divisions separate the Dakota and Lakota peoples within the group.

<sup>12</sup> Indigenous group originating in southeastern Canada and northern New York State.

<sup>13</sup> Cecil B. DeMille (1881–1959), American filmmaker.

<sup>14</sup> Adventure film, depicting struggles between American colonists and Native Americans.

<sup>15</sup> William Henry Pratt (1887–1969), a.k.a. Boris Karloff, English actor.

<sup>16</sup> Gary Cooper (1901–1961), American actor.

<sup>17</sup> Paulette Goddard (1910–1990), American actress.

<sup>18</sup> 1970 Western film, depicting an English aristocrat captured by the Sioux peoples.

Indian,<sup>19</sup> Otomi Indian,<sup>20</sup> and, and, uh, Sakowin Indians<sup>21</sup> up there. So, when you made them up, they look just like the rest of us. Well, I played the Medicine Man<sup>22</sup> in there, where I treated Richard Harris,<sup>23</sup> the main star – pretty rough through the picture – then he wants to go through the Sun Vow.<sup>24</sup> Now, that Sun Vow is very authentic (dishes clatter). And it's, and, uh, Mandan<sup>25</sup> Sun Vow, not a Sioux Sun Vow. And I know the songs, so the song that I sang in there are Sioux songs, as they use today in the Sun Dance (imitates singing). Funny thing in *A Man Called Horse* is at the end of the picture.

GB: Uh-huh.

IC: We *still* sing that. I go up to the Sun Dance every once in a while. Last year I participated in the Sun Dance, my son (pauses) sang in the Sun Dance, I was the altar man, the pipe receiver and giver. And, uh, Robert Cody,<sup>26</sup> my oldest son, he, he was one of the singers. So, I had to join the singers between certain things, and we sang the song that you hear in *A Man Called Horse* in these Sun Dances, so it's an authentic song. The idea of the movies with me, I don't think the Indians are portrayed right. I have refused new roles on account of that, I have. I have refused to go to Spain, Rome,<sup>27</sup> and all those countries, because they, they portray the Indian wrong, because they don't understand. Same with a lot of producers here, they don't understand. But when I was a technical advisor, I straightened these people out. I was under contract at, uh, Disney<sup>28</sup> for three and half years, verbal left for a year as, uh, an advisor on Indian affairs, songs, languages and everything, dances, and an actor. Walt wanted everything authentic (coughing). Because he saw me on TV with Tim McCoy,<sup>29</sup> we had a show (pauses) from, uh, '49, '50, '51, and '52, a live show.<sup>30</sup> Everything we did on that show with Tim McCoy and Iron Eyes, we had a bunch of women on there, we had children, we had, uh, men dancers. We portrayed the different chiefs of all over the America – I have portrayed them – in this TV show, on these live shows –

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<sup>19</sup> Collective of Indigenous groups belonging to the Panama region of Central America.

<sup>20</sup> Indigenous peoples originating in the central Mexico Plateau region.

<sup>21</sup> Term referring to the whole Sioux Indigenous group.

<sup>22</sup> Traditional healer and spiritual leader of Indigenous groups of the Americas.

<sup>23</sup> Richard St John Francis Harris (1930–2022), Irish actor.

<sup>24</sup> Ceremony practiced by Indigenous peoples, a.k.a. the Sun Dance.

<sup>25</sup> Indigenous group originating in present-day North Dakota.

<sup>26</sup> Robert “Tree” Cody (1951–2023), Native American flute player.

<sup>27</sup> Capital city of Italy.

<sup>28</sup> American entertainment company, founded in 1923 by Walt Disney.

<sup>29</sup> Timothy John Fitzgerald McCoy (1891–1978), American actor.

<sup>30</sup> Presumably *The Tim McCoy Show*, historical American TV series directed toward children.

GB: –I saw that. –

IC: –for more than four years. The women with the ceremonial dances, they were authentic; we rehearsed, and we researched. And my wife<sup>31</sup> was with the Southwest Museum.<sup>32</sup> Before that, as an assistant archaeologist, and she knew all about the Indians that she wrote of at the Southwest. So when Tim McCoy and I got stuck about the Southwest ceremonials and everything, she was the one that wrote it down for us.

GB: Uh-huh.

IC: We memorized it, so it was a memory show, an adlib show, you know? Well, I got interested, and I went to the Southwest, uh, many years for the Snake Dance,<sup>33</sup> and the, uh, and the, uh, the Coming-Out Dance,<sup>34</sup> the Kachina Dance, and the, uh, Plume Dance,<sup>35</sup> and those dances. And I go every year. So, what I write about today –and I wrote a column for a newspaper in San Diego for a year –I wrote ceremonials. They said it was too drab and not enough light. See, the people don't understand the Indian way. Something they don't appreciate –these ceremonial things –what takes so long you know, it drags and drags –anyway sign up for these things at the reservation same with the Sun Dance. They pray at the pole for fifteen minutes, that medicine man. Uh, an old medicine man named Andrew Fools Crow.<sup>36</sup> He adopted me into the Yuwipi tribe in 1948, I'm a Yuwipian.<sup>37</sup> I go to these medicine ceremonies there (dishes clatter). I understand what he's saying at that pole for fifteen minutes, I know what he's talking about –why, what the reason and everything –because I've helped cut that tree, put it up and everything, the way they did in the old days (pauses). And my son and I, we know these things. A lot of people don't understand these things. This is why they say, write a book. And make a lot of, uh, blood and thunder in it (dishes clatter). I don't. I wrote a book in France –published in France in nine languages –called *American Indian Stories and Religions* (dishes clatter).<sup>38</sup> You know why I couldn't get that book published in this country? It's too dry.

GB: Uh-huh.

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<sup>31</sup> Bertha "Birdie" Pallan Thurston Cody (1907–1978), archaeologist at the Southwest Museum.

<sup>32</sup> Museum, opened in Los Angeles in 1914, primarily handling Native American artifacts.

<sup>33</sup> Ceremony of the Hopi Indigenous people in Arizona, a.k.a. one of the Kachina Dances.

<sup>34</sup> Referring to the Hopi Coming-Out Song.

<sup>35</sup> Referring to feathers used during Indigenous ceremonies and dances.

<sup>36</sup> Andrew "Frank" Fools Crow (1890?–1989), Medicine Man and spokesperson for the Oglala-Lakota Indigenous tribe. See [online](#).

<sup>37</sup> Presumably referring to the traditional healing ceremony of the Lakota people.

<sup>38</sup> Unknown book.

- IC: Matter of fact I was even gonna to give it to the Boy Scouts of America<sup>39</sup> like the first sign talk book that I wrote in '48 called, *Sign Talk in Pictures*.<sup>40</sup> I wrote that for the Boy Scouts of America because I've been eighteen years or more with the Boy Scouts of America, teaching them all the Indian law and everything. My two boys grew up in scouting and everything (birds chirping). Well, finally I got a book published here that did very well. Uh, the second book I wrote about an Indian, a man that married an Indian woman, a great artist, who painted these pictures, Sioux woman (pauses) called The *Little White Chieftain*.<sup>41</sup> I knew all the people he knew, I went over and visited these people, all these Sioux, North Dakota Sioux, South Dakota Sioux. I learned a lot of my stuff when I was a young man. Now when it comes up to, um, telling you about religion. We have as much tradition and religion right here in Los Angeles, greater Los Angeles, than they have in many, many reservations. I'll tell you why. Many old timers like myself, we raised our children from little babies to dance, do all type of dancing, songs. My oldest son he's a champion dancer, he won the championship in South Dakota, he won it in Oklahoma, he won it around here, he's a champion dancer. My youngest son is, is a good dancer. He's never won any championship, but he has won first around here and second and things like that.
- GB: What are their names? Your sons' names?
- IC: Huh?
- GB: What are your sons' names?
- GB: My oldest son is Robert Cody. Matter of fact, uh, he went to Bacone Indian School,<sup>42</sup> uh, college. Uh, up there in Muskogee, Oklahoma,<sup>43</sup> where I was born. And, uh, he finished his junior college there. And while he was there he taught Indian singing and Indian dancing. Then he got a scholarship. When he finished there, he went to Fort Lewis College,<sup>44</sup> and he's going to Fort Lewis College now as a basketball player; he's six foot nine.
- GB: Oh gracious.
- IC: While he's there—it's near the Navajo<sup>45</sup> reservation<sup>46</sup>—and he's, he's been going with a (pauses) Pueblo<sup>47</sup> girl from Laguna<sup>48</sup> (pauses) for a long time.

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<sup>39</sup> American youth organization, founded in 1910.

<sup>40</sup> Iron Eyes Cody and Mary Ellen Pickles, *How: Sign Talk in Pictures* (1952).

<sup>41</sup> Clarence A. Ellsworth and Iron Eyes Cody, *Little White Chieftain* (1963).

<sup>42</sup> Private college in Muskogee, Oklahoma.

<sup>43</sup> City on the Arkansas River.

<sup>44</sup> College in Durango, Colorado.

<sup>45</sup> Indigenous community originating in Arizona, Utah and New Mexico.

<sup>46</sup> Presumably the Southern Ute Reservation in southwestern Colorado.

<sup>47</sup> Several Indigenous groups originating in present-day New Mexico, Arizona and Texas.

<sup>48</sup> Laguna Pueblo in western New Mexico near Albuquerque.



And she's very traditional—they're very traditional people—and they realized Robert is the same way. So, he is doing the same thing at Fort Lewis, (pauses) and he's taken up PE, and he's taken up anthropology. At the present moment, the BIA<sup>49</sup> picked out, I think, uh, three or four children—boys and girls, not children—from this college and sent them to England. Now that's the BIA. A lot of people say the BIA doesn't do this (squeaking) and that. I know that we Indians know that the BIA hasn't helped a hundred percent. Because they are allowed so much money to do things like that, and this is what we don't understand. So, they have to hold their jobs, they won't cut corners and get themselves in trouble, you know? But they run the BIA. Because all governments, uh, presidents, don't allow too much money, and we have a lot of money in Washington<sup>50</sup> that belongs to the Indians. Millions and millions of dollars but still it's not what's allotted to these people, very small. The Sioux Indians on the reservation up there—my Yuwipi brother Andrew Fools Crow—he has horses, and he lets people lease his land there at ten dollars a head for cattle and horses. Do you think he gets this money? No, it goes to the agency. He loads it off to this man. And he's up—in his seventy-five or seventy-six years old. This isn't fair; I don't think it's fair. And I blame the BIA for this.

[00:10:35]

IC: BIA relocates people (pauses) and a lot of them, uh, relocated here but they don't know what it's all about. They get in this big city, and they get lost. The BIA put them on the job, and then they, they train them here a little bit, and they train them on the reservation a little bit—not as much as they should on these reservations—they train them all before they come to the big city. That's why they involve us Indians. So anyway, the BIA, here for me, has been very good. They've made a few mistakes; we all make mistakes. Mr. Mahony is a hard-working man here. I'm not saying that because the BIA gave my son, uh, uh, his trip paid for thirty-two days to go to England and meet the queen and the princess and dance for them and all this and that. These kids—I'm telling it from my heart—what I think. A lot of Indians says, well, the BIA is alright. But I'm gonna say it, no it's not alright. We live in cheap houses and all that. Some of them live in very good places. And the BIA explained one thing to me—why some of these Indians are living in smaller, cheaper places—they are paid so much to live in apartments. And one occasion where there was an Indian girl was relocated here—a Sioux girl—and her mother was dying of cancer, and they called me up from the reservation to get in touch with her, to get that girl over there within a week her mother's gonna to die. My wife called the BIA—I

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<sup>49</sup> Bureau of Indian Affairs, U.S. Federal Agency, founded in 1824.

<sup>50</sup> Presumably referring to Washington D.C., capital of the United States.

was making a movie over at Universal<sup>51</sup>—I was costarring on a movie called<sup>52</sup>—*A Man Named Charley*—with Dan Blocker<sup>53</sup> and I didn't have much time to talk to the BIA. My wife, Birdie, she talked to the BIA. They says, We don't know where she is, uh, she was relocated here. Evidently she changed and went in with some other girls into an apartment. She—they do this to save money, these Indian people. Now, this is what the BIA told me, and I didn't believe them. They did lie. This girl was hard to chase down. We got in touch with some Indian people through our powwow<sup>54</sup>—The Little Bighorn Indian Association<sup>55</sup> which I'm vice president of—said, Yes we know where this girl is. She's someway up north. Either San Francisco<sup>56</sup> or San Jose.<sup>57</sup> Now, I called up there in San Francisco, and they said they didn't know anything about her. To our Indian Center here, which I'm board of director of, they didn't know anything about her. You see, the Indian Center and the BIA just didn't work together like they should. They should know as many Indians—the Indian Center what's going on and the BIA should know as many Indians that's going to the Indian Center for help—whether taking help from them or drop the, the BIA—and you're supposed to let them know where you are so they can send a check to you. Because if you lose a job (cough) two or three times that's the BIA gonna be able to dis—discuss it with you. But they are gonna try to keep you going, and they're doing it, in many ways. Uh, as I say, the Indians here are not satisfied, the biggest majority of Indians they are not satisfied, but why? Because we have more than sixty thousand Indians in greater Los Angeles. But they have been relocated here close to forty-five thousand. If you talk to some relocated Indians the biggest majority of them have homes here, they've gone through their four-year period, going to college and everything, nice homes, (inaudible) homes. You can't say anything against the BIA.

GB: Are these Indians—that you say are relocated—are they all relocated by the BIA or are they self-relocated?

IC: Oh, they're all relocated by the BIA. Now the Indian Center and the BIA are having a little feud (pauses) about certain things. I don't know too much about it and, uh, we were, we had a man here by the name of Ernie

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<sup>51</sup> American film studio, founded in 1912.

<sup>52</sup> Presumably *The Cockeyed Cowboys of Calico County*, 1970 American Western film.

<sup>53</sup> Bobby Dan Davis Blocker (1928–1972), American actor.

<sup>54</sup> Traditional Indigenous celebration consisting of dancing and socializing.

<sup>55</sup> Unknown association.

<sup>56</sup> City in Northern California's Bay Area.

<sup>57</sup> City in Silicon Valley, California.

Stevens.<sup>58</sup> And Ernie—to me is a good man—he was our director of our Indian Center. I wasn't a board of director at that time, I was just one of the representatives raising money for the Indigenous center through the motion pictures people. So, all these big actors that I work with, you know, donate money, or take the talking lead and things like that. But you have to work together. You don't pull together—like Mr. Mahony says to me—tell the BIA when they have people, uh, they don't have enough jobs for them at the Indian Center, we have Indians here that need jobs. So if we have too many jobs, call the BIA and we will exchange. But they didn't do this at the Indian Center. I brought this up in front of the consult, listen, this doesn't work. This is wrong. This is absolutely wrong—

GB: —Who's the head of the Indian Center now? Is it Mr. Vasquez?<sup>59</sup>—

IC: Huh?

GB: Who's the head of the center of the Indian? Is it Mr. Vasquez?

IC: Uh. Joe Vasquez.

GB: Uh-huh.

IC: It's not his fault (pauses) really. It's about certain people that resents the BIA. Now, that's on the board, not too many of them. And they says, uh, Well, let the BIA run their own business. Now, they're back as friends again. They all talk well, the BIA is doing this now, doing that. Because we getting these grants—it's all coming out of the BIA—this money (pauses) that's coming to the Los Angeles Indian Center. To Washington, Ernie Stevens is in Washington. He's in Arizona—representing the Indians up there, northern California—and I say, "He's the director of our Indian Center, you know." And then they took him from there and put him in Washington. Well, he's getting in a little hot water up there where he wants to resign. But the biggest majority of Indians don't want him to resign. We all don't want him to resign. We think he's a good man, well-educated Oneida Indian. But he's, he's getting disgusted with a lot of things, and he, he wants to resign. But I heard at the last meeting we had at the Indian Center there he hadn't resigned yet. But he wants to resign. So there's some pressure for him not to resign. And there's pressure for him to resign. But so far we hope that he doesn't resign. He said some things about it. He said, "I don't know. You, when you get into politics you hurt people, you know that." So we have here a good majority of Indians—that belongs to the BIA—that's got homes here, that bought their own homes through the work, that they learned their trades here. Of course now a lot of Indians are out of work but

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<sup>58</sup> Ernie E. Stevens Sr. (1926–2017), Native American rights activist, executive of the Los Angeles Indian Center. See [online](#).

<sup>59</sup> Joseph C. "Lone Eagle" Vasquez (1917–1995), president of the Los Angeles Indian Center.

- a lot of other people are out of work. So, I know (pauses) Little Big Horn has their powwow first Saturday of every month at Eagle Rock<sup>60</sup> –
- GB: – Uh-huh. –
- IC: – the big round (dishes clatter) building there. We just had one on the third. Big crowd up there. What do we do at these powwows? We keep up tradition. From the little children to old folks up there – make their outfits – they’re there to learn singing and dancing. We have, uh, Oklahoma drummers and Plains Indians<sup>61</sup> or Sioux drummers or Plains Indians drummers. Could be any tribe – Blackfoot,<sup>62</sup> Crow,<sup>63</sup> Cheyenne,<sup>64</sup> Sioux – all mixed up we call them the northern drummers, you know. Now, the other night, Jacob White Bear’s son was in Vietnam<sup>65</sup> – finished his term in Vietnam – came down here in a car, got into an accident, he was killed. We gave a ceremonial thing the other night. Special song for him we called up the drummer with the Black (pauses) Claw.<sup>66</sup> Playing with the drum – Black Claw thing, with the drum, uh, Black Claw drum – played a special song for him. Make everybody rise. Indians know when they have a flag song, they arise. White people, we have to tell them. I’m the emcee at the ceremony with the Little Big Horn – I said, “Everybody rise, remove your hats please.” When that was done, the lead dancer, all of them take the people around (pauses) in honor of the mother and father that’s there. Jacob White Bear was there and Mrs. White Bear was there. We had a Blanket Dance (pauses) for this boy that was killed. Because the family had to take him back to North Dakota to bury him, and that’s a very big expense. So all these powwows – when somebody is in trouble or somebody needs something – we just have a big Blanket Dance. Now, the Indian Center, they have groceries there. They have clothing there. People donate. Uh, not all the time. About, uh, before Christmas, Joe Vasquez and Jim White Cloud – the vice president of the Indian Center – went to Washington. They left me in charge of the Indian Center. I went on TV, radio, and asked people to send clothing and toys, we need them. For these children. So, a man popped up and says, What about some money? Well, I’ll tell him, well, send a dollar bill in an envelope to the Indian Center, and we will be glad to receive it, you know. We can buy toys with it or buy groceries with it. Now, I went on the radio, the same thing. At least two or three times on radio, and the same TV, two or three times, uh, and just say, We wanna talk. Send whatever you

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<sup>60</sup> Presumably the eponymous neighborhood in Northeast Los Angeles.

<sup>61</sup> Collective term referencing Indigenous communities in the Interior Plains of North America.

<sup>62</sup> Indigenous group originally living in present-day Alberta, Canada, and Montana.

<sup>63</sup> Indigenous group originating in Montana and a part of the Plains Indians.

<sup>64</sup> Indigenous peoples in Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota.

<sup>65</sup> Vietnam War (1955–1975).

<sup>66</sup> Presumably the Bear Claw Singers, a Native American dance and song artist group.

can give us, you know. It poured in, you should be surprised. We usually have our big Indian Center, uh, Christmas party at, uh, Eighth and Grand at that big, uh, hall up there. We didn't have enough money to go in there and pay; we had about a hundred and fifty dollars. So, we had our Christmas (squeaking) thing right there at the Indian Center. We received so many toys—there was a lady that became the chairman, uh, this is, uh, this is, uh, Mrs. — Ted Bowls' wife, Mary Bowls—that we gave two parties, uh, Christmas parties. The toys came into the Indian Center, uh, Marie and all of these people from the Walker House<sup>67</sup> came over and hauled these toys over there. Took 'em down to Topanga Park<sup>68</sup> three or four days before the Indian Center party and had a lot of people there and gave them toys about—maybe close to a thousand. Good folk—

GB: —Uh-huh.—

IC: —people donate you know.

[00:20:14]

IC: So on the twenty fourth the same thing happened at the Indian Center. There were so many toys we packed some. Just keep coming in even after the Walker house brought all those toys and gave them over to the other place. Toys just kept coming in and food just kept coming in. We had sixteen hundred and twenty children receive toys at the Indian Center on the twenty fourth. Four hundred and eighty some baskets of food and turkeys and hams gave to these Indians that are unemployed. Or you don't have to be unemployed that's what the Indian Center is there for (pauses) to help all the Indians. The Indian Center is really, is, it's for the Indians. So now, uh, they're gone to Washington to get this big grant. So, this grant has to come through the BIA. So, you can't fight the BIA. If you wanna be successful with the Indian people here, you're gonna have to work with them. But there's a UIDA<sup>69</sup> corporation here that organizes—to teach Indians trade—so far, they've had, I think, eight people they put in business, UIDA. I think Joe Vasquez, uh, originated this UIDA. But, uh, there's a fellow named, uh, Little Beaver, he's the president of UIDA. They, they went to Washington and we see so much funds to help relocated people now. Besides the, uh, BIA here. I don't know whether the BIA liked this or not by splitting it, you know. And, uh, it's working well. We are all hoping to get this, but we have to move in a big building. Where they're gonna have offices—whether it be different clubs that represent themselves there, you know, have an office there—have a gym, you know, for the, place there for the kids with books and things like that. Our Indian Center isn't

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<sup>67</sup> Perhaps the historic San Dimas Hotel, built in 1887, purchased by James W. Walker in 1889.

<sup>68</sup> California state park in the Santa Monica Mountains.

<sup>69</sup> United Indian Development Association, founded in 1969.

that big yet, so we have to move. So, all we've been talking about at all our meetings lately is this grant. So, a lot of Indians are—according to what I hear at these meetings—are fighting this grant. They say, Why can't we get it? Why should the Indian Center get it? The Indian Center has been here since 1935. It's the oldest Indian Center in existence in America. I didn't know that until they went to Washington before Christmas and come back with that in black and white.

GB: Uh-huh.

IC: But I was there when they organized the Indian Center and opened up the Indian Center up there on Beverly Boulevard, I was there. It was the Quakers.<sup>70</sup> The Quakers are the, have that building. So, it's been running very small with little donations, you know. It's all the Indians have been running, by donations. Joe Vasquez has put in many years. When the Indian Center went broke, he took the Indian Center and put it in his garage, in his home, and ran it with a phone and paid these bills and everything. Joe Vasquez. A lot of people knock Joe Vasquez. He's done very, very well for a lot of people here. And a lot of people like him, a lot of people don't like him. But they don't know what he went through. A few of them know this, you know. Now, they all go to all these powwows. Different tribes, they get together (pauses) with more social and culture and tradition at all these powwows than you can imagine.

GB: —Uh-huh.—

IC: They're not there just for—they say, Let's go Indian dance—it means a lot, these powwows. Many fail the second week, the American Indian tribal banter the third week, the, uh, gun right chiefs, uh—

GB: Uh-huh.

IC: —moved into Orange County,<sup>71</sup> you know. These are all traditional things (cough). And we work it by tradition. So, as I say, I can help my people because now I am considered a big actor. I get big money. I costar and this. Now if I go to Europe and make movies, I straighten them out in Europe. Because when I went on my first picture—I refused for te—ten years to go over there—I refused, you ought to keep my work here in America or we were gonna ruin our motion picture industry, you know. I said to the producer, (pauses) I will go—if you send me on a boat, I don't like to fly—but I wanna be technical advisor on that picture besides playing this third lead in that picture of Santana,<sup>72</sup> that Apache.<sup>73</sup> Got this language all translated up, learned it, and, uh, there is an Apache Indian in Europe that I can get, hire him and standby if I make a mistake. There was a time,

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<sup>70</sup> Christian denomination, founded in seventeenth-century England.

<sup>71</sup> Presumably the Acjachemen Indigenous group in California.

<sup>72</sup> Iron Eye's role in the 1970 American Western film *El Condor*.

<sup>73</sup> Indigenous group in parts of Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and Colorado.

Alright that's good, we are glad to do that. But this is an American company going to Europe to make a picture. *National Jungle*,<sup>74</sup> a big movie, ten dol—ten-million-dollar movie that built big sets that would have cost a half a million dollars. Well, we didn't use (engine noises) too many Indians. We have about three Indians in Europe that we use. Kyle (inaudible) (coughing) that played my sub-chief. There's, uh, an (squeak) Apache woman that, uh, played a woman in there, very good. She can't speak Apache though, but she's married to an Italian guy in Rome. There's, uh, an Apache man that speaks Apache, married to a Moroccan woman up in, uh, Tangiers, Morocco,<sup>75</sup> because I had to go all the way to Tangiers, Morocco to get this man. I was glad to go, take the boat and go see Morocco. And, uh, there is a half Brazilian living in Melilla, North Africa,<sup>76</sup> which you have to go to Melilla, North Africa, uh, to get to Morocco (inaudible). So, I'd say about six Indians, Indians in pictures (inaudible). They're dark, they look like Indians—

GB: —Uh-huh.—

IC: —and they say, We're Indians, we're just like you are. Maybe so, you know. But I says, uh, We should use more American Indians, why would we go to Europe? And, and, uh, they cut the budget down and—but we need an authentic picture. We come back here, (pauses) we made *Man Called Horse* and all that. We used many Indians in that. We used all these singers—the northern singers, the Sioux singers, and that drum—did you see the picture?

GB: No.

IC: Oh, it's a beautiful picture; it's good. Beat looking horse with our head—

GB: —I know the story.—

IC: —tough time he's going back to the reservation, Howard and all those fellows. Made the recording here. But we made all the picture in Mexico you know. But you have Indians there. They call themselves Mexican Indian.<sup>77</sup> Which is true. They can't even speak Mexican<sup>78</sup> (engine noises). Those, uh, Huichol can't even speak Mexican. They don't associate with Mexicans. Because I've gone out six times to Mexico and made pictures we used in Huichol. And they don't hardly speak to you because they can't speak Mexican (inaudible) (engine noises). And, uh, here, you have a chance to go—pretty well authentic here—if you can produ—uh, would be true to the producer—you gotta (squeaking) convince him you know. He would say that's too drab that's too slow. Producers like in *A Man Called*

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<sup>74</sup> Unknown movie.

<sup>75</sup> Moroccan port on the Strait of Gibraltar.

<sup>76</sup> Autonomous city of Spain on the North African coast, bordering Morocco.

<sup>77</sup> Indigenous peoples of Mexico.

<sup>78</sup> Presumably referring to the Spanish language.

*Horse*. They wanted me to go (imitates noise), you know. I didn't do that. When I put them eagle claws in Richard Harris's chest, I did it very, uh, proud like a medicine man would. Put the bone, took the eagle claws out, put the bone, and hang him up, have his visions, sang this song, and everything. Patrol these Indians and things like that. This is what – the true way of doing it. But the average TV, they get these white people that have played medicine man and they go (imitates singing) and all that pigeon and, and it's (coughing), it's really silly, you know. So we have honored young Indians here that's coming up, that is taking up acting.

GB: I was going to ask you what about – is it Buffy Sainte-Marie<sup>79</sup> that refused to make the picture unless all the Indians, the extras –

IC: – Yeah it was, uh, uh, a TV thing (pauses) in Virginia. And Buffy is very sincere, very, very sincere girl. And she got as many as she could. But you see there's a union here, a deal. And you can't use all Indians, it, it's discrimination (engine noises). So, but she got the biggest majority of the I'll tell you that –

GB: – do you think this is a good way to do it? The way she did it?

IC: That's the way I'm doing it, I'm fighting it. The last two pictures I went on, the last, uh, *Bonanza*,<sup>80</sup> I did. I did. All the Indians are gonna ride with me. It was only the Indians that was riding as Winnemucca<sup>81</sup> – I'm playing this chief of Winnemucca of Nevada<sup>82</sup> you know (inaudible) and I riding together, I want only Indians, and they better, just like she did, and this is a little (inaudible). Or to Tucson<sup>83</sup> I made one (background noises), only Indians, so they used – I'll put the Indians here and then (inaudible) I'll put those over there. You have to fight for it, (pauses) and if you stick to your guns like she did, you can do it. Now, I made another one with, uh, Buffy Sainte-Marie of Bronson. Going up into Colorado. And Buffy Sainte-Marie sang beautiful songs in it and she (coughing) just – or the Indian actors in it. But they put a Hawaiian in there as an Indian actor, and he resented that. He resented it very much. There was a young Indian, had his first part – playing in there – and his name is Naranga, part Blackfoot Indian, part Spanish. Very good. Today he's gonna be a great young Indian actor coming up. He is one, but he's had some very good roles in TV. He's gonna be your next man. And we need more, as I say, we have a lotta Indians training here now. They go to Columbia Studio,<sup>84</sup> they go to different acting schools. And they have this experience. Only thing now is, we gotta get 'em

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<sup>79</sup> Buffy Sainte-Marie (1941–), American musician, actress, and social activist.

<sup>80</sup> American Western TV series (1959–1973).

<sup>81</sup> Winnemucca (c. 1820–1882), Paiute leader and war chief.

<sup>82</sup> City in Humboldt County, Nevada.

<sup>83</sup> City in Pima County, Arizona.

<sup>84</sup> Columbia Pictures, American film production and distribution company, founded in 1924.



in. Gotta get 'em in the guild.<sup>85</sup> If you can't get 'em in the guild, that's just too bad. So, I have—I've had four so far, I've talked up to get in the guild. Two fellas from Arizona that's down here. Uh, one Oklahoma Indian, little Indian who came down here from Oklahoma.

[00:30:00]

IC: And, uh, and an old lady. And this old lady actor is a technical advisor which we need, we need these things. So, this is the only way we can make authentic pictures, we Indians have to stick together. And not just for the motion pictures. We Indians have to stick together, period or we will never get anywhere. Too much jealousy among Indians.

GB: Uh, can we go back to the BIA for a minute. You mentioned that you did some work up there. Did you work with the BIA or—

IC: —No. As a representative of the Indian Center—

GB: —Oh, I see.—

IC: —serve is what I did up there and meet with the BIA—

GB: —I see.—

IC: —they walked us—

GB: —Uh huh.—

IC: —they won't let us know their problem. They wanna know our problems you know. But we have, uh, several people that went up there to really have an argument with them. I had a, a foot to stand on when I brought up about this woman. Now, as Mr. Mahony and the Indian lady and the Indian men that work at the BIA—listen, we try our best—but when they get away from us—they move away from us—we lose the rat race, we can't place them down. That's why they couldn't trace this Indian girl down. Finally, uh, there's a white man named Bill Nagana. Probably you've seen him in powwows. You take pictures of Indians—and Bill Nagana is not his real name—Bill Nagana in Navajo means "white man." So, the Navajo gave him that name because he went up to the Navajo country, you know, and talked to the Navajo and things like that. He was sitting here that night and I had to call the Los Angeles Police Department. Someone gave me an inkling (pauses) that that girl is up in, uh, Bakersfield.<sup>86</sup> But she's under the, the law. She did something the law has—is holding her. But if someone could call and get her and send her back to the reservation then we will release her. So, I called there (squeaking). The police department says, "Yes, we have a young lady here, who's a very nice person, but we don't know what to do with her. We can't turn her loose on the streets, you know." She doesn't talk too much about herself. Now she was relocated here.

GB: Uh-huh.

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<sup>85</sup> Screen Actors Guild, founded in 1933.

<sup>86</sup> City located on the Kern River, north of Los Angeles, California.

- IC: She, this girl probably, uh, didn't like relocation. But there's two sides to the story you know. So, I says, "Well, could you send her here?" No, someone had to come and pick her up. So, I figured, well, my little club— Little Big Horn— we're gonna raise some money and send for her. But this man, Bill Nagana, this white man, said, he said, "Wait." He says, uh— "You won't have a powwow for another week. You gotta have the money now. I will go and pick this girl up in my car and give her money and send her back to the Kacola. Now this is how this woman got back, got back to see her mother before she died. Now if she would've had a chance to come here to the BIA because she relocated, they probably would have given her that money.
- GB: Uh-huh.
- IC: But they don't like to do this. They want you to stay here and accept this job that they give you because it's a lot of money to re—you know (inaudible) bring people down here you know. So Bill Nagana was very nice about it. The girl went back there. So, there's a couple of other cases that, uh, we brought up. They, they have a, a few points where I was wrong. I was mad at the BIA because they couldn't trace—I was thinking of that poor old woman I knew back there you know dying of cancer—they couldn't trace this girl down. But they were right. They didn't know where she was because she moved away where she was—
- GB: —Uh-huh.—
- IC: —(engine noises) so, you got two sides to the story. The BIA is trying their best, (pauses) everybody makes mistakes no doubt. A lot of Indians will talk against the BIA and probably the BIA would be disgusted with them, you know. Drama, I don't know.
- GB: (coughing). Do the, um, Indians themselves have much control over who the officials are in the BIA?
- IC: Today they, they're having the control. They're changing. You'd be surprised. They're putting a lot of Indians in the BIA department. Matter of fact, before long—and I hope to God to see it—but the leaders up there running the BIA. An idea they're gonna do this, you know?
- GB: Are these Indians well qualified that they're putting in?
- IC: You bet your lives some of them are. We have a lot of educated Indians (engine noises)—
- GB: —I know.—
- IC: —taking up law, anthropology. Oh yes, that's right. School teachers, things like that. Office clerk work.
- GB: Uh-huh.
- IC: A lot of them here now today are out of work. These people I'm talking about.

- GB: Well, um, I was thinking, um, (pauses) what was I going – (laughs)? Uh, (pauses) has the improvement come since the – under the Nixon Administration<sup>87</sup> or did it start before then? Do you think he –
- IC: – Uh, it was, it was good during the Kennedy Administration,<sup>88</sup> they did a lot of homes. People on these reservations call them Kennedy homes –
- GB: – Yep. –
- IC: – up there on the Hopi reservation<sup>89</sup> where I go up in (inaudible). This nice big, uh, brick, uh, cement houses – Kennedy homes – the Hopi houses, the Kennedy homes. The homes up there in Pine Ridge<sup>90</sup> in North and South Dakota, they are all Kennedy homes. And then, uh, Johnson<sup>91</sup> kept up the same thing. Now, you have a body of men, (squeaking) uh, senators (pauses) that said “no” and “yes.” So, you have to fight – the president can’t do everything –
- GB: – I know. –
- IC: – they have to put the pressure on Mr. Nixon. They did that, the Indians have to go forward. We have Indians that call themselves Red Power.<sup>92</sup> That’s one of the few things I don’t agree on, but I think when they come and take a place over that’s been unoccupied for three years – that’s an old treaty – they can do it, you know. But they can’t be radical about it.
- GB: Well, what do you –
- IC: A few of them would have – a couple of free radicals running in America.
- GB: I can see actors, but what do you think say about the South –
- IC: – Alcatraz, I’ll tell you I hope they hold Alcatraz.<sup>93</sup> –
- GB: – what about the Southwest Museum there?
- IC: The Southwest Museum is, is a big mistake. It’s a big mistake. I’ll even tell you a little about that. Now we have what’s called Red Power. Canada has a very small Red Power. I went back to Milwaukee,<sup>94</sup> and Red Power wanted to rip up our parade. Because they got in with the, the, the, the Black Panther<sup>95</sup> or something with Black Power,<sup>96</sup> you know. And, uh, we older Indians tried to convince them. We know what you’re trying to do, we’re gonna help you, but don’t destroy. And so far, they haven’t destroyed, thank God. And I don’t think we Indians will ever destroy. Because, uh,

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<sup>87</sup> Referring to the government of Richard Nixon, the 37<sup>th</sup> U.S. president (1969–1974).

<sup>88</sup> Referring to the government of John F. Kennedy, the 35<sup>th</sup> U.S. president (1961–1963).

<sup>89</sup> Land reservation for the Hopi and Arizona Tewa people in northeastern Arizona.

<sup>90</sup> Oglala Lakota Indian Reservation in South Dakota.

<sup>91</sup> Lyndon B. Johnson (1908–1973), the 36<sup>th</sup> U.S. president (1963–1969).

<sup>92</sup> Social movement led by Native American youth in the 1960s and 1970s.

<sup>93</sup> Referring to the Native American “occupation” of Alcatraz (November 1969–June 1971).

<sup>94</sup> City located on Lake Michigan’s western shore in Wisconsin.

<sup>95</sup> Black Panther Party, American Marxist-Leninist political organization, founded in 1966.

<sup>96</sup> Revolutionary movement in racial pride during the 1960s and 1970s counterculture.

we've been beaten down for many years and, uh, we – you know, the white man has just held us down (engine noises) and held us down. But we are gonna go forward by education. These young kids that's showing their muscles today like at Alcatraz and these different places, they're doing the right thing. But as they say, you may have a couple of radicals in there, you know. That hurts it for the others. Now you got a bunch of young fellas here (pauses) that go to UCLA.<sup>97</sup> Well educated boys, studying law and anthropology. They went up to the Southwest Museum. That's, that's (inaudible) possible. They've done it back east. They've made one museum back east that I know of – take a scalp out – uh, uh, some bones out, the medicine, uh, bundle out. They did it up there. They put the pressure on them. Well, they wanna do that in all of the cities. Now, I agree with the – these boys, and I wanted a trustee of the Southwest Museum. But just recently I made trustee. Since this all started I just became a trustee. I don't know where these bones are, but there is a little burial there. A lotta Indians resent these things. A medicine man resents looking at a bone or any other thing, you know. I've heard these people say, Well, they oughta be buried, you know. But, this is so old – it's over three thousand years old – you can't, you can't prove what tribe it is. You don't know whether it's an Indian. It might be, uh, the other, uh, people you know. What do you, what do you call it? The, uh, caveman people. But as – the archaeologists say it goes back to three thousand or two thousand something – as a basket-making Indian when we start digging up these graves. The museum doesn't dig graves up. They have to be over a thousand years old. They go to these sites, and it's in every museum. They have Indian museum, Indian money museum back up in the, uh, Northwest coast. They got all these things there. Soon all these young Indians are gonna see these bones and they're gonna demand and I'm with them. Take it out or make some fake ones and put it in there. Not these bones, though. Now as far as the medicine bundle, I don't think – because a lot of them medicine bundles have been opened and shown around – a scalp. I do, I agree, taken the scalp out of there.

GB: Well the medicine man was just welcomed to – I heard Wampum<sup>98</sup> referred –

IC: – No Wampum is a Wampum belt. They are back east. My wife's people, (pauses) they used the Wampum. A lot of the Iroquois use the Wampum to, to give messages. Have a Wampum belt, they have Wampum beads that tell about, uh – when you deliver to a person, they know what these beads meant – could be a death, could be a meeting, a funeral, could be, uh, ceremonial. And then these Wampum belts are peace belts among their own Indians. They're given these belts that says this is our belts, you know?

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<sup>97</sup> The University of California, Los Angeles, established in 1881.

<sup>98</sup> Shell bead of the Eastern Woodland Indigenous tribes used as decoration or money.

- This one means this and it's not war belts, it's peace belts. If they have a war belt that means war. So they have war Wampum belts, you know.
- GB: – Are you telling me that it was part of their religion, the Wampum.
- IC: – It is, among all the Woodland Indians –
- GB: This is why he resented a thing –
- IC: – it is. Uh, the, I have a little Wampum here, but I never show it. Because it's in the string, it was meant for a funeral. Her father gave it to me (inaudible). It's in a little box, and I have a little museum down below that (squeaking) I open up, uh, called Moosehead Museum.<sup>99</sup> I got a little of every tribe down there. These things are in boxes, nobody can see them. Boy scouts come here, girl scouts come here, youth group movements come here, uh, Indian guides come here. I don't show 'em these things.

[00:39:39]

- IC: Matter of fact I got a little part of a scalp somewhere that was given to me by Tim McCoy. I wouldn't even know where it is because I wrapped it up and put it somewhere, you know?
- GB: Uh-huh.
- IC: This is the way I feel about these things, being an Indian, this is the way I feel. So, these boys according to the Indian—I mean—according to the Southwest Museum, Dr. Dentzel<sup>100</sup> said that they were there, and they chained themselves—whatever they did there, uh, you know—and you, uh, this is not right. Sure, it's not right at all, according to the museum. But these kids probably had somebody say, stay in there, you know. Because they got themselves in a jam. Now, since that, they went there a couple of times and talked to Carl Dentzel, Dr. Carl Dentzel, uh, of the Southwest Museum, and he's a very sincere man, this man. He knows the Indian way. He always loved the Indians because (pauses) for years we had Indian dances at the Southwest Museum on a Sunday. The Indians come up there and lecture—they've seen all these things—none of them complain about it. Evidently we've never gone down to see this little burial, you know, but they would have complained about it. Carl Dentzel, well, he took over from Dr. Hodge<sup>101</sup>—the great Dr. Hodge—he's same way. He believes the same way, the tradition of the Indian. Dr. Dentzel's that way. His wife, she studies the Aztec Indians,<sup>102</sup> she knows all about the Aztec Indians and she—her heart is in the Indians—all Indian. Dr. Dentzel's wife. These kids didn't know that. So he said, Alright, I will remove these things. So he made that, he covered it up, the, the, the bones. The little burial bones that is. He went and

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<sup>99</sup> Personal museum of Iron Eyes Cody in his home in Atwater, California. See [online](#).

<sup>100</sup> Carl Schaefer Dentzel (1913–1980), director of the Southwest Museum (1956–1981).

<sup>101</sup> Frederick Webb Hodge (1864–1956), American editor, anthropologist, and historian.

<sup>102</sup> Mesoamerican culture in central Mexico (c. 1300–1521).

- covered up the, uh, the medicine bundle (cough). Now since I've become a trustee up there—before I became a trustee—he removed the medicine bundle. He removed the scalp and put it down in that dungeon down somewhere where they keep a lot of the stuff (engine noises). It will never be shown to anybody anymore—
- GB: —Why is—
- IC: —and he's keeping his word. That's the man's work. Now, uh, I—we had a meeting—with these people. All these kids came up to the Southwest Mu—Museum. We had a meeting with them. Several Indians were there from the reservation. Several Indians from town, they disagree with these Indians, these kids. I didn't. One boy read something up there, (pauses) it was great. And even Carl Dentzel, the director, admitted, even the, the president of the trustees said, It was a great thing, my friend, stick to it. That's—he wrote something wonderful. He read it out. Now when they left there with the understanding is they were—I wasn't here—they were arrested. And the police came there, naturally. The museum didn't call the police. This is what I learned right there at this meeting (squeaking). They said, These boys called the police for the publicity. The trustees told me the same thing. Sure, that's where you're gonna get it. You got to get the papers behind if these kinds wanna get anywhere, you know. And they're gonna get it—
- GB: —Do think there's—
- IC: —they're gonna scratch them up a little—
- GB: —publicity is helping them or hurting since people now are so against demonstrations more or less. Do you think this type—
- IC: —Well.—
- GB: —of publicity is gonna—
- IC: Uh, the majority of people are against demonstrations. But this isn't a big demonstration they did there, and they're not gonna do it any worse than that. They just wanna show that they're Indians, and they want it to be tradition, you know. Now I, I disagree, uh, with a lot of these demonstrations, you bet I do. But I want it right in the demonstrations that are done right, you know. A lot of them get outta hand.
- GB: Uh-huh.
- IC: We hope our Indians don't get outta hand. I don't think so because I have a young boy that's a little anti-social. My other son, and, uh, he believes what he hears. My other, other son, (birds chirp) he's like me. He's a liberal, or he (birds chirp) takes it in and study it, you know, figure it out (birds chirp). Now, as I say, they were arrested. They were willing to drop the charges over there. But the police didn't know. They were arrested: We're gonna take them out because they demonstrated, see. So, I don't know what happened, I wasn't here. But they had this meeting. After this meeting, as I say, some of these old Indians here didn't believe it. They got up and said,

- Leave the stuff in the museum. And matter of fact I even said the same thing. But when I heard that man—that young man—talk, well, he read, I changed my mind (birds chirp). Get them bones outta there.
- GB: I heard that it was, it was offensive. I mean it wasn't so much that it might be not, be a religious objection—
- IC: —But it's an old thing.—
- GB: —Yes.—
- IC: —You can't prove what (inaudible)—
- GB: —But it still—
- IC: —if you could prove a tribe. It's like up there in Nevada, Utah. They know they have some Pimas<sup>103</sup> and Paiutes<sup>104</sup> in there and Shoshones<sup>105</sup> and them old Aztec Indians and stuff in the museum. But it says so. But this is way back, (pauses) the prehistoric man see. But, still, it's bones, so we buried them. So, (pauses) they left it at that. That they'd have to go to court, well, I couldn't go to court because I was on a movie. Uh, I went to a trustee meeting (pauses) before the, uh, court trial—if they had a court trial, I don't know, I haven't heard—I haven't been to the museum because I just got back from Arizona. But I went to the trustee meeting (pauses) on the third—second floor of some building where they had the trustee meeting. Biggest majority of the trustees (pauses) gave that boy credit for what he said. They were willing to drop the case, but you can't drop the case, the case has already been, uh, uh, registered and everything, you know. I mean, not all of them, (pauses) the biggest majority. Now, so—they agreed with me to remove them bones (pauses) all together and as one man said, I believe what Iron Eyes said. You wanna make some fake bones out of plaster and put 'em there, you know. He said this is a copy of so on and so like they do it back east—
- GB: —Uh-huh.—
- IC: —you see. So, they removed them—they got these artificial bones, you see—plastic bones. And, uh, we were at this meeting, took it up with this. I said, I think they oughta show these kids (moves object). I'd like to, I'd like to tell you something about the young Indians, and I explained it right at this trustee meeting. I said, I go up to the grand council North American Indians (background noise) up back east. I go up north—I go up to all the different reservations—and I know how the Indians feel. These boys are not trying to be radical to a point where they're gonna burn our houses down—throw bricks in the windows and everything—but they gonna get into a place and demand their rights (inaudible). Because they're flexing their muscles, and they're doing it right there at Alcatraz and there's a whole—

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<sup>103</sup> North American Indians originating in the region of the Gila and Salt rivers in Arizona

<sup>104</sup> Referring to the three non-contiguous groups of Indigenous peoples of the Great Basin.

<sup>105</sup> Indigenous group originating in Wyoming, Idaho, Utah, and Nevada.

- and, uh, I first thing I got up to Alcatraz – I was in Spain, El Murillo, Spain, I picked up a Spanish paper. And it says Indians in Alcatraz – and I speak very little Spanish, but I know a lot of that corrupt Spanish that I’ve learned around here but that, uh, Castilian Spanish<sup>106</sup> – so I had a man read it for me. Alright, (inaudible) some Indians have taken over Alcatraz because it’s been, uh – unoccupied all these years, they have a right to go.
- GB: Do you think their plan for Alcatraz is feasible? Building a university there and a museum there?
- IC: Well, San Francisco is gonna make a recreation park out of it.
- GB: Uh-huh.
- IC: Why couldn’t they make a big culture thing for the Indians? We’re all getting these grants now, the Indians oughta fight for their grants. Then they were gonna have auction and sell this land. They can’t do that. Because that land has been unoccupied for years, the Indians are sitting there according to their treaty, you know? But, they can come in there and put something up, (pauses) the state or the city, because they got the money.
- GB: I was thinking –
- IC: – We don’t have the money to do this. –
- GB: – The climate, for instance, it’s, it’s so fog bound so much of the time and it, I heard –
- IC: – I think it would be an ideal place, um, big buildings there, have a center there, and a culture space there, they’re gonna have a recreation park then. That’s the last thing. And if they can do that, why couldn’t they have a culture place?
- GB: Why do you think of this, uh, Indian Chicana university they’re talking about at U Davis?
- IC: Uh, (pauses) you see, the thing that (squeaking), our school is a big leader of the Mexican Indians (inaudible) is of the Iroquois. As I say, my wife’s great-great-great uncle, he helped write the League of Nation<sup>107</sup> for the Iroquois, in the early days, a fellow by the name of – white man by the name of Marvin. But (squeaking) the League of Nation was organized way before back, the Indian way. Just like the League of, uh, what do they call it here? The League of the Iroquois, they’re like the League of Nation today. They adopted everything. So they rewrote a lot of it, and Ely Parker and this man they wrote a book on it. But way back, the Indians had this way of doing it. So, they’re using these two names to build a university. Now, I can’t see our American Indians, (pauses) uh, the Mexican Indians call themselves Indians and get a grant from the government. We should get this. We should put this college up (engine noise) you know? But they call them Chicanos or whatever they call them –

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<sup>106</sup> Variety of Peninsular Spanish spoken in northern and central Spain.

<sup>107</sup> Presumably the Six Nations Indigenous group.



GB: – Chicanos. –

IC: – they're getting together with the Indians. Certain groups. They took this big basin. It might be a good thing because, uh, they're gonna have paid teachers of both nationalities – they're both, you know, races, that they can get this grant. And I was reading in our, um, paper – our Indian paper – that, uh, they hadn't got the grant yet. They're hoping to get it. But, uh, I think, uh, now that we have a university as you know – a Navajo university<sup>108</sup> – we have an Indian college (engine noises). All run by the Navajo Indians. Started during the, uh, Kennedy-Johnson Administration. They're gonna to get a big building, they're getting this grant. They're building it way up there and, uh, they're having all teachers Indians if they can.

[00:50:03]

IC: No matter how illiterate you are you're gonna go to this and they won't throw you out, you're gonna learn something. This is great, you know? Because the, these colleges here don't understand our Indian ways. They don't. The schools don't understand it anyway. If we are raised in a city like my two boys, they're used to this. All these Indians that have been here for years, they're used to it, but not the reservation Indians when they're down here – relocated here – and they're sent to these colleges and all that, there's, there's a thing that they don't understand. They don't understand the white man's way too much. You can't push them. you just –

GB: – you don't –

IC: – can't –

GB: – think –

IC: – push –

GB: – that Stanford's<sup>109</sup> going and taking out all those on the reservation and bringing them up there, uh –

IC: – To Stanford?

GB: – to, to Stanford and then having them special advisors and counselors. You don't think that's a good thing?

IC: What the Navajo, uh, what advisors and specialists, things like that –

GB: – Yes. –

IC: – Oh that's wonderful.

GB: You think this is –

IC: – That's what they should do here. All these schools and colleges all over America. Because a lot of Indians teaches them. It's wonderful, it's a great thing.

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<sup>108</sup> Presumably Navajo Technical University in Crownpoint, New Mexico.

<sup>109</sup> Private research university, established in 1885 in Stanford, California.

- GB: – Well, you don't think the EOP,<sup>110</sup> is, is a good substitute for this then? That they're not (squeaking) –
- IC: – Well, uh, they, the ones that given the grants – the EOP, EYO and all that you know –
- GB: – Uh-huh. –
- IC: – they, they can just do so much, but you have to do the rest. Now that's a good idea – this Stanford thing – but we should back that Navajo college a hundred percent. The Navajos even go to Stanford and learn to be a, a, uh, a teacher or a big advisor, anything like that, so they'll get their knowledge there and – boom. They don't hire any white people at all in that Navajo college. Let the Indian – because the Navajo people are very clannish people – the Navajos are not stopping – they're gonna let anybody come to this college. Negroes, Mexican immigrant but they have to pay a little bit –
- GB: – Uh-huh. –
- IC: – you have to, you know? The Indians they don't have to pay (pauses). So it's a, it's a good thing, a very good thing.
- GB: Uh, with your work at the, uh, Indian Center, (pauses) the, the Indian Center coming from the reservation has certain special problems that the urban Indians that – or the Indians that have been here for years – don't have such a – the alcohol problem or school problems –
- IC: Yeah well, we have, uh, an alcohol problem (squeaking). In all of the cities.
- GB: Uh-huh.
- IC: We, (pauses) uh, put in for our grant for our alcoholic problem, (pauses) uh, I wasn't here when they put in the grant, I was in Europe. But when I got back, they had ten thousand dollars to give to a man by the name of, uh, Harvey Wells.<sup>111</sup> Uh, he's an ex-convict. Uh, I met this man – very intelligent man – we, we gave a Indian powwow at Chino<sup>112</sup> about three years ago. For the Indians that's in Chino, you know? And Harvey Wells was the head of the Indian Circle they call that. A lot of them didn't like him, a lot of them liked him. Because he's one of these guys that'll go far. And, uh, I met him there. So, he was going for the Indians, and he asked me for one of my books to put in the library over there I sent a book from my library. I didn't autograph it to Harvey Wells because a lot of them wrote me says, uh, We would like a book in our library but don't put it in Harvey Wells' name. But who asked for the book? Harvey Well[s]. So I sent it to the library, in Chino. Now, (squeaking) there's a lot of Indians we sent Harvey Wells, being in, in this, uh, program. Uh, I have met, uh, three or four times with the board recently. Harvey Wells was there once. The first time I heard of, that he was – they would turn it over to him – that he's gonna get that

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<sup>110</sup> Educational Opportunity Program for historically underserved students in California.

<sup>111</sup> Led groups of Native Americans to Alcatraz Island during the Alcatraz Occupation.

<sup>112</sup> City in San Bernardino County, California.

ten thousand dollars. But that's through EYOE – whatever you call it – they're gonna send money to the, have to pay these bills. He doesn't handle the money, but he will get a salary no doubt. He wouldn't work for nothing though. But in the meantime, since that has happened, there's some Indians that resented him. Some Indians claim they had the, uh, the grant already put in. Why didn't they get it? I don't know. There's, uh, there's, uh, church here headed by a man by the name of, uh –

GB: – Stone King.<sup>113</sup> –

IC: – What? –

GB: – Stone King. –

IC: – Stone King –

GB: – I talked to him. –

IC: – a fighter. Oh, he's a fighter. I – first time I got knowledge of this that he had a chance to get – and he had, uh, an Indian bank – then I got to thinking what's going on, you know? You get two sides of the story there, you know? But they got into arguments in this church, and this is no place for our people to get into arguments. I felt so ashamed of some of my people, the way they were talking like that. So, I resented everything that was said up there – I just don't care for what was said up there – I just took it out of my mind and blocked it. Because it was, it was an unusual thing for me to see Indians start fighting. And we used to do that thirty-five, twenty (coughing) years ago here, you know? I went through it, I know. Here it is, boiling up here. But it's too late. They have already procured this money to Mr. Harvey Wells through the Indian Center. About ten thousand I think. Now, they have already appropriated some more money through the Indian Center to the halfway house for alcoholics. For me it's a very nice manner, maybe not to the board of directors meeting at the center, uh, that's gonna run this. But his hands are tied. He hasn't received the money yet. He wants to move into a big house. They got the house. There's a couple of Indians resent him running this thing because, uh, somebody else wanted to do it. You see, this is where we can stick together we Indians. Remove jealo – jealousy. Thank God, I taught my two boys not to be jealous and don't knock anybody. I taught them because I went through this, uh, I said, "Robert, Arthur, don't knock anybody, especially your own people. I know you believe that you're a Cherokee-Seneca, you're better than this one and this one – your own people told you this – your uncle said this one time, "We are Cherokee," (imitates laughing), you know."

GB: – That's why –

IC: – To anybody else you're no better. But we get this little thing and here's a man at the last board, uh, meeting he said, (pauses) I have the names who's gonna be in this thing. We gonna get on – we have money but we gotta

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<sup>113</sup> Arthur Stoneking, founder of the Indian Revival Center in Bell Gardens, California.

- move in a big place. Say, what about the Indian Center? They got the money, but they gotta move in a big place. So, they resent the, uh, the, uh, alcoholic thing. They resent the prison—the convict—the one that Harvey Wells got, it, it's not really alcoholic, it's for the ex-cons, uh, people like that, you see—
- GB: —Rehabilitation.—
- IC: —but he's an ex-con. The board unanimously voted him, because he's an ex-con—at the Indian Center—who received this, they thought. So the board runs it you know.
- GB: But what would be their method of treating the alcoholism? I mean—
- IC: —Uh, the method here would be have a halfway house. When they get put in jail for drunk—or they see them on the streets drunk—or some new Indians come in, they don't know where to go, and they're drinking Indians. These people have things. Look up. They're gonna have two, three people working in this halfway house. Look 'em up. It's their job to find them and say we have a place for you to come. And we'll have medicine for you. To cure you. Put you in AA<sup>114</sup> or anything you believe in or your Indian way, you know? A place, room to sleep there, take care of these people. They have to be watched, some of them are pretty bad there that they have to be a point where they have to be treated, you see. So thank God they're gonna do this. This will be one of the good things like we got a great thing running now that I'm a hundred percent for and donated money—my club has donated money to it—the Indian Center donated money—American Indian free clinic. That's a great thing.
- GB: This is in Compton?<sup>115</sup>
- IC: In Compton. It's one of the best things that ever hit Los Angeles. And, uh, the Indians are behind that in many ways.
- GB: I talked to, uh, a lady who was on the—one of the founders of the—Mrs. Miller—
- IC: Mrs. Cerasino?
- GB: No Mrs. Miller. Marie Miller
- IC: Who?
- GB: Wayne Miller's—she's a—
- IC: —Oh yes.—
- GB: —she's on the board—
- IC: —Uh-huh, yeah.—
- GB: —but what do you think is the cause for the alcoholism? The problem with alcoholism among the Indians?
- IC: Uh, I think (squeaking) the cause—and I've seen it with my own brother, one brother—I've seen it with one of my uncles. They couldn't go in a bar

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<sup>114</sup> Alcoholics Anonymous, peer-led mutual aid fellowship, founded in 1935.

<sup>115</sup> City in southern Los Angeles County, California.

one time, as you know. You couldn't have liquor on the reservation. That was against the law. The white people can go in a bar and drink, and the Indians come into town, and they come to the bar, and they hang around. Then someone will give them a, a bottle of whiskey, cheap. He'll start drinking. Next thing you know he wants to get in that bar, but he can't get in that bar. So, he goes in the back end, like the Negroes had at one time (squeaking). They hang around town. They've discussed with the reservation in many ways, because reservations are very poor at one time, and they didn't like the reservations. They didn't want the reservations—and I talk about the old days up to the turn of the century—because the reservations to them at that time was like a prison.

[01:00:00]

IC: They just put in and say this is where you're gonna be. But later on, they made their homes, built their homes, you can't get them off the reservation today. Old people don't wanna leave the reservation, so you know they're gonna (inaudible) the reservation. I don't care what the government says. If I'd have (inaudible). So you have these young Indians (pauses) they go to war—World War I<sup>116</sup>—they come back, they don't wanna go back over there. They move to cities. They're not allowed in the bar. I—my wife and I—we went, we'd go out to bars, and, uh, this is—sorry? I was in a movie in the late thirties. My wife came up there and drove up to Big Bear.<sup>117</sup> And there was four or five of us Indian boys there, and all of these guys working on the movie were drinkin' beer. It was a hot day, and, gee, I wanted to get (inaudible) I didn't get. Well, I'm going back. So, one of the Indians spoke up, guy named Nighthawk. He says, What do you think we are pigs? We oughta throw a glass right through this mirror—had a big sign up there, "No Indians allowed drinking," (inaudible) all kinds of signs (engine noises). No, Nighthawk, no. Movie we had five, six weeks, you know. My wife drove up and, uh, she says, uh, let's have a beer. I say, "You know what? I'll have a beer." You know I'm an actor, and I pay taxes. I got a home, (coughing) and I pay taxes, and, sorry, (inaudible). He says, Anybody over a quarter or an eighth Indian (inaudible). Only on the reservations, you're not allowed to have a bar within fifteen miles.

GB: Is this still for today?

IC: Still today, in some places. Uh, now they got a place, uh, in Pine Ridge, (pauses) uh, it's not good. I, uh, I, I disagree with it. It's called, um, uh, Newtown<sup>118</sup>—three miles off the Pine reservation—it's in the back. Three miles from the Pine Ridge reservation. I know the name is (inaudible)

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<sup>116</sup> First global conflict (1914–1918), a.k.a. the Great War.

<sup>117</sup> Big Bear Lake, city in southern California known for its lake and mountain trails.

<sup>118</sup> Unknown establishment.

- (engine noises). Beer joints. Wine. All our Indians go over there to have drink. They get into trouble. They get in jail. They come up to the Sun Dance. They read the cue, the tradition. Uh, no mic. We resent this. So, our council people will have policemen on the reservation, put 'em in jail. We have our big powwows over there and Sun Dances that I go to and everything. I hate to see this. Our own Indian policemen. They have to do it.
- GB: Uh-huh.
- IC: Boy, (imitates police siren) you'll see them. We all feel sorry, but what can you do? I was over there, uh, help building the sweat lodge and everything, and, uh, I asked this, uh, one policeman, I says "Could you give me some of your men that's working with you over here. No doubt that they're, they're good people. On behavior, they can go home." He said, "No, they're in jail." I said, "Well could you give me some of them to go cut some trees down or wanna build a sweat lodge?" The best guys in the world (inaudible). They didn't put aside nothing, but when they did what are you gonna do?
- GB: Yeah
- IC: "A sweat lodge, what for?" you know?
- GB: Yeah.
- IC: "What's this person gonna do?" Uh, your friend out there cutting people, and we're over there praying a, the pipe when he's cutting himself –
- GB: – Think of the –
- IC: – and pulling the –
- GB: – feeling of frustration –
- IC: – Huh. –
- GB – a feeling of frustration they have when everything that they know (audio cuts)
- GB: I was asking you if you thought that maybe they were frustrated when they drink that they feel –
- IC: Yeah, uh, sometimes they get so frustrated that they knock the white man and I mean they knock him. They come back and says the white man started all of this to kill all our people, which is true. A lot of them did, you know. Uh, invade their land, which is true, a lot of them did. Uh, scalping – the white man started the scalping – the Indians didn't start the scalping, the white man started the scalping. The Mexicans took it up and, uh, they were paid, uh, a hundred dollars for a man's scalp, fifty dollars for a woman's scalp, twenty-five for a child's scalp. So, the Indians figured, well, if you can do that, we can do it too, you know. But before that the Indians fought among each other, killed each other, uh, in battles, you know, for different things. And they didn't take any scalps. They may have cut their little part of coup, a little braid thing or something like that, you know, and put it on a coup stick, you know. This tribe, this tribe fighting this tribe, you know.

But when the big scalping came in, the, uh, it came in this country so strong in the fifties and before the fifties. But around the fifties, all the battles, you know, the white people and all that. These Indians, uh, were, had little, uh—done with the white man—they were told to do these things. Some of them probably were paid, you know. Give ‘em guns and things like that, you know. A lot of criminal people in government too, you know.

GB: Yes.

IC: A lot of them are doing it. You get that gold and that land and all that stuff. Like they drove all our Cherokee people out of North Carolina into Indian territory because the Georgia Militia<sup>119</sup> wanted that gold up in there. So, this was the wrong thing. We went through the Trail of Tears<sup>120</sup>—we lost thousands of our people—but a lot of Indians ran away and stayed in Tennessee, in Georgia, in Alabama, Arkansas, Tennessee and Louisiana, and all them places. Stayed there, they didn’t go to the territory. But the biggest majority went to the territory, but a lot of them died on the trail. Now they lived back—they went back to North Carolina and all those places up there—they got their own homes and everything. They became very peaceful people. They, they, the white men beat them down so much that they just went the white man way. They lost their tradition in many ways. Just the last ten, fifteen years that the Cherokee has gone back with their tradition. Teaching their kids their language and stuff like that. Not as much as they should, but they’re going into it very strong. Even the, uh, alphabet language, the Sequoyah alphabet language.<sup>121</sup> (squeaking) I taught my children when they were little to start talking Cherokee. Give them twenty-five words a week. I’d print them. I want you to get on that table and eat. I’d say, “Learn these words because after—before we eat and after we eat—I’m gonna ask you of that board. How many words you learned?”

GB: Would you say something for me in Cherokee? I’ve never heard the language.

IC: Well for instance, uh, (pauses) I, my son, remember his name in Cherokee, “Usdi Uwohali” means Little Eagle. (inaudible) means Iron Eyes. Now, uh, “selu gadu” means cornbread. They have cornbread. “Tsalagi” means Cherokee. Tsa—Tsalagi. You have to put in a little guttural in there. Now many of these Indians in this Los Angeles area are teaching. The tradition is really strong here for their languages. It’s strong. And their clothing, what they’re supposed to wear. You don’t see these mixed up pockets so much anymore. You see some beautiful things when you come to these big movie (inaudible). (squeaking) Now your drinking envy. They went to World

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<sup>119</sup> Armed civilian force (1733–1879).

<sup>120</sup> Forced displacement and ethnic cleansing of Native Americans (1830–1850).

<sup>121</sup> The first written Cherokee Syllabary, created by Sequoyah in 1821.

- War I. They came back. They had these hospitals and everything. They're all cripple. Some of them went back to the reservation – there's no work or nothing – boom. World War II,<sup>122</sup> the same way. This Korean War,<sup>123</sup> the same way. This one here is the worst yet. When they get over there – they get a chance to take dope – now many Indians copy this. They get a chance to buy a liquor cheap. Beer is given to them. So, they drink, and they drink, and they don't care whether they get killed or not. They make it? They make it. So, they come back here or go back home, and there's nothing to do, there's no work. Everybody's out of work – there's so much work out of everybody now – you know. So, they come to the big city – they get tired of the reservation; there's nothing over there. Come to the big city. They meet the wrong Indians here. So, they go to these bars, remember –
- GB: – Uh-huh. –
- IC: – crazy bars around here, you know. This is the only solution they have, you know? Some of them drink and know how to drink, and some of them don't. And they get into arguments – boy, they'll say to the white man, get out of here or I'll kill you – you know. It's there's a lotta (inaudible), frustration, you know.
- GB: One last, uh, subject I'd like to cover is there's been so much – last three years approximately – that go to publicity – a, a positive track of publicity – to go to the Indians, such as television specials and movies. And do you think this has come about because of the efforts of the Indians or just a gradual awakening of the general white society? (sneeze)
- IC: We have demanded.
- GB: Uh-huh.
- IC: The white society are making money off of it. Don't think they're not. They made it with the Negroes (pauses). Then, uh, the Negroes went forward. The Mexicans are going forward. So the Indians are gonna go forward. So, we are demanding these things. Uh, I made a thing just recently called "Make America Beautiful."<sup>124</sup> I didn't wanna do it because I'm not a great swimmer, and you're supposed to be in these big oceans and these lakes and these rapids and, uh, row a canoe. And I'm an expert canoe man. And I told my agent when I went down and ask him, uh, I, I can't take the job because I got a buckskin outfit on. They want an Indian paddling (squeaking) alone and saying what's going on around here and the dirty – all the muck that's in the, uh, channels you know – stuff like that. So, the man back east interviewed Indians but he wanted a certain type of an Indian, that could row a canoe and swim and still look like an Indian, what they think an Indian should look like. And they phoned my agent and said,

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<sup>122</sup> Second global conflict, a.k.a. the Second World War (1939–1945).

<sup>123</sup> Conflict between North and South Korea (1950–1953).

<sup>124</sup> "Keep America Beautiful," advertisement campaign, a.k.a. the "Crying Indian."



We'd like to have Iron Eyes Cody. We've seen him in the movies. He's got a typical Indian face (creaking). He does everything so Indian. So, I told my agent, "Alright, uh, I'll try it again, but I'll tell these people I can't swim." So, they have an office up at Columbia Studio. I went over, and I saw this man. Well, first they sent only two people, the guys photograph. He says, I'll have to be about forty-five years old.

[01:10:00]

IC: Photograph. They sent it back east—polaroid camera—they were crazy about it. I only wore my hat, I didn't wear no Indian clothes or anything. And, uh, they came back, and they asked me to come down, and they had about four other Indians. And I told my agent, I says, "I'm not gonna take it. Because if they wanna talk to me and say that they have a safety thing and helicopter going up to the roof—hanging down on a camera rig—I will do it." But you see this is too big of an expense.

GB: Uh-huh.

IC: So, I went down there. They let me come late because they looked over these people and they said they weren't the types. They wasn't tall; they wasn't skinny; they were all too fat. Can't row a canoe, all that stuff. They can't swim. So, the director says to me, "Iron Eyes, what would convince you to be this Indian and go with us to New York?" I says, "Do you have to fly? Number one, I don't fly, I go over super cheap. I'll tell you what will convince me. Get a good canoe that don't leak (pauses). Number one. Get a helicopter to fly." Well, he said, "What about the sound?" I says, "You can always dub that later." He says, "That's too big of an expense. Aw, Iron Eyes come on." He says, "Uh, we won't get too far from the land." I said, "What about the rapids?" He said, "That, that's up there in the Klamath River<sup>125</sup> on the, uh, Klamath Indian reservation.<sup>126</sup>" "Alright," I says. "I, I can run those rapids. Because, uh, you can throw a rope and catch me the next time. What about the ocean? Are we gonna go up between all them ships and go up to Alcatraz, and we're gonna go all around that—those bays—and all that." He says, "Well, you won't go out too far. We will see enough to throw a rope for you." "Alright. But I won't fly. I'm gonna to drive my car." I bought a brand new Cadillac<sup>127</sup> so I drive to these locations I don't fly to Mexico; I drive to Mexico. When I was with Buffy Saint-Marie in Colorado, I drove there. So, I always keep this big car, you know, or another one. I got a new one. So, he says, "Oh, we can't let you drive up there. We wouldn't know where to find you." I said, "Just tell me the hotel you guys wanna stay in, and I'll drive up there." Well, they talked me out

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<sup>125</sup> River running through Oregon and Northern California.

<sup>126</sup> Reservation located in Southern Oregon.

<sup>127</sup> Luxury car manufacturer in the United States.

of driving. I said, "Alright, I'll take the train because I won't fly." They said, Well—the production manager all that together—oh we got to have it. So the deal was made. We get up there in Klamath, and everything is fine. Raining, just raining all over the place, you know. Put in your canoe and everything. Clean water on the reservation in the streams—fish in the streams—we go to another place up, uh, to San Francisco where it's a park, open park. And it's the dirtiest park I've ever been in. Papers all over, of course, it's the rainy season. There's filthy black water around the drains, you know. We go up to this little river there, and they got a lot of brush and everything and, uh, stops the water, and we go (inaudible). Then we go to San Francisco. We go into a bay. The man says, "Get way out." Because the water was calm, I got way out. The canoe started to leak.

GB: Oh no.

IC: So, I yelled out. I said, "I'm coming in!" They don't like you to tell them though. I said, "I'm coming in. Gotta catch the camera or else, I'm coming in." When I came in the guy says, "That's fine, but we didn't get the first part because the camera wasn't ready. Could you go back again—

GB: —(laughs)—

IC: —and come in." We did it four times. The canoe had that much water in it. I was all wringing wet with my buckskin outfit. It was drizzling a little rain. So, they said, Alright, that's fine. Now we're gonna go into a lagoon where all these birds are in it and the oil, you know, the stuff, you know. Alright, we went into the lagoon, and it wasn't bad. Now we're gonna go tomorrow, uh, another place, near Alcatraz, and we're gonna shoot some stuff there, and we're gonna go move stuff around and pick it up with the paddle. I says, "Why? Why don't you get crews (inaudible) hired?" Well, he says, maybe it's not bad. We just bring it along (inaudible). We were supposed to go there (inaudible).

GB: Yeah.

IC: (inaudible) So we were there three days. Then he says, Now we're gonna go into the ocean where all of these ships come in with all this oil. We want you to get between these ships. So, they had a lens on that camera that long. Then the cameraman was changed, and he says, "Get way back." I said, "Well, did you see this canoe." "Yeah, we see the canoe." I got way back between these two ships, and I had some people up on a boat up there with some ropes to throw at (inaudible) and all this oil. I'll push into this lumber and all this junk around. "Just do it again," and we did it again and did it again and did it again. So a big rain started, and we go on the freeway and catch all the muck where I come up with my canoe. Pull the canoe up and go on the freeway, and you see all this stuff on the freeway, you know. (inaudible) They found it. Then, of course, they make a close up for cars going by (inaudible).

GB: Yeah.

IC: A lot of people (inaudible). Now this is done with an Indian. Plus, they were gonna use three different people. It's the Indian problem to go on the reservation and see that this is a nice place, you know, so this and that, you know. White man is gonna like to come up there because he will say to the Indian, uh, "Why?" They wanna ask crazy questions. You just go what questions, and, you know, they don't like that. And I said no I have to say that you can come up to an Indian right away and then, uh, I don't know. They don't need nothing. I don't know. You go up on the reservation and talk to them. Uh, a lot of people are not from the reservation and (inaudible) can come in they just go in. They have to annoy you, and they go in and preach. They really do. They have wonderful friends. So, um, yeah, the Indians of America, uh, the Indian Centers are all about the same. The, uh, up there in Seattle, Washington,<sup>128</sup> they make a big thing about the Indians—the Sioux Indians are gonna make a thing—and it's money appropriated to them. It's gonna be all Indians you know. Oklahoma is gonna do the same thing. It's because the other people demand it, they're gonna demand it.

GB: Uh-huh.

IC: They are gonna go, so we may not see ourselves go forward today for another ten years. Another ten years, the Indians' population is coming up. Anyway, we have, uh, truth be told, we have over a million Indians. Not on the whole, but they probably have eight hundred thousand or six hundred and seventy thousand, something like that. The population is increasing because (inaudible). So, it'll come forward. My children will see it. And they'll probably be mixed up in it, like I'm mixed up in the struggle today here, you know? This is why I go back east. I don't charge those people nothing. They have all the Indians go over there, and they charge them to be an emcee who can run it. I don't. All you do is pay my way on the train. I'll take as few as I can. And I don't wanna live in a hotel, I wanna live in your home. So I have a lot of friends, I live in their homes. It don't cost the association to put up—

GB: —Uh-huh.—

IC: —this thing. (inaudible) We have to work like this. Yeah, all of our people.

GB: Well, I want to thank you very much for the interview. I certainly —

IC: Well, you wanna go out to the museum and see what I got (audio cuts)

[01:17:41]

END OF INTERVIEW

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<sup>128</sup> City on the Puget Sound in the Pacific Northwest.

Madison Hardrick and Natalie Melgoza (editors)

*Coexisting with the Indigenous:  
Mary Chamberlain and the Paiute of Central California (1973)*

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Project: Personal and Family History Collections.  
O.H. 1417.

Oral Interview with Mary Chamberlain, conducted by Virginia Eskew,  
January 12, 1973, Newport Beach, California.

*Introduction*

The oral history transcribed below belongs to a collection held in CSUF's Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History (COPH) titled "Personal and Family History Collections." The interview with Mary Chamberlain was conducted by Virginia Eskew on January 12, 1973, in Newport Beach, California. This interview is 1 hour and 3 seconds long, and is archived as a digital recording/audio file at COPH (see "Copyright Advisory" below). The verbatim transcript edited here was prepared in the fall of 2023 by Natalie Melgoza and Madison Hardrick.

Mary Chamberlain was born in 1879 at Blackrock Ranch in Inyo County, California, between the cities of Bishop and Independence in the Owens Valley. In the interview, Chamberlain describes her earliest recollections of family life. When she was only six years old, her mother, Margaret Love Tibbits, died giving birth to twin boys, leaving her father, William R. Tibbits, and her uncle as the primary caretakers for the children. Eventually, Chamberlain's father sold the ranch and the family moved to a smaller property in Big Pine, California. After her father's death in 1896, Chamberlain became a skilled farmhand and rounded up cattle with her uncle. In recalling her upbringing in central California, Chamberlain highlights notable events in the region, including the first railroads in Inyo County and conflicts over the aqueduct constructed to bring water from the Owens Valley to Los Angeles in the early 1900s. In her later years, she married Edward Merrill Chamberlain whom she refers to as an "awful[ly] good man," and she paints a melancholic picture of how deeply she has missed him since his death in 1949.

Throughout the interview, Mary Chamberlain recollects the Paiute community near Blackrock Ranch. She and her Paiute childhood friends played together, making mud pies and playing with arrows. She describes the work Paiutes performed for the white ranchers in the community, such as assisting with ranch labor, while Paiute women helped with the wash and other household tasks. Chamberlain remembers Paiute families bringing their babies over to the ranch to show them off. She highlights some traditional Paiute practices, such as weaving baskets, doing beadwork, and making moccasins out of deer skin. Chamberlain

also recalls watching and actively participating in Paiute social gatherings. She recalls attending *fandangos* or powwows, where she and her siblings danced alongside their Paiute neighbors. Chamberlain notes the ways in which the Paiutes assimilated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for example, by wearing clothing similar to that of white ranchers. Chamberlain describes the relationship between the Paiutes and white settlers as entirely peaceful, asserting that the Paiutes never caused any trouble within the community.

Much of Mary Chamberlain's story focuses on her experiences coexisting with her Paiute neighbors. Her descriptions of Paiute cultural practices and customs add to our understanding of not only this particular Indigenous community, but also the relationship between Native Americans and white settlers in central California at this time. Chamberlain provides insight into rural life in the Owens Valley, as she describes her family's ranch and orchard. Chamberlain's interview will be of interest to researchers studying the history of the American West, particularly those examining late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century California. Scholars of Native American history and culture may also be interested in Chamberlain's perspectives.

Mary Chamberlain and Edward had one daughter, Vesta Bereneice "Bea" Hilton [BH], who was present during the interview, as was Chamberlain's granddaughter Shirley Morse [SM]. At the time of the interview, Chamberlain had taken up residence in Newport Beach, California, and was the last living member of her immediate family. She was ninety-four years old at the time of her death in November 1974 and was buried in Inyo County, California.

Only identifiable individuals, locations, and technical terms have been referenced in the footnotes, usually when they first appear.

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*Verbatim Transcript (O.H. 1417)*

LAWRENCE DE GRAAF CENTER FOR ORAL AND PUBLIC HISTORY

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON

NARRATOR: Virginia Eskew [VE]

INTERVIEWER: Mary Chamberlain [MC]

INTERLOCUTOR: Vesta Bereneice "Bea" Hilton [BH]

INTERLOCUTOR: Shirley Morse [SM]

DATE: January 12, 1973

LOCATION: Newport Beach, California

PROJECT: Personal and Family History Collections.

TRANSCRIBERS: Madison Hardrick and Natalie Melgoza

VE: This is an interview with (pause) Mrs., with Mrs. Mary Chamberlain for the California State University, Fullerton Oral History Program by Virginia Eskew at Mrs. Chamberlain's home in Newport Beach on Friday, January 12, 1973, at 3:30. Mrs. Chamberlain, let's begin at the very beginning, and just tell me all about your background and yourself. Just where you were born and—

MC: I was born at the Blackrock Ranch<sup>1</sup> in Inyo County,<sup>2</sup> between Bishop<sup>3</sup> and Independence.<sup>4</sup>

VE: Um-hm, and when was that?

MC: Eighteen seventy-nine.

VE: Oh, uh-huh, and—um, would you begin by giving us some information about your background, your earliest recollections?

MC: Well, my earliest recollection was my mother<sup>5</sup> (pauses) and the family lived on this ranch (inaudible) and my nearest playmates were the little Indians that lived right close to us.

VE: Um-hm.

MC: Mm. And, of course, my mother died when I was six years old, and from then on, things changed. (pauses) It's kinda hard for me to—

VE: —Uh-huh.—

MC: —to tell you about it, but she died in childbirth when we were— and left us all— and now I'm the last one of the family living. All the rest of the children are dead, and my father<sup>6</sup> and mother are both dead. And, um, (sighs) and

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<sup>1</sup> Family-owned ranch in Inyo County, California.

<sup>2</sup> County in East Central California, established 1866.

<sup>3</sup> City in the Eastern Sierra region of California, established 1903.

<sup>4</sup> City south of Bishop, California, established 1862.

<sup>5</sup> Margaret Love Tibbits (1845–1885), Mary Chamberlain's mother.

<sup>6</sup> William R. Tibbits (1829–1896), Mary Chamberlain's father.

- I've just (pauses) lived on and on from place to place, I was with an aunt and uncle for a while, and then I had some awful good friends, Bereneice's uncle<sup>7</sup> and aunt took me and raised me. And I lived mostly up in Mon—Mono County<sup>8</sup> in Mammoth<sup>9</sup> when I was little and rode the ranges with my—well, he wasn't my adopted father, but they just took me and raised me.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: So, um, I rode the range with him whenever he want—wanted, uh, any help. I was tickled to death to get to go on, on horseback and ride after the cattle with him, and they were awful good to me, they were awful good to me. (sighs) And then, of course, I grew up, as kids do, and I was, I was married, and I've just had the one child, that's my daughter here. What else can I tell?
- VE: Oh, I'd like to hear, why did your family, uh—
- MC: My Mother died, and then my father didn't live too long after that, and I'm the last one of his family.
- VE: Oh, I see.
- MC: And, um, all the rest of 'em are gone. Last night I laid awake and lived it all over. I, I buried them all and, um, finally I was married, and I had just this one child—
- VE: Why did your—
- MC: —and—
- VE: —family come, uh, to that area in the beginning?
- MC: Oh.
- VE: Your mother—
- MC: Just early days.
- VE: Uh-huh. Just (inaudible)—
- MC: —I saw the first train road go down through from Reno<sup>10</sup> to Keeler.<sup>11</sup>
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: And our place was right—there was just a river between us and the railroad,<sup>12</sup> and I saw the first train that went down there, and my father was a rancher and lived out on this big ranch. (inaudible, voice in the background) Did she say something to me? Uh, I don't know. Now I'm the only one left.
- VE: Um-hm.

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<sup>7</sup> Presumably Mary Chamberlain's uncle (Vesta Bereneice "Bea" Hilton's great uncle).

<sup>8</sup> County in East Central California, established 1861.

<sup>9</sup> Town in the Sierra Nevada mountains, established 1877, now known as Mammoth Lakes.

<sup>10</sup> City along the Nevada-California Border, established 1868.

<sup>11</sup> Formerly known as Hawley, located in Eastern California, established 1872.

<sup>12</sup> The Carson and Colorado Railway, developed in 1883, ran from Mound House, Nevada, to Keeler, California.

- MC: All the rest of them are gone, my sisters and my brother. I only had one brother, and my mother died in childbirth.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: And I can remember the night she died. The doctor held me in his arms and she, she kept saying, "Oh William be good to my babies, Oh William be good to my babies," when she was dying, and I can remember that, and I was only six years old when she died, but it, it stayed with me all these years. But I had an uncle that came and stayed with us for a while. And she's buried—my mother's bur—buried in Bishop, and my father was buried in Big Pine.<sup>13</sup> And one sister was buried in Canada and two in Bishop, and I'm the last. I'm the tail end of the family, so—I, there was nothing only—I just, just lived on and on.
- VE: Well, tell me about your experiences with the Indians. You grew up with Indian children, that must—
- MC: —How all—
- VE: —have been—
- MC: —the playmates we had were Indians, and we loved them, and they loved us.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: They were just as nice to us as could be, and they ju—my—the Indian ranches, a lot of them were just under my father's ranch, but they were, they were awful good to us.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: And we loved them. All the playmates we had were out on this big ranch, and they—but they were just as nice as they could be to us. We just loved them, and they loved us.
- VE: What tribe were they? Just—
- MC: —Paiute<sup>14</sup> Indians.
- VE: Paiutes, uh-huh.
- MC: Mm. Paiute Indians, but they were awful nice.
- VE: Did you get to know anything about the Paiutes, playing with them as children?
- MC: Oh, played with them—all, all, all the playmates we had was the Indians.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: And they were just nice as they could be.
- VE: Did you get to know anything about their customs and, and way of life and all?

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<sup>13</sup> Town in Inyo County, fifteen miles southeast of Bishop, California.

<sup>14</sup> Indigenous peoples of the Great Basin region, commonly divided into the Northern Paiute, Southern Paiute, and the Mono groups.



MC: Oh, they had their *fandangos*<sup>15</sup> and their, the, um, their *wickiups*<sup>16</sup> and all that, you know? We loved them, and they loved us. They were all (laughs) we had. We, we just loved them just as much as they loved us.

VE: Um-hm.

MC: (thump)<sup>17</sup> My mother and my father were always good to the Indians, and the Indians was always good to us. Just nice as they could be. We never had, um, a bit of trouble with them. (pauses) Sure loved them.

VE: Tell me. How did the, uh, railroad affect the area that you lived in when it came through?

MC: Well, it was on the other side of the, uh, valley, and there's a river between us and the, the rai – the railroad that came by there came from Hawthorne<sup>18</sup> to Keeler. That's only – all we'd see of them. But the conductor was very fond of us children, and we would just leg, uh, leg it over there to the train to get to see him, and even though father – then one, one time he took me home with him to his wife and I s – I visited with her when I was a little bit of a girl and we had such a nice time. But, uh, we'd just try every d – time that we could to get over to the railroad station to see him because he'd usually bring us some candy or something like that, and we were all little tads, you know? We'd ride over there and tickled to death to see him, and he – they didn't have any family and they was, they was awful fond of us children.

VE: Did it affect that area much? The railroad coming –

MC: – Oh –

VE: – through? –

MC: – no.

VE: No?

MC: No.

VE: It didn't –

MC: – Not –

VE: – change.

MC: – not at all, we was quite a little ways from the railroad and the river was between us, but we'd always try to manage to get on our little ponies or get over to the railroad track, so that when the train come through, we'd be there for that conductor, he was so nice to us kids always bringing us something (laughs). Yes, we appreciated everything.

VE: Your father was a rancher you say?

MC: Yes.

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<sup>15</sup> Presumably referring to the Spanish folk dance and song typically performed in groups of two. Mary Chamberlain appears to use it as a synonym for powwow.

<sup>16</sup> Indigenous term for hut, specifically in the southwestern United States, a.k.a. wigwams.

<sup>17</sup> A thumping noise can be hear frequently throughout the entire of the interview.

<sup>18</sup> Presumably Hawthorne, Nevada, established 1880.

VE: Uh-huh.

MC: Yes.

VE: Did he – uh, was – cattle? Is that a cattle –

MC: – Cattle. And he –

VE: – rancher? –

MC: – hadn't – No. It wasn't a big cattle ranch more of a "ranch" ranch, uh, with grain, and hay, and things like that, and we didn't have so much stock. We had stock but not – uh, it wasn't a real stock ranch. It was just more a big ranch with hay and grain and –

VE: – Um-hm. –

MC: – things like that. We had the delight of seeing the thrashing machine come every fall (laughs), and that was interesting to us, course, we were little. But my mother died when we were so little and an, and an uncle came from, uh, Waterville, Maine,<sup>19</sup> to be with us, and he was with us, he was with us quite a little while before my mother died, and he was so good to her. He, he was a cook by trade, and he helped her with the home and with us little brats (laughs) (sighs).

[00:10:14]

VE: Well, did the Indians live right there on the ranch with you?

MC: No. They, they were out off of our ranch, but adjoining, their camp was adjoining. Oh, we just loved the Indians; they were so nice, (motor in the background) always so good to us, you know? (laughs)

VE: Was it a reservation? Is that –

MC: – No. –

VE: – what it was?

MC: No.

VE: No?

MC: Just, uh, camps.

VE: Um-hm.

MC: No, it wasn't a big reser – reservation at all. Just, just a few camps lived close to us, all really adjoined our ranch. But, uh, it wasn't, um, it wasn't a big camp. It wasn't just – oh, they'd be a bunch of Paiutes live here and maybe a little while – a little ways off there'd be another bunch of 'em. All around us was a bunch of – but they were good Indians –

VE: – Um-hm. –

MC: – they were good, they never weren't, uh, ugly at all it was about as fond of us as we was of them (laughs).

VE: Um-hm. Did you go over to the campsites much?

MC: Oh yes.

VE: Uh-huh.

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<sup>19</sup> City in southwestern Maine on the west bank of the Kennebec River.

MC: And they came to our place all the time and then, they mainly always came to do the washing for my mother (pauses) and any extra work that she could give them or she always gave it to 'em. And my uncle—bless his ole heart—he was, he was an awful good cook, and he was so good to help my mother when she had all of us kids, you know? She had lot to do, but he'd get in and help her.

VE: Um-hm.

MC: He was a darlin', and then when he'd get real tired, he'd lay down on the porch, put his head up on the step, and I'd comb his hair (laughs). My, I sure miss something like when he'd—(background noise) (pauses)—oh it was, it was a ni—nice life, I guess, is what a bunch o' kids could have without their mother.

VE: Could you tell us a little bit about the, um, Indian camps that you visited?

MC: Oh they—

VE: You remember anything about them?

MC: Oh, they're just regular Indian camps where their *wickiups* and their—places like that, but they were good they weren't, they weren't fighting Indians or anything like that; they were just good people. Yeah, we were very fond of the Indians, and they were of us. (laughs) And my mother and father was always very congenial to the Indians, you know? They (pause) were kind to them, too, and they worked for my father a lot, the Paiutes did. That's what they were, they were Paiutes. That's the tribe.

VE: What kind of work did they do for your father?

MC: Oh, any ranch work there was to do, haying and irrigating and weeding, and my father had a big orchard and, uh, y—they always worked in the orchard and, and helped wherever is needed.

VE: Um-hm.

MC: And he had, and he had—his place was right on the main road from Bishop to Independence, and they—our place was a stopping place for people that couldn't go all the way through or anything. They just stopped off there at the ranch, and then go on the next day. (inaudible)

MC: Well, we didn't, we didn't have anything in the house like we have now, and they had a big cauldron, uh, and the *Mahala*<sup>20</sup>would come, a *Squaw*,<sup>21</sup> and do our washing and help my mother any way they could like that. And weed in the garden and help with the picking of the fruit. My father had a nice orchard, lovely orchard, and they'd always come down to help my mother.

VE: What kind of an orchard was it?

MC: Apples and peaches and pears and plums and cherries and everything like that. I had a—he had a lovely orchard and had this big ranch, and he always

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<sup>20</sup> Term denoting “woman” in an unspecified Native language. See [online](#).

<sup>21</sup> Sexual and racial slur for Indigenous women in North America.

- had a nice big strawberry patch and big garden and no interference because they weren't awful near neighbors. They were quite a little space between our neighbors, but they were all nice neighbors, we never had any trouble with our neighbors.
- VE: Um-hm.
- SM: And those old *Squaws* would go and have a baby –
- MC: Yes.
- VE: Oh, would you tell me about that? My gosh –
- MC: Oh, they're so cute. Well, I never was at their camps when they had their babies, but they always had their babies and brought 'em down for us to see and admire.
- BH: Mother, tell 'em about Ole Ninny<sup>22</sup> when she went and she came to ours, and then I – we took our – her food out to her, to, to there, and she was gone. And when she would say she'd come back, she had gone out back in the woodshed and had her baby and then come back and washed it in the ditch and then went on with her washing.
- VE: Oh goodness.
- MC: But the Indians were awful nice to us, and we was nice to them. We loved the Indians, and they loved us.
- VE: Oh, would you –
- MC: – And they were the only playmates we had – children, white kids, had around there.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: We didn't have any white, close neighbors, only the Indians. And it was that – the ranch was what they call the Blackrock Ranch.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: It was the – all the ro – all the big rocks around there were black.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: You know? And they ca – they called it the Blackrock Ranch.
- BH: It was really lava wasn't it, Mom? Isn't that rock really lava?
- MC: Well, kind of a lava, but most of it had been burned years ago when I, while we were – there more of a la – lava rock.
- VE: What kind of games and things did you play with the Indians?
- MC: Arrows.
- VE: Arrows?
- MC: We had arrows, and we played with those, uh, played and made mud pies, and we didn't have the gifts that children have now to play with, and we didn't have dolls or anything like that, you know? We were really little rough necks. (pauss) We had a big high board fence around where the corral was, and we'd get up – climb up on the outside and tease the cows

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<sup>22</sup> Presumably a reference to a Paiute woman.

- on the (laughs) inside, and they'd come running over to the fence, and all we'd fall back in on—onto the street. But we existed.
- VE: What, um—When you went over to the railroad to watch the trains come in and all, do you remember when they were putting the railroad in?
- MC: No—
- VE: —(inaudible)—
- MC: —I—the—well I—it wasn't finished. It was quite a long while after I can remember that they finished that clear down to Keeler.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: But they only went from Kee—from Hawthorne, Nevada, down to Keeler. That was just close to Independence, and, um, we just loved to see that old train go by. And then the conductor and, and all of 'em ate over us little kids, you know, and bring us candy or things like that, and we'd always tried to meet that train (laughs).
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: But it was a river between us and the railroad and, of course, we had to be careful of that.
- VE: Do you remember the name of that river?
- MC: Owens River.<sup>23</sup>
- VE: The Owens River?
- MC: O-W-E-N-S. Owens River, yes it was.
- VE: Did the railroad make the area you lived in any larger? Did people come there more?
- MC: No, they—well it's never this, uh—towns along down through the valley, but, um, there was never anything built right close around the railroad. Independence was two, three miles from the, from the railroad, and our place wasn't that far. There was just really the river and just a pasture between us and the railroad. But—and it was close to the White Mountains instead of the Sierra Nevadas.<sup>24</sup>
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: We were right in between.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: See (pauses), after my mother died, of course, my father eventually sold his ranch.
- VE: And then where did you go?
- [00:19:59]
- MC: I went to Bishop to live with my daughter's uncle and aunt.
- VE: Um-hm.

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<sup>23</sup> River east of the Sierra Nevada mountains.

<sup>24</sup> Mountain range between the Central Valley of California and the Great Basin.

- MC I was just a little tad, my mother died, and she lost twin boys when she died, and I can just remember her the night she died. She kee—my father was sitting on the edge of the bed, and she'd say, "Oh, William, be good to my babies. Oh, William, be good to my babies." She was dying, and she did die, and we were left without a mother.
- VE: Um-hm. Well, how long did you live in that area after she died?
- MC: Well until I was old enough to, to go and live with niece's uncle and go to school.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: But I lived down in a (inaudible) place. We—
- VE: —Did you go to school with the Indians, too?
- MC: No—
- VE: —Um-hm. —
- MC: —No. I didn't go to school until after I left down on the ranch.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: And, and went up to live with her uncle and aunt.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: So, then I, uh, went to school. I went to the West Bishop School.<sup>25</sup>
- VE: Um-hm. Do you remember when that was? When you started school?
- MC: No, I remember—it was, I think, about when I was eight—
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: —years old.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: I don't know for sure.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: I don't remember, and I lost a lot of my data the—even after that. You know, I was old enough to copy things down, things like that, and then they were all lost.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: Scattered.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: So, I don't remember, and my memory isn't very good, see?
- VE: Oh, I think it, it sounds just great to me.
- MC: We didn't have any awful close neighbors. We had one neighbor that was the closest. Well, we had two that were pretty close to us, but not—they didn't join—they joined onto the ranch, but not in the ranch.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: They—and the neighbors were all awful nice to us.
- VE: Did you have get-togethers and things with the neighbors—
- MC: —Oh no.—
- VE: —sometimes?

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<sup>25</sup> Presumably a school in Bishop, California.

- MC: No, we were too little for that. —
- VE: —Um-hm. —
- MC: —After, after we grew up a little while and my father sold his ranch and moved to Big Pine.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: And then I went to school from—when I was up there. But when we was down on the ranch, I wasn't close enough to school, and we were too little, too *chiquita*.<sup>26</sup>
- VE: Why did your father sell the ranch?
- MC: Well, my mother died, and he had to take the children, so we could get to schools and places like that, and then he bought a ranch in Big Pine, and then we moved up to that ranch and —
- VE: —Oh. —
- MC: —left the ranch down by Independence. Then we—when we went to Big Pine, where we could go to school close to us.
- VE: Um-hm. And what, what type of a ran—was it the same type of ranch as the one before?
- MC: No, it was just a small orchard and a home.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: It wasn't a ranch; it was just a small place. But, it was right close to the school and close to town, close to neighbors, places like that. Otherwise, we was way out by ourselves. Um. —
- VE: —Did it change your life much? —
- MC: Oh. —
- VE: —Your move? —
- MC: —No. I do—I, I don't know? My sister went up to Hawthorne to live, and I went up there and she, she die—she died up there. Oh, I don't know, just all mixed up. And life—there's so much, I forget. Just enough.
- VE: Oh, I think, I think this is just so interesting. I wish you'd, um, tell me about your, your life there on the new ranch and —
- MC: —Well, we were close to town there and we had lots of neighbors, and the neighbors were awful good to us. Or those kids, you know, they were awful nice to us. We liked it there, we wasn't very far from town and we, and we was close to school and —
- VE: —Um-hm. —
- MC: —we liked it there and we had lots of nice neighbors
- VE: You couldn't play with the Indians there then, you didn't?
- MC: Oh—
- VE: —You weren't in—
- MC: —we did to a certain extent—
- VE: —Uh-huh. —

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<sup>26</sup> Hispanic term of endearment for “little girl.”

- MC: – play with them. We liked ‘em. We liked the Indians, and the Indians liked us (laughs).
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: Yeah. Yes, we liked the Indians. They were the only close playmates we had until we moved to Big Pine.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: We sure liked the Indians.
- VE: Do you, um—do you (pauses) remember much about the, uh, Indians’ camps and things as far as maybe how they looked? Do you remember how they looked at all?
- MC: Oh yes.
- VE: Uh-huh—
- MC: We, we—it was like close to the Indian camps when they had their *fandangos*, and we always seemed to manage to go and see them.
- VE: Oh, tell me about one of their *fandangos*, that sounds interesting.
- MC: Oh, they’d just get in a great big circle, and all of us kids we’d get in with them.
- VE: Oh.
- MC: And then “ya ya ya ya ya” (laughs). We thought that was a lot of fun.
- VE: Were they the dances and things like that?
- MC: Well, not too many.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: No, they had us—they’d circle—they’d all, um—each one take hold of each other and they’d be a great big round, and we’d get in with them and “ya ya ya ya” go around and round and round. We thought that was a lot of fun.
- VE: Oh sure. What were the purposes of those dances, do you know? I—
- MC: –I think just to have a good time. That’s the way it looked to me (laughs).
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: Anyway, we had a good time. (laughs)
- VE: Did you ever, um—were you ever around when the Indians had their burial, um, burials? And things—
- MC: –No. —
- VE: –like that?
- MC: I never was, was with them when their—any of the burials. No, I do—I don’t remember ever being in one of their burials.
- VE: Um-hm. Their, um, their birth practices, the things they did when they—it went off by themselves is that what—
- MC: –Sometimes, yes. —
- VE: –you said? Uh-huh.
- MC: Yes.
- VE: Could you tell—
- MC: –And—



- VE: – me more about that?
- MC: – and they had, they lived in *wickiups*, you know, built with willows –
- VE: – Oh. –
- MC: – and things like that. They didn't have buildings like these at all, Not too – in the early days. But they had, um – took willows and things like that and built their *wickiups*. That's what they called them, *wickiups*, and have a little hole in the front that they could go in and out. But, uh, (pauses) I don't know. They, they, and they, they, uh, copied the white people lots, you know?
- VE: Oh.
- MC: You know, they – anything they liked very well, they'd copy from the white people.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: And that pleased the white people, too (laughs).
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: No, we were very fond of the Indians, they were really good. They were. They weren't quarrelsome, and they didn't, (pauses) they didn't steal and things like that, like they had the name of doing, but we never had any trouble with 'em.
- VE: Did any of the townspeople or other ranchers have any problems with them?
- MC: Not that I know of. (pauses) They worked for the white people, too, you know? They worked on ranches, and they worked, the *Squaws*, with these washings and things like that for the white people. I don't know, they were awful good neighbors. Just good neighbors. (pauses) No, we didn't have any trouble with them though.
- VE: (background noise) They were your closest companions then –
- MC: – Um-hm. –
- VE: – during that period? Um-hm.
- MC: Yes, they were awful nice. We really liked the Indians, and they liked us.
- SM: She's a terrific fisherman right to this day because of those early days with fishin', I imagine.
- VE: Oh, you learned a lot from them then?
- SM: Hunting and fishing and –
- VE: – Oh, tell me about some of that.
- MC: (laughs)
- VE: I'd really like to hear that.
- MC: Well, I didn't do so much fishing until after we left our ranch and got up into Bishop. And I, there – then I fished, but I just fished because I liked to (laughs).
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: (sighs) And I, I never was unhappy as an – as my niece's uncle would say, "Well, c'mon, I want you to help me with the cattle today." And I'd have

- my horse, you know, and ride with him all day. He just thought that was fine, and I did too. I just loved him. He was a cattleman. He had cattle on the river, and he had to have some help, and I was delighted to do it.
- VE: What did you have to do?
- MC: Ride horseback, and round up cattle, and –
- VE: – Oh. –
- MC: – change ‘em maybe from one feeding place to another. But he was always with me, my little – I just loved that little horse.

[00:30:34]

- VE: Did you learn to, uh, fish from the Indians –
- MC: No. –
- VE: – or did you learn to fish –
- MC: – No, I learned from white people.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: No, I don’t think they let – they fished as much as white people our way.
- VE: Um-hm. (pauses) Do you think you learned some other things from them, maybe?
- MC: No, they, they taught me some things, hm. (laughs)
- VE: Like what?
- MC: Oh, just how to camp, things like that, but we mostly played. (background noise) Kids played (laughs), little work. (pauses) My father had a nice ranch, had a big berry patch, of course, we had to help with that. You know, he had a big orchard, um, that suited us. We liked that ole orchard, peaches and cherries and everything like that.
- VE: Did he sell those products? And –
- MC: – Yes, and then it’s – my father’s brother lived with him, and he put out fruit and things like that and helped my mother.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: He was awful good to help her. He was a cook by trade, anyway, and he was awful good help to my mother and all of us kids. (pauses) And I’m the only one left.
- VE: Did he, um, ship some of his goods out on the train?
- MC: No, he’d take ‘em in to Independence, it’s only a little ways.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: But I don’t, I don’t know – I don’t remember about him shipping anything or not. (pauses) I wasn’t interested, I guess.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: (laughs)
- VE: Did you go to Independence with him ever?
- MC: Oh yes.
- VE: Did ya? Um-hm.
- MC: Yeah.

- VE: Would you tell us about some of those trips?
- MC: Well, the people down there were awful good to us in Independence 'cause we were a lot – just a bunch of motherless kids, you know? And the people down there were interested in us and would be often nice to us and, uh, for many years I had a half-sister that lived down there. Yeah, but she was adopted by some other people, so I didn't get to see her much. And finally, when she moved to Bakersfield,<sup>27</sup> her adopted father was a judge, (pauses) and, uh, they moved up to Bakersfield, so I didn't get to see her much. And then she went back to Maine, and I had another half-sister back there. (pauses) Just a mixed-up life.
- VE: When did you leave that area completely?
- MC: After I got married.
- VE: Um-hm. Did you get married when you lived in Bishop?
- MC: Um-hm. (pauses) Yes.
- VE: Would you like to tell us some – about that? About your marriage and –
- MC: Well, there wasn't very much to tell about it. I wasn't married for long, (pauses) and then I moved from the valley to live up there after I was married.
- VE: Was your husband a rancher?
- MC: Well, sort of. He wasn't a rancher like my father was, but he lived on a ranch and did, did what he had to.
- VE: Um-hm. (pauses) And then you were w – married to the world's finest man?
- MC: I sure was married to a wonderful man. (pauses)
- VE: Later. Um-hm. Would you like to tell us about that?
- MC: There's not much to tell about this, we were awful happy. He was an awful good man and came from an awful good family.
- VE: Where was this? That you lived?
- MC: Bishop.
- VE: In Bishop? Um-hm. (pauses) How long did you live in Bishop then?
- MC: Gosh, I don't know how long I was there. How long did I live in Bishop, Bea?<sup>28</sup>
- BH: Oh, I don't know, you've been down here for twenty-some odd years.
- MC: And I'm ninety-three years old so –
- VE: So, seventy-some? (pauses) When did you, um, when did you, uh – or did you watch the area of the Owens Valley<sup>29</sup> change much?
- MC: Oh yes.
- VE: Did you see a lot of changes?

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<sup>27</sup> City in Kern County, California.

<sup>28</sup> Vesta Bereneice "Bea" Hilton (1898–1986), daughter of Mary and Edward Chamberlain.

<sup>29</sup> Valley in Eastern California.

- MC: Oh yes. W – we saw a lot of changes, and the towns changed and grew, and more ranchers came in.
- BH: City of Los Angeles<sup>30</sup> went up there.<sup>31</sup>
- MC: Yes, the city of Los Angeles interfered with it.
- VE: How – how did they interfere?
- MC: Come up there to get our water.
- VE: Oh, the Owens River, uh –
- MC: – Um-hm. –
- VE: – aqueduct. Was that what it is?
- MC: Um-hm. They had a lot of water trouble there for a while.
- VE: Oh, would you tell me about that?
- MC: I don't know very much about it.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: I know they (pauses) tried to take it all, but they didn't get it all.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: People kind of fought back a little bit.
- VE: Um-hm. Especially the ranchers I imagine it would –
- MC: – Yes. –
- VE: – interfere with their – um-hm.
- MC: But they – ranchers held their own pretty good. (pauses) They had some difficulties, but (clock chiming) there wasn't any real outbreaks or anything like that or fights or they weren't very happy about having 'em take over but –
- VE: Do you know how they kept from, uh, losing all that water to the Los Angeles – project?
- MC: They didn't lose it all.
- VE: How did they keep from –
- MC: – Well, they –
- VE: – losing it?
- MC: – the va – the valley is still wet.
- VE: Uh-huh
- MC: There they'd get the water from all the mountains, you know? Do –
- VE: Um-hm. (pauses) Was it a, a court procedure they had to go through?
- MC: No. No, I don't think they did, I don't remember very good.
- VE: Would this have affected your ranch had it, uh –
- MC: No, we, we had our water from the, from the mountains instead of the river.
- VE: Oh, I see. (pauses) (clock ticking) Well, I'm just enjoying so much what you have to say.
- MC: (laughs)

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<sup>30</sup> Metropolis in Southern California.

<sup>31</sup> The Los Angeles Water Commission built an aqueduct to move water from the Owens Valley to Los Angeles in 1913.

- VE: And I just—I just, um, anything that, that you would like to talk about I'd love to hear.
- MC: Well, I don't know much—or what I di—what I didn't know, I've forgotten.
- BH: And her—her married life was so interesting because her husband<sup>32</sup> was a builder and they would move to Mammoth, he would build in the summer—ask her about that—and back snowed in, he would move back to Bishop in the winter.
- VE: Oh, uh-huh.
- MC: We loved it.
- VE: What type of building did he do?
- MC: Any cabins and things for people up and around Mammoth.
- VE: And you lived up in that area—
- MC: —Um-hm.—
- VE: —too?—
- MC: —Yes.—
- VE: Oh.
- MC: Have a cabin up there.
- VE: Oh!
- MC: Had a cabin. I sold it (pauses) after he died, I, I, I never been back up there to live.
- BH: Virginia, there's a picture that Mr. Brown<sup>33</sup> painted my mother of the cabin.
- VE: Oh, that's lovely. Isn't that beautiful?
- SM: To this day grandma bakes all of their bread here.
- VE: Um-hm.
- SM: And, uh, she did that on a wood stove clear up until the time Mr. Chamberlain passed away.
- VE: Um-hm.
- BH: Stick your hand in the oven to see if the oven was hot enough for the bread (all laugh). We didn't have thermometers, heat the water on the tank in the back.
- MC: We loved it both of us, he did, and I did too. We just loved it.
- VE: Did he hunt while you were—
- MC: Hm?
- VE: —did he hunt and all when you were—
- MC: —Not very—
- VE: —living—
- MC: —much. No. he fished.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: He fished more than he hunted.

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<sup>32</sup> Edward Merrill Chamberlain (1877–1949), second husband of Mary Chamberlain and father of Vesta Bereneice “Bea” Hilton.

<sup>33</sup> Presumably a family friend.

VE: Um-hm. Did you bring supplies in when you went—

MC: —Oh yes.—

VE: —in to do the building?

MC: Mm.

VE: Uh-huh.

MC: And then there was a store up there in Mammoth and—but we'd us—usually took up what we wanted to use.

VE: Um-hm.

[00:40:09]

BH: Course years ago, they had to take a wagon, you know? It would take them two days to go from Bishop up to Mammoth. Then, of course, cars came in.

VE: Do you remember that?

MC: Um-hm.

VE: Do you remember cars and, and all the outcomes of them?

MC: Sure do. Used to go in a wagon and the, the road up over the Sherwin Hill,<sup>34</sup> you'd just jump off of one rock and go down another and get another rock and go—

VE: — (laughs)—

MC: —that way it was bad road for a long time but now it's pretty good road.

VE: Um-hm. Did you, um, have a car right after they—

MC: We had a car obviously.

VE: Um-hm. That would be quite a change from—

MC: —Yes. (laughs)—

VE: —driving, driving in a covered wagon—or a wagon and a, a car.

SM: Grandma's parents came in a covered wagon to California.

VE: Uh-huh.

SM: Did you ask her about that?

VE: Yes, uh—

MC: No, I don't know anything about that.

SM: Ah.

MC: I really don't. (pauses)

BH: Well, of course, it don't seem—

VE: Seem to me—

BH: —that they had a sprint start to cattle, you know, and riding them. They didn't take 'em in, in cars like they do now with trucks and all. But they had to have their early ride and drive them down over there.

VE: Um-hm.

MC: We had the—the cattle in the valley all winter, and in the spring we'd take 'em up to Mammoth, (pauses) and I loved that 'cause I got to ride my own.

VE: How long were those drives?

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<sup>34</sup> Ridge in Mono County, California.

- MC: Well, we'd—sometimes, if we got an early start, they could drive up in a day—
- VE: —Um-hm.—
- MC: —from Bishop. But, uh, if we didn't, if, if it was, uh, an awful big herd of cattle, well, it took longer, you know? They're slow.
- VE: And you camped out when you were on those drives there?
- MC: You what?
- VE: You camped out when you were on those drives?
- MC: No.
- VE: No?
- BH: You did too camp out, mother.
- SM: No, she said, "on the drive."
- BH: Oh—well they'd, they'd get to Sherwin Hill and stay all night and then start up early in the morning.
- VE: Those are quite some experiences, my goodness. You must be quite a horse woman, too.
- MC: I loved it. Yes, I did, I, I used to ride a lot. And I liked it.
- SM: Did girls wear pants in those days, long pants?
- MC: I can't remember whether I ever wore pants or not.
- SM: They had long skirts, and it was so hard to wash everything and yeah—and so dusty, I imagine.
- MC: I don't remember whether I wore—
- BH: I don't remember even in my time whether I wore, (laughs) I can remember going out and getting a horse out of the pasture.
- MC: Yes, I do all that—
- BH: But I can't remember what we wore.
- MC: —I don't know whether I wore overalls or not, I can't remember.
- BH: I can't either.
- VE: In some of my readings I came across, uh, uh, some problems with the Indians as far as, uh, when they had illnesses that, that they wanted to kill their medicine men, do you remember anything—
- MC: —Um-hm.—
- VE: —about that?
- MC: No.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: Not a thing about that. The white people were always willing to help them any way they could.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: No they—we was, we was very, very friendly with the Indians. The Indians—we never, I don't think we ever had any trouble with any kind. They used to say that they'd steal, but I don't think we ever lost a thing from 'em.

- BH: Well, they had what they call their powwows<sup>35</sup> up there every year, and they would go out on the river and ride in the dust. See, I don't know why they would go way over there way, then they'd build fake willows and make this great big circle. And each family would make their, their, had their place around in this circle, and they were great to gamble, they gambled like it wasn't mother and sticks.
- MC: Um-hm. Sticks mostly.
- BH: And then they would have this Indian dance "au-wo-ona-motina"<sup>36</sup> and go over there, and we kids would go out there and dance with 'em and dust clear up to our ankles.
- VE: Do you remember those powwows?
- MC: Oh, yes.
- VE: Oh, I'd love to hear about those.
- MC: Well, I don't know anything I can tell you, only it were the, the—just as she said they'd circle and um—around, all the way around, you know? Like that. Have a kinda, a little "hu-hu-hu-hu" but, uh, we used to go and watch 'em.
- BH: Well, each family had their fire, right kinda to, to the end, wasn't it, where they were inside this willow until—of course it was just a kind of a windbreak really wasn't a—
- MC: —Yeah. —
- BH: —a big circle, you know, with the willows up this way. Then each family would be around this way and then their fire here. Then they'd dance in the center of this ring. (pauses)
- VE: Did, uh, did you—were you ever, um, around when maybe there was any kind of problems with the Indians?
- MC: No, that was before my time.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: No, they were very peaceable.
- VE: Were there any people in your community that didn't like the Indians?
- MC: I don't know of anybody.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: I don't know of anybody—I don't know of anybody that disliked 'em. They, they were very peaceable, you know? There, there was no trouble with the Indians at all.
- SM: Wasn't there an Indian that had that cute saying when you asked him where something was? He said "over down yonder," was is—
- MC: Oh yeah, "down yonder on the other side of Tag Hardin's needy sage brush." (all laugh) (pauses) No wh—we white kids all liked the Indians,

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<sup>35</sup> Term for an Indigenous social gathering with religious or traditional sentiments.

<sup>36</sup> Presumably an Indian dance and song.



- (coughs) and those old *Mahalas* they were just as good to us as they could be. Especially after my mother died, they were awful good to us.
- VE: You said your washwoman, you went to visit her and, and what happened?
- MC: Well, she'd go out and have her baby and come back and wash – finish the wash.
- VE: Just like that?
- BH: They were never –
- VE: – No problem.
- BH: – they were never in the house. They would come in the mornings, and of course they had the – you know, wash on a washboard and a, and a tub. They'd take the water outside and mom would fix their, their food. And they ate, believe me. Instead of putting a coffee in a cup it would be a big bowl like that.
- VE: Um-hm.
- BH: And I don't know what mom used to fix 'em –
- MC: – (laughs) –
- BH: – but I remember that coffee though.
- VE: Did you get to eat any of the Indian food? What types?
- MC: No, I don't think – we had all the pine nuts, we'd get the pine nuts.
- VE: (laughs)
- MC: But, um, I don't, I don't think I ever ate any Indian food, but they ate a lot of our food –
- VE: – (laughs) –
- MC: – and enjoyed it. (laughs) No, we were very friendly with the Indians.
- VE: Do you remember any of the things they prepared? Or foods they prepared besides the pine nuts?
- MC: Why – uh, they cooked beans.
- VE: Beans?
- MC: Beans was one of their strong dishes. But oh, I don't know, with – they most always – white people would give them foods, you know?
- VE: Did they grow crops and things?
- MC: No. They weren't – they were camped out on the hillside usually, uh, not on the main, uh, ranch ground.
- VE: Well then, they didn't really live off the land, they worked more.
- MC: They worked and hunted and fished and things like that, you know? An awful lot and they worked for the white people all during the, the, uh, haying seasons and grain seasons and things like that. They all worked for the white people.
- VE: Did you ever see – Do the Paiutes do weaving and things like –
- MC: – Mm. –
- VE: – that? Did you –
- MC: – Yes. –
- VE: – see some of their work?

- MC: Oh, yes. The baskets and, and baby ba – uh, baby, uh, baskets, you know? And all that kinda stuff, they did.
- BH: Oh, show her that Papoose<sup>37</sup> basket that we got in there.
- MC: I expect she's seen them.
- VE: Oh no, I haven't.
- MC: Did you ever see them?
- VE: No. Did you ever get to do any of the weaving with them?
- MC: Oh, no.
- VE: No?
- MC: Um-hm. I never did any of it.
- VE: Where did they get their materials, do you remember?
- MC: The willows.
- VE: The willows?
- MC: Um-hm, yeah. There's a baby basket hanging up in there, dear.
- BH: Mm, I'll show it to her when she goes. Papoose.
- MC: Papoose basket.

[00:50:00]

- VE: (pauses) Did the mothers keep the children with them all the time when they worked? Or, or leave them somewhere? Or what did they do?
- MC: I don't know.
- BH: They used to bring them, 'cause I've got pictures where I played and made mud pies and things while the Indians was working.
- MC: (pauses) No, we were very fond of the Indians. Of course, we had the Paiute Indians, and they're different than some Indians, you know? Some Indians are dirty and all, but the Paiute Indians aren't that way.
- VE: Oh.
- MC: They, they tried to copy from the white people –
- VE: – Um-hm. –
- MC: – and all. Learned to do things from the white people.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: But there's some Indians tribes that are – (pauses) well, they're not like that at all, you know? And I – we never caught the Indians stealing from us or anything like that. Some of 'em, some Paiute tribes they do steal and all. (pauses) But um, it's um –
- VE: Were you ever around any other Indians than –
- MC: – No. –
- VE: – Paiutes?
- MC: No, um. Not to speak of, hardly. Now, the Paiute Indians and us was – were all one family –
- VE: – Um-hm. –

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<sup>37</sup> Traditional Indigenous basket used to carry infants and young children.

- MC: – pretty near. We liked the Indians very much, and they all liked us. And, uh, they were very friendly with our people. So, I think it's a whole lot what you put out, whether you get it back or not.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: You know?
- VE: Then the white man really changed the Indians' way of life quite a bit, it sounds like.
- MC: Well, they tried to copy 'em –
- VE: – Uh-huh. –
- MC: – white people a lot, you know?
- VE: Do you remember what type of things they copied and did?
- MC: Well, I don't know. (pauses) Dressing mostly, you know, and things like that.
- VE: You never saw them wear their, their, their regular type –
- MC: I don't think –
- VE: – Indian clothes. –
- MC: – any of them where we lived had anything only – they dressed in a lot of white people's clothes, you know? And everything like that of course. They had moccasins<sup>38</sup> like, you know, made their own out of buckskin and things like that, but, yeah, they dressed – tried to copy the white people.
- VE: Where did they get their skins to make the moccasins and things?
- MC: Killed, uh, killed deer and things like that, you know –
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: – and animals that had good skins, they cut out their moccasins and sewed them and made them. Buckskin, you know, the deer skin they used an awful lot of that for making the moccasins out of. (pauses)
- VE: Did you ever watch them do any panning<sup>39</sup> or things like –
- MC: – No. –
- VE: – that?
- MC: No, I never happened to see them do any of that.
- VE: (pauses) When you went over to the Indian camps what did – what type of things did you do over there?
- MC: Oh, just chat with 'em and talk to 'em and watch 'em make their beadwork and things like that. And they were always so nice to us children, awful nice. We just didn't have bad Indians.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: They, they were the Paiutes, and the Paiutes are good Indians. (pauses) No, we were very fond of the Indians, (pauses) and they were awful good to my mother, helped her, and she was nice to them and that, you know, encouraged 'em to be nice, too, so. (pauses) No, I was only six years old

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<sup>38</sup> Footwear typically made out of deerskin and other soft leather.

<sup>39</sup> Presumably panning or mining for gold.

- when my mother died, (pauses) and I was (pauses) the second child. I had three sisters, and a brother. And then my mother lost twin babies when she died. Course she was a long ways – quite a long ways from a doctor. I don't know if that would have saved her or not, wasn't to be. That's the way we have to look at it anyway: wasn't to be.
- VE: (pauses) That was a very hard thing for a child to –
- MC: – Um-hm. –
- VE: – go through. Um-hm.
- MC: Yes.
- VE: How do you think that affected your life afterwards?
- MC: I don't know, I really can't tell you. People were awful good to me. I never had any awful hardships –
- VE: – Um-hm. –
- MC: – even after she died because I had an aunt that was awful good to me, and the neighbors were awful nice to me. They, uh – and the people in Independence always seemed awful nice to the – to us kids. (pauses)
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: So I, I'm very grateful for getting along as well as I did.
- VE: And having such a full, rich life too.
- MC: Mm. Yeah. I had an awful nice husband. I sure hated to give him up, but I'm getting along. I have to live 'til I die. Ninety-four.
- VE: That's wonderful. That's just wonderful. When did he pass away?
- MC: In '49.
- VE: Um-hm. And how did he, how did he die?
- MC: Well, he just (pauses), I don't know what really hea – heart trouble mostly I think was the cause of his death. And then he was – we – he was up in that high altitude, and he worked on those big logs and things like that, building and all. I, think was just too much for him.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: But he was an awful good man, just an awful good man. I sure have been lonely without him.
- VE: He was a builder; did he do some logging too?
- MC: He did, uh, he worked with logs, cabins, and built an awful lot of buildings up in Mammo – around Mammoth, and he built – did building while he was in Bishop, too.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: (pauses) He was a good builder (pauses), and a good man.
- VE: Would you tell me about your journeys back and forth from Bishop and Mammoth when you had to leave and –
- MC: Well, we had two – well, hon', usually we have two loads in the spring, and um we drive the light rig and he'd have a load go up, but we left most of our stuff in the cabins and indoor (inaudible), you know?
- VE: Um-hm.

- MC: So, we didn't have so much, but we managed.
- VE: Well, were you leaving for the winter? Was that—
- MC: —Yeah, we'd go up, we'd go up in the spring, in May usually, as soon as we could get in. And then we would stay there until we thought it was gettin' snow time, then we'd get out. But we both loved it, and we loved all our neighbors, but they, they were awful nice people.
- VE: Um-hm.
- MC: So, (pauses) we had lots of good neighbors.
- VE: And when you went back to Bishop, did he build in Bishop, too?
- MC: When, when, when he could. There wasn't so much building going on in Bishop as there was around Mammoth.
- VE: Why is that?
- MC: Well, I don't know. They, uh, they, um—Mammoth people would come in and build cabins and things like that, you know? Down in Bishop, it was pretty well built up.
- VE: Um-hm. Um-hm.
- MC: So, uh, he, uh, he never lacked for work or chanced for—and he was a good carpenter, good carpenter. (pauses) I have got to go to the bathroom.
- VE: Oh, okay. (break in the audio) At this point, Mrs. Chamberlain felt too exhausted to continue the interview. But she promised to continue the interview at another time.

[01:00:03]

END OF INTERVIEW

Michael Armand and Eli Wolcott (editors)

*The Highway to Nowhere:  
Recollections of Newport Beach "Freeway Fighter" Howard Rogers (1976)*

*Shelfmark*

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).

The Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History (COPH).

Project: Pacific Coast Highway.

O.H. 5251.

Oral Interview with Howard Rogers, conducted by Barry Lee,

April 8, 1976, Newport Beach, California.

*Introduction*

The oral history transcribed below belongs to a collection held in CSUF's Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History (COPH) titled "Pacific Coast Highway." The interview with Howard Rogers was conducted by Barry Lee on April 8, 1976, in Newport Beach, California. This interview is 1 hour, 4 minutes, and 4 seconds long, and is archived as a digital recording/audio file at COPH (see "Copyright Advisory" below). The verbatim transcript edited here was prepared in the fall of 2023 by Michael Armand and Eli Wolcott.

Born in Los Angeles in 1920, Howard Rogers grew up in Newport Beach and was first elected to the Newport City Council in 1966. Rogers was an influential leader in the 1971 fight against the expansion of the Pacific Coast Highway into a large freeway. The freeway was intended to cut through multiple beach cities such as Long Beach, Huntington Beach, Newport Beach, and Laguna Beach, and an immense interchange was to accommodate the greatly enlarged Pacific Coast Highway and cut deeply into Corona del Mar and Back Bay. The planned freeway sparked great debate among the residents of Newport Beach, who were concerned about the impact of a freeway on their community and the environment. This interview reveals how Rogers and other "Freeway Fighters" sought to stop the project. Rogers details the activities of the "Freeway Fighters," who tried several strategies to block the freeway before finally putting forward an amendment to the city's charter that would allow the residents of Newport Beach to decide on the freeway themselves and nullify its construction. Rogers and the "Freeway Fighters" faced ruthless politics, and they engaged in heated conflicts with numerous entities, including neighboring cities such as Costa Mesa, government agencies like the California Highway Commission, corporations such as the Irvine Company, and other Newport community members who wanted the freeway. Despite these challenges, Newport residents overwhelmingly voted in favor of the amendment in a special election, and the expansion of the Pacific Coast Highway was defeated.

This interview with Howard Rogers will interest historians looking at the development of Newport Beach and Orange County, particularly those interested in the interaction between local elected officials, their constituents, and California's state government. Researchers interested in California's freeway system and the impact of car transportation on California communities will also find this interview valuable. Rogers's recollections provide insights into the early years of the environmental movement, as he describes the environmental awareness sweeping the nation at the time. Rogers was elected mayor of Newport Beach in 1976 following this interview but passed away six months later due to a heart attack.

Only identifiable individuals, locations, and technical terms have been referenced in the footnotes, usually when they first appear.

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*The primary-source edition published below originated in the "History and Editing" course offered by CSUF's Department of History.*

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### *Verbatim Transcript (O.H. 5251)*

LAWRENCE DE GRAAF CENTER FOR ORAL AND PUBLIC HISTORY

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON

NARRATOR: Howard Rogers, Sr. (1920–1976) [HR]

INTERVIEWER: Barry Lee [BL]

DATE: April 8, 1976

LOCATION: Newport, California

PROJECT: Community History Project

TRANSCRIBERS: Michael Armand and Eli Wolcott

BL: This is an interview with Howard Rogers for Cal State University Fullerton community history project by Barry Lee on April 8th, 1976, um, 03:45 p.m. or thereabouts. Okay, um, (pauses) Mr. Rogers? If you don't mind, I can —

HR: —Or Howard, either one. —

BL: —call you Howard?

HR: Yeah.

BL: I'd like to begin by having you, um, relate your recollection of the proposed Pacific Coast Freeway,<sup>1</sup> through Newport Beach.<sup>2</sup>

HR: Well, the, uh, freeway was proposed and was pretty much locked in concrete, if you will pardon the expression, uh, before I came on the city council. Uh, I came on the city council in 1966, and, uh, there was great debate roaring through town as to the routing of the freeway, and, uh, at that stage everybody was arguing whether it should go up on the bluffs or whether it should be right down on Pacific Coast Highway, and, uh, there were, there was a small force of people in town trying to stop the freeway entirely. Uh, the mayor, uh, at the time I came on the council was a man by the name of Paul Gruber,<sup>3</sup> uh, who fought, uh, very vigorously, uh, but ineffectively because he didn't have the numbers behind him, uh, to stop the freeway. The, uh (pauses) – we tried three times in Sacramento<sup>4</sup> to g— after I got on the council, uh, to get bills through the legislature to abolish the freeway in Newport Beach. And, uh, on our third try, we finally, uh, got Laguna Beach<sup>5</sup> to wake up and Huntington Beach<sup>6</sup> to wake up and Long Beach<sup>7</sup> to wake up that a freeway on Route 1, Pacific Coast Highway, through all of those towns was, uh, really going to be a disastrous, e— effect. We were just gonna divide them in two and, and, uh, create more problems than it was going to cure. Um, all three times we, we lost in the legislature we, we would win it in the Assembly, and then we would lose it in the— before the Senate Transportation, um, uh, Committee.<sup>8</sup> And, um, (pauses) there was a lot of infighting, uh, in town – the Irvine Company<sup>9</sup> wanted the freeway very, very badly. Uh, if you build a shopping center, you want to have a pool of people from three hundred and sixty degrees. Uh, they built one on the coastline, which gave them only a hundred and eighty degrees total of clientele. So, they felt that the, the actual decision of the costal freeway, the Route 1 freeway was gonna be the, the spring salvation of the shopping center. Um, the, uh, fi—the fighting got bitter, and after we lost the first time up in the sand blades, (inaudible 00:03:04–00:03:40) they said, “You know it's, uh, (pauses) a luck – lucky thing we are a charter city.<sup>10</sup> So,

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<sup>1</sup> Pacific Coast Highway, a.k.a. California State Route 1.

<sup>2</sup> Coastal city in Orange County, California.

<sup>3</sup> Newport Beach city council member, mayor (1964–1968).

<sup>4</sup> State capital city of California.

<sup>5</sup> Coastal city in Orange County, California.

<sup>6</sup> Coastal city in Orange County, California.

<sup>7</sup> Coastal city in Los Angeles County, California.

<sup>8</sup> California State Senate committee handling transportation-related issues.

<sup>9</sup> Private real estate development company, founded 1864.

<sup>10</sup> City governed by its own charter rather than solely by general law.



we could take this issue to the people, and we can have it written in the charter—as, uh, there'll be no freeway. And then we'll have to—then we can watch what the state will do.” And that sure got people throughout the whole city carrying petitions, um, and I think there was about an eighty-five percent voter turnout and the, the, uh, vote against the freeway was about eighty-five percent of those, uh, voting. The thing that really brought about the complete (pauses), uh, taking out of the freeway was a, uh, council meeting—which, I don't recall the year—but th—they were trying to decide where to put the on and off ramps up in the Corona del Mar<sup>11</sup> area. And two homeowners groups got to fighting very heavily on that, and my comment after they had all presented their petitions, and then all presented their arguments was as long as you, all you people can carry petitions so well, why don't you carry one petition. Let's get rid of this whole damn thing. And they did; they got, I think, more signatures—there are, there are people in town and, uh, against the freeway. But that would just be a rough overview of it. There are a lot of little details, some funny, some not funny but, um—

BL: Right, (pauses) how about those details?

HR: Well, uh, there was a group of—which, if you were in—interviewing other people you, you'll hear about, called the “Freeway Fighters.” Um, the, the humor there is that the “Freeway Fighters” consisted of probably seventeen people. Uh, yet, uh, everyone in town, including the Irvi—Irvine Company, thought it was a very well-oiled piece of machinery and a very high, very highly organized group, and it wasn't, uh, really at all. It was a group that met once a week. We'd meet every Monday at, uh, seven o'clock and, uh, put—tried to put together the programs that we could. Towards the end, when we were really getting going, and we were having the election, then this nucleus grew. So, that at this point, if you asked people in town were they a “Freeway Fighter,” they'll tell you “yes,” but there were, there were only about seventeen peo—people that, that kept that image going for four or five years, so—(pauses)

BL: Yeah.

HR: Trying to think of some of the other, uh, (pauses) incidents that were, um, (pauses) but, hey, I think, I think one of the, the in, in the historical background of the, uh, demise of the freeway, um—the president of the Irvine Company at the time, they were struggling so hard to get the freeway, was a man by the name of Bill Mason,<sup>12</sup> and Bill Mason was a very brilliant (thump) engineer. And, uh, he simplest way to move traffic, to an engineer, is to, is to build a freeway. Um, the, um—I even personally went up and, and, um, practically got down on my hands and knees to ask him

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<sup>11</sup> Neighborhood in Newport Beach, California.

<sup>12</sup> William R. Mason (1920–1973), Irvine Company president (1968–1973).

to at least take a neutral stand on it because every time we would go to Sacramento, we could see their bloody footprints ju – uh, just ahead of us. They called them the green footprints, uh, because we felt we, we were bought out in Sacramento, and we felt that the Irvine Company was doing it. Um, subsequently, um, the Irvine Company, uh, capitulated, and, and B – Bill Mason was quite sick at the time, uh, the way he was ge – he was getting to have angina attacks and, and he finally had a heart attack and died, and, uh, Ray Watson<sup>13</sup> became president of the, um, company, and Ray is not being an engineer but being a, an architectural type, a – uh, an urban planner type, uh, had more respect for the integrity of the communities that we have now and, uh, he finally, uh, flung in, uh, behind us and, and, uh, and helped us. So, in the long run, when the Irvine, uh, when the Irvine Company saw that it was going to be a lost issue anyhow, the – they, they, they jumped on the ba – uh bandwagon. I think it was mostly because of Ray Watson and, and, uh, his difference in attitude, uh, being a, a planner rather than an engineer. (pauses) Uh, and there's a picture up on the wall there, uh, during one of the de – council debates, while I was patiently waiting to be heard (pauses), and, uh, the press of course trying to, to trying – and they, they, they kept on trying it. The press was all for it, the, the, uh, *Daily Pilot*<sup>14</sup> was all for the freeway, and anybody who was against the freeway, uh, uh, got slashed pretty badly at almost every edition of the paper. Um. (pauses)

BL: Yeah, I wonder if you might wanna elucidate on that, I have been reading those papers –

HR: – Uh-huh. –

BL: – and, and their comments about you and I wondered, um, you know if you might want to elaborate a little bit on the *Daily Pilot's* treatment of –

HR: – Oh they, they, they –

BL: – on the issue. –

HR: – they loved to attack me and, uh, uh, (pauses) – when Don McInnis<sup>15</sup> was elected to council, which was two years after I was on it, 1968, uh, Paul Gruber left the council at that time and, uh, (pauses) we were the only two who were anti-freeway.

[00:10:03]

HR: Now, they always treated Don very nicely, but they always loved to, to twist the knife in my back, which was fine, it – you know, it, uh, uh, being a hard-fighting ma – math teacher, why I, uh, uh, I, I rather enjoyed the, the battle back and forth, and, uh, the, the man specifically at, at the, the *Daily*

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<sup>13</sup> Raymond “Ray” Watson (1926–2012), Irvine Company president (1973–1977).

<sup>14</sup> Newspaper published by the *Los Angeles Times*.

<sup>15</sup> Donald A. McInnis (d. 1993), Newport Beach city council member (1968), mayor (1972–1976).

- Pilot* is a man by the name of Tom Keevil<sup>16</sup> and, uh, uh, I know Tom. I enjoy talking with Tom. We, we, we've never, uh, uh, we, we were never enemies through this thing. Um, (pauses) because the—wh—wh—what would happen, it would always neutralize, uh, he'd stab me in the back, but I would win so—
- BL: —(laughs)—
- HR: —there is no reason for, for either to be mad. He got his lick in, and so did I. And the—and now in the long run of course the, the, the whole battle is over, and I, and I think probably the most laughable thing about the, the whole affair is that, uh, if we had done nothing to fight the freeway—we'd done absolutely nothing—the Department of Transportation of the State of California<sup>17</sup> would not have the money to build it today. (laughs) But it, it took this, this town through a, a, a, a great emotional run, and I, I think it, I think it did more for the city, uh, that scrap and got more people interested in the, in local government, uh, than any other issue ever could have and, uh, it—it's, that is extremely beneficial because then you get citizen input, uh, which is extremely valuable sitting on the council. I'll have been on the council, uh, ten years, uh, (pauses) next week. And, uh, I've always had, uh, my phone registered in the phone book and, uh, I love to get calls—
- BL: —Tremendous.—
- HR: —'cause, uh, people come up with some of the damndest ideas. And sometimes with the—sometimes it's just the solution you're, you're looking for, but you're working within the constraints of, of what you feel are, are government operations or bureaucracy and, uh, it helps.
- BL: Yeah, um, (pauses) you pretty much covered my, my second question, but I'd like to go over it anyways and—
- HR: —Alright.—
- BL: —maybe it would spark something, you know, from you. Um, and my second question is about the interest groups. You know, how would you characterize the different interest groups concerned with the freeway issue? And, um, I ask about Huntington Beach, Costa Mesa,<sup>18</sup> Laguna, the *Daily Pilot*, Orange County,<sup>19</sup> uh, the Irvine Company, various state agencies involved, such as the, um, California Highway Commission,<sup>20</sup> the Department—State Department of Public Works,<sup>21</sup> State Legislature. Um, you covered, uh, pretty well the *Daily Pilot* and, um, uh, indicated, um, couple of things about the cities and the Irvine—

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<sup>16</sup> Mara Thomas Keevil (1928–1988), *Daily Pilot* editor

<sup>17</sup> California Department of Transportation (Caltrans), founded 1973.

<sup>18</sup> City in Orange County, California.

<sup>19</sup> County in Southern California.

<sup>20</sup> Primary state highway bureaucracy in California (1895–1978).

<sup>21</sup> State-wide facilities management.

HR: – Yeah. –

BL: – Company. Uh, are there any oth—other things I’ve mentioned—

HR: – Alright, let’s talk about State Highway Commission. We went to Sacramento many, many times and met in other towns even out Central California—

BL: – Right. –

HR: – before the, the, um, (sighs) the highway commission and we had little or no, uh, sympathy from them. The— they, uh, they would listen to us, and we would get knocked down, uh, almost every time. Another faction very, very heavy in the freeway, uh, in here, right here in Newport Beach, was the Chamber of Commerce. Uh, which, if you’d look at their roster, you’ll find that, um, the biggest industry in to—in town is the Irvine Company. Therefore, most of the major, uh, committee slots are—

BL: – Um-hm. –

HR: – held or controlled, uh, by them. Uh, it, it seemed at first that, that Huntington Beach, uh, didn’t give a damn. Um, let it come. Uh, as a matter of fact I think they, they, they felt it would knock down a lot of that old stuff on the, on the ocean front and, and, uh, help clean up their town a little bit.

BL: Um-hm, yeah.

HR: Uh, Laguna Beach didn’t seem to, to realize the, the heavy impact that would happen the minute you got about, uh, twelve lanes coming into Laguna. So, the, the Highway Commission had—uh, said fine, they would pass the freeway behind Laguna Beach.

BL: Um-hm.

HR: Um, only problem then was that wh—when some of the ecologists and some of the, the, uh, the brighter people down there began to look at all the cut and fill that that would make in the hillside and, uh—so then they joined us, uh, a—and we had—we got a coalition of cities going and, uh—this is prior to our election, you know, here in town—but, uh, to try to get it and, uh, from, from the Highway Commission. Uh, the coalition never really got all that strong, but the fact that, that Long Beach put its foot down, um, (pauses) gave us a lot of strength, ‘cause Long Beach is pretty fair-sighted. I don’t know. Uh, we’re very, very lucky that we are a charter city, not a general-law city,<sup>22</sup> (pauses)—

BL: – Um-hm. –

HR: – ‘cause with a charter city we have a, a—we can make a charter amendment as—just like the constitution. If we had been a general law city, we would have had to have done it through the legislature.

BL: Hm.

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<sup>22</sup> City that operates under the laws of the state.

- HR: And I think that was one of the key things with the fact that, uh, somebody, some very bright people got together in 1955 and, and, uh, chartered the city. But we had that –
- BL: – Um-hm. –
- HR: – power then.
- BL: What about Costa Mesa?
- HR: Costa Mesa, um, the, you – there are two people up there, Bob Wilson<sup>23</sup> and, um, um, Pinkly – a fella by the name of Pinkly – and, um, they were all for the freeway. And, uh, they would fight us at every turn of the, turn of the way. The – they would –
- BL: – Oh. –
- HR: – even lobby in Sacramento. Uh, the – they wanted that Pacific Coast Freeway an – and I think a lot of their, their logic was, was not logic but spite. Uh, there’s always been an antagonism, uh, between the two towns. Uh, in the early days, when I lived down here, why (pauses) – we always referred to Costa Mesa as goat hill and (coughs), excuse me, and they always referred to us as mackerel flats.
- BL: (laughs)
- HR: Well, well, uh, there’s, there’s always been –
- BL: – Yeah. –
- HR: – this competition an – and some of it’s been, uh, some of it’s been good, some of it’s been bad but, uh, with – I think that’ll break up both of them, uh – step down they, they had been on the city council since the start of Costa Mesa which was – gosh, I don’t know what year –
- BL: – Hm. –
- HR: – they been, they been on there almost twenty years –
- BL: – Hm. –
- HR: – on that city council, so they were entrenched pretty heavily –
- BL: – Yeah. –
- HR: – and, and uh, um –
- BL: (inaudible)
- HR: – and that made it tough, uh, (pauses) because the State Highway Commi – Commission would always say, alright, uh, you go back and fi – find out what all the towns around you want. And –
- BL: – Um-hm. –
- HR: – for years that was just impossible to do, ‘cause Costa Mesa obviously wanted the, uh –
- BL: Yeah.
- HR: – the, the freeway down here. They wanted some place for that traffic to bleed off – it’s gonna come down through the center of, of their town now. And, uh, (pauses) they, uh, not too long ago – well, I guess, two or three

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<sup>23</sup> Robert M. “Bob” Wilson (1918–2004), Costa Mesa city founder and three-term mayor.

- years ago – they, uh, they came up to the city council of the, uh, city of Costa Mesa, made a petition to the, uh, Department of Transportation to change the name of the Newport Freeway to the Costa Mesa Freeway.<sup>24</sup> And my, uh, comments to that when it came on our agenda was that, that would be neat. That would probably cut the traffic eighty percent on that freeway because who the hell wants to go to Costa Mesa? And of course this broke it all up again, and we started a fight with Donny<sup>25</sup> and Costa Mesa.
- BL: Is it true that you were arrested after that?
- HR: Yeah, did you read about that? (pauses) That was a clean-up job but it, it, it, it was beautiful it, uh –
- BL: – Yeah.
- HR: – yeah that was, that – they had a, a councilman up there by the name of Bill Sinclair.<sup>26</sup> He only served one term. He didn't get re-elected, but, uh, he wanted to do that just to kinda, smooth things over, (coughs) and it did.
- BL: Yeah.
- HR: And, uh, I'm sorry Bill isn't still there.
- BL: Okay, um, this is really fine and just, you know, exactly what I'm looking for, um, what I, uh – in the interview. I have my next question. We oughta move on.
- HR: Okay.
- BL: Um, uh, who do you feel were the key individuals involved, including yourself, and what influence did they bring to bear on the issue? Now, what I mean is like who is on which side, and, and we've talked about cities and institutions –
- HR: – Um-hm. –
- BL: – but now how about, uh, uh, people? And it just so happens that I, I have a list of people here that is, is kinda randomly organized. And you might wanna look 'em over and – you know individuals that you see, or that you could remember as being real significant –
- HR: – Alright, yeah. –
- BL: – uh, maybe make, you know, some comments about them or, or even, you know, about your own role too, since I, I feel that maybe you're minimizing your own role in this.
- [00:20:21]

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<sup>24</sup> California State Route 55.

<sup>25</sup> Donald A. McInnis.

<sup>26</sup> Newport Beach city council member.

- HR: Okay, Fr—Fred Jennings<sup>27</sup> was a member of the, um, uh, State Highway Commission and um, theore—retically representing this area that we lived in, San Bernardino.<sup>28</sup> And, uh, he would not even give us the time of day.
- BL: Yeah.
- HR: Um, Governor Reagan,<sup>29</sup> um, didn't, didn't give us much help until after we had our elections down here.
- BL: Yeah.
- HR: Uh, prior to that we, we, we'd go—we'd get as far as the Senate and, uh, we'd get into the Transportation Committee meeting, and we would lose there. We, we always knew if we could get to the floor of the Senate, we could win it. And we always had a, a commitment from Reagan that he would, he would sign it.
- BL: Hm, right.
- HR: So, we had both things covered we just couldn't get out—we just got locked in the damn committee system up there in, in—
- BL: —Was that the Collier<sup>30</sup> committee?—
- HR: —Sacramento. Well—yeah, that's uh, Collier, um, head of that for years. He's, he's not, he's not head of the Transportation Committee now—
- BL: —Right.—
- HR: —but he was at that time. Uh, James Noll [?] was, was, uh, head of the department, um, we tried very, very hard through his office to negotiate our way out of the freeway.
- BL: Um-hm.
- HR: Uh, he was most cooperative, most help—helpful uh, Ban—Banford Franklin was the same way only, Banford Franklin couldn't, couldn't remember which side of the fence he was on all the time.
- BL: What do you mean?
- HR: Well, uh, he would come down here and, and uh, talk with us, and, and say, "Oh yes, we'll do A, B, C, D, E, F, and G." Then he'd get off s—maybe up in Costa Mesa or some place and say, "No, no, it's gonna be R, S, T, U and V."
- BL: Um-hm.
- HR: And um, uh poor Ban got uh, caught by audience control and, and tha—that's a bad thing in the public, uh—
- BL: —Right.—

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<sup>27</sup> Fred C. Jennings, chairman of the California Highway Commission.

<sup>28</sup> City and county seat in Southern California.

<sup>29</sup> Ronald Reagan (1911–2004), governor of California (1967–1975), 40<sup>th</sup> U.S. president (1981–1989).

<sup>30</sup> Randolph Collier (1902–1983), California state senator (1938–1976), chair of State Senate Transportation Committee.

- HR: –limelight. Uh, Bob Wilson had already mentioned, uh, he wanted to shove that freeway down our throat. Ed Hirth<sup>31</sup> was mayor—this was a time in which we had a five-two majority that, that, that, uh, didn't care whether the freeway went through or not. Ed Hirth was mayor, and he was one of those. Uh, the two of us that, that opposed the freeway were, were myself and McInnis. Paul Grubert, who preceded Ed Hirth, was very much anti-freeway and worked very, very hard. Uh, Wally Koch,<sup>32</sup> um, (pauses) was a, a real hard driving hard worker in, in the seventeen key people I was telling you about—
- BL: –Right. –
- HR: –in that, in that committee. Uh, Marshall Duffield,<sup>33</sup> uh, provided us a place to meet and um, whenever we needed funds, he would go out and raise the money, uh, to help fight this, help fight the freeway.
- BL: How did he do that?
- HR: Uh, well, he would, uh, he's, he's quite a money raiser. He, uh—if you're going into a political campaign and, and you wanna raise money you, you get ahold of Marshall and if he likes the candidate or if he likes the issue, uh, he had, you know, just innumerable friends he could call up and say, "Sa—send in two hundred, send in a hundred." Uh, —
- BL: –Uh-huh. –
- HR: –this type of thing.
- BL: Did being, being an all-American football player at SC<sup>34</sup> help out?
- HR: Uh, I, I think so, and also just being a hell of a nice guy, uh—
- BL: Uh-huh.
- HR: –he ca—he can't miss, you know? Uh. (pauses) Uh, Peggy Guinian [?], uh, up at the uh District Seven,<sup>35</sup> uh, (pauses) I think would have liked to help. But, uh, at the point we were working on this thing, he was, uh, very much looking—look forward to holding his job until retirement.
- BL: Um-hm.
- HR: So, it was hard to get anything out of him.
- BL: Yeah.
- HR: Uh. –
- BL: –He was part of the institution, the state institution.
- HR: Bill Hashimoto,<sup>36</sup> uh, was the one I felt sorriest for of all. Uh, he was the one that came, came down on—and, um, had to make presentations to the city

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<sup>31</sup> Edgar F. Hirth, Newport Beach mayor (1970–1972).

<sup>32</sup> Walter Koch, chairman of the Citizens Coordinating Committee.

<sup>33</sup> (1910–1990), USC All-American quarterback.

<sup>34</sup> University of Southern California, private university, founded 1880.

<sup>35</sup> California Congressional District, includes Sacramento.

<sup>36</sup> William Hashimoto (1921–2019), served with the California Division of Highways.



- council. And, uh, he knew he was in kind of an antagonistic area and, uh, particularly the people who had come to the council meeting.
- BL: Um-hm.
- HR: And, uh, he was the one that conducted the, the public hearing on where the off-ramp should be up in the Corona del Mar area. And, uh, he finally walked outta there, uh, crushed that, that, that—at the fact that almost everybody agreed, “Let’s take the whole thing out.”
- BL: Um-hm, yeah, they seemed to have, at that point, some acceptance. But then when they —
- HR: — Oh, yeah. —
- BL: — changed the off-ramps for safety purposes, then —
- HR: — Yeah. —
- BL: — then they took up some more homes that they hadn’t planned on taking. This is all according to the *Pilot*.
- HR: Yeah, right.
- BL: And that kinda threw the thing the other way.
- HR: That, that very definitely did, because it, it, it, it, it brought about this type of awareness, that, uh—and, and mentioning, you know, uh. Good God, they all got maps, and they walk up there and say here’s my house and here’s the freeway, and you know, it was a, uh—the scale of those maps.
- BL: — Um-hm.
- HR: Bob Jaffy [?],uh, during most of this time, uh, was a traffic engineer, uh, (pauses) uh. (pauses)
- BL: This, uh, this list—and I don’t —
- HR: — Yeah. —
- BL: — I don’t mean to have you go down on everyone—skip over them if you feel that some are not, you know, so crucial —
- HR: — Bob, Bob —
- BL: — to the issue.
- HR: — Bob was not really crucial —
- BL: — Right. —
- HR: — to the issue —
- BL: — He was —
- HR: — and, uh —
- BL: — he was doing his job, and, uh —
- HR: — uh, Bob Burke,<sup>37</sup> uh, was fighting us because his, his representation was, was mostly up in the um, other area. Schmitz,<sup>38</sup> uh, always would carry the bill on the State Senate side, and uh, course, but we could never get it out

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<sup>37</sup> Robert Henry Burke (1922–2003), member of the California State Assembly.

<sup>38</sup> John George Schmitz (1930–2001), member of the U.S. House of Representatives, member of the California State Senate from Orange County, California.

- the floor though. Uh, (pauses) Dennis Carpenter,<sup>39</sup> uh, — after Schmitz left and, and Carpenter became a senator — uh, he was the one — and he worked real hard once we had done our, uh, our vote down here, it had to be ratified by the State Legislature, the charter amendment. And he carried it on the Senate side and did a, an absolutely outstanding job for it, uh —
- BL: — He did.
- HR: Yes.
- BL: Sorry, uh, I got —
- HR: — During the freeway battle he was not with us.
- BL: — yeah, that's what I —
- HR: — No. —
- BL: — wanted to hear, that's —
- HR: — During the freeway battle o — o — once he saw what, what, what the, the democratic process brought forward, it made a hell of a lot of difference in his thinking 'cause he could count the votes, uh, at tha — at that point. (laughs)
- BL: Yeah.
- HR: Okay? So, he did a very good job. Gor — Gordon Jones<sup>40</sup> was the, um — hell, I wish I could use the language I wanted to use, um (pauses).
- BL: Well, wo — feel free to use —
- HR: — He was —
- BL: — you'll have —
- HR: — he, he —
- BL: — you'll have a chance to edit.
- HR: — he was a freeway editor, uh, I mean, the freeway, uh, uh, fighter's most hated enemy. He had to carry out, uh, all of Bill Mason's edicts.
- BL: Hm.
- HR: And Jones is an engineer, uh. I meet with Gordon, now he is on one of our citizen's advisory committees, uh, on the rerouting of the, um, Corona del Mar Freeway<sup>41</sup> and behind, uh, up inland. Uh, things have smoothed over, time has taken the sharp edges off. But, but, uh, there was a time I just as soon had (object falls) I, uh, uh, given him a black eye as I look at him and he me, too, you know. Just, uh, one of those things, but, uh —
- BL: Well, would you like to elucidate on that at all? Like I said, you will have a chance to edit the tape and —
- HR: — Well, (phone ringing) um (pauses). Can you hang on just a second?
- BL: Sure. (phone ringing) (tape stops) (tape restarts)
- HR: Well, Gordon had to make all the presentations, uh, to the council, uh, for the Irvine Company. Uh, and Gordon I, I, I think really sometimes, uh,

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<sup>39</sup> Dennis Eugene Carpenter (1928–2003), member of the California State Senate (1970–1978).

<sup>40</sup> (1935–2019), engineer.

<sup>41</sup> California State Route 73.

almost choked when he was there because he was, uh, having to, uh, use the philosophy of Bill Mason, where I don't think his own thinking ran concurrently. And, uh, it became fun to tie him up in knots, because when you sit up on that awesome stand up there, you, you can, you can, you can, you can level a person pretty easily. Uh, you hate to do it, but, uh, with Gordon, it got to be a pleasure after a while (laughs). But, uh, uh, Gordon was, was merely the – an execu – you know, uh, executing his orders from the Irvine Company, and, in retrospect, uh, he was doing hi – doing his job that he was being paid for. So, you know, you can't, uh –

BL: – Right. –

HR: – blame a man, uh, for that. Uh, he got de – crooked! He, he was the great, uh, he was on the council when I first came on. Then he lost the election, and then he tried to get, uh, elected back to the council, uh, a term later – or was it two years? He moved to do it. He was re-elected by a district uh, at any rate, he ran against John Store<sup>42</sup> and, uh, in his platform was to keep fighting the freeway. And immediately after he lost the election, he, he, he went up and made a presentation – to the Department of Transportation – in favor of the freeway. (sighs) He is now, by the way, the mayor of Bishop, California.<sup>43</sup>

BL: Is that right?

[00:30:22]

HR: That's right. He went to move to Bishop, uh, the, uh, – apparently there were three seats open on a five-man council and, uh, he garnered six hundred and eighty-eight votes, and th – so, he got on the council –

BL: – That's probably the majority. –

HR: – and got appointed mayor, yeah.

BL: And now he's mayor of Bishop.

HR: So now he's mayor of Bishop.

BL: That's a long move –

HR: – Yeah. –

BL: – from one side of Newport to the other.

HR: (laughs)

BL: (laughs)

HR: Uh –

BL: – Like I say, if you don't, uh –

HR: – you know –

BL: – don't want to finish that list, uh –

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<sup>42</sup> Newport Beach city council candidate.

<sup>43</sup> City in Inyo County, California.

- HR: – this is a neat list, but Carl Kymla,<sup>44</sup> uh, was on the council. He was one of those neutral at the time that, uh, the um—we were going to do, um, a charter amendment or, or a um, referendum. Uh, he, he led the group that wrote the argument in favor of the freeway. Um, (pauses) Don McInnis um, did not take part in that in or—in writing for it, but, but he remained fairly quiet, but he was, he was against—he, he wanted it to go to the people.
- BL: Um-hm.
- HR: Um, Bob Curci,<sup>45</sup> probably the hardest working guy in the, uh, in all of the, uh, “Freeway Fighters,” uh, he kept immaculate details of everything. He has every newspaper clipping—
- BL: – Yeah. —
- HR: – all in bound books, uh, all the way through and, and time charts and so on. Carroll Beek was a steady member of the seven—group of seventeen (object clatters) and she is a great, great woman. Uh, I can remember her, uh, from the times I was a little boy down here, and, uh, a very dynamic woman and, uh, boy she’ll sco—she’s just, just, just about eighty now, and one of the brightest minds in town—
- BL: – Right. —
- HR: – and, uh, she’ll call me up and scold me or, or praise me, one of the two. It’s a—it’s an equal force.
- BL: Carroll Beek.
- HR: Carroll Beek, yes, there are two R’s in it instead of one, if you wanna know. Uh, John Store [?]<sup>46</sup> got elected to the, uh, council, uh, primarily because he had been a heavy “Freeway Fighter” and had worked in—matter of fact, we—took us about uh, five days of hard argument to get him to run for the council. Uh, he’s, he’s stepping down this time, he’s not gonna run again. Um, Al Cook uh, who is county, uh, road commissioner, um, (pauses) was against us. Charles Hunt, I’m not familiar with that name. Uh, James Stoddard,<sup>47</sup> for—former mayor of, of Newport Beach, uh—
- BL: – Oh, excuse me I think, uh, perhaps my secretary mistyped that uh, on, uh, Charles Hunt, it’s actually, uh, Hart.<sup>48</sup>
- HR: Oh, Charles Hart.
- BL: I—
- HR: – Okay. —
- BL: – yeah, he’s a —
- HR: – He’s a former Mayor. —
- BL: – former mayor —

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<sup>44</sup> Newport Beach city council member.

<sup>45</sup> Presumably Robert D. Curci (1934–2023).

<sup>46</sup> Newport Beach city council member.

<sup>47</sup> James B. “Jay” Stoddard (1913–2003), Newport Beach mayor (1958–1962).

<sup>48</sup> Charles E. Hart, Newport Beach mayor (1962–1964).

- HR: – Right. –
- BL: – and I believe it was Hart and Stoddard and, uh, one other Lorenz<sup>49</sup> who uh –
- HR: – Hans Lorenz, who, who, who, who uh, moved very hard to – even through the courts – to, to try to stop the referendum –
- BL: – Right. –
- HR: – and they couldn't do it.
- BL: Right.
- HR: Uh, what motivated them? I have no idea. Uh, I see Hans Lorenz every once in a while now, we're, we're good, we're good friends. I don't, I haven't seen Stoddard, Charlie Hart is, uh, is in a rest home up on, uh, Newport Boulevard, if he's still living. Uh, Lindsley Parsons<sup>50</sup> was very weak on the freeway. I've already, I've already covered Ray Watson and Bill Mason. Jack McFadden<sup>51</sup> was an interesting character. He was from out of town, and he was one of, um, (cup falls) – uh, Marshall Duffield brought him on the scene. Uh, Jack has a public relations, uh, type business, and, uh, he runs political campaigns and so on. And, and, uh, Jack did a, a lot of work for Hoag Hospital<sup>52</sup> –
- BL: Hm.
- HR: – and a cons – as a consequence for us – now, Hoag Hospital was opposed to the freeway –
- BL: – Um-hm. –
- HR: – uh, which would, uh, explain here, uh, I thought I sa – uh, Vin Jorgensen<sup>53</sup> –
- BL: – Um-hm. –
- HR: – who was very, very active in Hoag, and they were against it – um, Lorene Marshal [?], um, she was rather neutral. She, she didn't seem to, uh, be up – upsetting anything either way. Alf Orget [?], uh, scrappy little guy, uh, if you talk to him, uh, he'll tell you how he resolved the problem all by himself.
- BL: How's that?
- HR: Uh, well he thinks he, he was – he did it personally.
- BL: Oh. Oh, is, is that, is that Mr. Orget's perception of the world? Uh –
- HR: – That's right yeah, uh, that he, he was a scrappy little guy and, and he – by God – (mic noise) stopped the Department of Transportation.
- BL: Yeah, yeah. (shuffling) Those are, uh, very interesting comments, and I appreciate you going through the list because the – well, one thing, it gives

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<sup>49</sup> Hans J. Lorenz, Newport Beach city council member.

<sup>50</sup> Newport Beach city council member.

<sup>51</sup> James McFadden, public relations business owner.

<sup>52</sup> Non-profit clinical research center and hospital in Orange County, California.

<sup>53</sup> Orange County philanthropist (d. 1988).

- me a, a little different view of some of them as compared to my view of them through the *Daily Pilot's* eyes.
- HR: Uh-huh.
- BL: And then um, also, uh, to uh, — should help me as I go along to, uh, research, research further. Okay, let's step back up here, um, for, for another question on, on, uh, on my list and — well, I guess this one now you've already answered it too. Uh, you originated the idea of the local referendum, yeah?
- HR: — Right. —
- BL: I heard it was on the plane flight and now you tell me it was in the car —
- HR: — It was in —
- BL: — after —
- HR: — the car. Yeah. —
- BL: — in the car, after the plane flight —
- HR: — Right. —
- BL: — coming home. Um, what, uh, magical, um, uh, thing came to you out of the night? Was this, uh, uh, pure creativity, or was there, uh —
- HR: — Well, we, we were just sittin' and, and, uh, moping. (object clatters)
- BL: Uh-huh.
- HR: We moped all the way down on the plane and had as many cocktails as they'd allo — as they'd allow us and, uh, uh, we're still — we'd got — gotten our bags and got to the car in the, in the parking thing, and we were driving out, and it was just as we were going out the gate, that uh, I just got thinking, "God what can we do? What, what, what recourse do we have?" You know. And, uh, then I re — remembered back, uh, somewhere and, and probably around the tenth grade or eighth grade, uh, that the people have rights. And so I was sitting in, in the, the back seat, and I just lean forward and said, "We only have one thing left. We'll take this to the people as a, as a charter amendment." And that was with Bob Curci and Paul Ruret<sup>54</sup> at the time, and they said, "My God, it might work."
- BL: Um-hm.
- HR: And then, uh — what do you — the next day we went arou — , we got, we got the petitions — got a lawyer to write up the petitions so they'd be correct.
- BL: Yeah.
- HR: And we started to circulate those things, and we, we ran out of petitions so fast it was just amazing.
- BL: Yeah.
- HR: Everybody signed it. (coughs) (object clattering)
- BL: Uh, you mentioned those plane flights. I know that — from memory — there was a number of them, and, uh, from El Centro<sup>55</sup> to Sacramento a number

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<sup>54</sup> Newport Beach city council member.

<sup>55</sup> City and county seat of Imperial County, California.

- of times, to Ventura<sup>56</sup> and uh, uh, were there any particular flights that you, uh, in—experiences, you know, traveling back and forth to various levels of state government, that you, uh, recall as, as being most memorable of uh, uh, of the battle?
- HR: Uh, no. Uh, no, no one in particular, but, but, uh, uh, every now and then they—the Irvine forces would be on the same plane that we would be on and, uh—
- BL: —Um-hm.—
- HR: —uh, we'd each be trying to convince each other of uh, you know—
- BL: —Yeah.—
- HR: —who was the righteous and who was the, uh,—
- BL: —Yeah.—
- HR: —devil in the, in the, uh, in the show. But, uh, uh, I can't recall any specific flights, that uh—
- BL: —Perhaps at, perhaps at twenty thousand feet, uh, after a few highballs,<sup>57</sup> there might have been a chance to, uh, have a freeway or to have an agreement of some kind. (laughs)
- HR: Yeah. We had to, we had to, (object clatters) had to be real careful because of, because of the Brown Act that, that we could, we, we never could have more than three council members (pauses) on the same flight.
- BL: Oh, is that—what is that?
- HR: So, the Brown Act,<sup>58</sup> um, (pauses) uh, states that, that, um, the majority of the city council cannot meet (object clatters) unless it is a, a, an announced public meeting. (object clatters)
- BL: Oh.
- HR: So, we have a seven-man council, so three of us can get together—
- BL: —Right.—
- HR: —fine—
- BL: —Right.—
- HR: —uh, and then we could call up the fourth one on the phone, you know, that—
- BL: —Yeah.—
- HR: —that, that's not in the law but, uh—
- BL: Not necessarily for your safety, but a political thing.
- HR: I—it, it's a, it's a good uh, it's a good act.
- BL: Goes both ways.
- HR: Keeps it from going in the back room and, and, uh—
- BL: —Yeah.—

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<sup>56</sup> City and county seat of Ventura County, California.

<sup>57</sup> Mixed alcoholic beverage.

<sup>58</sup> 1953 California law guaranteeing the public's right to attend and participate in meetings of local legislative entities.

HR: –taking votes and making decisions, uh, where the people don't get a chance to –

BL: –Okay. –

HR: –argue.

BL: Uh, I have another question for you. Um, did your stand on the issue hurt your chances for a higher political office? Uh, and is this a valid question? And I would like to recall one time that, I think, I remember reading that, uh, you were possibly considering, um, running for someone in Batum's [?] office, if the reapportionment was right, and Batum –

HR: –Yeah. –

BL: –moved on –

HR: –Um-hm. –

BL: –and there was some –

HR: Yeah. (object clatters) Uh, yeah that, that's when they were going to carve one more district.

[00:40:05]

BL: Um-hm.

HR: And, it looked like it might carve in a way that, that, it – in other words, I wouldn't have –

BL: –Right. –

HR: –run up against Batum in a –

BL: –Right. –

HR: –that's, uh, building a –

BL: –There would've been another opening.

HR: Yeah, so uh, uh, yeah, I, I, I think that would have, uh – at least with the press – held me back considerably. Uh, at least the *Daily Pilot*, uh, and of course what the *Pilot* does the *Times*<sup>59</sup> is there, too, uh –

BL: –Yeah.

HR: –they're one and the same. So, uh, yeah I think that, I think that probably would have hurt my chances, uh, as it turned out it, uh, it didn't matter anyhow. Uh, the, uh – another thing too that the, um – my freeway stand and my, uh, scrap with the, um, uh, *Daily Pilot* has probably, uh, prevented me from being mayor, 'cause the council selects the mayor.

BL: Right.

HR: Uh, I think they'll help me get it this time, next week.

BL: Yeah. Now –

HR: –I think –

BL: –some –

HR: –the sores have –

BL: –Yeah. –

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<sup>59</sup> Reference to the *Los Angeles Times*.



- HR: – have healed, uh –
- BL: – Yeah. –
- HR: – and time has passed and uh, but, no they have knocked me and, and knocked me around and, and, uh, that, that, that’s, that’s just part of it –
- BL: – Right, yeah. –
- HR: – you get pretty thick skin, uh.
- BL: Yeah. I have some personal experience with that being in a coaching circle.
- HR: Ye – right.
- BL: And, and not myself directly, but close friends of mine, and, and, uh, they can – the *Daily Pilot* in particular can do a job on it.
- HR: We got wiped, and, and –
- BL: – Oh. –
- HR: – and, it was vicious!
- BL: Yeah, and, uh, I don’t mean to digress into talking about Orange County sports but, uh, these, uh –
- HR: – That’s a neat topic, I love it.
- BL: Yeah, yeah. Well, we’ll get to that one –
- HR: – (laughs) –
- BL: – that is my next research project (both laugh). Okay, um. Let’s see, can you describe your feelings when you learned that the Pacific Coastal Freeway had been defeated? And a little, um, footnote to that is, when did you feel like, uh – as, um, they used to say about Barry Goldwater<sup>60</sup> – in your heart, uh, that you knew that it was defeated? You know, what point in time, and how did you feel at that time?
- HR: I, I, I would say the morning of, of the election. (object clattering) I just knew it because the, the people were coming out in numbers like we’d never had ‘em before, and, uh, I had been talking with people, uh, ‘round this neighborhood, and, uh, up in Corona del Mar and up in the Newport Heights.<sup>61</sup> They were throughout the city and, and, uh, gosh, hardly anyone was gonna – (sighs) (pauses) gonna, uh, vote to let that freeway be in there.
- BL: Hm.
- HR: And, I, I, I think the, the most awesome feeling I had through the whole thing was when the results were in, and the freeway was killed. And, Don McInnis and I had talked about this many, many times, uh, “God, wh – what are we gonna do now to move the traffic?” And that responsibl – uh, responsibility was laying pretty heavy on us and we’re working on it, uh, continuously, uh, as we, uh, we, we felt that, “Gee, th – that big win of knocking the freeway out –
- BL: – Yeah. –

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<sup>60</sup> Barry Morris Goldwater (1909–1998), U.S. senator, 1964 Republican nominee for president.

<sup>61</sup> Neighborhood in Newport Beach, California.

- HR: – was really the beginning of a responsibility.” It wasn’t over, it was just the beginning.
- BL: Right, I mean so (object clattering) –
- HR: – And uh, I know Don and I both feel very strongly on that. We’re, we’re fighting like hell to get this bridge improved down here. We’re, we’re fighting like the devil to get the, the needed Coyote Can—uh, Canyon Bypass<sup>62</sup> up around Corona del Mar, as a continuation of the Corona del Mar Freeway, uh, everything we can do –
- BL: – Yeah. –
- HR: – and we’re, uh, we still find ourselves, uh, (coughs) without, all the, all the cooperation in the world, uh, just like, uh, uh, the Coun—County of Orange, um, said that if, if we killed the freeway down here they would never share any, any highway funds with us again, but they have. (pauses) Uh, uh, they have. (pauses)
- BL: I re—I remember reading about that, uh –
- HR: – Yeah. –
- BL: – threats made by Arterial Highway Financing Program<sup>63</sup> and you know what.
- HR: But, you know, I came on the council, right? And I came out of a math classroom, um, uh, back then I am happy, uh, thinking I was going to go get over a lot of good programs and so on. And the first thing I’m caught up in this, this uh, scrap and, and, and moving along. I’m, I’m a, a littl—little wiser now ten years later and, uh –
- BL: – Hm, yeah. –
- HR: – I got caught, uh, as a, you know uh, in knee pants, you know, when this thing was going at least as far as council work was concerned.
- BL: Uh-huh.
- HR: And, uh, I probably said a lot of the wrong things at the wrong time, but I was trying to be as effective as I could, and, and uh, the w—people weren’t even talking as—about the word “environment,” uh, at, uh in ‘66.
- BL: Yeah.
- HR: But, you were talking about a, a, a closed environment in a space ship, uh, this—bu—but you never were—you, you weren’t really talking about, you know, using the environme—term “environmentalist” or anything else. But, uh, having lived here—uh, we’ve owned property here since 1921, and, uh, I just couldn’t see a, a, a, big vault of concrete running down, uh, that coast highway block. It just, uh, aesthetically, it didn’t sit well with me. You know, it was –
- BL: – Yeah.

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<sup>62</sup> Presumably Coyote Canyon Drive in Newport Beach.

<sup>63</sup> Orange County program for high-capacity urban roads.

- HR: – probably a lot of my argumentation was, uh, more emotional than, than, than logical but, uh, when you can't convince them with logic you dazzle them with bullshit.
- BL: (laughs) Yeah, some of the imagery used by the "Freeway Fighters," um, words like Chinese Wall – <sup>64</sup>
- HR: – Oh yes. –
- BL: – and, uh, things like that seemed to have great impact on, uh, on everybody's opinion. Well, great impact in getting the ball rolling.
- HR: Right. –
- BL: – And –
- HR: – Well, you, you gotta, you, you, you gotta use words like that, and, and, and you, you, you know, it, it, it – w – we could sit around and be objective all day long, but until somebody gets excited, (pauses) nothing's gonna happen.
- BL: Yeah.
- HR: And when he gets excited, he's gonna get a little subjective. So, that's what, that's what used to irritate me about the council. They would go 'round, and 'round, and 'round, and 'round, and be so damned objective about it. Uh, they could see good reasons for it; they could see good reasons not to have it, and they would like to argue and argue –
- BL: Yeah.
- HR: – and re-argue these –
- BL: – Yeah. –
- HR: – points until fi – so – somebody says, (clattering) "Piss on it, let's –
- BL: – Yeah. –
- HR: – get rid of it!" –
- BL: – Yeah. –
- HR: – uh, then something, you know, could happen.
- BL: Now that – I'm going to still drop my questions for right now, but in, in, in my reading, that's – it seemed to be going on like – what was it? Proposed originally in 1955 and then twelve years of – you know, '60, '61 they began to have the first, like the first meeting was held up at Harbor High,<sup>65</sup> and there's some kind of a syndrome, you know, that the issue would bounce back and forth between agencies and cities and, it just – names would change, and now I'm – kind of sound like a *Daily Pilot* editorial, but the, the whole thing just kinda went on and on and on –
- HR: – Yeah. –
- BL: – until, until your idea of the referendum. And then, also – and I'm – this is – I'm leading up to a really long question which I really haven't written down, but it seems to me that in the end, or toward the end, the last couple

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<sup>64</sup> Reference to the Great Wall of China.

<sup>65</sup> Newport Harbor High School in Newport Beach, California.

- years of the issue, the word “environment” kept popping up more and more and, you know, Santa Barbara<sup>66</sup> oil spill and, uh, environmental impact reports and, you know Earth Day – <sup>67</sup>
- HR: – Hm. –
- BL: – and that kind of thing kind of congealed some, um, some emotions and opinions and –
- HR: – Right. –
- BL: – uh, it, with those kind of things, and, think that, that, um – did you feel that that maybe had, uh, more impact in, in getting it stopped as a just kind of a glo – philosophical thing? Or, do you think it was, you know, the, uh, the economics of it? Or –
- HR: – Oh I, I, I, I definitely think th – that w – we were running in extremely good luck because of the, the attitudes of people towards their, their own surroundings towards the – towards their ecology where sh – the, the, there was a tremendous fast shift in, in, in the, the general –
- BL: – Yeah. –
- HR: – public’s thinking and that was working with us all the way along I’d say. So more and more people were becoming aware that, that, that, that they could be jammed in here like Miami<sup>68</sup> or that, yo –, the, you know, uh we –
- BL: Yeah.
- HR: – could lose the upper bay –
- BL: Um-hm.
- HR: (coughs) – uh, one of the last ecological preserves. These types of things were beginning to come onto people’s minds in general and that was just all working for us.
- BL: Right, high-rise –
- HR: – Yeah. –
- BL: – (inaudible), um, pollution –
- HR: – All those nasty words. –
- BL: Yeah.
- HR: Highrise.
- BL: (laughs) Oh, um, okay let’s see if I, uh, if I’ve left anything out here. Um, (pauses) oh, we kinda covered a little bit to what extent did protests outside the area help the cause of fighting the freeway, such as in Venice,<sup>69</sup> and San Francisco?<sup>70</sup>

[00:50:03]

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<sup>66</sup> Coastal city in central California.

<sup>67</sup> International annual event promoting environmental protection, established 1970.

<sup>68</sup> Coastal metropolis in Florida.

<sup>69</sup> Coastal city in Los Angeles County, California.

<sup>70</sup> Coastal city in the Bay Area of northern California.

- BL: And finally, uh, seemed to be the Long Beach effort might even have come after Newport Beach's effort. There's – might – maybe Newport Beach was the leader in having that coastal freeway deleted –
- HR: – Right. –
- BL: – rather than being following, you know, except maybe in San Francisco –
- HR: – Hm. –
- BL: – but that's the far north. That's, that was in the city –
- HR: – Right. –
- BL: – not, not –
- HR: We, we used the San Francisco case, (clattering) uh, quite often uh, quoting. Uh, if San Francisco stopped it in midair, (pauses) –
- BL: – Yeah. –
- HR: – why couldn't we stop it before it gets started, you know, uh, we, we were using uh –
- BL: – Yeah. –
- HR: And they did s – they'd been up there (laughs) –
- BL: – And by midair that's – you mean that freeway that had stopped –
- HR: – Yeah, it's just right, it's right up –
- BL: – Yeah. –
- HR: – there, and, um –
- BL: – Yeah. I've heard about it; I think I've seen it, but I just –
- HR: – Yeah. –
- BL: – doesn't click right now. It – it's not in the middle of the city, is it?
- HR: No, it's down towards the Embarcadero.<sup>71</sup>
- BL: Yeah, yeah.
- HR: And it just goes nowhere.
- BL: Yeah.
- HR: Yeah.
- BL: So, the San Francisco one is really maybe a precursor.
- HR: Yeah, right, uh, but the –
- BL: – But down here in Southern California, Newport Beach is the one that –
- HR: We – yeah, I think we led it here, uh, and, you know, there was becoming more and more really anti-free – freeway attitudes everywhere. Uh, everybo – everybody thought they were neat to drive on, but nobody wanted 'em through, through or near their town.
- BL: Um-hm.
- HR: And we, we, uh (clattering) – one of the arguments we tried to use was the, the fact that when the Eisenhower<sup>72</sup> Administration, uh, passed the

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<sup>71</sup> Roadway along the waterfront in San Francisco, California.

<sup>72</sup> Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969), 34<sup>th</sup> U.S. president (1953–1961).

- Transportation Act,<sup>73</sup> which put, put up most of the money for all of this, it was for a series of freeways that bypassed cities.
- BL: Hm.
- HR: And we felt that the money wa—could not be legally used to go right through the heart of a city that didn't want it.
- BL: Yeah. Yeah, that definition of freeways, you know, interstate highways connecting cities becomes garbled when you come up with urban sprawl—
- HR: —Yeah. —
- BL: —and, uh, every freeway built—
- HR: —Yeah. —
- BL: —it just doesn't work. Alright, yeah. Um (pauses) that's— we've done that one already. Um, were there ever any real chances, um, for compromise in construction o—of the PC<sup>74</sup> freeway to Newport in, in your experience. Now, I know that you were only on the city council from '66 and—
- HR: —Um-hm. —
- BL: —may have been involved a little bit before that but, um, um, or was it simply not possible? Do you think that there were any points where it might have gone another way?
- HR: We tried, um, (clattering) one tri—time we tried for com—for compromise in—on routing a—and, um, uh, like running the, the freeway up close to seventeenth street in, uh—which would be right over dividing line between Newport and Costa Mesa. And Co—that's one reason Costa Mesa fought us so hard. We thought if we could get u—get it up to the back of the town a little more, it b—be better—in the early days, this is the type of thing we were fighting for, and it wasn't until we, we, we, we could see that the, uh, State Highway Commission was not gonna compromise anything that, that, that, that we dug in and, and, uh, said, "Okay, the war is on." But, uh, yeah there were a lot of negotiations, and, uh, done particularly by Paul Gruber, uh, in this respect.
- BL: Right. Yeah, it was interesting that the, to me, that the original decision was, uh, made by the (sighs) California Highway Commission. Seemed to be just the opposite of the recommendation of the, um—
- HR: Yeah.
- BL: —uh, J. C. Womack,<sup>75</sup> the, um—
- HR: —Um-hm. —
- BL: —uh, the old time, um—what do they call them? Chief Highway Engineer of the—
- HR: —Yeah. —

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<sup>73</sup> 1956 Act authorizing the building of highways in the United States, a.k.a. the National Interstate and Defense Highways Act.

<sup>74</sup> Pacific Coast Highway, a.k.a. California State Route 1.

<sup>75</sup> California State Highway Engineer.

- BL: – State of California.
- HR: Um-hm, it was. It was contrary to his recommendation.
- BL: Seemed to me like – I’m not sure if I have it right now, and I – Telford was telling Womack to put it inland, or, or to put it on the coast. Telford was telling to put it on the cost. Womack told the commission to put it inland, and the commission put it on the coast.
- HR: Yeah –
- BL: – That’s –
- HR: – that’s right.
- BL: – is that right? Is that –
- HR: – That is –
- BL: – uh –
- HR: – correct.
- BL: – Yeah.
- HR: That is correct, and that’s something that we could never understand.
- BL: Yeah.
- HR: Here –
- BL: – But –
- HR: – is this high paid executive, an engineer man who’s come up with all the studies, and he probably knew that politically it was, it was going to be impossible along the –
- BL: – Um-hm. –
- HR: – along the coastline too.
- BL: I can even remember reading what (clattering) Telford one time said that he wouldn’t want to mess up Newport Beach, because he intended to retire there.
- HR: (laughs)
- BL: And, uh, I don’t think he retired there; he is retired now.
- HR: No, uh, he’s, he’s got a – he’s got another name if he is (both laugh) Yeah.
- BL: Yeah, I could see –
- HR: Well, that was in the early in, in the early uh stages –
- BL: – yeah –
- HR: – of the thing. Yeah.
- BL: Yeah, right. Right up around adoption time, around ‘53.
- HR: Ye – who all are you gonna interview with?
- BL: Well, that’s, um, I just – gonna decide you know, I’ve heard your description of it, and I’ve – you told me that Bob Curci –
- HR: – yeah –
- BL: – that might be a good one –
- HR: – h – he he will –
- BL: – and, uh –

- HR: – have so much, uh, backup material, um, but he saved all of the copies of the *Ensign*,<sup>76</sup> and, all, all, and the *Pilot*. He has every clipping.
- BL: Is that right?
- HR: Yeah, and he all –
- BL: – Yeah. –
- HR: – he has them all highlighted too.
- BL: Yeah, um, thinking of all the microfilm I just read. I could have just read his clippings (both laugh) No, but, uh I’m gonna call him. Uh –
- HR: – Yeah, by all –
- BL: – I wanted –
- HR: – means do.
- BL: – uh, I wanted to interview you first –
- HR: – Yeah. –
- BL: – before I make another appointment and then, uh, uh, take this, uh, take this tape up to, to Cal State,<sup>77</sup> and then I wanna call Bob and uh –
- HR: Yeah, give Bo – give Bob a call; Bob works in San Bernardino, uh –
- BL: – Does he?
- HR: And, uh, lives in, um, Corona del Mar, and he, he doesn’t come home every night of the week, uh –
- BL: – Uh-huh.
- HR: Um, its, uh –
- BL: Right, there’s plenty of time to make an appointment.
- HR: He’s got an interesting situation, as he, uh, been – gonna tell, g – tell you, Italian family, works for his uncle.
- BL: Yeah.
- HR: And, um, he and his cousin both work for the uncle and the, the, the uncle owns um, oh, Lido Peninsula<sup>78</sup> here, the uh, big golf, Indian Hills Golf Course<sup>79</sup> –
- BL: – Hm. –
- HR: – down in, uh, the valley, um grapefruit orchards in, throughout Coachella and, uh, lemons and oranges all over Arizona,<sup>80</sup> with a, a big, big family so – they built a, uh, shopping center up in, uh, San Bernardino using HUD funds.<sup>81</sup> They tore out an old part of town, and they –
- BL: – Yeah. –
- HR: – put a shopping mall in it.
- BL: (inaudible)

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<sup>76</sup> Newspaper published in Corona del Mar, California (1948–1950).

<sup>77</sup> California State University, Fullerton.

<sup>78</sup> Neighborhood on a man-made island in Newport Beach, California.

<sup>79</sup> Golf club in Riverside County, California

<sup>80</sup> State in the southwestern United States.

<sup>81</sup> Financial assistance provided by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.



- HR: Yeah, and, uh, so Bob is, is caught (coughs) in the horns of a dilemma 'cause he's working with the city council up in San Bernardino all the time, arguing, uh, with them exactly the w – opposite the way he's arguing with us down here. Uh, they – (inaudible) he wants all those goodies, he wants –
- BL: – Yeah. –
- HR: – all those freeways and uh –
- BL: Yeah, that's like a guy in environmental studies, and then goes out to invest in property again.
- HR: Yeah, right. (both laugh) How much can I get on this piece? Yes.
- BL: That's right. The uh – you mentioned that, and I'm just about, I'm done really with my questions, like, I have one more, and I, uh, on, on Bob Curci, you said that, um, he stayed in the background –
- HR: – Yeah. –
- BL: – but that he did a, a great deal of work for it and everything of course, you know, and he kept his records, uh why did he, uh, stay in the background?
- HR: Because of his uncle um, who is very sensitive to publicity, and, uh, one of the, one of our outstanding citizens here, uh, he owns heavy property in here. Uh, he comes to us and says, uh, you know, "How do you want it developed?" He, he doesn't, he's not, he's not pushing this –
- BL: – Um-hm. –
- HR: – he, he, he's, he, he's quiet, and Bob was really getting, going on this and, and his uncle just said uh, "Cool it."
- BL: Um-hm.
- HR: "Stay out of it." But uh, Bob didn't stay out of it. Bob –
- BL: – Yeah. –
- HR: – went in, and, did all the background work, and, um, was very vocal at meetings, but not public meetings.
- BL: Um-hm.
- HR: (coughs)
- BL: Yeah, didn't wanna have his name in the *Pilot*.
- HR: That's right. E – Every, every time the uncle would go through them.
- BL: Yeah.
- HR: And, um, they got a million-dollar mall out there – this is, this is confidential between you and me – and he got a million-dollar mall, and his uncle gave him ten percent to run it. Uh, a te – ten million dollar mall, no (pauses)
- BL: Ten per –
- HR: – Yeah. So, Bob is doing alright.
- BL: (laughs) I get that.
- HR: – Once he kept his mouth closed –
- BL: – Yeah. –
- HR: – he would have the assignment.
- BL: Yeah. (inaudible)

HR: – I think, the uncle gave him the assignment partially to get him outta town because he was getting vocal again. But, we have a, um, where – a, a, an official, uh, council committee now and, um, um, the, uh, Corona del Mar Freeway and the Bonita Coyote Canyon Pass Ci – Citizens Advisory Committee –

BL: – Yeah. –

HR: – Traffic Advisory Committee<sup>82</sup> (coughs) and, uh, Bob went to his uncle, uh, and asked if he cou – if he could serve on that committee ‘cause he had been asked by one of the councilman, and each councilman appoints two people. And, um, his uncle said, “Yes!” Uh, (clattering) fortunately just, uh, two months earlier the mall had become ninety, ninety-percent occupied.

BL: (laughs) That’s okay. Yeah

HR: You – you’ll enjoy Bob; and Bo – Bob will get so damn excited, uh –

BL: – Yeah, I mean, I’m excited about –

HR: He’s, he’s the typical Italian, you know and uh –

BL: – Yeah. –

HR: – uh –

BL: – Great, I’m re –

HR: – he wei – he weighs about three times as much as he should –

BL: – yeah –

HR: – and uh –

[01:00:20]

BL: – Sounds like a neat individual.

HR: But he, he could just get excited, God, and –

BL: – Hm. –

HR: – and, uh, his, his uh, quick memory for, for detail from this thing, of the, uh –

BL: – Yeah. –

HR: – you’ll shock him. Boy, he’ll go in to volume three, two, right there, you know?

BL: Yeah.

HR: You, you just got a hand on all of it.

BL: He should be able to fix up some of my details then, too.

HR: Yeah. He, he can, he can fill you in on a lot of the –

BL: – Um-hm, great. Um, last question. Um, let’s see. Left over is a state land holding in Newport, right?

HR: Right.

BL: What is the status of this land, and, of course, well, together with it, have the Little Hoover Commission acted effectively in getting it re-sold? Um –

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<sup>82</sup> Committee advising on traffic solutions in conjunction with local and state regulators.

HR: –Uh, Little Hoover Commission<sup>83</sup> (clattering) pushed real hard, uh, at one time, and I guess they still have the pressure on the Department of Transportation to dump that land. Uh, we are buying, uh, what we can and on what – whatever terms we can get it, uh, for open space and recreation.

BL: Um-hm.

HR: Now, we've been able to work out some deals with the state, and the state is very, the Department of Transportation is very cooperative with the city now on disposing of these lands. Um, but the big piece up at fifth and Marguerite<sup>84</sup> up in the Corona del Mar area that we've picked up. We have under lease the Pacific Rideaway, uh, down in West Newport where we're gonna put in a, a big, uh, tennis and paddle tennis, and, uh, park. We're, we're very short of parks. When, when –

BL: –Yeah. (clattering) –

HR: –when people first moved down here, they thought the ocean was the – and the bay was plenty of park. But, uh, not anymore. Now they want the, all of the other amenities that go along –

BL: –Right. –

HR: –with it. The, the tennis courts, the –

BL: –Right. –

HR: –hand ball courts, the – and so on. So, uh, we have a very, uh, industrious, uh, um, park program going, and, and we're taking every bit of the land that we can get, and use, th – that we can afford, uh, from the, uh, surplus land. As a matter of fact, we're just picking up a package uh, now, it's over behind the, the old Mariner's Mile,<sup>85</sup> uh, on Pacific Coast Highway, and we're, we're gonna turn that, uh, into off-street parking to alleviate the parking problem of Pacific Coast Highway.

BL: Yeah, I remember that being talked about during the freeway issue.

HR: Yeah.

BL: Balboa Bay Club. The manager at the time was Dick Stevens.<sup>86</sup>

HR: Yeah, he wanted the –

BL: –wanted to have a land buy, I think one had the state buy some land –

HR: –right, yeah –

BL: –and, uh, from him so that he could still have his parking, but not have all that empty land.

HR: Yeah.

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<sup>83</sup> Milton Marks "Little Hoover" Commission on California State Government Organization and Economy, established 1962.

<sup>84</sup> Street in Newport Beach, California.

<sup>85</sup> Historic area in Newport Beach, California.

<sup>86</sup> Richard S. Stevens (1930–2010), president of the Balboa Bay Club, commissioner for the 1984 Olympics in Los Angeles.

BL: (indaudible) Okay, well, um, (pauses) this has just been fantastic. I can't, uh, you know, uh, thank you enough—

HR: — This was fun. —

BL: — for —

HR: — I enjoyed it. —

BL: — for giving me your time and, and, uh, I'm glad that you enjoyed it. I just, you know — that, that last one about the future of Newport traffic problems, but I think that I'll wait on that one because that's another, uh, another whole uh—

HR: — That's right. —

BL: — you know, maybe for my PhD—

HR: — Yeah. —

BL: — you know —

HR: — There you go. —

BL: We'll come back and work—

HR: Yeah, hold something in reserve for that.

BL: Yeah, yeah.

HR: Yeah, no I have—

BL: — Yeah. —

HR: — I have enjoyed it and I, I know damn well that, uh, um, at dinner time or sometime, I'll think of a million things that I, I should have told you that I hadn't—

BL: — Yeah. —

HR: — you know, because—

BL: — Hey, well that's okay be— you know, just make a note to yourself and, uh, and, and I'll get back to ya—

HR: — Alright. —

BL: — you know. Be— before the semester is over.

HR: I— If, if, if I think of some things, I'll—

[01:04:04]

END OF INTERVIEW

Jeremy Casil and Elizabeth Macias (editors)

*“Today, you can go next door and they don’t know you”:  
John LaRue’s Memories of Fullerton, California (1991)*

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California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).

The Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History (COPH).

Project: Heritage House.

O.H. 2216.

Oral Interview with John LaRue, conducted by Dale Swartout,

November 7, 1991, Whittier, California.

*Introduction*

The oral history transcribed below belongs to a collection held in CSUF’s Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History (COPH) titled “Heritage House.” The interview with John LaRue was conducted by Dale Swartout on November 7, 1991, in Whittier, California. This interview is 1 hour, 3 minutes, and 36 seconds long, and is archived as a digital recording/audio file at COPH (see “Copyright Advisory” below). The verbatim transcript edited here was prepared in the fall of 2023 by Jeremy Casil and Elizabeth Macias.

John LaRue’s life, beginning when he was born in 1925 in Los Angeles, California, encapsulates a quintessential American narrative. Raised in Fullerton, California, in a middle-class family, LaRue’s early years were steeped in familial bonds and adventures. His story unfolded following his parents’ migration from West Virginia to California in 1917, making LaRue and his sister first-generation Californians. His childhood was marked by a memorable trip to West Virginia and the Chicago World’s Fair, as well as everyday adventures like a twenty-eight-mile bike ride to Whittier with friends. LaRue’s educational journey through Wilshire Junior High and Fullerton High School was punctuated by athletic achievements and early work experiences, including jobs at the Standard Oil Company and at Sunny Hills Ranch. His penchant for hard work and adventure continued as he joined the military during World War II. Post-war, LaRue’s life took a turn toward education, and he began teaching seventh-grade history and mathematics in Norwalk. Music played a pivotal role in his life, as he met his future wife while playing in the symphony at Whittier College. By the time of this interview in 1991, LaRue was residing in Whittier with his wife, Carolyn. LaRue’s rich tapestry of experiences, from humble beginnings to impactful career choices, establish him as a symbol of the enduring American spirit.

As detailed in this interview, John LaRue’s life story offers meaningful insights into twentieth-century America, viewed through his experiences growing up in Fullerton. His early years were marked by joy and adventure, both locally and while traveling. LaRue’s adolescence was filled with friends, athletics, and cars,

reflecting the vibrant experiences of youth in mid-twentieth century America. LaRue looks back on his life with a sense of fulfillment, cherishing the memories and relationships that have brought him joy. His memories of growing up in Fullerton paint a picture of the city's history, as he describes everything from changes in the public school system to his favorite hangout spot, Moore's Malt Shop. LaRue's story, a testament to the richness of Fullerton's heritage, serves as an invaluable resource for historians, students, and the Fullerton community, preserving the essence of an era gone by.

Only identifiable individuals, locations, and technical terms have been referenced in the footnotes, usually when they first appear.

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*The primary-source edition published below originated in the "History and Editing" course offered by CSUF's Department of History.*

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### *Verbatim Transcript (O.H. 2216)*

LAWRENCE DE GRAAF CENTER FOR ORAL AND PUBLIC HISTORY

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON

NARRATOR: John LaRue [JL]

INTERVIEWER: Dale Swartout [DS]

INTERLOCUTOR: Carolyn B. LaRue, John LaRue's wife [CL]

DATE: November 7, 1991

LOCATION: Whittier, California

PROJECT: Heritage House

TRANSCRIBERS: Jeremy Casil and Elizabeth Macias

DS: This is an interview with Mr. John LaRue, (train horn) conducted by Mr. Dale Swartout under the auspices of the Cal State University of Fullerton Oral History Program. The location of the interview is in Mr. LaRue's home

in Whittier,<sup>1</sup> California, on the 7th of November at approximately 4 p.m. (pauses) 'kay, Mr. LaRue, if you could, uh, tell about your childhood and, and, uh, talk about your growing up in the (faint bird chirping) Fullerton<sup>2</sup> area.

JL: Well, I wonder if I could jump ahead first to Don Clark<sup>3</sup> which is –

DS: – Sure. –

JL: – the reason that, uh, you had contacted me. My sister<sup>4</sup> had told you that I knew Don Clark when I was a kid, and that was true. And we quite often played together with a group, but I'll, I'll never forget – and I've related this story many times to other people – when he first came to Fullerton, it wasn't long after he came, following the Long Beach earthquake,<sup>5</sup> that it rained and Don came to school – we all went to Ford Avenue School<sup>6</sup> and that was maybe three blocks from where his, uh, where his grandfather lived. And Don came to school barefooted. And I'll never forget how the nurse and the principal and the teachers were just beside themselves, that this child had come to school without any shoes on in the rain. So, I guess at that point in time they didn't know that this was Dr. Clark's<sup>7</sup> grandson and so, in following back on it, it was through Dr. Clark's instructions that he had come to school with no shoes on because he didn't want his grandson to sit – to sit in the classroom with, with wet shoes and catch a cold. (laughs) And, so anytime that it rained, we were always assured then that Don would come to school without any shoes on, so –

DS: (laughs) That's good.

JL: Yeah. (pauses) Well, relative to myself, um, I was not *born* in Fullerton, only because my mother, uh, felt confident in a doctor who had delivered my older sister up in Coalinga<sup>8</sup> and had moved down to Los Angeles.<sup>9</sup> He had a practice he had taken over for his grandfather, I mean, for an uncle of his on the corner of 8th and Broadway in Downtown Los Angeles. So, my mother went to him, and I guess when I was ready to be born, they piled my mother and my dad in our '24, '25 Model T Ford<sup>10</sup> – I was born in 1925 – and went into Los Angeles, and I was born there and two weeks later – they kept you a long time I guess at that point in time – well then, I came back to

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<sup>1</sup> City in Los Angeles County, California.

<sup>2</sup> City in Orange County, California.

<sup>3</sup> Childhood friend of John LaRue.

<sup>4</sup> Josephine Chance, née LaRue (d. 2006), John LaRue's older sister.

<sup>5</sup> Estimated 6.4 seismic event on March 10, 1933, off the coast of Long Beach, California.

<sup>6</sup> School in Fullerton, California, closed 1989.

<sup>7</sup> Dr. George C. Clark, physician, first owner of CSUF's "Heritage House."

<sup>8</sup> City in Fresno County, California.

<sup>9</sup> Metropolis and county seat in Los Angeles County, California.

<sup>10</sup> Automobile produced by the Ford Motor Company.

Fullerton, and I always lived in Fullerton, but I could never claim that as my birthplace, I was born in Los Angeles. So, and I lived at 244 Jacaranda Place,<sup>11</sup> and I lived there until I went in the service at the age of 18. And, uh, growing up in Fullerton was just a lot of fun, it was a small community, well small by today's standards, it was, uh, maybe 10,000 people. And it seemed that we were always vying with Anaheim<sup>12</sup> as to who had a few more people, either Anaheim or Fullerton. But, uh, it was a fun place to live and, uh, you had a lot of freedom, uh, to kinda do the ki— things that kids perhaps should be able to do now, you could hike up the barranca,<sup>13</sup> or you could take your BB gun<sup>14</sup> out into the hills, or you could walk up through the groves, or—you could just do all sorts of things that aren't available to kids now. You always had lots of activities going on. (pauses) Um. I think an analogy I've often drawn as I've become an adult and, uh, I was in public education so I went through the chairs as a principal at various levels and all that sort of thing. But, I always knew that i—if Johnny LaRue went across town to the east side and got into trouble, his mom and dad would know about it. Now, today, you can go next door and they don't know you, perhaps. So, there's a different ballgame. But any place that we went as kids in Fullerton, when I was growing up, people knew you and so, you knew that you had to work or act within certain parameters. So, regardless of what part of town it was, although we got in trouble from time to time, it was nothing serious because we always knew that there was that reporting aspect back to your parents. But, uh, uh, we had a great, uh, neighborhood there in, uh, on Jacaranda Place. We had, uh, oh, kids my sister's age that were a group and then a number of kids my age probably 12 to 15 in my age group.

DS: Hm, wow.

JL: And, so we, you know, in the summertime it was, uh, playing "tap the finger" or "hide and seek" until late at night, or out in the street you could do the "kick the can" or riding your bike, doing whatever, or we built forts down in the barranca, or we dug holes, or we'd clear a lot and have a, kind of a, a, a track meet<sup>15</sup> of sort. Um, we held boxing matches, uh—

DS: —Hm.—

JL: —we, uh, played football, uh, in the summer I can remember such mundane activities as sitting under the big English walnut tree in front of our house and having snail races.

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<sup>11</sup> John LaRue's childhood home in Fullerton, California. As of this 2024 edition of this interview, the original 1922/1923 Craftsman bungalow is still standing.

<sup>12</sup> City in Orange County, California.

<sup>13</sup> Flood control channel.

<sup>14</sup> Type of air gun.

<sup>15</sup> Track-and-field athletic competition.



DS: (laughs)

JL: We'd each get a real great snail and put 'em in the middle of a square on the cement sidewalk, and the first one to get out, which would take, you know, an in – interminable period of time –

DS: – (laughs) –

JL: – that would be the winner.

DS: (laughs)

JL: And, uh, but hiking around and just having the freedom to, uh, do and go where you wanted to go I think was the real plus as I saw it. Um, (pauses) when I got up into high school, um, wanted to earn some money of – of my own and be a little more independent, uh, I first worked for Standard Oil Company,<sup>16</sup> just right after my freshman year, but my primary work experience as a kid growing up in Fullerton was working on Sunny Hills Ranch,<sup>17</sup> from the time that I was, uh, a sophomore on through high school and then even after I got out of the service. And it was a working orange ranch at that time, it was, uh, the old Bastanchury Ranch<sup>18</sup> that had gone into receivership and had been taken over by a group that was attempting to revive it, but I think ultimately what happened – and it was probably their original intent – was to, uh, make that into a, uh, an expan – expanded part of the community and to, uh, you know, build houses up there and sell property and that sort of thing. But, uh, lots of fun up there and lots of kids in Fullerton worked up there and, uh, we just had a great time. In the neighborhood where I grew up it was just middle-class America and, uh, I think probably the predominant industry for the people in *my* immedia – immediate area was the oil, uh, the oil fields. Not necessarily the Standard Oil field there, at, uh, which is now south and east of Imperial and, uh, Highway 39,<sup>19</sup> the Murphy-Coyote Lease but, uh, some worked in Brea<sup>20</sup> and some worked out toward Yorba Linda,<sup>21</sup> and the various oil companies that were in the area, but a significant number of the people in that neighborhood worked for one of the oil companies and, uh, we had a policeman on the block. And, uh, we had a couple of merchants, and, uh, had a couple of contractors –

DS: – Hm. –

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<sup>16</sup> American petroleum company (1870–1911).

<sup>17</sup> Farm ranch in Fullerton, California, established 1935.

<sup>18</sup> Nineteenth-century farm ranch, later re-named to Sunny Hills Ranch.

<sup>19</sup> California State Route 39, a.k.a. Beach Boulevard in Orange County California.

<sup>20</sup> City in Orange County, California.

<sup>21</sup> City in Orange County, California.

- JL: – and, uh, it was just a cross section of middle-class America – I ‘member that there was only *one* person on our block who lost his home during the Depression.<sup>22</sup>
- DS: Hm.
- JL: Uh, all of us seemed to be able to come along fine – I remember at one point in time, my dad was cut down to a four-day, uh, work week but that was for a very brief period of time –
- DS: – Hm. –
- JL: – and so, I think generally – at least *my* part of Fullerton – was very fortunate, the way we moved thru – uh, through the Depression. Uh, I remember the, uh, CWA,<sup>23</sup> PWA,<sup>24</sup> WPA<sup>25</sup> –
- DS: – Hm. –
- JL: – the various, uh, transitions it went through, and how they continued to work on the barranca and, uh, first they, uh, put in posts and wire and palm fronds and tried to do things to, uh, make it deeper and let the water, when it rained – we used to have some heavy rains – pass down there more freely, but I think they just initially, uh, fouled the thing all up and uh, first big rain or two we had after the, I think it was probably the CWA at that time, got started, it washed the bank away and I remember with one of those rains, maybe not too long after the Long Beach Earthquake, uh, the bank washed away right to the back step of the little house that was behind us that we had as rental property.
- DS: Hm.
- JL: So, um. (chuckles) Remember also when I was probably, um, 10 or 11, myself and three or four other kids got a bigger guy, maybe a high school kid, to help us dig a cave into the side of the bank of that, uh –
- DS: – (laughs) –
- JL: – barranca way back under Chapman,<sup>26</sup> and we had a chamber back there that would hold about four people. The good news was that, uh, the superintendent of the, uh, streets or roads for the city found we were doing that, and he brought us out and made sure we didn’t go in there again, and it was very sandy soil, I think we could’ve all been killed.
- DS: Hm, I’m sure.
- JL: In fact, I think back maybe the things we did just for fun –
- DS: – (laughs) –
- JL: – could’ve gotten us killed, but it was all innocent –
- DS: (laughs)

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<sup>22</sup> Great Depression, period of economic downturn (1929–1939).

<sup>23</sup> Civil Works Administration, job creation program (1933–1934).

<sup>24</sup> Public Works Administration, construction agency (1933–1943).

<sup>25</sup> Works Progress Administration, public works employment agency (1935–1943).

<sup>26</sup> Chapman Avenue in Fullerton, California.

JL: – and the good news was we never were killed, so.

DS: (laughs)

JL: But, that was, that was not a smart thing to do.

[00:10:00]

JL: Uh, (pauses) I went through all of the schools in Fullerton, I s – Ford School from, uh, kindergarten through grade six, however, I'm not exactly positive – I think it was when I was a sixth grader, they, uh, retrofitted and, uh, reinforced the schools to meet the Field Act standards.<sup>27</sup> So that they were, uh, you know, more resistant to the earthquakes.

DS: Hm.

JL: And, uh, so – for my sixth-grade year, I'm quite sure that was the year, *half* of that year Chapman came to Ford, and we had half-day sessions, half-day for Chapman, half day for Ford. And the other half of the year, Ford went to Chapman School, which is now part of the Wilshire Junior High School.<sup>28</sup>

DS: Oh.

JL: It's on the, uh, uh, sou – it would be the southeast corner of what is now Lemon and Chapman.

DS: Ah.

JL: That was an elementary school, there were – there were three elementary schools. There was Ford Avenue, Maple Avenue,<sup>29</sup> and Chapman.<sup>30</sup> And then there was one junior high school and that was Wilshire. And, I can remember my sister, when she first attended Wilshire, it was an old, I think, a two-story building. Now, that would've been at the northeast corner of Lemon and Wilshire. And, uh, they rebuilt that sch – they tore down the old school, and they built the new one there in, uh, (pauses) 1930, (pauses) oh, '36 or '7, '8 – wait, the first graduating class was the class of '38, and I was in the second graduating class from the new building which was 1939 – from the eighth grade. Uh, but anyway, after that then, I went to, uh, Fullerton High School<sup>31</sup> and there was just one high school in the entire area that served Fullerton, uh, La Habra,<sup>32</sup> Buena Park,<sup>33</sup> Yorba Linda, and when I was a freshman in Fullerton, it also served Placentia,<sup>34</sup> but, after that freshman year of mine in high school, they built Valencia High School,<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> 1933 California law on seismic safety standards for schools.

<sup>28</sup> School in Fullerton, California.

<sup>29</sup> School in Fullerton, California.

<sup>30</sup> School in Fullerton, California, demolished 1950.

<sup>31</sup> School in Fullerton, California, now Fullerton Union High School.

<sup>32</sup> City in Orange County, California.

<sup>33</sup> City in Orange County, California.

<sup>34</sup> City in Orange County, California.

<sup>35</sup> School in Placentia, California, established 1933.

and so all of those kids then went to that high s – high school. Before that, and I think probably when my sister was in school, Brea also was a part of the Fullerton High School District,<sup>36</sup> but as you know now then there've been many other high schools built and, and, in, in fact a couple even closed –

DS: (laughs)

JL: –but, uh, to expand and take care of population growth throughout the whole area. Uh, I just did the normal things kids did. I, uh – my mother, uh, was active in, uh, you know, church groups and clubs in town and, uh, uh, she was someone who liked to have her kids achieve, and she involved me in playing the violin. I think I wanted to, uh, but I think it was only through her insistence that I became as good as I did – and I did become a pretty good violinist, but, uh, going in the service and having other directions I was more interested in, I've kind of left it behind, although that is the way my wife and I met. We met at Whittier College<sup>37</sup> because I was playing in the symphony, and she was the concertmaster.

DS: (chuckles)

JL: So, uh, anyway, I was – it had some positive aspects to it, um, (pauses) I don't know, maybe you have some specific questions you'd like to ask rather than me just rambling, I (sighs) –

DS: Yeah, you're doing fine. I mean, it, it's great. You're, you're talking about all your experiences and background, that – that's good stuff.

JL: –uh, (pauses) well, I had a lot of good *friends* I grew up with and maintained. Uh, the negative thing is even if you get just as old as I am – which I don't think is all that old –

DS: –Hm. –

JL: –some of those friends begin to leave you and, uh, my very oldest and best friend who was the son of the, uh, superintendent of schools in Fullerton, Raymond Green was the superintendent's name, and that was his name also, Raymond Green Jr. And, uh, just about three years ago, he died. He was actually, uh, killed in a rather tragic accident where he suffered from carbon monoxide poisoning in a –

DS: –Hm. –

JL: –um, cabin that he and his family owned up at Cedar Breaks, Utah.<sup>38</sup>

DS: Hm.

JL: But, um, uh, maybe as a result of that (chuckles) and other things, we still go to Fullerton, but I find that there are fewer people that I can relate to because of the growth of the community and the fact that many of my

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<sup>36</sup> Fullerton Joint Union High School District, founded 1893.

<sup>37</sup> Private liberal arts college in Whittier, California, founded 1887.

<sup>38</sup> National monument near Cedar City, Utah.

- friends have gone from the community, or else as with Ray, they aren't there anymore.
- DS: Yeah.
- JL: Um, uh, (pauses) holidays, certain holidays, were a big thing, I think my very favorite holiday as a kid growing up was Fourth of July. You could get enough firecrackers and fireworks to just do a heck of a job for about two dollars. And we'd save and save, and we'd go out and buy our fireworks and then—mostly firecrackers—and, uh, the first guy to wake up, which was usually about five o'clock in the morning, would go off to another kid's house and he had put a, an elk or a cherry bomb<sup>39</sup> or something under his window and that'd wake hi—him up and then we'd go to another kid's house and wake him up. Pretty soon—
- DS: —(laughs)—
- JL: —we'd have a whole bunch—and all day long, we were shooting—
- DS: —(laughs)—
- JL: —off firecrackers and kicking cans up into the air or blowing up handholds or what have you—
- DS: (laughs)
- JL: —then, at night, the, uh reserve we had, uh, uh, for the night fireworks we'd do in the middle of the street and, uh, that was my favorite holiday, I think.
- DS: (laughs)
- JL: We also had a lot of fun with Halloween and it wasn't like kids did—do it now, but, uh, uh, we'd go around trick-or-treating and that sort of thing—we'd also do a little mischief. I can remember Ray one time carrying a, uh, flower pot he'd picked off someone's front yard down the street, and it was our good fortune that here comes a policeman and stopped us and wondered where we were going with (laughs)—
- DS: —(laughs)—
- JL: —the flowerpot (laughs). 'Nother time with Ray, I remember, uh, being out front and we had these 1920s style, uh, lighting fixtures down the street, uh, they were cement, was kind of a serrated edge and a, kind of a decorative lamp style top. But it was glass, and here Ray and I were, shooting with a rather weak BB gun—
- DS: —(laughs)—
- JL: —at the glass top and (laughs) putting a few holes in it and here up, up, uh, drives a policeman and—
- DS: —(laughs)—
- JL: —and, uh, y' know reminded us that was not a good thing to do. (laughs) I don't remember that we had anything that we had to pay for that but, uh—
- DS: —(laughs)—
- JL: —but, they were there mainly helpful, you know? And, uh—

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<sup>39</sup> Type of firework.

DS: – (laughs) –

JL: – one of the fellas on our street was a policeman: Jake Diced. He was, I think, the one traffic officer, he didn't ride a motorcycle but he wore the (clears throat) the leggings and the –

DS: – Hm. –

JL: – bloomed pants that were emblematic – symblematic of that, and, uh, uh, everybody liked him on the street, he was just a nice guy. (pauses)

DS: (laughs) Were there a lot of, um, uh, o – out of your playmates or the, the kids you knew throughout the – your neighborhood and the town, were a lot of them descendants of some of the, uh, old families of Fullerton? Uh.

JL: Uh, no, they really weren't. Uh, most of them I think had a, y' know, they were just the – well, for example, my sister and I were first-generation Californians in our family, and I think that was pretty typical of most of them. You didn't find many "native Californians" older than we. Um, I know my mom and dad who both had come from West Virginia,<sup>40</sup> uh, would take my sister and I back east and they would always – people would always comment, "Oh, they're native Californians."

DS: (laughs)

JL: They wou – and I can remember for *years*, even as I grew up in Fullerton, if you were a native Californian, that was really something. Y' know? And, uh, uh – my folks came to the state in 1917. And, uh, I think many of the people on the block were probably in that same time frame and, uh, uh, I can reca – one family I know came from Pennsylvania<sup>41</sup> – I'm not sure that I know where everyone came from. I really don't. But most had come from someplace else. But, uh, I know when the people started coming as a result of the Dust Bowl,<sup>42</sup> not so much to Fullerton per se, but to the surrounding areas – and they filled up some areas like Bell Gardens<sup>43</sup> –

DS: – Hm. –

JL: – or maybe, a part of Fullerton that wasn't quote "as desirable" or Buena Park or some of these other places, maybe La Habra. Uh, there was a (laughs) feeling, it's difficult to describe, but I think it was there to some extent that, uh, uh, people who by this time regarded themselves really as Californians, they were there just a little bit before these "Dust Bowl People,"<sup>44</sup> maybe didn't really feel they were quite on the same level they were. Which, uh, I guess might have been a type of prejudice – I don't think it was anything malicious, but, uh – I think you could tell that, uh, they

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<sup>40</sup> State in the eastern United States.

<sup>41</sup> State in the Mid-Atlantic region of the United States.

<sup>42</sup> Period of severe dust storms and drought in the American prairies (1930–1936).

<sup>43</sup> City in Los Angeles County, California.

<sup>44</sup> Great Plains residents affected by dust and drought in the 1930s, causing them to migrate.

- thought “Well, (clock chiming) they just didn’t come quite with the same resources we did when *we* came,” kind of—
- DS: —Hm.—
- JL: —thing, y’ know?
- DS: Hm.
- JL: But, I think everyone tried to help. In fact, I remember during that time, uh, you know, we regard cafeterias in, in th—in the schools as just being a commonplace thing now. Well, there were none, and I was a student at Ford Avenue in whatever grade I was in at the time, third, fourth, fifth, I don’t know. But, uh, the PTA<sup>45</sup> generated interest, and I think the school built a facility, but they started a soup kitchen. And, the women—such as my mother—would go to the soup kitchen and volunteer, and they’d make the soup and then serve the children and it was a penny a bowl.
- DS: (in disbelief) Wow.
- JL: One penny—
- DS: —That’s—
- JL: —a bowl.
- DS: —incredible.
- JL: Yeah, vegetable soup usually, and I, I forget whether anything else was (pauses) served with it, but it enabled those who had less—
- DS: —Hm.—
- JL: —to at least have a nourishing meal during the daytime. And then, that—probably from that—is what, uh, caused the cafeteria or, uh, uh, the f—
- DS: —Hm.—
- JL: —the food system to develop in the schools.

[00:20:07]

- JL: Remember, we—from the time I went to high school—we had a well-developed cafeteria, and maybe it’d been there forever, I don’t know, but in the (clears throat) in the elementary schools it just didn’t exist. (clears throat) Pardon me. I remember my favorite thing when—and I think it was everyone’s favorite—when I was in high school in the school cafeteria, every once in a while they would have artichokes when they were in season.
- DS: (laughs)
- JL: And seems to me you’ve got an artichoke with a big, uh, well, a little container of melted butter for a dime.
- DS: (chuckles)
- JL: And, uh, my allowance, from the time I was in the seventh grade on through high school, ‘til I started getting some of my own money, believe it or not, for lunch was a quarter a day.
- DS: Hm. Wow.

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<sup>45</sup> Parent Teacher Association, founded 1897 as the National Congress of Mothers.

JL: And, uh—I could usually eat for less than that, and I'd (laughs) have something leftover for a candy bar or something—

DS: (laughs)

JL: —(laughs) like that. And, uh, favorite thing you did as you got a little older was to go down to Moore's Malt Shop.<sup>46</sup> Uh, that would be just south of Malvern on the west side of Harbor, just across the barranca, maybe—the first little building there, I think, was a dry cleaners, it's all one unit, but there was a dry cleaners and then Moore's Malt Shop, and then I think there was a little Chinese chop suey place.<sup>47</sup>

DS: (laughs)

JL: And Moore's is where everyone went. And you could get the biggest, best malt in a glass—they'd served it to you in a glass, uh, container that they'd mixed it in—for ten cents.

DS: Hm.

JL: And then I remember, uh, it gradually went up. Went up to twelve cents and then fourteen cents. I think when I went in the service it was maybe fourteen cents for a malt? And, I'll never forget when I came back from the service, I was with another good friend of mine, Dave Hammond, he had come back also. And, uh, we went in to Moore's 'cause that's where you went. And, uh, who met us as we were going in but Art Johnson. He had been, uh, the boys' physical education teacher in the Fullerton District from the time you hit the fourth grade. You started organized activities of physical education, we had competition with the other schools in, touch football, baseball, and speedball<sup>48</sup> which was kind of a—

DS: —Huh. —

JL: —forerunner of soccer.

DS: Oh.

JL: And, uh, Art saw Dave, and I and he took us in and he bought us each our malts, coming just back from (laughs) the service. And, he went on after he retired and everything, I remember my mother, um, after I'd lost my father which was, uh, 19 (clears throat) 59, I believe. (coughs) My mother was alone, and Art Johnson then was kinda working for the City of Fullerton, uh, I don't know whether he did it on a volunteer basis or whether he, uh, was paid for it, but he organized trips for senior citizens. And I remember she went, and he was the leader of the trip to Hawaii<sup>49</sup> with a group. But, uh, Art was really a nice guy, and I think probably gave us all our start in athletics and participating and enjoying them. But, uh, I had good teachers in the Fullerton school system, uh, all the way through. And so, I think it

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<sup>46</sup> Former counter-service business in Fullerton, California.

<sup>47</sup> Former eatery in Fullerton, California.

<sup>48</sup> American ball sport, invented 1921 by Elmer D. Mitchell.

<sup>49</sup> Chain of islands in the Pacific Ocean, U.S. state since 1959.



- was a good place to grow up and receive an education. (pauses) I just kinda rambled I – (laughs)
- DS: No, that's, that's (inaudible) have a good story. Um.
- JL: – I can tell you my most embarrassing time, maybe you don't want this on tape, I don't know, as a little kid in kindergarten – (laughs)
- DS: Okay. (laughs)
- JL: I shouldn't tell that. Why not? (laughs)
- CL: It doesn't have anything to do with the history of –
- JL: I know it doesn't. Okay, we won't tell that.
- DS: (inaudible) Wha – what was your neighborhood, the neighborhood you were raised in, uh, you mentioned –
- JL: They were just, uh, (pauses) they were houses built primarily in the early '20s. I think our house was built in 1923, and they were individually built. Although they all looked very much alike, uh, uh, you know, you went out, and you got a contractor, and you had a house built. I guess, it was before I was born.
- DS: (laughs)
- JL: And, uh, uh, as I recall, my parents, well they built the house facing Jacaranda, at the corner of Jacaranda and Highland,<sup>50</sup> and then *behind* it, a little one-bedroom house, which they always used as a rental, which faced (pauses) Highland.
- DS: Hm.
- JL: And, I believe that the whole thing cost \$10,000. And, uh, I believe that my parents told me that they had paid it off in three years.
- DS: Wow.
- JL: So – and I can remember during the Depression, them renting that, uh, little house for as little as \$15.
- DS: Wow, that was (pauses) – hm.
- JL: And, uh, it initially – our house was initially a two-bedroom house. So, when I was seven – well, then – between the two units there was a double garage and, uh, dad went over to Mr. Ellis who lived across the street and up three doors, and he was a building contractor, and he struck an a – an agreement with hi – (clears throat) with him, and we put a second story up over the garage, so that was my room. (laughs)
- DS: (laughs)
- JL: So (pauses) but it was a, it was a nice place to grow up. Uh, as I mentioned, the others, uh, had jobs kinda similar to my dad, and they all seemed to have adequate resources. No one was rich, but they were all comfortable. And, uh – (dog barking)
- DS: Can you talk about some of your experiences working on the ranch?

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<sup>50</sup> 244 Jacaranda Place, Fullerton, California, on the corner of Highland Avenue.

JL: Well, I can remember the first day very well. I had worked with Ray Green, my dad had gotten Ray and I a job with the Standard Oil Company along with eight other boys. We were on a weed crew. And we knew the job was to last ten weeks. And it was right after my freshman year in high school. And, we were paid five dollars for an eight hour day, that was sixty, I think sixty-two and a half cents an hour—which was the *same* money that a Roustabout<sup>51</sup> was paid. The basic (clears throat) the basic entry level for, uh, uh, working in the oil fields. Pardon me, could I have some water, honey, please? (creaking sound)

JL: But anyway, we had to produce. Um, there were um—four of the other kids I can remember came from the general area (clears throat). Stan and George Kraemer lived over a couple of blocks, their dad was also a Standard Oil employee. And, uh, (rustling sound) so we all worked, we did the ten weeks and (dishes clinging) then when it was over—well, the summer wasn't over, so Ray and I thought, "Gee, we want a job." So we went up to Sunny Hills Ranch, we knew Lowell Smith who was the son of the mana—not the manager, the (coughs) superintendent of the ranch, Vern Smith. (coughs) And so, Vern decided he had put us on, he must've had, uh, twenty kids working up there, and they were mainly hoeing weeds and, and, uh, (sound of ice cubes in glass),<sup>52</sup> building basins around trees and uh, uh, doing some pruning, and some did irrigating. (pauses) And, the first day that I worked up there, uh, I was assigned to a crew, and there was a German fella named John Beers, an old guy he must've been at least forty (laughs).

DS: (laughs)

JL: John Beers was our foreman, and, uh, he had us out on the side of the hill, and it was all limestone or plain avocado trees and so you had to use a digging bar<sup>53</sup> to dig the hole. It was just like digging in cement. And you'd dig the hole, and then you'd put the avocado tree with the ball attached in the hole, and then you'd fill it in, put a little humus<sup>54</sup> around it and build a bas, then you'd go on and do another one. Well, at the end of the day, I had planted more trees than anyone else. And it was simply because I was used to working for the Standard Oil Company, and we had to produce. And Old John came up to me and he put his hand on my shoulder, and he says, "Son," he says (slightly exaggerated German accent) "Rome was not built in a day."

DS: (laughs)

JL: (laughs) But, the good news was in three days, I was driving a truck, and the other guys were—

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<sup>51</sup> Unskilled laborer.

<sup>52</sup> This sound recurs through the end of the interview.

<sup>53</sup> Metal bar used to break up compacted materials like dirt, mud, or ice.

<sup>54</sup> Organic soil matter.

DS: (laughs)

JL: – (laughs) were still plantin’ trees and digging holes and all that. And so most of the time that I worked up there I drove a water truck which was to plant new planting – we had a 550-gallon water truck, and I went, I – down over the contours and hills and everything. It was unusual if I didn’t get pulled out by the caterpillar tractor<sup>55</sup> –

DS: – (laughs) –

JL: – at least once a day. And then, uh, when it was the, the right season, uh, and I guess they thought I was strong enough – well, I started swamping on a, uh, an orange truck. You’d pick the fruit up out of the field ‘nd then I’d drive the truck, got – so I drove the truck and I’d have a swamper<sup>56</sup> with me. And we’d handle maybe as many as 1200 boxes of oranges in a day, on the truck and off. The packing houses<sup>57</sup> were operating there at Sunny Hills,<sup>58</sup> it was an orange packing house and a lemon packing house. And as I recall I think the oranges in a, uh, field box<sup>59</sup> weighed seventy pounds, I could be wrong, maybe sixty-five. Seems to me the lemons weighed ninety, so we preferred to haul the oranges (laughs) rather than the lemons. But you’d pick them out of the field, stack them on the truck (pauses) – was it, five high or seven high? I think it was seven high. And the swamper’d do half the truck, and you’d do half the truck so half the time you were swinging ‘em up from the ground and the other time you were stacking them on the truck, and then you’d get to the orange packing house – you had a conveyor belt you’d just lift ‘em off onto. If you went to the lemon packing house, you had to truck them off of the dolly.<sup>60</sup> But, uh, (chuckles) as a result of that experience – I did that through high school even though I did participate in some athletics – uh, I would continue to work some after school and on weekends, on Saturday. Uh, when – before I went in the service,<sup>61</sup> and I went in the service in September of ‘43, I’d worked out on the ranch the whole, the whole time, that summer. So, I went in the service, and I went to Air Corps Basic Training –

DS: Hm.

JL: – which was I think like ten weeks.

[00:00:30]

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<sup>55</sup> Tractor built by CAT a.k.a. Caterpillar Inc., an American manufacturer.

<sup>56</sup> Assistant worker.

<sup>57</sup> Building intended to process food items.

<sup>58</sup> Reference to Sunny Hills Ranch, see above.

<sup>59</sup> Temporary box used to transport produce during harvest.

<sup>60</sup> Cart used to move heavy items.

<sup>61</sup> Military service.

JL: And, uh, wasn't as tough as being in the Marine Corps or the Army, I don't think or all that, but it was tough, and the guys were just dying out there. Well, it was *easier* than what'd, I'd (laughs) been doing.

DS: (laughs)

JL: So, it was—I had a good time. (laughs) But that was probably the best shape I was ever in, in my life really (laughs). Now, Lowell Smith who, uh—he came to Fullerton when he was maybe in the fifth grade, I think. He grew up on the ranch, uh, because it was the manager's house, the superintendent's house, and a few of the foremen's houses up there that they lived in. Um. And, uh, he now lives in Littlerock.<sup>62</sup> He's a, uh, land developer up there.

DS: Hm.

JL: It could be—if you have an interest in contacting *him*, he would have some other aspect of the area and, and his upbringing that, uh, than I would have. He didn't live in the community where the houses were per se, he lived up on the ranch.

DS: Yeah.

JL: But, Lowell M. Smith is his name and, uh, it's, uh—well, d'ya want *his* phone number?

DS: Uh, we'll get it (squeaking sound).

JL: Okay.

DS: I'll make a note of it.

JL: Yeah.

DS: Okay.

CL: What about Marcelina Arroues?<sup>63</sup>

JL: Oh, uh, yeah have you ever met Marcelina Arroues? That isn't her last name now, though. Uh, the—they have—she has been there forever, uh, they were Basques<sup>64</sup> who came to the area and had property, you know where the President's home—(tape cuts out for 4 seconds)—when I first began teaching in 1949, I was a seventh-grade, uh, history and mathematics teacher in a junior high school teacher in Norwalk,<sup>65</sup> and she was the physical education teacher. And, uh, so, uh, we've had a lot of things to reminisce about over the years but Marcie, uh, married a, uh, doctor—a physician in Fullerton<sup>66</sup> 8 or 10 years ago?

CL: (confirms)

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<sup>62</sup> Census-designated place in Los Angeles County, California.

<sup>63</sup> Marcelina Arroues Mulville (1911–2001).

<sup>64</sup> Indigenous of the Basque region in southwestern France and northern Spain.

<sup>65</sup> City in Los Angeles County, California.

<sup>66</sup> Dr. Maurice F. Mulville (1912–1995).

- JL: So, I'm not sure what her last name *is* now, but I would think she would be an excellent resource as well as her sister.<sup>67</sup> If her sister is still living.
- DS: Hm. Okay. (inaudible)
- JL: Uh, and sh—I think she lives in that, uh, area of the President's—the Presidential or President Homes,<sup>68</sup> unless, uh, when she married her husband, she moved from that area.
- DS: Okay.
- JL: But, uh, my sister and her husband<sup>69</sup> had a 40th wedding anniversary party about four years ago and Marcie was there, and we just had a good time. We must've talked together for an hour.
- DS: (chuckles)
- JL: Hadn't, hadn't seen each other for quite some time. And, I think you'd find she had a lot of information. (pauses)
- DS: You mentioned in your—as you were growing up you played a, a series of games, and, uh, like “tap the finger” or something? I've never heard of—
- JL: —(clears throat)—
- DS: —of that before.
- JL: Oh, haven't you?
- DS: No.
- JL: Well, uh, on a summer, summer's night, uh, we'd get, uh, all the kids in the neighborhood and they'd come for maybe several blocks around, kids that just would congregate on our block, it was kind of a gathering place. And “tap the finger” just a simple innocuous game but, uh, you would, uh, one person would go up to the tree and hide his eyes. (slapping sound) You know I don't even remember what tapping the finger had to do with it. Oh, I remember.
- CL: (inaudible)
- JL: Uh, (pauses) at some juncture in the game, a person who was caught had to tap the person's finger who was out to try to find him. It was like “hide and go seek” with a little embellishment on it.
- DS: (chuckles)
- JL: And, uh, to be very frank I can't tell you the specifics anymore. But, that was our favorite game, was “tap the finger.” Now I was in the Boy Scouts,<sup>70</sup> we had, uh, Troop 90 Boy Scouts, and they had a drum and bugle corps.<sup>71</sup> We were sponsored by the Veterans of Foreign War.<sup>72</sup> Foreign Wars and,

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<sup>67</sup> Presumably Josephine Arroues Voorhees (1909–2004).

<sup>68</sup> “Presidential Collection Community,” gated community in Fullerton, California.

<sup>69</sup> Frank W. Chance.

<sup>70</sup> Youth organization, established 1910, to be known (from 2025) as “Scouting America.”

<sup>71</sup> Ensemble consisting of brass and percussion players as well as color guard.

<sup>72</sup> American Veterans organization, established 1899.

- uh, *they* met up at the Walton Building<sup>73</sup> up in, uh, Hillcrest Park.<sup>74</sup> And, uh, we weren't a Boy Scout group, I don't think, who really learned an awful lot about Boy Scouting. Uh, (laughs) the main effort was to perform as a drum and bugle corps, and we were pretty good.
- DS: (chuckles)
- JL: But, up there in Hillcrest Park, a game that we played when we'd go up and have our Scout meetings was "capture the flag,"<sup>75</sup> and I'll tell ya that really used to be *rough*. You know, you'd have two sides, there'd be a flag, and it was the object of one side to get the flag from the other. And the one who captured the flag was the winning—the team, was the winning team. But that'd get pretty rough. But, uh, (rustling sound) yeah, I remember we played, uh, uh, we—we'd make a lot of games up. Uh, we (clears throat) would play can hockey. We'd get a stick and just a can and have sides, and we'd beat that can up and down the street, just play out in the middle of the street 'cause very few cars would come by. And we'd have goals, kinda like field hockey, but we'd use a can, and we just kinda made up our own rules.
- DS: (chuckles)
- JL: But we were always making things, I remember we'd make box scooters,<sup>76</sup> you know you'd, you'd, you'd get a two by four, and put a little handle on the front of it, and take the front of a skate and the back of a skate and put it to either end of the two by four and that was your box car.
- DS: Yeah.
- JL: Or maybe you'd put a box on the front of it, that's how it got it—or a box scooter, that's the way it got its name originally, we just streamlined it down or maybe you just ended up with a post. Or, we would, if, uh, got tired of using a wagon, we'd take the wheels off of it and we'd make like a, a (pauses)—what are the cars called that, uh, General Motors<sup>77</sup> used to sponsor? The—maybe they still do—the races<sup>78</sup> in Akron?<sup>79</sup> Where they uh, they coast down the hills, you know, they make the—
- DS: —Soap box?
- JL: —soap box! Only they weren't soap boxes, they weren't nearly that sophisticated. But, we had them so that, uh, we got them sophisticated enough so we'd use a broom handle to the front, uh, board that held the wheels on either end, and we could steer it with that. We'd use a, wind a rope around the broom handle and, and secure it in some way so that if you

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<sup>73</sup> Izaak Walton League Cabin in Fullerton, California; built 1931, reconstructed 1996.

<sup>74</sup> Oldest public park in Fullerton, California, established 1922.

<sup>75</sup> Outdoor children's game.

<sup>76</sup> Makeshift motor-less transportation device.

<sup>77</sup> American automotive manufacturer, established 1908.

<sup>78</sup> Chevrolet's "All American Soap Box Derby," established 1934.

<sup>79</sup> City in Summit County, Ohio.

turned the broom handle with kind of a disk on the top of it to the right, the car would go to the right, or if you went to turn it to the left, it'd go to the left, just like a steering wheel. And we'd have a brake that, uh, maybe you'd just attach a, a piece of wood to the side of the box, of, of the little car you'd made, and if you wanted to brake it, you just pulled back on that piece of wood, and it would drag on the ground, and that would slow you down.  
(laughs)

DS: (laughs)

JL: (creaking sound) And, uh, we used to skate up and down the street a lot, and we had, of course, the old skates that, uh, clamped onto your shoes. They were nothing like the skates today. And, uh, (pauses) I don't know. We, we were always making things. We made guns that shot, uh, rubber bands that we cut from tires or, uh, we made little guns that, uh, uh, would shoot the rubber bands we'd take off the newspapers that were delivered at night. And, uh, usually, uh, to drill a hole in those things, uh, we just, uh, we'd get an ice pick and make it red hot and poke it through the wood, we never did (laughs) –

DS: – (laughs) –

JL: – use a drill. (laughs) But, but it was really kind of ingenious, they weren't bad, bad-looking little devices when we'd finally finished 'em, you know? And, uh, uh – but w – we made up a lot of games and things and, uh, had a lot of fun just doing that. Or, uh, I remember I didn't get a bicycle until I was in the sixth grade. The one kid on the block who had one when I was in the fourth grade was the kid down at the other end of the block, Franny Wilson. Ho, he had a neat bike – it was just a 20, 20-inch wheel. Not a (pauses) 26? I think when I finally got mine the balloon tire bikes were 26-inch wheels. And before that the old, old bikes were 28-inch narrow wheels.

DS: Hm.

JL: But, Franny had a 20-in – 20-inch, uh, bike when I was in the fourth grade, and he was a year older than I was, and if I was real good to him sometimes I could ride it.

DS: (chuckles)

JL: But anyway, after we all got bikes (clears throat), we would, uh – one of our favorite activities was to take them apart and clean them and, and grease them and put them back together and –

DS: – (chuckles) –

JL: – almost all of us changed the sprocket at the back end so that instead of a conventional, conventional 10 or 11-tooth sprocket – which was easy pumping, and you had to go around a whole lot of times to get up any speed – we'd put an 8-tooth sprocket back there so that you could pump more slowly, but once you got going you could really generate a lot of speed, you know?

DS: Um-hm.

JL: And, uh, we even rode our bikes down to the beach on occasion and, uh, uh, usually we'd go down Brookhurst to – Avenue, is it? Brookhurst?

DS: Brookhurst.

JL: All the way to Huntington Beach<sup>80</sup> and you'd – there were practically no cars. Brookhurst was just a little two-lane road.

DS: Ah.

JL: And our favorite thing to do in getting down there would be to get behind an alpha – alpha truck and let them draft for us –

DS: – (laughs) –

JL: – (laughs) so we didn't have any wind resistance. (laughs) And, uh, I remember a kid who lived about a block away, Harry McGraw, and I we – our first big adventure was riding our bikes to Whittier and back. And, uh, uh, Harbor,<sup>81</sup> which was Spadra,<sup>82</sup> was Highway 101.<sup>83</sup> There was a sign right at the corner of Chapman and Spadra says, "101 miles to San Diego."<sup>84</sup> You know, I mean, uh, it was, a, an "Automobile Club of Southern California"<sup>85</sup> sign, but it was San Diego 101. It was 101 miles to San Diego and that was the main highway from, you know, along the coast. Not right on the coast – that's 1, but from San Francisco<sup>86</sup> down to San Diego. Went right through Fullerton.

DS: Hm.

JL: So, uh, when I was in the sixth grade and I had this bike, and Harry McGraw and I decided to ride to Whittier, that was our big adventure. It was 14 miles, uh, between Fullerton and Whittier, about all you would pass would be occasionally after you got past La Habra, were little orange stands –

[00:40:01]

DS: – Hm. –

JL: – where they sold oranges and lemons and other kinds of fruit, and, uh, uh, some of them would have a few souvenirs. And, uh, so we'd stop at about each one of those we'd come to – we finally ended up at the little square or park in the center of Whittier,<sup>87</sup> we turned home, and that was our big adventure –

DS: (laughs)

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<sup>80</sup> City in Orange County, California.

<sup>81</sup> Harbor Boulevard in California's Orange and Los Angeles counties.

<sup>82</sup> Spadra Road, original name of Harbor Boulevard.

<sup>83</sup> North-south highway traversing the U.S. states of California, Oregon, and Washington.

<sup>84</sup> City in southern California bordering Mexico.

<sup>85</sup> Member club of the American Automobile Association (AAA).

<sup>86</sup> City in northern California's Bay Area.

<sup>87</sup> Presumably Central Park in Whittier, California.



JL: – we’d ridden 28 miles on a conventional bike that day and we weren’t very old either.

DS: Hm.

JL: And I remember we each brought our mothers back a little gift, and I brought my mom back a little pottery, a little pottery vase, just a little one, with a little cactus in it. I bought it at one of the stands, I think. In the, uh— it must’ve been after that time, I don’t think we had a third lane yet, that road became a three-lane highway and then ultimately four lanes, and then in the mid-’30s, uh, Manchester, Firestone Boulevard, became 101 alternates. So, you had two 101s and then of course after the war<sup>88</sup> you got into the change of all these things based on the freeway system, so that was no longer the main— but that was El Camino Real.<sup>89</sup> And, you still see the, uh, the bells around various places designating that as the “king’s highway.”

DS: Um-hm.

JL: See, and it went right by Pío Pico’s Mansion<sup>90</sup> and then on in through East Los Angeles, Belvedere Gardens,<sup>91</sup> and on into Los Angeles. But that was, that was the main highway, the—from north—northern California to southern California—

DS: Hm.

JL: – went right through the heart of Fullerton.

DS: Hm. I didn’t realize that.

JL: And going into Fullerton you’ve probably seen pictures as you came down from just past the area of Hill— where Hillcrest Park is there’s now a kind of a shopping center<sup>92</sup> on the west side there.

DS: Hm.

JL: There was an arch that you went under, it said “Welcome to Fullerton,” and across the top of that arch was the, uh, Pacific Electric Railroad<sup>93</sup> and a freight railroad train, I think, that utilized that, uh, right of way. And, uh, you had to pass through that cement arch to get into Fullerton.

DS: Huh.

JL: And they’ve since torn it down, of course, it makes it much more attractive now, but, uh, you oughta see if you can find one of those pictures that—

DS: – Yeah. –

JL: – shows that.

DS: I will, that sounds amazing.

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<sup>88</sup> World War II (1939–1945).

<sup>89</sup> “The King’s Highway,” 600-mile route originally connecting California’s Spanish missions.

<sup>90</sup> Pío Pico State Historic Park in Whittier, California.

<sup>91</sup> Neighborhood in East Los Angeles, California.

<sup>92</sup> Presumably Hillcrest Park Center in Fullerton, California.

<sup>93</sup> Now defunct privately owned mass transit system in Southern California (1901–1961).

JL: Yeah, you've never seen it, huh?

DS: No.

JL: Oh, yeah.

DS: I don't believe so.

JL: (pauses) We used to have a lot of fun up in Hillcrest Park, uh, going up there on Saturday and Sunday, uh, it was not, uh—I don't think, I think it was built maybe in the '30s, I could be wrong. I don't remember it as a little teenie kid. But, uh, we'd go up there and ride our bikes and roll down the hills and, uh, uh, I know there were a couple of places that, uh, had real nice, a real nice slope to them. Kinda like a big basin. And we found (chuckles) that if you got a cardboard box and got it up at the top because it was so steep, you could go down that as though you were on a bobsled, and we'd have a lot of (laughs) fun doing that until the, until the box finally wore out.

DS: (laughs)

JL: Y' know, all of the things we did I don't really remember kids getting hurt. Uh, a few broken legs or arms or something but nothing (laughs) real serious.

DS: Were you ever, uh, were you ever in and around the Clark Home<sup>94</sup> much?

JL: Well, just, uh, with Don, uh, just—y' know kids, kids didn't ever, we didn't see any particular significance in being in someone else's house, you were just there.

DS: Yeah.

JL: I don't remember though really playing in and around the home. We'd go and get Don, and maybe we'd be in for a little bit but we usually went to play someplace else.

DS: Hm.

JL: Now, why? I don't know.

DS: (chuckles)

JL: But, uh, it was usually—we'd go someplace else to do whatever we were going to do. (pauses)

DS: Do you have any—you told a great story at the beginning about, uh, about Don, d'you have any more stories like that of, of Don or other people that you knew in, uh—

JL: (pauses) Well that was the one about him, uh, going to school barefooted, wasn't it? Well, uh, none, none pop, none pop into my mind—

DS: (inaudible)

JL: —right now. I'm sure there are many, but I just can't think of them. (pauses)

DS: You mentioned you, you played some athletics as you were coming up through school—

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<sup>94</sup> Dr. George C. Clark Home, a.k.a. CSUF's "Heritage House," a 1894 Victorian, originally situated at 114 N. Lemon Street, Fullerton, California, moved to CSUF's Arboretum in 1972.

- JL: –Yeah, nothing great but I did participate in athletics on the track team. I played basketball a couple of years and, but I was on the track team the years I was in high school. And, uh, I was someone who started out as a little peanut. I remember I— they had a, an exponent system in, in, uh, high schools at that time. And the smallest group were called “Ds” and then there were “Cs” and then there were “Bs” and then there were “varsities.”
- DS: Hm.
- JL: And my growth spurt, or pattern, was such that I started out as a “D” and by the time I was a senior, I was varsity. So, I grew one—
- DS: –(chuckles)—
- JL: –(laughs) one particular level each year. I remember when I graduated, in fact, Ray Green and Dave Hammond and I all were just about the same size when we graduated from high school. I think we all were around 156<sup>95</sup> and were about 5’10 or 10 and a half.
- DS: Hm.
- JL: And then I grew another inch and a half or so when I went in the service, and I put on some more weight. But, uh, (pauses) I guess we were average? (chuckles)
- DS: (chuckles)
- JL: We liked to, uh—as we got older and had, uh, vehicles to get around in, I got my first car when I was—well, my first car I bought with a kid who lived not too far from us, a kid named Kenny Sigmund.<sup>96</sup> And, uh, it was a 1928 Model A,<sup>97</sup> and he found he could get it for \$15.
- DS: Wow.
- JL: Well, I didn’t have any money and my share was gonna be seven and a half, so Kenny had a little money, he loaned me 7.50. So together we bought a Model A (laughs) for \$15. And we had that for a while, just kinda did it together but then, uh, after I’d worked one full year for Sunny Hills—I guess it was just prior to my senior year in high school, I bought a 1936 Ford Coupe.<sup>98</sup>
- DS: (chuckles)
- JL: Cost me \$225, so I got more independent at that point. We used to go to the beach a lot and, our beach, the beach the kids regarded as “theirs” who were in Fullerton—a lot of ‘em went to Huntington but most of us regarded Corona del Mar<sup>99</sup> as “our” beach.
- DS: Oh, really?

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<sup>95</sup> Referring to American pounds.

<sup>96</sup> Kenneth E. Sigmund (1926–2020), World War II veteran from Laguna Hills, California.

<sup>97</sup> 1928 Ford Model A “roadster” vehicle.

<sup>98</sup> 1936 Ford Coupe vehicle, likely Model 48.

<sup>99</sup> Neighborhood in Newport Beach, California.

JL: And, believe it or not, going down there—and there weren't the breakwaters<sup>100</sup> that there are now, a little jetty,<sup>101</sup> (clears throat) went out quite a ways. There was nothing on that beach. Nothing.

DS: Hm.

JL: It was just a virgin beach. And the waves broke in, in such a way that if you were real brave and wanted to try it—and we did—you could go clear out to the end of the jetty to check a, to catch a breaking wave<sup>102</sup> and then ride it on in.

DS: Hm.

JL: Yeah. I remember another funny story about a kid who's now dead, he's been dead for some time, I believe, his name was Sunny Poor. And, in fact he was the senior class president when I was in high school. But in, uh, at Wilshire Junior High School, we had woodshop. Owen Richelieu<sup>103</sup> was the woodshop teacher, he later became a principal in the district. I think—isn't one, aren't one of the schools named (pauses) isn't, isn't there a Richelieu school? Maybe not.

DS: No, I don't—

JL: —No, I don't think so. Anyway. I think he became principal of a—is there a Nicolas Junior High School?<sup>104</sup>

DS: That sounds familiar.

JL: I think so. I think he became principal there when it was first built. But, anyway, uh, when you were an eighth grader you could make almost anything. And a big item when I was an eighth grader was for a kid to make a paddleboard.<sup>105</sup> Well, you know, how they evolve. They're really very sophisticated now, and they're very small, and they're made out of synthetic materials and they're coated with vinyl and all that. Well, the way that you made a paddleboard then (chuckles) was to cut individual ribs, (pauses) uh, have, uh, mahogany strips along the side that were about 3 to 4 inches high and the top and the bottom were curved. And it was a board that was (clock chiming) about 10 feet long. So, it was hollow inside, and so when you made that for Owen Richelieu, well you, uh—they used white lead and cloth, and they would use that as a waterproofing device, I guess, be—between the side strips and the top, which was put on with brass screws and seeded down, you know? And then—

DS: Hm.

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<sup>100</sup> Man-made offshore structure used to safeguard against dangerous waves.

<sup>101</sup> Another term for breakwater, see above.

<sup>102</sup> Swimming or surfing into the peak of an ocean wave.

<sup>103</sup> Owen Richelieu (1931–2011).

<sup>104</sup> School in Fullerton, California.

<sup>105</sup> Long board used for swimming or surfing.

- JL: – covered, I mean they were beautiful boards and, (chuckles) well, Sunny Poor made one of those—I didn’t, I made a table. But my mother always said, “Owen Richelieu made that table.” *I made it*—
- DS: (laughs)
- JL: – all he did was rout around the outer edge when he wouldn’t, which he wouldn’t let us do. But that was her way also of telling me she didn’t want me to be a carpenter or cabinet maker.
- DS: (laughs)
- JL: But, (laughs) but Sunny made this, uh, paddleboard and he was so proud of that, and he took it down to Huntington Beach, and he got it out beyond the pier. On his very first ride, he cracked into the end of the pier (laughs)—
- DS: (laughs)
- JL: – destroyed the pa—the paddleboard and there it was (laughs). That was, that was the end of his year’s effort. (laughs)
- DS: What was it like when you were young and, uh, little, what was the, your, uh, (pauses) (beep) your family’s, uh, weekly, uh, regimen if you will? What did your—how did your mother work through the week, or?
- JL: Well, my mother was never employed, which was very typical of most of the women at that time. Uh, they were, uh, housewives, homemakers, they were mothers. You know? And they kinda raised the kids while, uh, the fathers worked. And, uh, so our regimen during the school year would be that my sister and I attended school, we’d do our homework at night, we’d listen to the radio at night, you didn’t have television—

[00:50:08]

- DS: (chuckles)
- JL: – and we all had our favorite programs, like *Amos ‘n Andy*<sup>106</sup> and *Lum and Abner*<sup>107</sup> and *Jack Armstrong, the All-American Boy*<sup>108</sup> and *Jimmy Allen*<sup>109</sup> and *Little Orphan Annie*<sup>110</sup> and—
- DS: – (chuckles)—
- JL: – and there were all sorts of promotional things that you could get, uh, through Ovaltine<sup>111</sup> or the Richfield Oil Company<sup>112</sup> or—
- DS: – Hm. —
- JL: – what have you, regarding these various, uh, uh, radio personalities, and they all had clubs it seemed. But, uh, you’d listen to the radio at night, go

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<sup>106</sup> Comedy radio show (1928–1960), starring Charles Correll and Freeman Gosden.

<sup>107</sup> Comedy radio show (1931–1954), starring Norris Goff and Chester Lauck.

<sup>108</sup> Adventure radio show (1931–1950), starring Charles Flynn.

<sup>109</sup> *The Air Adventures of Jimmie Allen*, adventure radio show (1931–1937), starring John Frank.

<sup>110</sup> Dramatic radio show (1931–1942), starring Shirley Bell Cole.

<sup>111</sup> Brand of powdered milk flavorings derived from malt extract.

<sup>112</sup> Petroleum company based in California (1905–1966).

to bed, the next morning you'd get up and do your thing. My dad always got two weeks' vacation every year and we always took a two-week vacation some place, I felt very fortunate. Uh, Yosemite,<sup>113</sup> San Diego, San Francisco, the Redwoods,<sup>114</sup> uh, usually in this area – although about every four or five years we would go back to West Virginia. And, uh, I had one real great experience when I was in the third grade, it was the only time I didn't go to school the full year in Fullerton. My grandfather died, my mother's father, and she went back in early March through the end of that year<sup>115</sup> with my sister and I. So, we had our first experiencing, experience in, experiencing snow and winter weather, which sometimes can be severe in West Virginia.

DS: Yeah.

JL: And I remember (chuckles) it happened so quickly and we got on the train, I think it was a four-day trip by the time we got to Chicago,<sup>116</sup> we were dressed in Californian clothes and, uh, uh, my mother took us to Sears-Roebuck.<sup>117</sup> You had to make a train change there in Chicago. Maybe you still do if you take the train from the LaSalle Street Station<sup>118</sup> to whatever the other one was (chiming sound), Dearborn,<sup>119</sup> I think.

DS: Hm.

JL: And she took us to Sears-Roebuck and outfit us, outfitted us in, uh, winter gear, and then we were okay to continue and go on, and so I did spend that time, uh, 3 to 4 – well I guess it was about 4 months back there. And in returning, my, uh, mother and my sister and I – my dad had had to come back and go to work. I'm not sure he went with us. I don't think he did. Anyway, my mother took my sister and I, uh, to Chicago, and we went to the World's Fair<sup>120</sup> for one week in 1934, and it was a great experience. Stayed at the Sheraton Hotel. But we always took a vacation. My, my dad and mother always wanted us to have that two weeks that he got.

DS: Yeah.

JL: Then I remember when he had worked for the Standard Oil Company 25 years, he got 6 weeks. And that year we drove back east, and he spent the 6 weeks in return, and we spent another 6 weeks or so before we returned home.

DS: Hm.

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<sup>113</sup> National park in central California.

<sup>114</sup> National and state parks in northern California.

<sup>115</sup> Presumably 1933.

<sup>116</sup> City in Illinois, west of Lake Michigan.

<sup>117</sup> Nationwide department store chain, established 1886.

<sup>118</sup> Commuter train terminal in Chicago, Illinois, established 1852.

<sup>119</sup> Dearborn Station in Chicago, Illinois (1885–1971).

<sup>120</sup> "A Century of Progress International Exposition" (1933–1934).

JL: But, uh, I had things around the house I guess I was expected to do, but I don't remember there was ever a lot of pressure. I always had to practice, I know that, and the kids would come and call, "Johnnie! Can Johnnie play?" And—

DS: —(laughs)—

JL: —and, "No" my mother would say (laughs), she would intercept them, you know, "he has to practice." (laughs). And, uh, and then yet I wanted to be one of the guys, and I think I was but, uh, that kind of diverted me a little bit (laughs) some of the time. And, uh, uh. (pauses) What else was I gonna say? Uh, my sister would usually accompany me if I'd play, she's—

DA: —Hm.—

JL: —played the piano as long as I can remember. Uh (whistle sound). I had to mow the lawn usually, but sometimes my dad would, would do that and uh, (pauses) I just, uh, my main job was just to kinda grow up and be a kid and uh, learn, and, uh, achieve and, uh, and, uh, do good things. You know? I went to church every Sunday, went to the Presbyterian Church,<sup>121</sup> which is located down on the corner of, uh, Malden and Commonwealth on the north, northeast corner. It was a rather, uh, almost New England style wooden building.

DS: Hm.

JL: It was kinda rambling there. Dr. Graham C. Hunter<sup>122</sup>—

DS: —Hm.—

JL: —and, uh, great influence in my life, really—he was a fine man, and he had a son who was my age who was killed in the war, Stewart. Uh, Stewart and Irene, who must live in Fullerton someplace, were both adopted, but, uh Dr. and Mrs. Hunter were just really great people and, uh, I'm sure that, uh, much of whatever moral fiber I re—I came out with was due to that influence. Um, you know, church activities and things associated with that. (clears throat) I can remember from being a little kid (clears throat), uh, Ladies' Aid Society<sup>123</sup> would have potlucks and they always would sell things like for a penny, like fudge and cake and what have you. Oh, that was the best fudge that ever happened, y' know? And in the summertime the churches—it was usually the Presbyterian, the Christian, the Baptist, and the Methodist, I think it was those four, uh that were involved—would have a daily Vacation Bible School in the summer. And I think probably up until I got into junior high school or so I always attended that. And they had some neat things that they would involve us in, in addition just to the activities at the church that had happened to be held at, at that time. Remember, one of the things they seemed to do every year was to go

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<sup>121</sup> First Presbyterian Church of Fullerton, California, established 1889.

<sup>122</sup> Reverend at First Presbyterian Church of Fullerton.

<sup>123</sup> Nationwide volunteer organizations, originated during the Civil War.

- through the Crystal Ice Company,<sup>124</sup> and you'd get to see how ice was made—
- DS: (chuckles)
- JL: —but also, the interest there was that it was so cold. And I shou—I don't know if *that's* still there or not.
- DS: I don't know. That's a good question. (engine sound)
- JL: It was, uh, just the other side of the railroad tracks as I recall, uh, on whatever that service road would be down there to the east of, uh, Spadra or Harbor, Harbor as it is now.
- DS: When you were in high school, with your friends like, uh, Don or, or, or Ray and so on, what did you do for entertainment, uh, when you were out of school?
- JL: (pauses) We just had fun. (laughs)
- DS: (laughs)
- JL: I don't know. We, uh, (pauses), we rode our bikes. Uh, we were—you know, I was going out for athletics, heck, you were involved there until dark at school and, uh, you were busy and physically tired but yet, uh, it was a good feeling. And you'd come home and do what you had to do and go to bed and then do the same thing the—
- DS: —(laughs)—
- JL: —next day and, um, (dog barking) we had, uh, some clubs and activities at high school that we would participate in. Some of the kids went to DeMolay<sup>125</sup> dances, and there were of course high school dances and things—I never participated in those to any great extent. But, uh, and then as we got a little older, we all had girlfriends and, uh, uh, (pauses) we went to the show. Uh, the Fox Theater<sup>126</sup> was there when I was a kid. And, uh, usually you'd go to the show on the weekend, maybe just Friday night, maybe just Saturday night. Maybe one of those nights plus Sunday if the show changed.
- DS: Hm.
- JL: As I recall, as a kid it was only a dime, and as an adult, I think it was only, a, qu—or as a high school and adult I think it was only a quarter. And, uh, during the Depression they had a lot of bank nights<sup>127</sup> at the theaters, where they would draw people in because they would give away things like a, a living room set or a bedroom set or \$200 or, uh, you know, that sort of thing, and they'd fill the theater up, and they'd have a time where they'd call all these numbers and—

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<sup>124</sup> Ice delivery company, established 1965.

<sup>125</sup> DeMolay International, global fraternal organization, established 1919.

<sup>126</sup> Fox Fullerton Theatre, movie theater in Fullerton, California (1925–1987). As of this 2024 edition of this interview, it is still being restored.

<sup>127</sup> Nationwide lottery game franchise during the Great Depression.



DS: – (chuckles) –

JL: – and uh (chuckles) I remember one kid who, I think, was probably several years behind in grade. Uh, when I was in the Fullerton Elementary District, we were always segregated as to ability until I got into the eighth grade. In the eighth grade they did everything alphabetically, I guess it was the new wave of progressive education, (clapping sound) and I'd never been with a kid who quote "wasn't smart," you know?

DS: (chuckles)

JL: And, uh, we had this one kid and, uh, who was older and I won't even relate his name but, I'd never seen a kid like that because he didn't know anything.

DS: – (laughs) –

JL: And I remember one question—he was in my history class—and one question was, "What is the greatest naval power—uh, what, what is the great—what has been the greatest naval power on Earth?" I think that was the question. And that is the only question he answered on the whole test, and he had written, "the Britannica<sup>128</sup> rules the waves." I thought that was the funniest thing I'd ever heard. But, anyway, at one of bank nights, he won a bedroom set.

DS: Ah.

JL: And they asked him what he was going to do with it—even in eighth grade he shaved, I remember, and he carried a pack of Bull Durham tobacco<sup>129</sup> with the papers to (laughs) roll the cigarettes, and no one seemed to think anything about it. (laughs) But, uh, they asked him what he's gonna do with it, and he was—he worked in the junkyard on a part time basis. That's when you got five cents for one hundred pounds of newspaper (laughs).

DS: (laughs)

JL: And, uh, uh, he said, "I'm going to give it to my mother." And everyone was so proud of him, thought that was really a nice thing, you know? (pauses) But, and, you went to Moore's Malt Shop—you did a lot of hanging out at Moore's Malt Shop—

DS: – (chuckles) –

JL: – and, uh, (pauses) we'd still do explorations up into the hills or down the barranca or, uh, walking just for miles.

DS: Hm.

JL: (clears throat, then speaks hoarsely) And, uh—(voice returns to normal tone) It was just, we were just kinda laid back and, uh, had a lot of fun just doing what kids—the things that kids do, I guess?

DS: (laughs)

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<sup>128</sup> Reference to "Rule, Britannia," a British patriotic song (1740) featuring the line "Rule, Britannia! Rule the waves;" conflated here with the name of the famous encyclopedia *Britannica*.

<sup>129</sup> Bull Durham Smoking Tobacco (1868–1988).

JL: Of course, uh, after Pearl Harbor,<sup>130</sup> y' know I, I remember the first thing I thought was "Well I'm not old enough, I won't have to go in the service."

[01:00:01]

JL: But, um, I certainly did, and, uh, probably one of the most heart-rendering experiences I've ever had was, uh—we went to the dedication of the Plummer Auditorium<sup>131</sup> (clears throat). I don't remember how many years ago that was, but it's probably been maybe twenty, Carolyn?<sup>132</sup>

CL: Oh.

JL: And you're familiar with that, aren't you?

DS: Oh, yeah.

JL: As you walk in the foyer, uh, there's a door here and a door here and then, on the wall inside the foyer is a big brass plaque. Have you ever looked at that?

DS: Hm. I can visualize it (inaudible).

JL: And it has the names of the, uh, servicemen—I don't know if there were any women, and women I'll say—of the Fullerton High School who were killed during World War II.

DS: Hm.

JL: Well, *most* of them were in *my* class, class of '43 and I think the class before. I think we were shoved in at the end and maybe not trained quite as well? Or maybe things got more hectic, I don't know what it was.

DS: Yeah.

JL: But I'll never forget standing there and looking at that. I bet I stood there 20 minutes just kind of digesting—so, I, I had some, I have some kind of empathy and (clears throat) feeling for those of the Vietnam era who have done the same thing before that massive wall in Washington, D.C.<sup>133</sup> But, uh, and I don't know that I've been back in that auditorium since or had the opportunity to, again, look at that. But, I remember it was really quite a, quite a heart-wrenching experience for me.

DS: (pauses) I, I look at Fullerton now and, and of course everything's well-irrigated, and there's lots of water, the watered yards and—

JL: —Oh, we had lots of water then. But, uh, you know, throughout this area, you relied mostly on groundwater.

DS: Oh.

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<sup>130</sup> Japan's surprise military attack on Hawaii (December 7, 1941), catalyst for the United States' entry into World War II.

<sup>131</sup> Now known as the Fullerton Auditorium, established 1930.

<sup>132</sup> Carolyn B. LaRue (b. 1927), wife of John LaRue.

<sup>133</sup> Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C., established 1982.

- JL: That's how Artesia,<sup>134</sup> the community of Artesia—now Cerritos<sup>135</sup> area—got its name. There were Artesian wells there.
- DS: Ah. (chuckles)
- JL: So, uh, and I remember, uh, the uncle of one of the neighbors in our block there—Bob Kaylor and his family lived across the street and up four, four doors and his uncle, uh, Joe, (pauses) I guess during the Depression, work was hard to come by, and his uncle Joe became one of the workers who worked on the Boulder Dam<sup>136</sup>—
- DS: Huh.
- JL: —uh, project that, uh, was a, you know, a different way, and a, an additional way to get water to the area that they could foresee us needing water in the future.
- DS: Hm.
- JL: And, uh, so, he worked over there in all that heat and under all those conditions and helped, helped that project be completed so that we have the water we do now. Along with, you know, the other resources we utilize, but I think it, I think, I'm, you know, I'm no technician in that regard, but I would think that most of our water came from local wells.
- DS: Hm.
- JL: And, of course there has always been—as long as I can remember that—Bastanchury Water Company<sup>137</sup> up in Sunny Hills Ranch, are you familiar with that?
- DS: No.
- JL: They market water still. You don't see many of their trucks, but it's like Sparkletts,<sup>138</sup> they have the trucks that go around with the bottles and all.
- DS: Yeah.
- JL: Inquire about it. You can, uh—it's still up there someplace.
- DS: Hm.
- JL: Uh, someplace north of Valencia Mesa Drive and on east of maybe, uh, Basque, if it would go on through. Is there still a Basque Avenue out there?
- DS: I don't know. I don't know.
- JL: I think there must be. It'd be a mile or so on west of, uh, I think of uh, Euclid.<sup>139</sup>

[01:03:36]

END OF INTERVIEW

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<sup>134</sup> City in Los Angeles County, California.

<sup>135</sup> City in Los Angeles County, California.

<sup>136</sup> Hoover Dam, on the border between the U.S. states of Arizona and Nevada, built 1936.

<sup>137</sup> Water company in Fullerton, founded 1926, sold to Yosemite Waters Company 2010.

<sup>138</sup> Bottled water company, established 1925, now owned by DS Services of America, Inc.

<sup>139</sup> Street in Fullerton, California.

## Reviews (Books)

Bren, Paulina.

*The Barbizon:*

*The Hotel That Set Women Free.*

New York: Simon & Schuster, 2021.

321 pages. E-book. ISBN: 1982123893.

Paulina Bren, a historian and author of narrative nonfiction, has received many awards for her writings on communism and multiple grants for her dedicated work in the field of humanities. She obtained a Ph.D. in History from New York University, a bachelor's degree from Wesleyan, and a master's from the University of Washington. She teaches international, gender, and media studies at Vassar College and is the director of the Women, Feminist, and Queer Studies Program.

*The Barbizon* consists of an introduction and nine chapters; each chapter progresses through the historiography of society and the Barbizon Hotel. Paulina Bren also uses famous women as timeline markers for the Barbizon, with the first chapter featuring Molly Brown, who was a Titanic survivor, and the last person of interest being Sylvia Plath. In this narrative framework, each woman serves as a window into a specific era in New York's history, providing insights into the prevailing ideologies of the time. For example, Molly Brown embodies the traditional values of the Edwardian period, which starkly contrasts with the liberated spirits of the flappers and the struggles of the Great Depression. Similarly, Bren uses Sylvia Plath to address the cultural atmosphere and contradictions of the 1950s, the process of magazine edits, the pressures depicted in *The Bell Jar*, and the experience of lone women navigating society. Through this storytelling approach, a new historiography emerges, offering readers a familiar yet nuanced understanding of the historical periods of New York.

Taking center stage in an exhilarating and prolific tale of women's liberation is the Barbizon Hotel at 140 East Sixty-Third Street. Completed in Manhattan in February 1928, it was built exclusively for women during a time when men dominated the landscape of privilege, the workforce, and human rights. The Barbizon came to fruition at the hands of William H. Silk, who also built the Allerton House for Women. His intention for the Barbizon was to appeal to the dreamers, the women who left their small towns for the blinding lights and the glamor of New York City.

While the hotel was Romanesque and Gothic in its architecture and detailing, it was the romantic Italian style that soothed women and made the Barbizon feel like home. In addition to the architecture, the Barbizon catered to every need of its long-term guests. There were shops, recital rooms, a dry-cleaning facility, a pharmacy, a hosiery store, and other amenities. The rate of rooms started at ten dollars and included a radio, a bed, a desk, an armchair, a floor lamp, and floral bedding. To many, this may seem necessity-based, but the women who resided at the Barbizon dreamed of nothing more.

The Barbizon catered to attractive white women who wanted to call the Upper East Side home. Silk had visions of its prospective inhabitants being physicians, lecturers, politicians, decorators, and much more. Notable women at the Barbizon included the likes of Molly Brown, Sylvia Plath, Katherine Gibbs, and Joan Didion.

Ms. Mae Sibley was the visionary behind the front desk as well as the assistant manager and gatekeeper of the Barbizon. She was compared to a hawk; nothing got past her, and no information got out without her seeing it first. She had an age-based grading scale for potential residents of the Barbizon: *As* were women under twenty-eight, *Bs* represented women between twenty-eight and thirty-eight, and *Cs* indicated women exceeding thirty-eight. She looked for presentable white women in their Sunday best, along with recommendations that attested to their upstanding character. Sibley was primarily concerned with the hotel's exclusivity, watching over these young women and hushing media attention.

In the first chapter, "Building the Barbizon," Paulina Bren describes the people and the remarkable origins of this hotel. Bren begins with the story of the "Unsinkable Molly Brown," whose time at the Barbizon began in 1931, years after her miraculous survival of the sinking of the Titanic. Both she and the ideals of the "new woman" floated haphazardly around the hotel and among its first residents. The "new woman" is a concept Bren uses to describe the changing image of women and their role in society. A "new woman" expressed her interest in being more than someone's mother and someone's wife. However, it is imperative to note that the "new woman" ideal only applied to middle- or upper-class, affluent, and white women. This concept combats many preconceived ideas of women in the early twentieth century. As the author defines these changing ideals of women, Bren relies on the historiography of Manhattan to depict the relevance of the Barbizon. Flappers were a facet of the "new woman" ideology, and the first chapter describes the interconnectivity between flappers and traditional values through Molly Brown. Bren leans into this framework by describing the New York prohibition scene, the Great Depression, and World War I.

Bren also mentions Katharine Gibbs, whose invaluable contributions were pivotal to the Barbizon's foundation. Gibbs was a widow with two sons and wanted to create a better life for herself. She founded the Katharine Gibbs School for Secretarial and Executive Training for Educated Women at Brown University. This school taught typing, shorthand, and business classes. As her school expanded, she looked to New York for new opportunities and found the Barbizon. She opened her first classrooms on Park Avenue in New York and utilized three floors of the Barbizon as dormitories. Katharine's newfound excitement for New York died as quickly as it started when the stock market crashed in 1929.

Chapters two and three cover the eras of the Great Depression and World War II. Both events changed perceptions of womanhood and the roles of women in society. In chapter two, Bren continues the narrative of Katharine Gibbs until her death in 1934, using her time at the hotel to illustrate how the Great Depression affected the Barbizon. The Barbizon's business plummeted during the Great

Depression. About one-third of New Yorkers were now unemployed. The Barbizon was foreclosed by Chase Bank and sold for \$460,000 to Lawrence B. Elliman, a shareholder in the Martha Washington Hotel, which was another women-only hotel. With the devastation of the Great Depression, seventy-five thousand women were homeless in New York. Many resorted back to the role of caretaker or turned to sex work to support themselves and their families.

Chapter three follows Betsy Talbot Blackwell, editor-in-chief of *Mademoiselle* magazine. In 1937, she was invited to revamp the magazine for younger generations, and that is exactly what she did. Her magazine provided accessible advice and fashion, focusing on American designers that were relatable to *Mademoiselles* audience. In addition, she created guest editor programs for young women, and those selected would board at the Barbizon. Blackwell directed every woman to the Barbizon; it was a trusted establishment that she held dear.

During World War II, Nanette Emery was selected to write for *Mademoiselle* through the summer guest editorship college program. This young woman was determined to make a difference with her writing at Bryn Mawr College. She held a position on *Mademoiselle's* college board and reported everything she saw, heard, read, and felt about her time as a student at Bryn Mawr. As World War II progressed, so too did Betsy Blackwell's *Mademoiselle* and the Barbizon Hotel. During the Cold War era, employees at *Mademoiselle* engaged in numerous political and social discussions. As American imagery evolved, the magazine began to incorporate and promote these changes.

Bren then continues to provide readers with different narratives of women from *Mademoiselle* and their connection to the Barbizon Hotel, capturing the varied experiences, backgrounds, and futures of women in the 1950s and reflecting the diverse nature of womanhood during the era. In chapter four, Bren mentions Grace Kelly and her friends at the Barbizon, examining how friendship was encouraged at the Barbizon; fundamentally, no woman was meant to feel alone. That is not to say it did not happen; "lone women" were present at the Barbizon and their fates were often hushed by Ms. Sibley.

Sylvia Plath's and Joan Didion's sections are split into the summers they boarded at the Barbizon. Plath was hired as a guest editor for *Mademoiselle* in the summer of 1953 and stayed at the Barbizon Hotel. While there, she wrote *The Bell Jar*. Plath intended to live boldly in New York City: she was fashionable, immersed in work, and inquisitive about life in New York. Bren notes that it is apparent that Plath lied about her feelings when writing to her family about her experiences at *Mademoiselle*. She craved public outings, writing guest fiction, and experiencing New York as an independent entity. Yet, she worked long hours, was alienated from the opportunities of other women at *Mademoiselle*, and did not have time for connection. New York was life-altering for Sylvia Plath; she would never be the same. She would suffer from psychological episodes and deep depression, which led to her death in 1963.

Joan Didion, also a guest editor at *Mademoiselle*, later became a highly regarded writer and journalist, winning multiple awards. Didion's chapter highlights the evolving opportunities that were presented to women in the 1950s. Her work with *Mademoiselle* eventually led her to her very own office at *Vogue*. Bren credits Didion's confidence to her time in New York, which shaped her and her success.

In the final chapters, Bren explores the theme of the "lone woman" narrative, a phrase used in the halls of the Barbizon to express negative experiences. Just as there was the "new woman" at the beginning of Bren's text, the "lone woman" was its opposition. "Lone women" were the guests who committed suicide, felt self-conscious, and thought of themselves as unwanted. Gael Greene, once a *Mademoiselle* guest editor, was assigned to dissect this narrative. She spoke to residents about their experiences with "lone women" and how they suffered.

*Mademoiselle* carried high praise because the magazine always had the desire to be "the first." For example, in 1956, Barbara Chase was the first woman of color to be chosen as guest editor at *Mademoiselle* and, consequently, the first African American resident at the Barbizon. *Mademoiselle*, at its core, was concerned with its image and production value. For *Mademoiselle*, Chase was symbolic of the desire to appear progressive and be on the cutting edge of modernity; it was the first magazine to select a woman of color to serve in an editorial capacity. Bren mentions that Chase's actual experiences paralleled those of the lone women; she was not visible. Both narratives suggest the antithesis of the 1950s ideal woman. Bren's use of these narratives demonstrates how women were dehumanized in their attempts to differentiate themselves while still conforming to social norms.

The bankruptcy of New York in 1979 was a pivotal turn for the Barbizon. The Katharine Gibbs School moved out, and residents were not flocking to the Barbizon for shelter anymore. With the decline of Women's Liberation in the 1980s, there was little discussion about women-only spaces, especially when it came to lodgings like hotels. In order to survive in a changing world, the Barbizon Hotel became a co-ed facility on Valentine's Day 1981. As the Barbizon made its way through the 1980s, it faced social and political strife. The Barbizon was continuously refurbished in response to the ever-changing New York City landscape. It finally settled as the Barbizon/63 Condominiums in 2007.

*The Barbizon* is a historical narrative that meshes lived experiences with New York historiography. Paulina Bren beautifully presents the roles and tribulations of women in a changing society through *The Barbizon*. I recommend this book to anyone curious about feminist and women's history as well as the history of New York. This historiography has a particular newness and ambition to entertain its audience while presenting them with academic information. Bren's book is a short and comprehensive history that is easily digestible and easy to connect with. Her imaginative nature treats historical analysis as a fresh form of entertainment.

An invisible string ties the women of the Barbizon together. It ties them to the Upper East Side of New York City, and it connects them for eternity. *The Barbizon: The Hotel That Set Women Free* is proof of this connection and defines its importance

to U.S. historiography. From Molly Brown to Grace Kelly, the experience of womanhood was shared in the halls of the Barbizon. The women of the Barbizon checked in with the desire to be seen and remembered, full of the desire to start anew. Paulina Bren made this possible with her new work and provided the opportunity for further elaboration on the immortalized guests of the Barbizon.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Madison Hardrick of Orlando, Florida, earned her B.A. in History (2023) at the University of South Florida-Tampa (USF). She is currently pursuing an M.A. in History with a concentration in Public and Oral History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).*

Elkins, Caroline.

*Legacy of Violence:*

*A History of the British Empire.*

New York: Knopf Publishing, 2022.

896 pages. Hardcover. ISBN: 9780307272423.

God save the King! God save the Queen! Such chants can be heard in the background of any social media short or clip featuring King Charles III or the late Queen Elizabeth II waving at the crowds from their balcony at Buckingham Palace. The British are known for their national pride, especially their love for the royal family. The question arises: What led to this type of pride? When considering the nature of British nationalism, one wonders why Brexit happened. In order to address such questions, one must go back to Britain's dark past of violence and diplomacy. According to Caroline Elkins's new work, *Legacy of Violence: A History of the British Empire*, the British have conducted both violence and diplomacy through a form of "legalized lawlessness," in which violence is used to enforce law and order. Legalized lawlessness was "further entrenched in notions of duty, honor, defense of the empire, and with it, defense of the nation." (142) This defense of the nation came along with "liberal imperialism," which was vaguely used when enforcing law and order through violence. Simply put, violence—for the British—was necessary to control their colonial territories, including India and parts of Africa. It was all to preserve their empire and their monarchy.

Elkins's book targets those with a deep interest in British imperialism and nationalism. Keep in mind that this book can be a bit graphic for the casual reader since it contains themes of violence. It consists of 875 pages, 195 of which are dedicated to the bibliography, notes, and index, and while it is extensive, those with an interest in colonial and imperial history will enjoy this read. The book features fourteen chapters, which are divided into three parts: "An Imperial Nation," "Empire at War," and "Trysts with Destiny." Elkins is a professor of history, African studies, and American studies at Harvard University. She is also a founding director of Harvard's Center for African Studies, and her first book, *Imperial Reckoning: The Untold Story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya* (2005), won a Pulitzer Prize for General Nonfiction. Elkins's research focuses on imperialism, empire,



and violence, particularly in Africa. When it comes to learning about empire and violence, Elkins's book dives deep into why violence was used as justification by the British. Elkins argues that her reason for writing *Legacy of Violence* was to answer questions that were raised in her previous book, *Imperial Reckoning*. *Imperial Reckoning* discusses how the British government used mass internment to subdue the Mau Mau uprisings in Kenya. Using archival records from her research for *Imperial Reckoning* along with new material, Elkins addresses British imperial violence and diplomacy in her new work, *Legacy of Violence*.

Elkins provides a crisp overview of the book, arguing that it is not a book about "constitutional reform, political economy, military policy, or comparative empires." (38) Though these topics are incorporated into the text as they are integral to the British Empire, the book is ultimately a "history of how and why exceptional state-directed violence unfolded across the second empire and how these systems unfolded in the colonies and in Britain." (38) The introduction starts off with a story of Black Lives Matter protesters defacing the statues of Winston Churchill and Edward Colston. According to Elkins, this defacing of British monuments gained national attention as these statues "represented a nation that boasted an imperial pride built on the backs of countless enslaved and colonized people across Britain's empire." (4-5) Thus, these defacings triggered conversations about the dark history of Britain's imperialistic past. Churchill and Colston served as examples of the evolution of modernity in Britain's history. Colston symbolized Britain's colonial past and relationship with slavery. Churchill, meanwhile, symbolized Britain's dark imperial past with violence against the British colonies. Churchill believed that "Global Britain is a soft superpower" and urged his fellow "Britons" to "enact their historically informed destiny." (7) This nationalistic and opportunistic view inspired Britain to carry on with its imperial activities. As a "soft superpower," the British Empire, "acted as an agency for imposing free markets, the rule of law, and incorrupt government on a quarter of the world." (14) Britain believed their global presence to be crucial for maintaining balance and preserving their empire. This led to their use of violence, which they deemed necessary to maintain law and order. A similar sentiment steeped in British nationalism emerged during the 2016 Brexit vote, which "won narrowly and memories of empire played a role." (14) Brexit triggered a nostalgic longing for Britain's imperialist past as a powerful empire. The nostalgia, combined with nationalist sentiments, resonated with many "Britons" who voted to exit the European Union, seeking to forge a new path for the country.

The book's first part, "An Imperial Nation," consists of five chapters detailing India's beginning as a new nation and how this came to unfold through violence. Chapter one starts with the 1756 story of the Black Hole of Calcutta, which saw captured British soldiers dying in inhumane conditions in a dungeon at Fort William, Calcutta. The Bengalis, an Indian ethnic group, were in a bitter battle with the British East India Company and had laid siege to Calcutta. Upon capturing Fort Williams, the Bengali forces imprisoned surviving British soldiers, Indian

sepoys, and civilians overnight in conditions so cramped that people died from suffocation and heat exhaustion. According to Elkins, the story was “exaggerated and internalized in a nationalist narrative.” (38) While British prisoners claimed that over one hundred individuals had died during the night, modern historians estimate the number closer to forty-three. The story was used to justify Britain’s imperial expansion, resulting in the 1757 Battle of Plassey, which “reversed Britain’s defeat and aveng[ed] the prisoners fates.” (38) The battle was led by Robert Clive, who came to be seen as “the founder of [the] empire.” (39) George Milner and John Stuart Mill posited that this use of violence was justified as a form of “liberal imperialism” and necessary to maintain world order through democratic and individual rights. Liberal imperialism was portrayed as a “White Man’s Burden,” a racist view that colonization was justified because it was needed to straighten out the “lawless” inhabitants of the rest of the world.

In five chapters, Elkins delves into intricate details concerning the conflicts in India, including the impeachment trial (1787–1795) of Warren Hastings, spearheaded by Edmund Burke. This trial, aimed at scrutinizing Hastings’s role as governor general of British India, sparked debates regarding Britain’s expanding empire. Burke’s attempt to “paint Hastings as the villain” fueled discussions about corruption in British India. (41) Hastings’s trial was significant as it called into question the morality of imperial expansion and prompted calls for greater accountability in colonial administration, which needed checks and balances put in place. Some argued that Hastings and Clive had laid the foundation for the British Empire, perpetuating histories of violence through coercion. This coercion was present in the Morant Bay Rebellion, the South African Wars, the Irish War of Independence, the Arab Revolts, and the Jallianwala Bagh massacre in British India. Britain’s violent coercion took various forms, including concentration camps, systemized massacres, and diplomatic maneuvers such as the Balfour Declaration and “White Paper” policies in Palestine. In essence, the British were manipulative and relentless when dealing with those they viewed as unruly adversaries. When World War II came around, it was an opportunity for the British to apply their “pro-British” diplomacy to countries being influenced and attacked by the Axis. (33–240)

Part two, “Empire at War,” contains four chapters. During wartime, especially World War II, the British continued their use of violence, citing it as justified through various means such as propaganda, the torture of prisoners by British intelligence, and the suppression of individuals deemed “lawless” both in their colonies and in Britain itself. Propaganda “was carefully loomed by historians and statesmen, which created a tapestry that wrapped the nation and its loyal subjects in myths of Britain imperial nationalism around the globe.” (287) Propaganda was carefully knitted in the sense of convincing the British that their great nation was in danger and that “lawless” animals such as the Nazis and communists were harming Britain’s empire through their violent tactics. Propaganda took the form of British cinema, board games, and their “daily mail” journalism. Turning once

again to India, Elkins discusses how the people of India engaged in forms of resistance such as the Quit India movement led by Mahatma Gandhi and Subhas Chandra Bose's guerilla warfare with the Indian National Army. Such efforts, especially Bose's involvement with the Nazis, gave the British justification for allowing their empire to continue through violence. The Cold War and Soviet Scare enabled Britain to continue its imperial activities. Meanwhile, Britishness was questioned through the lens of Blackness by people such as George Padmore, a pan-Africanist who "interrogated the white world system and European imperialism." (294) Britain viewed its colonial endeavors as a "partnership" to protect non-British subjects from Hitler's fascism, which is when Jewish Zionists like David Ben-Gurion came into the picture, providing an excuse for the British to intervene in the Middle East. At the same time, the British were in economic decline and carried on Keynesian-style policies to assure their dominance and, as a form of "imperial resurgence," used "monetary policies to profit from the empire." (367) The British also globalized with their own "empire of cotton" through their expansion of raw materials. Their continued violence assured their nationalist propaganda machine was still running. (249-381)

Part three, "Trysts with Destiny," which contains five chapters and an epilogue, is rather a long wrap-up regarding Britain's violence. Elkins relates how India's 1947 partition embarrassed Churchill since "India was a deeply personal issue that stirred his emotions." (390) It was embarrassing due to the religious conflicts happening in India and the fact that the British did not allow a peaceful transition, thus exhibiting their continued nationalistic sentiments toward the former colony. Part three discusses Britain's imperialism through mandates and the creation of states such as Palestine and those found in parts of Southeast Asia and Africa. The Troubles, Zionist lobbying, Jewish revolts, and Muslim revolts occurred as part of British systemized violence. Back in Britain, systemized violence was present on Bloody Sunday in 1972 when British forces attempted to solve the problem that was the "lawless" Irish. Part three is where Elkins answers her questions regarding violence, as she talks about the Mau Mau uprisings and how the British carried out violence through prison methods. According to Elkins, newly found documents show "a chain of evidence connecting officials to Kenya's systematic violence." (647) When it came to censoring British violence, "there were 8800 files from other former colonies that [were] spirited away during decolonization." (649) And while Britain's mission of "empire" has ended, their sphere of influence continues in the form of political lobbying and "friendships." All in all, British pride remains strong, and their legacy of violence still haunts those formerly colonized by Britain.

*Legacy of Violence* is an eye-opener for those looking to understand Britain's dark past. It is not recommended to read this book in one sitting due to the vast amount of information regarding its history of violence. If you want to learn more about British violence and imperialism, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* by Sven Beckert is a great start as it details the history of British imperialism and capitalism,

but keep in mind that Beckert's book is also a long read. Overall, Elkins's *Legacy of Violence: A History of the British Empire* is a recommended read for those interested in British and World history. It's a long read, so buckle up.

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Lewis, John, Andrew Aydin, Nate Powell, and L. Fury.

*Run:*

*Book One.*

New York: Abrams ComicArts, 2021.

160 pages. Hardcover. ISBN: 141973069X.

Graphic novels tell stories of superheroes with otherworldly powers. *Run: Book One* by John Lewis, Andrew Aydin, L. Fury, and Nate Powell tells the story of John Lewis as a superhero for civil rights in the United States. Unlike monographs or documentaries, graphic novels are a combined literary and artistic medium that conveys history, such as the Civil Rights Movement, to a broader audience. John Lewis and Andrew Aydin created this series after the massive success of the graphic novel trilogy *March*, which depicts the journey of Lewis and the goal of passing the Voting Rights Act of 1965. *Run* recounts the challenges that arose after the passing of the Voting Rights Act and what led John Lewis to run for office. The author intended to expand the history of civil rights and teach readers an overlooked history. There is a growing market for historical graphic novels, including *Displacement* by Kiku Hughes (2020), *They Called Us Enemy* by George Takei (2019), *Crude: A Memoir* by Pablo Fajardo and Sophie Tardy-Joubert (2021), and *Queer as All Get Out: 10 People Who've Inspired Me* by Shelby Criswell (2021).

John Lewis (1940–2020) was an American civil rights activist, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) chairman, and later a Georgia representative in the U.S. House of Representatives. He is most recognized for leading the march across the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, Alabama. He has written memoirs, *Walking with the Wind* (1998) and the *March* trilogy, and was the focus of the documentary *John Lewis: Good Trouble* (2020). Lewis passed away in 2020, but he finished most of this graphic novel before his passing. Before becoming an author, Andrew Aydin, too, worked in politics, particularly with Lewis as a director and advisor starting in 2007. Illustrator L. Fury started to make comics in 2015 and has worked on several independent projects. Cartoonist Nate Powell has worked on the *March* trilogy, *Come Again* (2018), and *Two Dead* (2019).

The book begins with John Lewis and protestors confronting the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) in front of a Baptist church in Americus, Georgia, in 1965. H. K. Henderson, a deacon and fire chief of Americus, tells the protestors to go away, and each person is arrested. The following panels display the Grand Dragon, Calvin Craig, in a speech that reflects the sentiments of many white supremacists who hated

desegregation. After the new law, there was immediate pushback from white supremacist groups and racist individuals, making civil rights a more challenging task and counteracting the idea that the Voting Rights Act had solved the issue of racism in the United States. The opening panels help the reader understand that the Civil Rights Movement's goal for equality and equity was, and still is, a difficult task. The artwork and words demonstrate the upcoming challenges that Lewis, the SNCC, and the movement will face for the sake of freedom. (1-11)

The enactment of the Voting Rights Act was a challenge for Lowndes County, Alabama. The SNCC's Stokely Carmichael led the efforts for voter registration in Lowndes County. Of the people who could register to vote, eighty percent were Black, yet no person of color registered. Carmichael and other SNCC staff members worked on registering as many Black voters as possible; however, this became a difficult task as federal workers were observing them constantly. Many in the community feared to register, and young people wanted to protest. The SNCC helped the demonstrators, leading to a violent reaction from the white authorities. Incidents like this occurred in different parts of the country, providing evidence counter to the notion that civil rights were accomplished after 1965. Such incidents further illustrate how cemented racism prevailed across the country, especially for Black communities. The violence in Lowndes County also reminds readers how resilient the community was in its fight for civil rights. (23-36)

Following the main narrative's focus on the protagonist, John Lewis then faced another challenge for equality and equity: the Vietnam War. Although the aftermath of the Voting Rights Act is a crucial plot line for the graphic novel, the Vietnam War raised the stakes for Lewis. He was a pacifist and saw that a disproportionate number of draftees were Black men. Many members of the SNCC agreed that the organization had to take a stand against the draft. On January 6, 1966, John Lewis spoke to the press about the draft. Organizations such as the NAACP and the Urban League denounced his statement, illustrating how the Vietnam War was a sensitive topic for many civil rights organizations and activists. The war was an unexpected barrier for the movement, as the SNCC denounced it due to the organization's belief that any war is terrible. Yet many took the opportunity to criticize and go against them. (40-66)

As tensions grew with the war in Vietnam and at home, the SNCC started to split between two philosophies: nonviolence and integration on the one hand, militantism and separatism on the other hand. Lewis believed in practicing nonviolence for justice and allowing white people to participate in the efforts for civil rights, whereas other SNCC members, such as Carmichael, believed in separatism, as he considered integration a deceitful form of white supremacy. As more incidents against African Americans occurred and the looming Vietnam War weighed heavily, a division emerged within the organization. Lewis did not like the growing differences and felt it was time for him to leave the SNCC. After a vote to remove Lewis as the chairman of the SNCC, Carmichael became the organization's new leader. Lewis's separation from the organization led him to

give up, as he disliked the growing riots and militant tactics that were becoming more common for the movement. However, he reflected that he would not give up and took another approach: running for office. (84–115)

The graphic novel's opening scene creates an impactful moment for the reader, capturing one's attention with the monochrome artwork and the lettering. The illustrations emphasize John Lewis's barriers as chairman of the SNCC and his reasons for leaving the organization. The stylistic decision to use monochrome artwork distinguishes the villainous characters you see in superhero stories—the racist people who pushed back against desegregation. In scholarly monographs, conveying the severity and brutality of racist organizations or individuals is difficult. The graphic novel makes it easy for the reader to visualize that brutality. The illustrators drew inspiration from visual evidence of those incidents. The sources provided at the end of the book demonstrate the research it took to accomplish this novel. Panels such as the ones featuring the KKK, the police officer who hits a gentleman, and other anti-desegregation activists provide insights into how Lewis felt about them. The stylistic choices help the audience understand Lewis's perspective on his lived experiences. They create an avenue for people to realize that fighting white supremacy is challenging.

The topics of racism, white supremacy, and police brutality that are present throughout the graphic novel continue to be incredibly relevant. After the opening scene, there are significant incidents of police brutality and anti-war sentiments that are highlighted. Lewis and the SNCC heard about the incident in California of a Black man brutally hit by the police. This occurred in the Watts neighborhood of Los Angeles, with California Highway Police Officer Lee Minikus questioning Marquette Frye. The following pages illustrate scenes of the argument between them, resulting in the 1965 Watts Riots. (10–17)

All this creates a form of relevance for the reader. Similar to the Black Lives Matter protests in 2020 and those before, there is a strained relationship between the Black community and the police force. Breanna Taylor, Atatiana Jefferson, Eric Garner, Elijah McClain, and George Floyd are a few names of Black people killed by the police. These names are displayed on the news and are often used as a reminder for the Black Lives Matter movement of those who have died from police brutality. This form of violence is not a new phenomenon. The graphic novel clarifies that this continues to be a problem in the United States. Unlike *March*, which did not highlight this kind of violence quite as much, *Run* assures the reader that police brutality is ongoing.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 remains a relevant topic too. Recently, multiple state legislatures have passed laws to create barriers to free elections, including restrictive and election interference laws. The graphic novel reminds the audience of the difficulty and danger of registering Black voters. It is not a new fight, but a continuous one. *Run* prompts the reader to remember that the battle for voting rights is an ongoing issue that predominantly affects low-income and various

minority groups. The novel highlights the difficulties of enacting the Voting Rights Act of 1965 but does not mention the expansion of voting laws.

The novel's last third features historical vignettes of different people, the historical context of the panels, and the sources used to create this work. Like historical monographs, the illustrations and dialogue are cited at the end. Most illustrations are based on historical photos, newspapers, videos, John Lewis's personal history, and other written works from various civil rights and governmental organizations. John Lewis's perspective is shared through his lived experiences and multiple sources surrounding them, making this graphic novel a type of memoir. Additionally, it is a source for people who want to learn about the effects of the Voting Rights Act, the SNCC, and the Civil Rights Movement.

Graphic novels certainly have a place in academia. *Maus* by Art Spiegelman (1996) and *Persepolis* by Marjane Satrapi (2004) are nonfiction works that illustrate the horrors of war and offer historical context. *They Called Us Enemy* by George Takei, Justin Eisinger, Steven Scott, and Harmony Becker is a memoir about Takei's experience living in an internment camp during World War II. The *March* trilogy demonstrates why Lewis joined the Civil Rights Movement and his involvement in fighting for civil rights. These historical graphic novels present different stories that some may find complicated or challenging to fully comprehend. *Run* highlights an oftentimes overlooked history through the media of art and literature. Graphic novels display an understanding of the historical context needed for these stories to come to life. *Run* deals with multiple historical events, but Lewis makes it easy for the reader to understand them.

*Run: Book One* by John Lewis, Andrew Aydin, L. Fury, and Nate Powell recounts the story after the march on Selma and the enactment of the Voting Rights Act. It is a graphic novel that deserves academic recognition. Too often, people naïvely assume that the fight for equality, equity, and free elections is a fight that was already won in the 1960s. Lewis and Aydin tell readers that the battle continues. Lewis and so many civil rights activists as superheroes make this history accessible for everyone. *Run: Book One* is worthwhile for anyone interested in American, Black, and civil rights history. Although John Lewis is not here with us anymore, his heroic acts and message for peace continue to live on.

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Oun, Leth, and Joe Samuel Starnes.  
*A Refugee's American Dream:  
 From the Killing Fields of Cambodia to the U.S. Secret Service.*

Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2023.  
 278 pages. Hardcover. ISBN: 9781439923368.

Leth Oun's harrowing survival through the Cambodian genocide of 1975 and his rise to serving in one of America's most selective professions are retold in his captivating autobiography, *A Refugee's American Dream: From the Killing Fields of Cambodia to the U.S. Secret Service*. At only nine years old, Oun, along with his mother Sin Chhoeum and his older sister Dy, were forced to leave their home in Battambang City to flee from the Khmer Rouge, a communist rebel group. Given enough time to pack only clothes and a few food items, Oun and his family became displaced within their own country with no means of escaping. Oun retells the events he and his family endured with vivid detail, including his early childhood, close encounters with death and starvation in the Killing Fields, and his life after finding refuge in America. Leth Oun's story reveals not only the Cambodian refugee experience, but it also serves as a morbid reminder that refugees and displaced people around the world endure such tragedy every day. Oun's book is heart-wrenching at times and victorious at others, which provides a sense of the one-of-a-kind journey he experienced. Divided into four main parts, Leth Oun chronicles his life from its beginning to the present day.

Oun (b. 1966) takes the first chapter to describe his early life in Battambang City, Cambodia. His father, Oun Seth – or “pa” as Oun called him – served in the Cambodian army and was frequently away on deployments, while his mother, Sin Chhoeum, worked as a seamstress from their home. (19) Growing up, Leth and his family lived simply yet happily with a wood-fired clay stove, a small porch attached to the house, and hammocks to sleep in. Leth was surrounded by love from his family and neighbors, which he credits with saving his life during his first few years as a young child. (21) When Oun was five years old, his pa gave him a bicycle: “I thought having a bicycle was the greatest thing a boy could have. It seemed to me as if I owned a fancy car.” (23) Oun also enjoyed going to school and collecting scraps of aluminum to help his family when money and food were short at home. Detailing his early life with such clear memory, Oun envelops the reader and provides a sense that life before the Killing Fields was a time of happiness and simplicity for him and his family. (19–32)

Oun spends the next chapter providing a brief overview of Cambodia's recent history. Ranging from the political events that led to the genocide between 1975 and 1979 to the perspectives of everyday people much like himself, this chapter is refreshing to read and provides a unique historical narrative unlike reading a monograph. History from this point of view paints a picture that is less bureaucratic and more personal. Oun does not spend a great deal of time on this section, which is appreciated, though he provides enough context to Cambodia and the surrounding countries for the reader to understand the how and why



behind the genocide. Led by the infamous Pol Pot, the roots of the Khmer Rouge are revealed to the reader, which sets the scene and provides the backstory for Oun's journey and survival as a refugee. Focusing on the poor and rural peoples of Cambodia, the Khmer Rouge ran propaganda campaigns against the government and convinced the people of Cambodia that the Khmer Rouge would be their savior. This led to the civil war that gripped Cambodia and sent Oun and his family through a multitude of life-or-death experiences. (33-42)

By April 1975, Oun's father had been taken by Khmer Rouge soldiers, and a day later, he and the rest of his family were forced to leave their home. With only one hour to pack their belongings before the Khmer Rouge soldiers returned to kill them, the family gathered what they could and set out on foot with no destination or plan to survive. This chapter marks a shift in Oun's writing style. With precision in describing not only his emotions but also his environment, Oun's writing comes to life in a haunting way. From the small details of petting and playing with his dog Dino to the intense heat of the Cambodian sun, Oun captivates the reader. He also begins to write in dialogue, which caters to a sense of story. Learning these details, one begins to understand the power of trauma and the effects it has on refugees, much like Oun. (42-52)

In part two, Oun recounts his life under the direct control of the Khmer Rouge. Joining other refugees at an abandoned rice factory in Chroy Sdao, Oun and his family were now subjected to extreme manual labor with little to no food or items needed to survive. Separated into groups of men and women, Oun worked on tractors needed for farm work while his mother and sister collected rice out in the paddy fields. Recounting events from hunting rats by moonlight to discovering a mass grave of refugees, Oun provides gruesome details of his experience. Eventually joining his mother and sister in harvesting rice, Oun felt a sense of relief to be back with his family. However, the relief was short-lived, as working in the rice fields was tortuous work. Wading in leech-infested water, Oun harvested rice for twelve hours a day. With the hot sun radiating above him and no resting allowed, Oun's physical health worsened as time went on. Narrowly escaping death at the hands of the Khmer Rouge, the worst of the Killing Fields was eventually over for Oun. Yet, his time as a refugee was far from over. (53-138)

In part three, Oun and his family must survive on the road as refugees. Returning to Battambang City, Oun rejoins his grandparents for safety and comfort. With the news that other Cambodian refugees have set up trading camps near the border of Vietnam, Oun and his mother travel seventy-five miles on foot through minefields, fighting to secure food and other items necessary to survive. After completing these risky travels to the trading camps, Oun's mother decides that their chances at survival and escape may be better if they stay at one of these camps. Thus, Oun and his family find shelter in the border camps and are eventually rescued by the United Nations. Arriving at Khao I Dang, Oun has some semblance of peace, knowing that he has made it to a protected camp. After spending time in refugee camps, Oun is able to attend school again and eventually

takes up teaching classes to other refugees. Hoping that one day he and his family will find refuge in a safe country, they wait out their time in the camps until they hear news that they will be relocated to the United States. (139–194)

Part four chronicles Oun's life after his arrival in the United States. Living in Maryland at the age of seventeen, Oun now must learn to survive in a new capacity – living a life that he had never been prepared for. Knowing just enough English to converse, Oun sets out to gain an education while working multiple jobs to help provide for his family. While the survival of the Killing Fields is far beyond Oun's new life, he still experiences troubles adjusting to America and working his way up to achieving his goal of graduating from college. These chapters cover Oun's life from purchasing his first vehicle to meeting Sophy, his eventual wife. The reader experiences the highs and lows alongside Oun and feels a sense of relief knowing that Oun is achieving his dreams. Working his way up through college and government jobs, Oun's life changes as he is offered the opportunity to work in the Secret Service, a high-profile job tasked with protecting the president of the United States. (195–242)

The tail end of Oun's book retells his journey through the training program of the U.S. Secret Service with as much detail as he can provide. Considering the high-profile nature of the job, Oun can only include so much of his experience. Despite some initial troubles with the training program, Oun exceeds expectations and is granted an opportunity few people will achieve in their lifetime. He ends his book by telling readers about his time escorting President Barack Obama to Cambodia as well as relating the lives of both his mother and sister. From living through the Cambodian genocide to achieving the American Dream, Leth Oun's story as a refugee is an incredible story of survival and success. (243–278)

Leth Oun's book is worth reading not only for those interested in refugee experiences but also for the general reader. Even though the book is centered around the Cambodian refugee crisis, researchers in other refugee crises may find this book useful. Drawing conclusions from Oun's book about the overall refugee experience can provide useful references in other refugee research projects. It also serves as a brilliantly written gateway to the Cambodian refugee crisis itself. Without much background knowledge on this specific part of history, I was able to gain an understanding of the events Cambodians experienced during this time. The general reader will also find this book worth reading, as it offers insights into traumatic experiences and provides a glimpse into the life of a refugee during a crisis and after resettlement. With ongoing refugee crises in the present day, Oun's story is a reminder that empathy, compassion, and understanding are needed and that refugees from all over the world should have their voices heard.

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Park, Eugene Y.  
*Korea:  
 A History.*

Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2022.  
 414 pages. Paperback. ISBN: 9781503629844.

Most people associate Korea with K-pop, or with their neighboring countries of Japan and China, or the nuclear issues of North Korea. Many overlook the vast history of Korea and how Korea cultivated its current culture. For those who played games like *Civilization VI* and *Civilization V*, Korea gained an insane advantage for their scientific advancement and unique military weaponry. All of those are grounded in different periods of Korean history. Unfortunately, Korean history is a subject that is not readily available in Western education. The most familiar topic is the Korean War, but Eugene Park introduces a good overview of the vast history of Korean history in this new book, *Korea: A History*. Park is an American historian of East Asia, specifically Korean politics and society from the fifteenth to the early twentieth century. He received his education at UCLA and Harvard, and he completed a postdoc with the Council on East Asian Studies at Yale. This work is among the first English-language comprehensive Korean histories. It serves as great introductory material for those with little knowledge of Korea's recorded history, as Park utilizes different sources to trace its history. One of this book's strengths is how it presents a compelling analysis of Korea's modernization, as that is where Park's expertise lies.

Korea's political history starts with the founding of Kojosŏn in 2333 BCE. With that in mind, Park divides Korean history into four major periods: the classical period, the post-classical period, the early modern era, and the late modern era. Each of the different periods played a vital role in establishing Korean identity. For example, the word "Korea" comes from the first united kingdom under the Koryŏ dynasty (918–1392 CE). When traced back further, the name Koryŏ derives from one of the Three Kingdoms (391–676), Koguryŏ. Korea also has some notable feats throughout its history. One of the most underrated military feats of Korea is the Koguryŏ-Sui War (598–614 CE). Following the fall of the Han dynasty (202 BCE–220 CE), mainland China was thrown into chaos, with many different kingdoms vying for power until it was unified again under the Sui dynasty (581–618 CE). As the first unified dynasty in China after 400 years, Sui exercised unprecedented military might and civic ingenuity to expand its borders. But the main reason for Sui's short reign were the aggressive campaigns against the Korean kingdom of Koguryŏ that started in 598. The biggest campaign in 612 was such a devastating defeat that China would continue to remember this war as a reason to never underestimate Korea's military prowess ever again.

The division of the book into four parts helps a Western audience understand the flow of Korean history through familiar era names in chronological order. Each of the chapters is further divided into the respective kingdoms, which a Korean audience can easily follow. This provides a unique structure to bridge the gap

between how Western and Korean readers understand the flow of history. Each chapter consists of an overview, the military and political background, the economic developments, and the social stature and mobility of each era.

The book's first part, titled "The Classical Period," covers the first three chapters. Chapter 1 relates the origins of Korean civilization through the establishment of the first mythological kingdom of Kojosŏn in 2333 BCE. (24) It traces the early development of Korean civilizations that would form the core of traditional Korean identity. Chapter 2 covers the fundamentals of Korean history through an era known as the Three Kingdoms era. Interestingly, Park decided to start this era in 391 instead of the traditional date in the first century BCE, but I think that this was the right placement because the traditional start of the Three Kingdoms era covers more than the three kingdoms of Koguryŏ (37 BCE–668 CE), Paekche (18 BCE–660 CE), and Silla (57 BCE–935 CE). By starting the period in 391, the three kingdoms are fully situated as the dominant kingdoms. These three kingdoms would compete with one another for a united Korean kingdom. Park opens the Three Kingdom era with King Kwanggaeto (reign 391–412 CE?) of Koguryŏ leading its golden age. (40) Under his rule, the kingdom of Koguryŏ established independent era names to rival the status of the Chinese emperors. (41) This would eventually lead to a clash with the united Chinese dynasties of the Sui and Tang (618–907 CE) in the seventh century. The Sui dynasty would eventually fall after multiple failed campaigns against Koguryŏ. The most disastrous campaign was in 612, when a Sui force of 300,000 was annihilated at the Battle of Salsu. (47) Chapter 3 covers the Northern and Southern eras, which lasted from 676 until 918. Park decided to utilize a more modern era name, as this era was known as the Unified Silla era. The reason for the change was the recent discovery and historical development of the Northern Kingdom of Parhae (698–926 CE). After the collapse of Koguryŏ in 668, Parhae was established in 698 as the successor state, which is evident in the various diplomatic embassies that were sent to Japan and Tang.

The book's second part, titled "The Post-Classical Period," covers the first united kingdom of Korean history since its founding. In Chapter 4, Park emphasizes the importance of lineage for the Koryŏ dynasty (918–1392 CE). Koryŏ traces its lineage back to Koguryŏ from the Three Kingdoms era, which was succeeded by Parhae during the Northern and Southern eras. This was strongly reinforced by the first king of Koryŏ, Taejo (reign 918–943 CE), who planned on a northern expansion to regain the territory of the former Koguryŏ kingdom. Besides lineage legitimacy, Koryŏ finally stabilized as a state after multiple invasions from the northern Khitan kingdom of the Liao dynasty (916–1125 CE) between 993 and 1019. The most decisive victory came in 1018/1019 at the Battle of Kwiju, which opened a period of peaceful trilateral balance of power in East Asia. (93–94) There were frequent clashes with the changing dynasties in the north, but Koryŏ was able to defend their borders against any invading forces. Chapter 5 covers the period of political chaos that plagued Koryŏ with military

dictatorship, invasion, and intervention by the Mongol empire of Yuan (1271–1368 CE), and internal reforms that were stalled by political corruption in the last half of their dynasty. Yet, despite of such setbacks, Koryŏ maintained their identity and cultivated their own unique culture. They were not limited to certain ideologies but adopted the changing times accordingly to survive.

The book's third part takes us into "The Early Modern Era," which was during the Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1897 CE). Chapter 6 covers the transition from the Koryŏ dynasty to the next dynasty, Chosŏn. The early era of Chosŏn was a defining era with flourishing literature and the establishment of traditions that many would associate with modern-day Korea. One of the primary ideologies that informed Chosŏn was Confucianism, which dictated common household traditions and national practices. It was during this era that Korea produced one of their greatest kings, Sejong (reign 1418–1450 CE). His reign is known for his innovation, as many of the traditional Korean inventions were produced during his reign, including the current Korean alphabet, *hangŭl*. (156) Chapter 7 covers the mid-Chosŏn era, which was plagued by invasions from Japan and the Jurchens from the north. After Chosŏn's golden era, a period of peace saw the deterioration of the government system through political factions that started to split the royal court. With political discord engulfing the kingdom, it was a prime opportunity for foreign powers to invade. The biggest crisis came in 1592, when Japan invaded Chosŏn. Park names this the East Asian War, also known as the Imjin War, which ended in 1598. (170) It left Chosŏn devastated, but before they could even recover, they were invaded two more times in 1627 and 1636–1637 by the newly established kingdom of the Jurchens, which was later renamed as the Qing dynasty (1636–1912 CE), from the north. The rampant political discord and foreign threats stalled the development of Chosŏn. Chapter 8 covers the late Chosŏn era and the last set of reforms. After the devastating invasions from Japan and Qing, Chosŏn reformed and revived under King Yŏngjo (reign 1724–1776 CE) and King Chŏngjo (reign 1776–1800 CE). They stabilized the government and expanded the economy. After those two kings, Chosŏn was met with another era of uncertainty as contact with the West started to threaten their tradition and legacy.

The book's fourth and last part, titled "The Late Modern Era," covers the period of imperial rule from Japan to modern Korea. Chapter 9 starts with the many reforms made by Chosŏn's last king, Kojong (reign 1864–1910 CE). These reforms ultimately failed, and the kingdom was ruled by a modernized Japan, which continued to occupy Korea until the conclusion of World War II. Chapter 10 covers the detailed outlook of the Japanese Occupation (1910–1945 CE). The most notable things in this period were the active independence movements against Japan that became the core of many modern Korean ideologies. Chapter 11 is where many readers will find the familiar establishment of the two Koreas. Park covers the establishment of the complex Korean government and its respective parties. Chapter 12 is really where Park shines, as he breaks down the complicated history of modern Korea, including some North Korean trajectory over the years. Chapter

13 is a more comparative narrative between North and South Korea, as their respective economic status has shifted. South Korea is now more economically flourishing compared to the North. Park's book ends with Chapter 14, covering some of the recent developments up until the last presidency. One of Park's greatest strengths is stringing together the complex political background by reminding the readers of where these economic developments stemmed from. For example, Park mentions the reforms started by President Roh Moo-hyun, which were continued by the recent president, Moon Jae-in. (357)

Park's work on a comprehensive Korean history is invaluable to those unfamiliar with the region. This is not a short book, and rightfully so, as it covers over 5,000 years of history. With the lack of existing records, especially on the early periods of Korean history, Park covers more detailed history in the third part. (23) The Chosŏn dynasty is known as a "Kingdom of Record," as there are abundant sources for historians to research. Park fully utilizes this, as his writing goes into much more detail by the time he covers the Chosŏn dynasty. One thing to keep in mind are the citations. Though Park has studied Korean history thoroughly and mentions which primary sources he used in his writing, the lack of an actual citation makes it difficult to utilize his book in a scholarly study. Another unfortunate thing is that Park fails to highlight some of the key figures in Korean history. He mentions important figures like King Sejong and some prominent battles, but the lack of depth and the impact they made is an omission that is hard to overlook. This, however, does not take away the main emphasis of this book, which is to provide a general overview of Korean history. *Korea: A History* goes far beyond the Korean War and creates a means for Western audiences to understand the country's unique culture and its journey as a sovereign state that has stood the test of time. Not only that, but Korea has participated in crucial areas that have shaped East Asian history, which makes this a great read for those interested in looking beyond the surface of this small but significant nation.

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Pike, David L.

*Cold War Space and Culture in the 1960s and 1980s:*

*The Bunkered Decades.*

New York: Oxford University Press, 2021.

279 Pages. Hardcover. ISBN: 9780192846167.

As the Second World War draws to a close with the deployment of nuclear bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, citizens of the United States come to grasp not only the horrors of war but also the realization that the world would forever be changed by the cataclysmic destruction wrought by nuclear warfare. David L. Pike's new

monograph, *Cold War Space and Culture in the 1960s and 1980s: The Bunkered Decades*, explores American fascination with nuclear bunkers from a social standpoint. From the early 1950s into the 1960s, American citizens experienced a shift in the type of attention paid to nuclear bunkers. Novels, television shows, and comic books fantasized about life after nuclear war. Later, in the 1980s, at the height of the Cold War's nuclear tensions, American citizens were subjected to government appeals for building and investing in nuclear bunkers. Pike discusses the social climates of these decades, as—in these particular moments in American society—citizens saw an explosion of interest around the newly formed concepts of nuclear warfare. Pike's monograph is extensively researched and leaves no stone unturned as he writes about two uncertain and tantalizing times in recent American history.

David L. Pike, who received his Ph.D. in Comparative Literature at Columbia University, is a professor in the Department of Literature at American University in Washington, D.C. Including the work reviewed here, he has completed five monographs, his first three being, *Passage through Hell: Modernist Descents, Medieval Underworlds* (1997), *Subterranean Cities: The World Beneath Paris and London, 1800–1945* (2005), and *Metropolis on the Styx: The Underworlds of Modern Urban Culture, 1800–2001* (2007). He is anticipating the release of his newest work, *After the End: Cold War Culture and Apocalyptic Imaginations of the Twenty-First Century*, in 2024.

Beginning his exploration of the American fascination surrounding nuclear bunkers and, by extension, nuclear war, Pike opens his book with the Rolling Stones's 1969 song, "Gimme Shelter," a dark song depicting the impending doom of nuclear war, especially concerning the Vietnam War. Pike credits the song with the desperate want of shelter and the rejection of the "unacceptable cost of the shelter culture." (1) In order to address the totality of this song and other popular culture artifacts of the time, Pike takes into account how and why nuclear bunkers and the concept of shelter came to be in the American imagination in the first place. His introduction covers the incessant need for shelter that is experienced from a physiological standpoint. Discussing both vertebrate and invertebrate animals—such as tortoises, shellfish, and a myriad of other animals—and their inherent need for shelter, Pike grounds the need and want of security, comfort, and protection in the most instinctual way for humans and other species. This introduction is useful in understanding the primal needs of shelter and how this would aid in seeking to defend oneself from the unimaginable horrors of nuclear war.

Setting the scene with ease, Pike then follows with a discussion on the bunkers themselves from a social standpoint. With its origins in World War II, the term bunker became the preferred shorthand term for shelter and fortifications. (5) Pike writes that he coined the term "bunker fantasy" to "encompass the imaginary surrounding the nuclear condition and the spaces associated with it in a world in which nuclear weapons and nuclear power exist." (6) The bunker fantasy concept allows Pike to write about the social spaces and ways of thinking that surrounded the early days of nuclear weapons and the American condition. After discussing the surrounding research on nuclear bunkers and the ways his work is situated

within it, Pike addresses the evolution of nuclear bunkers and their place in American society. The first part of his book focuses on early science fiction and fantasy works that had difficulty permeating popular culture around the 1960s. Part two of his book discusses the reignition of interest in nuclear bunkers during the 1980s and the fantasy of the nuclear bunker as played out at America's height in the Cold War with Soviet Russia. (1-34)

Pike starts Part I by addressing the newly developed genre of fiction that focused on nuclear war and post-apocalyptic writing. In 1957, Nevil Shute's *On the Beach* was the only novel on nuclear war that made the annual top-ten list for any year from 1950 until the end of the 1970s. (37) Despite this, nuclear fiction would see an uptick in the 1960s as popular culture became infiltrated with comic books discussing super mutant heroes born out of nuclear and/or chemical experiments, much like Spiderman and the Incredible Hulk, both coming to life in 1962. In the wake of Golden Age superheroes, this new fascination with nuclear writing paved the way for all-out nuclear war and shelter in the American imagination. Pike continues to write that, even though fascination within popular culture was blooming, the actual construction of nuclear bunkers remained rare. The high cost, lack of protection, and "troubling moral aspects" of nuclear warfare remained in American thought during this time. (35-43)

Further exploring the psyche of Americans during the 1960s, Pike discusses the actual imagery and fantasy of the bunker itself. Attempting to strike a balance between femininity and masculinity, the nuclear bunker found itself being sold as a household commodity. Attempts to construct femininity by designers such as Jay Swayze and his 1964 construction of the Underground World Home produced concepts for underground nuclear bunkers as extensions of the home. The underground house, consisting of 12,000 square feet, emulated suburban homes of the 1960s. Complete with concrete shutters for all openings, sleeping quarters, washrooms, artificial lighting to replicate sunlight and moonlight, and a multitude of other features, the nuclear bunker was being established as a place to live and raise a family should nuclear war ever strike the United States. (45) Pike notes that during this time the "nuclear condition had been internalized; the traditional home armored for nuclear war had become a space adequate to nuclear war with domesticity as a decorative feature." (45)

Pike also details the masculine features of nuclear bunkers and nuclear warfare. Harkening back to the 1950s, Pike discusses the literature of the time and its effects on the male perception of nuclear culture. Phillip K. Dick's 1955 story "Foster, You're Dead" takes place in the not-so-distant future of the 1970s as a pre-teen boy begs his father to purchase the new top-of-the-line nuclear bunker. Following Dick's story, Pike captures the desperate need of the boy and his father to secure shelter from the impending doom of nuclear bombs. Later in the same chapter, Pike discusses John Cheever's 1961 "The Brigadier and the Golf Widow," which sees a family torn apart by the incessant need for shelter. In analyzing the literature of the time, Pike situates the fantasies of the nuclear bunker well within



the American psyche. He writes further about early depictions of nuclear warfare in films such as Alfred Hitchcock's 1963 *The Birds*, which depicts a family sheltering from avian attacks, akin to sheltering from nuclear warfare. Not only was the nuclear bunker being discussed in literature and science fiction, but it was also being sold as a home necessity of the future, regardless of whether it would be of utmost importance. (45-70)

Continuing his discussion of 1960s depictions of the nuclear bunker, Pike focuses his attention on the nuclear bunker as a cave shelter. This draws on man's inherent need for shelter and the animalistic nature of modern man. Novels such as Robert Heinlein's *Farnhams Freehold* (1964) give readers a look into subterranean living in the new age of nuclear bombs and missiles. Heinlein chronicles the survival of nuclear warfare in the underground bunker and how the newly developed underground space will aid humans to progress with life after the fall of nuclear bombs. Other depictions of American society are showcased by novelist George H. Smith's *The Coming of the Rats* (1961), which follows the fictional character Steve as he triumphantly saves his female love interests from rats that have undergone mutation in the city sewers of Los Angeles after a nuclear event. Much of chapters two and three carry on in this same fashion, as Pike discusses the intricate elements of nuclear fascination in American culture. He later describes the different types of bunkers, such as the private super shelter, in chapter three and the community shelter in chapter four. Chapter five sees a slight departure from this structure, as Pike writes about government super shelters and their construction in the 1960s. Pike's analysis of these bunkers provides a thorough exploration of the social spaces of early nuclear fantasy. (71-142)

Part II takes us into the 1980s and the resurrection of the nuclear bunker for entirely different reasons. In the following four chapters, Pike analyzes the resurgence of nuclear bunkers from a social standpoint. This time, however, the social climate is also impacted by the Reagan administration's nuclear ideology. This decade was engulfed by nuclear threats and the Red Scare of communist Russia. Similar to his approach in Part I, Pike analyzes the literature of the decade as a way to infiltrate the social impacts of the nuclear bunker on the American imagination. Chapter six enters the apocalyptic stage of nuclear fantasization, while chapters seven, eight, and nine discuss three new genres of nuclear fiction: men's action serials, nuclear realism, and feminist science fiction. (143-149)

Covering extensive ground in these chapters, Pike contributes a well-detailed discussion of the 1980s. In chapter six, he discusses the transition from the living conditions of early nuclear war to the full-scale apocalyptic setting after the detonations of nuclear bombs. (151-164) Television movie specials such as ABC's *The Day After* (1983) amassed over 100 million viewers intrigued by life after nuclear devastation. This movie remains the highest-rated television movie in American history. (158) Other cultural artifacts, such as DC superhero comics, highlight a shift from nuclear survival to the complete destruction of Earth and the battle to save humanity from nuclear destruction. In chapter seven (165-190), Pike

introduces men's action fiction, a new genre of nuclear writing that brings forth the perspective of surviving by any means necessary. In James Morrow's 1986 novel *This is the Way the World Ends*, readers in both the 1980s and the present are taken onto a nuclear submarine operated by brave men as they attempt to survive a world that has been ravished by nuclear war. Following the same patterns as the previous chapters, Pike delivers a plethora of literary analysis that explores life from a new social standpoint: nuclear devastation.

Chapters eight and nine read much in the same way as the previous chapters but are situated around nuclear realism and feminist science fiction, respectively. (190–262) Pike covers an exhaustive list of popular culture from the 1980s and does not shy away from the details of his research. In the concluding chapter, Pike draws his overall conclusions and explains why analyzing bunker fantasy has become a gateway into the imagination of Americans living in this newly forged world. (263–279) I would recommend Pike's monograph to researchers diving deep into the world of early American nuclear imaginaries. With no shortage of literature and pop culture references, Pike offers a detailed exploration of the American psyche and nuclear fascination. For general readers, Pike's work may be daunting at first glance. With a multitude of avenues discussed, the book can be hard to digest as a casual read. David Pike's in-depth research into this topic brings light to times of unique American fascination with nuclear warfare, its impacts, and the cost of surviving in such a world that is imaginative yet haunting as the world progresses further in nuclear advancements.

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Proffitt, Aaron P., and Dōhan.  
*Esoteric Pure Land Buddhism.*

Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2023.  
447 pages. Hardcover. ISBN 9780824893613.

The Pure Land sect is one of the most practiced forms of Buddhism in contemporary Japan. This school originated between the late Heian and early Kamakura periods and continues to play a significant role. Traditional Buddhist historiography has tended to examine Buddhist schools exclusively within their select sects. For example, experts of Zen Buddhism naturally tend to focus on Zen practices and philosophy, while experts of Nichiren Buddhism focus on the same for Nichiren. In *Esoteric Pure Land Buddhism*, Aaron P. Proffitt challenges previous Buddhist scholars by choosing to examine the intersection of two prominent forms of Buddhism, Esoteric and Pure Land. Both of these schools continue to have a strong presence in East Asia, with Pure Land Buddhism having the largest number

of adherents. Proffitt begins this monograph with a discussion of his approach and highlights what sets his work apart from contemporary pieces on Pure Land and Esoteric Buddhism, respectively. Where other scholars assert differences, Proffitt identifies commonalities. He does this by centering his analysis on the works of the Japanese scholar-monk Dōhan (1179–1252), who was a contemporary of Shinran, the founder of True Pure Land Buddhism. Aaron Proffitt is a professor of Japanese Studies at the University of Albany where he teaches various courses on East Asian religions, Buddhism, and the academic study of religions.

Dōhan is unique because he followed the Japanese esoteric Buddhist sect known as Shingon, and he also examined the Pure Land Buddhist practices that overlapped with Shingon. The famous Japanese monk Kūkai studied Tantric Buddhist practices during an expedition to study Buddhism in China in 804 and, years later, brought back and founded the first Vajrayana sect of Japanese Buddhism. It is important to note for readers that the words “tantric,” “esoteric,” and “Vajrayana” are all interchangeable and describe the same form of Buddhist practice. Esoteric Buddhism emphasizes vocal mantras, hand symbol mudras, and visual mandalas to evoke enlightenment in the physical world through these set rituals. Proffitt continues at length, discussing the specifics of Shingon Buddhism and Kūkai’s storied founding of the lasting Shingon sect. From here, Proffitt describes Kūkai’s contemporary, Saichō, who also went on an expedition to China and founded a prominent school of Buddhism in Japan. The main difference between the two is that Saichō studied Tendai Buddhism while abroad and brought back the many teachings of this school to Japan.

Both Shingon and Tendai Buddhism were extremely influential during the Heian period (794–1185), as the new Buddhist schools gathered followers from elites and nobles alike. Both religions tended to attract the upper members of society and did not have as many followers among the common people. The school of Tendai Buddhism is so vast that eventually, during the Kamakura period (1185–1333), this prominent school of Buddhism branched off into three major schools. These schools included Zen, which emphasized mediation; Nichiren, which emphasized the absolute authority of the Lotus Sutra; and Pure Land, which emphasized the salvation of Amida’s Western Paradise. Pure Land immediately became popular with the masses for its easy-to-follow practices and saving grace ideology. Proffitt then describes again how Shingon and Pure Land practices tended to stay separated by ideology from the viewpoint of most Buddhist scholars. The works of Dōhan show that Shingon Buddhists also studied and respected the Buddhist existence of the Western Pure Land.

Proffitt does an extraordinary job examining traditional and contemporary Buddhist scholarship and defends his thesis securely. He addresses the viewpoints of different Buddhist philosophies and unites them through their commonalities rather than their differences. Experts in Buddhism will find this book most satisfying, as some specific Buddhist jargon can be hard to follow. This book

invites scholars to reconsider how we examine Buddhist schools of thought and their roles within the societies they influence.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *David Castillo of Garden Grove, California, earned his B.A. in Asian Studies and Japanese (2019) at California State University, Long Beach (CSULB), and his M.A. in History (2024) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).*

Ramirez, Janina.

*Femina:*

*A New History of the Middle Ages through the Women Written out of It.*

Toronto: Hanover Square Press, 2023.

448 pages. Hardcover. ISBN: 1335498524.

Popular culture and older medievalist works often feature a male perspective on the Middle Ages. In her new monograph, *Femina: A New History of the Middle Ages Through the Women Written out of It*, Janina Ramirez writes about medieval history from a feminine perspective. She clarifies that the book is not meant to rewrite history but, rather, pivot attention toward women. Her main goal is to show how historical evidence can be used in an inclusive, engaging, and authentic manner that illustrates medieval women as people. Ramirez presents her readers with an interdisciplinary lens about these women while acknowledging how crucial it is to write their often forgotten stories. There are plenty of books with a focus on medieval women and gender, such as *Women's Lives in Medieval Europe: A Sourcebook* by Emilie Amt (1992), *Medieval Women and Their Objects* by Jenny Adams and Nancy Mason Bradbury (2017), and *Promised Bodies: Time, Language, and Corporeality in Medieval Women's Mystical Texts* by Patricia Dailey (2013).

Janina Ramirez is a history lecturer at the University of Oxford. She has shared her expertise as a broadcaster, author, and researcher. Her interdisciplinary work illustrates gender studies, medieval history, and cultural history. *Femina* utilizes these themes to understand how to interpret evidence that allows for women's stories to be told. The author establishes each chapter in two ways: themes and chronological order. They maintain a consistent structure, beginning with an object's or site's discovery. Ramirez sets the stage for the location by using spatial history, which invites readers to feel that they are in that location immediately. The evidence is then described in detail as she introduces the protagonist. Ramirez steadily adds more female figures with commentary on gender and sexuality as well. Thus, readers learn about a single woman like Hildegard of Bingen or a group of women like the Vikings. She concludes each chapter with more commentary and reminds readers that women's objects tell history.

Ramirez opens with the story of Emily Davison, a suffragist and medievalist who became a martyr for the British suffrage movement in 1913. Ramirez uses Davison as an avenue for readers to become aware that women are—and have been—interested in the Middle Ages. She then sets the scene how women's stories began to disappear or be ignored. The Reformation becomes a critical component

in the introduction for, according to Ramirez, the Reformation had a profound impact on diminishing the autonomy and authority that women had enjoyed during the Middle Ages. Ramirez showcases evidence of how women have been erased or forgotten by providing more modern examples such as the sexualization of medieval women during the nineteenth century, the practice of overwriting, teaching masculinity with patriotism, and the misappropriation of the Middle Ages. This introduction gives readers a reason to consider women's authority, agency, and autonomy through their belongings.

The first three chapters encompass the early Middle Ages, roughly between the sixth and tenth centuries. Ramirez establishes her analysis through the 2006 discovery of the Loftus Burial Ground in England, which revealed a piece of jewelry and other goods. Discussing briefly the discovery itself, she then transports readers to seventh-century England. The primary evidence she analyzes is the Loftus Jewel, a jewel that provides historical insights into the culture of jeweler workshops, the symbolism behind owning the jewel, and the person wearing it. The storytelling element makes this layered history digestible, but it takes several pages to learn about the protagonists of the chapter: women who participated in the spreading of Christianity. The Loftus Jewel suggests a respected Northumbrian noblewoman, providing Ramirez with an avenue to discuss how women were spiritual and political authority figures. Ramirez offers multiple noblewomen's names: Queen Berth of Kent, Saint Clotilde, and Hild of Whitby. She provides an extensive history of each figure and how jewelry illustrates their respective power. These women's power is conveyed through their role in their contemporaries' conversion to Christianity. Noblewomen were crucial in this process, yet are often underplayed in history books. Ramirez argues that these women shook up the power structures and religious culture in places like Northumbria or the lands of the Franks during the seventh century. (21-57)

The next set of three chapters deals with the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. Ramirez moves to southern France, to *Occitanie*, where the Cathars lived. In 2018, there was an exhibition about this heretic community that discussed respective truths and myths. In prevailing narratives, Cathar women were outlaws and spies. The Church persecuted them, leading to the Albigensian Crusade. Ramirez focuses on how the Cathar sect provided a space for women. The community was appealing due to the spiritual power that was shared between men and women and due to its use of abstinence as a form of bodily autonomy. Catharism focused on the Holy Spirit rather than Jesus, which allowed women to hold spiritual power. Ramirez does not dismiss the misinterpretations of Cathar women. She highlights that those who have written about Catharism disliked the community so much that they referred to Cathar women as concubines. Esclarmonde, Arnaude de Lamothe, and Marquèse de Prouille are the protagonists used by Ramirez to further discuss women's power and influence during the thirteenth century. She shows how medieval women were involved in religious disputes as vigilantes and willing to die for their beliefs. Unlike other chapters that focus on a

singular object or site, Ramirez here relies on various trial records and written work by men. It is a strong contrast, but it demonstrates that names in records have value and allow historians to uncover more gender history. (213–244)

The last set of three chapters illustrates the late fourteenth century, and Margery Kempe is one of the famous medieval women showcased here. Ramirez characterizes Kempe as an entrepreneur due to her guild worker and influencer roles. The *Book of Margery Kempe* was discovered in Chesterfield, England, during the early 1930s. It provides details of ordinary life and of Margery's role as a mystic. Ramirez utilizes this work to provide insights into medieval women's experiences and how people dealt with heresy accusations and trauma. Unlike the previous chapters, which draw examples from wealthy and religious women, Margery's example draws attention to how merchants or ordinary women handled their own lives without the need to read between the lines in evidence made by men. Margery changed careers by becoming a mystic after her businesses had failed. Using Margery as an illustration, Ramirez dismantles stereotypes of medieval women and reveals that women did fight against misogyny. This coincides with the book's overall message that women's belongings provide an in-depth account of medieval women's history. (279–314)

Ramirez concludes the book with examples of working-class and lower-class women. In 2019, a set of bones was found from an African woman who had lived in London. As most of the medieval women discussed in the book are white, this discovery adds to the intersectionality of race and migration. Ramirez uses the location of London to make the educated guess that this individual must have been a working-class woman. The discovery suggests that cities like London were hubs for immigrants. Ramirez's analysis of the African woman thus pertains to themes of racism and migration. The next woman she discusses is a transgender person named Eleanor who appears in the medieval documents of the London Records Office. However, both cases would have deserved a separate chapter rather than being reserved for the conclusion. Ramirez admits that more research needs to be done to lift diverse medieval women's voices out of obscurity. (315–333)

Each chapter relies heavily on the actual discoveries of items, on the historical artifacts themselves, on the spatial history of the protagonists, as well as the interdisciplinary research conducted by various experts. Ramirez's structure allows for the overwhelming amount of evidence to become comprehensive. The endnotes illustrate the large amount of research, from archives to secondary sources, required to make the case. The spatial history of each chapter demonstrates Ramirez's storytelling skills. Chapter four is an excellent example that excels at using different sources: Ramirez here focuses on the Bayeux Tapestry, back on display since 1983. It is a famous tapestry that illustrates the Battle of Hastings in 1066. Ramirez focuses on the female embroiderers and the noblewomen who became patrons. Embroidery was a skill that early medieval women were known for and for which they often played functional roles, as in the case of the Bayeux Tapestry, which had a celebratory role. The culture of female

embroiderers dismantles the stereotype of prudishness that is often tied to medieval Europe. The tapestry shows three women: Aelfgyva, Emma, and Queen Edith. Aelfgyva and Emma are examples of female authority figures, and Ramirez suggests that both are one and the same woman. These women represent sexual liaison or violence, whereas Queen Edith is seen in mourning. Ramirez writes about the queen's high levels of authority and autonomy in England. This history strengthens Ramirez's argument and reassures readers that medieval women had agency. The chapter aptly demonstrates Ramirez's ability to weave and corroborate evidence, making her historical storytelling so effective. (131-168)

As Janina Ramirez admits in her preface, books highlighting medieval women are not new. *Femina* adds refreshing analysis to well-known objects such as the Bayeux Tapestry and introduces new things like materials from Abbess Cynethryth of Berkshire. The use of famous figures and female communities draws attention to diverse backgrounds. There is not enough analysis on trans and working women, but Ramirez tries her best to highlight their stories. I recommend this book to anyone who has an interest in gender and medieval history. Ramirez's storytelling skills capture her readers attention and simply enthrall. Her work counteracts literature that often showcases male perspectives and figures. *Femina: A New History of the Middle Ages through the Women Written out of It* offers readers the assurance that women were never silent in the European Middle Ages. One just needs to look for them.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Mel Vigil of Los Angeles, California, earned their B.A. in History (2019) at California State University, Long Beach (CSULB), and their M.A. in Public History (2024) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).*

Renberg, Lynneth Miller.

*Women, Dance, and Parish Religion in England, 1300-1640: Negotiating the Steps of Faith.*

Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2022.

254 pages. Hardcover. ISBN: 9781783277476

In *Women, Dance, and Parish Religion in England, 1300-1640*, Lynneth Miller Renberg explores the transformation of dancers from saints dancing after Christ into sinners dancing with the devil. There was a transformation of dance into sacrilege that started in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and evolved into the sexualization of dance in the English parish, which began in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Dance played an integral role in the lives of medieval and early modern people, where it created and maintained community in English parishes. As theological understandings of sacrilege, sin, and proper holy worship changed, the meaning of dance and gender shifted as well. This book highlights the lives of ordinary men and women regarding the performance of holiness and gender. In addition, Renberg discusses the continuity of patriarchy and the mechanisms by which misogyny became embedded in the church. Miller Renberg

positions dance as a pivotal element in this book, a subject that is often relegated to a minor role within the broader scope of parish life.

Lynneth Miller Renberg is a historian who has published works on religion, gender, performance, and emotion in medieval and early modern Europe. She earned her Ph.D. in medieval history (2018) at Baylor University and is currently an associate professor of European history at Anderson University in South Carolina. Her primary areas of research are Europe in the Middle Ages and the early modern era, as well as nineteenth-century life, which ranges from the Victorian monarchy to Gilbert and Sullivan operettas. Renberg has had the privilege of publishing and contributing to scholarly articles about medieval history. Dance has always been an important part of her life. She incorporated dance into her immense admiration for history, which influenced her Ph.D. topic, "Satan Danced in the Person of the Damsel: Dance, Sacrilege, and Gender, 1280–1640." Dance not only influenced her Ph.D., it also led to her first book topic, which highlights dance and religion in medieval and early modern England. Renberg has been deeply passionate about exploring the complexities of dance and how it relates to religion over periods of time.

In "Reforming and Redefining the True Religion," Renberg provides a chronological groundwork that supports the case studies of her following chapters. She intentionally begins her narrative with a broad approach, which will then give her the ability to dive deeper into the case studies outlined later in the text. She highlights continuities in reform from the Fourth Lateran Council through the English Reformations, all the while focusing on both discussions of sacrilege and false religion as well as the structure and function of the parish. Looking through a certain lens of dance, Renberg says that the primary concerns about true worship and creating a truly Christian Europe have remained the same.

Renberg also explores the gendering of sacrilege and how associating dance with it perpetuated the notion of the female body as inherently sacrilegious. She utilizes a case study that centers on a popular medieval sermon tale—the tale of the cursed dancing carolers—which has been told over several centuries. What this tale does is group together female bodies with the sin of sacrilege. Moving further into Renberg's reading, it provides a counterpoint showing sacrilege in the form of sabbath breaking, which remains a concern for early modern sermons. They believed that the sacred place was being disrupted, and the individuals who were doing the disrupting were always women. The combination of women, sin, and sacrilegious dance fostered new narratives, such as witchcraft dances, which tied dancing to the profane. Renberg argues that these chapters connect narrow concerns about dance with larger worries about sacred space, time, bodies, and fear of the profane. What the reader can gather from these chapters is that dance as sacrilege was a foundational concern for late medieval and early modern religious figures that connected to broad changes in theology and practice.

As the narrative continues, chapters four and five concern themselves with sex being layered onto the foundation of sacrilege. Renberg mentions that sexuality



does not intersect with the major theological discussions of either the late medieval or early modern eras. She takes a different approach in these two chapters, solely focusing on case studies instead of the wider theological progression. She goes into depth about the dance of Salome, the young dancing girl from the gospel narratives. The clearest example that Renberg expands on is the transformation and reworking of Salome. This scriptural text remained consistent between the tenth and fourteenth centuries, but there were changing interpretations in glosses and sermons that came from shifting approaches to dance and to women. Renberg concludes that this led to an increasingly gendered representation of the tale of the cursed dancing carolers, which has been mentioned. It was no longer about the sins of both men and women; it was about the sins of women, from sacrilege to sex. Vernacular authors began to connect dance more closely to female bodies. Thus, the sexual potential of those bodies became more important. Not to confuse the reader, but the sexualization of dance took place gradually and has always been a concern. However, it was not until dance became defined as sacrilegious that it became a primary concern. Early modern English sermons connected the narrative of Salome's dance and implicated it as an action facilitating other transgressions. Renberg mentions Thomas Jackson's sermon *An Helpe to the Best Bargaine* as an example of multiple sins connected to a narrative; it directly identifies adultery, false oaths, and murder as sins of the narrative, along with a wanton dancer. Dance constantly appeared near transgressions connected to sin.

In the penultimate chapter, Renberg contends that the perception of dance as sacrilegious and linked to sexuality had already formed a comprehensive theology of gender and dance, where notions of sacrilege and sex were intricately intertwined. She indicates that religious authors treated dancers exclusively as sinful or problematic, with a focus on their bodies and sexuality as indications of their sacrilegious spiritual status. The notion that the devil consorted with not just individual women but all women led to sins being connected to the devil and associating with women. Renberg mentions how dancing and painting "oneself" were defined as a generic female transgression, a transgression that defined the moral character of women both past and present. Compared to early modern sermons, such as those in 1566, dancing women were connected to multiple sins such as vanity, lust, and drunkenness. Renberg highlights the fact that authors believed that women, particularly those who danced, held the power to lead men into great sin. Women were constantly blamed for the sins of men. Virtue was tied to actions, to bodies, and to places. The message that Renberg tries to convey is clear: to have a virtuous society, women needed to stay in their role within the house, and to have a sinful society, women only need to enter the streets or attend a dance. Renberg argues that, by using dance as a lens for closer examination, it becomes very evident that condemning women and their bodies was not an innovation of the early modern era but instead an attribution of agency and a shift between the medieval and early modern eras. Simply by living in a female body, women were subjected to rape, ridicule, and stereotypical characterizations.

Renberg uses dance as a lens to access late medieval and early modern ideas about sex, gender (bodies), and sacrilege. Dance became a gendered action. It was attached to all sorts of sins. Overall, Renberg carefully curates a thought-out book where she traces the diverse ways in which dance transformed. She highlights the progression of dance into a gendered performance and the development of a rhetorical portrayal of female bodies as profane, a theme that recurs throughout the book, specifically in the case of Salome. I would recommend this book to anyone who has an interest in dance and how the interpretation of dance has transformed. This would be a great read for someone interested in learning about the difficulties women faced during the period between 1300 and 1640. Back then, there was a desire to control and confine women's bodies, a notion that is still relevant in the present day. Renberg highlights it all, delving into the portrayal of women's bodies and the idea that they were dancing to their own damnation. She scrutinizes the perception of the female dancing body and explores how women were blamed during the transition as dance became viewed as sacrilege. This focus on bodies, specifically women's bodies, came with a degree of inescapability. Renberg brings up a great question: If holiness was defined by one's body rather than one's actions, what access to holiness could women hope for? Experiences for women within the parish changed dramatically, and patterns of rhetoric, as Renberg highlights, shaped the treatment of women into the modern era. For a similar reading, *Dancing to Transform: How Concert Dance Becomes Religious in American Christianity*, by Emily Wright focuses on the history and importance of dance in forming the American Christian identity.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Natalie Melgoza of Los Angeles, California, earned her B.A. in Classical Civilization (2020) at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). She is currently pursuing an M.A. in History with a concentration in Public and Oral History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).*

Rothera, Evan C.

*Civil Wars and Reconstructions in the Americas:  
The United States, Mexico, and Argentina, 1860–1880.*

Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2022. 342 pages. Hardcover. ISBN: 9780807171479.

This monograph focuses on the interconnected civil wars and reconstructions in the United States, Mexico, and Argentina from the 1860s through the 1880s. Rothera uses transnational and comparative methodologies to highlight similarities and differences between the wars and reconstructions. For those interested in Latin American and U.S. history, particularly as it relates to civil wars and conflicts, this book will be of particular interest. For academics, Rothera's text provides valuable insight into a complex historical narrative that reveals the tumultuous forces that shaped Argentina, Mexico, and the United States.

Evan C. Rothera is a historian who has researched and written on topics related to the Americas, particularly in the nineteenth century. Rothera is an assistant history professor at the University of Arkansas-Fort Smith. He has shown interest in events such as civil wars and reconstructions in various countries. Given the specific mention of his book, which focuses on the United States, Mexico, and Argentina from 1860 to 1880, it is evident he has explored the interconnected histories of these nations during that period.

Rothera's monograph endeavors to shed light on a pivotal era in the history of the Americas by exploring and juxtaposing the civil wars and subsequent reconstruction efforts in three distinct nations. Despite their socio-political contexts, the United States, Mexico, and Argentina encountered internal conflicts during the latter half of the nineteenth century, reshaping their trajectories and national identities. Rothera juxtaposes the American Civil War and the Reconstruction era with the numerous internal conflicts in Mexico and the civil wars in Argentina, illustrating how such profound internal conflicts, born out of social, economic, and political disparities, influenced nation-building governance and societal norms in the post-war periods. The book provides a panoramic view of how civil wars and reconstructions molded the contours of these nations, highlighting their unique challenges, strategies employed in rebuilding, and the long-term ramifications on their societies.

Rothera describes the events of the American Civil War (1861–1865) between the United States and the Confederacy. In the subsequent Reconstruction Era (1865–1877), the nation grappled with the abolition of slavery. It sought to reintegrate the Confederate states, preserving the Union while ensuring rights for newly freed slaves. Rothera explains that, after the war, General Ulysses S. Grant looked south to the border between Texas and Mexico. The U.S. was aware of the French military's activity in Mexico, supporting the Mexican Empire against President Benito Juárez. In response, Grant ordered his trusted General Philip Sheridan to send troops to the border.

Rothera explores Mexico's tumultuous history during the Reform War (1857–1861), which was a civil conflict that pitted Liberals against Conservatives. The war began after the adoption of the 1857 Constitution, which was supported by the Liberals and opposed by the Conservatives. The Liberals, championing a federalist form of governance, sought to diminish the power of the Catholic Church and the military in Mexican politics. At the same time, the Conservatives aimed to maintain a centralized system and the Church's strong influence. The conflict ended with a Liberal victory, leading to significant changes in Mexican society, most notably the separation of church and state. The Second French Intervention in Mexico, which took place between 1861 and 1867, was a military invasion by France, supported initially by Britain and Spain, to establish a pro-European empire in Mexico. Driven by Napoleon III's imperial ambitions and in response to Mexico's refusal to pay foreign debts, the intervention led to the establishment of the short-lived Second Mexican Empire under Emperor

Maximilian I. Resistance by Mexican republicans, led by President Benito Juárez, continued throughout Maximilian's reign. The endeavor ended with the withdrawal of French troops and the execution of Maximilian, reinstating Juárez's leadership and the Mexican Republic.

Rothera then shifts to South America, where the nation of Argentina was embroiled in internal conflicts during this period, notably the Argentine Civil Wars (1814–1880), a series of armed conflicts between unitarian and federalist factions, with the country also facing the challenges of national organization. Argentina had experienced Spanish colonization and later transition to an independent nation as it had been struggling to maintain power in South America. The book mentions key events from 1860 to 1880, when Argentina underwent significant transformations. The 1862 establishment of Bartolomé Mitre as president marked the beginning of more centralized governance, which favored Buenos Aires. This period also saw the end of the War of the Triple Alliance (1864–1870) against Paraguay, which had significant repercussions for Argentina. By the end of the 1870s, the Conquest of the Desert campaign aimed to expand Argentine territories by displacing Indigenous populations.

Rothera's book describes connections between Europe and the events in the Americas between 1860 and 1880, mainly Europe's economic interests, political interventions, and military and ideological influences. For instance, European powers such as France intervened in Mexico, establishing the Second Mexican Empire under Maximilian I. In the U.S., European states played a role in the Civil War through their potential recognition of the Confederacy and their textile industry's reliance on Southern cotton. In Argentina, European immigration and investment significantly influenced the country's modernization and economic growth during this period. For further reading on transnationalism in the American Civil War, Duncan Campbell and Niels Eichhorn's *The Civil War in the Age of Nationalism* focuses more broadly on the topics analyzed in Rothera's work.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Jeremy Casil of Buena Park, California, earned his A.A. in History (2021) at Cypress College in Cypress, California, and his B.A. in History (2023) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). He is currently pursuing an M.A. in History with a concentration in Public History at CSUF.*

Wilson, Ben.

*Metropolis:*

*A History of the City, Humankind's Greatest Invention.*

New York: Anchor Books, 2021.

442 pages. Paperback. ISBN: 9780525436331.

Throughout *Metropolis: A History of the City, Humankind's Greatest Invention*, Ben Wilson takes his readers on a tour of some of the world's most famous megacities, both past and present. What makes *Metropolis* a tantalizing read is that, despite being a nonfiction text, it still appeals to the part of the human brain that craves a

whimsical story with divine characters and breathtaking settings. Books like *Metropolis* allow people with no prior interest in history to explore the past in a more engaging manner. Their presentation style enables readers to immerse themselves in the material, leading to a deeper understanding and experience. Nonfiction works are often stereotyped as boring, but *Metropolis* tramples that stereotype with its captivating style, making it an instant go-to piece of literature.

The genius mind behind *Metropolis* is Ben Wilson. The author is currently under contract with Penguin Random House, which owns the subsidiary Anchor Books, the publishing house that printed *Metropolis*. Wilson received his undergraduate and master's degrees in history at Pembroke College in Cambridge, England, and has written six books. He received the Somerset Maugham Award for his 2009 book *What Price Liberty?*, which focuses on the debates about how to balance liberty and social order through European and American society, with a special focus on British politics. *Empire of the Deep: The Rise and Fall of the British Navy* (2013), which focuses on the story of England as an empire – as well as its culture – and how it managed to become a powerful country with a fierce navy despite only being a tiny island nation, was named a *Sunday Times* bestseller. Wilson has not only authored books but has also written for respectable journals and famous magazines such as *GQ*, *Prospect*, *The Independent on Sunday*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Scotsman*, *The Spectator*, *Men's Health*, *The London Times*, *The Literary Review*, and *The Guardian*. In addition to his work as an author, he is often contacted by television and movie sets to work as a consultant. He has also made radio and television appearances in the United Kingdom, Ireland, and the United States. His knowledge of history shines through all of his work.

Wilson has a deep passion for British history, as is obvious when we look at his past works; however, what makes *Metropolis* stand out when compared to his other books is that much of the history is focused on early civilizations, especially those found in Asia, specifically the Middle East. Wilson sees *Metropolis* as an analysis of civilization and the cultural connective tissues that make cities rise and fall according to how human needs grow and change. What brought about the idea for this book was the 2020 Covid pandemic. Wilson noticed how even through such chaos, densely populated cities still managed to survive and thrive. Throughout the book, he uses a mix of history, mythology, culture, sociology, and psychology to explain why humankind continues to create cities.

*Metropolis* is broken down into fourteen chapters, all of which build upon what has just been discussed, which makes readers feel like they are immersed in a fictional story; each part helps make sense of the outcome. Each chapter references multiple major cities in the past and present but heavily focuses on one or two examples. When a chapter focuses on two cities, one is usually discussed at the beginning with a few brief inserts regarding other cities. By the second half of the chapter, Wilson usually segues to the second city he plans to discuss in depth. Usually, when two cities are discussed, the author is specifically focusing on one element that both cities share. However, when a chapter only focuses on one city,

Wilson tends to incorporate a lot of that city's culture, be it myths, folklore, music, or food. In chapters centered on a single city, Wilson primarily focuses on that city, although he will reference other cities; however, he consistently returns to the focal city to bring all the various elements together.

The organization of the book is not chronological since Wilson discusses cities that existed in different times in order to compare them. A good example of this is his comparison of the ancient city of Babylon, the biblical city of Babel, and 1800s London when discussing human sexuality, with a clear focus placed on prostitution and the gay community throughout history. While you cannot expect to find a chronologically ordered timeline in *Metropolis*, you can expect that the story will progress according to themes and inventions, whether they be technological or cultural inventions that came about due to city living. Regardless, Wilson details it all in an easy-to-follow manner. Each chapter allows the reader to understand how certain ideas came about and why humanity needed them. A notable example of this is the aqueduct, which is discussed in conjunction with Harappa, the Indus Valley civilization found in modern-day Pakistan. Overall, from afar, the structure of the book may seem like it is all over the place; however, when reading it, you begin to understand why it jumps from different time periods as well as from city to city the way that it does. The structure of *Metropolis* hinges on innovation as opposed to chronological order. It may seem messy, but it helps the reader better absorb the information when grouped together that way.

*Metropolis* starts out by introducing ideas to the readers, such as how many people head to the city looking for new opportunities and experiences but run from the city at the first sign of danger. Another idea presented by Wilson is how the infrastructure of cities as well as how people living in cities behave have both evolved to survive one another. With this, the author urges us to explore the relationship between infrastructure and humans and how they affect one another. A more negative idea presented is that of cities hurting the environment as their borders begin to expand. China building over mountain ranges as well as American skyscrapers are used as examples when discussing this idea. At the outset of the book, Wilson introduces us to a famous story, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, which is one of the oldest surviving works of literature. Throughout *Metropolis*, Wilson makes references to this literary masterpiece. The relationship between Enkidu, a man of nature, and the city of Uruk, which corrupts him, is examined in the first chapter, as Wilson prompts readers to ask themselves if perhaps they are throwing away the essence of what makes them human when they choose to move to a city. A similar idea explored by Wilson throughout this first chapter is that of mental illness being stimulated by city living; this is due to reduced gray matter in the brains of city dwellers as well as city dwellers having difficulty assessing emotions. On a more positive note, Wilson explores the technological advancements city living has brought about, such as the wheel, sila payments, the cylinder seal, and many more. Throughout the book, Wilson explains how empires—and by extension cities—work similarly to animals in that they need to

fill a niche to ensure their survival and have a lack of competition for resources, thereby cutting factors that can take down the city. An interesting idea Wilson explores is the concept of utopias and dystopias. When discussing utopias, Wilson examines Songdo, South Korea, as an example since it is considered a “ubiquitous city” and the closest thing in real life that we have to a true utopia, at least in terms of technology. The author uses Babylon as an example of dystopia and explains that this is only due to the biblical connotations placed on it as a city that wanted to build a tower so tall that they could view more than God.

Wilson does an interesting job of explaining how cities are viewed differently throughout the world. For example, in non-Western civilizations they are seen as a gift from the gods, while in the Western world they are seen as a punishment by the gods, almost as if they are looked down upon and hated. Aside from the innovation and technological advancements brought about by city living, Wilson also discusses how cities have affected the way humans interact with each other. An example he uses is that of public baths in the ancient world and how they were a place where people from all social classes could come together. Wilson compares this to public swimming pools in the 1900s and how, due to racism and classism, these public areas led to a lot of racial and class tension, ultimately resulting in racial and class segregation. Wilson goes beyond discussing technology and architecture in *Metropolis*; he takes the opportunity to discuss the negatives and positives of cities as an invention and how humankind has been involved.

Ben Wilson is an interesting author who makes a lot of creative choices that result in *Metropolis* standing out among other history books. Wilson is exceptionally talented at making the reader feel immersed in his words. When he describes a shopping spree at the ancient Baghdad neighborhood market, you truly feel like you are there. His attention to detail and talent for description are some of the components that can easily lure someone into reading and finishing *Metropolis*. That said, Wilson’s weakness as an author would likely be how he jumps from topic to topic. While he does do a fantastic job at bringing the overarching theme per chapter back to his initial idea, he often jumps from city to city without warning, which can cause serious whiplash for his reader. This can be especially confusing, as sometimes Wilson will not start a new paragraph when turning to discuss a new city; he will just start talking about it halfway through a paragraph. In one sentence, Wilson describes the checkerboard pattern of Greek cities, while the next could easily be about the rivers that connect China and the Indian subcontinent. If you have issues focusing your attention and staying on topic, like me, then the best analogy would be that Wilson’s style of writing is reminiscent of having a conversation with a close friend, by which I mean that you will start the conversation with one initial topic and change the subject multiple times, yet by the end of the conversation you are back to that original topic. That nitpick aside, Wilson is a fantastic writer who has a talent for giving the reader a window into whatever era he is describing; in fact, I would say that this talent, along with how charismatic his writing tends to be, are his greatest strengths as a

writer. Ben Wilson should be given his roses, as he has made a history book that is easy to follow and interesting to read. These are factors that are important since that means *Metropolis* will be of interest to all people, not just those of us with an interest in history. It is important to celebrate nonfiction historical authors such as Wilson, as they aid in spreading valuable insights and information.

As a reader, I was very satisfied with *Metropolis: A History of The City, Humankind's Greatest Invention*. It was a book I could not find myself easily putting down as it was just that interesting. Aside from the compelling writing, it should also be noted that the information provided by Wilson is useful. *Metropolis* includes a refresher for a lot of information I was already aware of, but it also supplies a lot of new information I had not previously encountered. This is a book that is quite easy to read as it does not expect you to have any prior knowledge of history to understand it. Wilson effortlessly guides the reader through all the information presented in *Metropolis*, providing a delightful reading experience. Personally, I enjoyed reading *Metropolis* and would consider it a great piece of literature that everyone should check out at least once.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Aixa Martinez Tello of Anaheim, California, earned her dual A.A.s in Liberal Arts (2022) at Santa Ana Community College in Santa Ana, California, and her B.A. in History (2024) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). She is currently pursuing a Single-Subject Teaching Credential at CSUF.*



## Reviews (Exhibitions)

### *The Art of Moviemaking: The Godfather, Stories of Cinema.*

Curated by Sophia Serrano with assistance from Esme Douglas, in collaboration with Paramount Pictures and American Zoetrope.

Academy Museum of Motion Pictures, Los Angeles, California.

November 3, 2022, to January 5, 2025.

[online.](#)

Like most excursions in Los Angeles, the act of actually arriving at the Academy Museum of Motion Pictures is a complex task. Filled with trappings of classic LA stereotypes such as limited and overpriced parking, bumper-to-bumper traffic going down Wilshire Boulevard, and being stuck on the 101 freeway for thirty minutes but somehow moving just a half mile, by the time you arrive at the Academy Museum you are likely exhausted before even stepping inside. As you make your way up the stairs to the “Stories of Cinema” area of the second floor, you might even be tempted to start thinking about (and dreading) the return part of your trip. However, when you finally do make it to the *Art of Moviemaking* exhibition space, slowly wading through the sea of people, you are seemingly guided by the faint sound of the opening score to Francis Ford Coppola’s *Godfather* movies. Once you finally reach the back of the second floor and arrive at *The Godfather* exhibition space and hear the booming sound of the first film’s famous opening line, “I believe in America,” you already know it was worth the journey there.

Projected onto a simple black backdrop, the first glimpse of *The Godfather* exhibition is a revolving selection of brief clips from the first two films. Iconic lines like “I’m gonna make him an offer he can’t refuse,” “keep your friends close but your enemies closer,” and “it’s not personal, it’s strictly business” swirl in the air, reminding you of the incredible fact that—yes—all three of these oft spoken phrases in everyday life indeed come from the first two movies. Muted, understated, and with a feeling of intentional simplicity, the space’s entrance, with its plain backdrop and focus on the films’ score and dialogue, is the perfect entrance. This, dramatized with the space’s broody and dark lighting, instantly transports you to a postwar Little Italy neighborhood.

Immediately to the right of this, there is a row of seven dress forms standing in front of an antique floral wallpaper, seamlessly matching the style of any kitchen in the films. As a result of this subdued setup, one’s eye is instantly drawn to the stunning costumes. The recognizable selection of formalwear, like Kay Adams’s vermilion-colored polka-dot dress in the first *Godfather* film and Mama Corleone’s indigo “mother of the bride” dress in *Godfather: Part II*, notably contrasts the dreary yet familiar wallpaper. The costumes are in such pristine shape that their meticulous detail—every stitch of fabric or clean hem—is all the more apparent. As they do in the films, these costumes’ deep and rich colors directly oppose the otherwise plain surroundings, allowing you to focus solely on the formalwear.

Directly behind the area designated to costume design is a collection of assorted memorabilia, many of which are no larger than a standard 5x7" print. Were there not the small white placard on the wall that reads "executives and producers," the focus of this particular area could be unclear to most guests. This, however, works in the exhibition's favor as the "hodgepodge" works in tandem with one another to create a three-dimensional family scrapbook on the wall. Rather than follow the standard or even rigid confinement of a gallery wall, which is most often made up of extravagant, gold, and Art Deco-style frames, the curator's choice to pick sleek black fiberboard frames continues the exhibition's artistic decision to have these artifacts feel as if they are part of the family home. A mishmash of a ticket to *Part I*'s world premiere in 1972, a studio placard used in the filming of *Part II* just one year after the first film's release, and candid photos of the film crew atop locations central to *The Godfather* like Ellis Island, Sicily, and Little Italy form an unexpected, subdued environment. This only furthers the familial feeling so palpable throughout the exhibition.

What follows this is arguably the biggest, most recognizable artifact from the trilogy: Don Corleone's desk. Though blocked behind stanchions and rope barriers and under the watchful eye of a gallery attendant, the grand wooden desk and its accompanying office commands a presence all its own. The desk is perfectly recreated to match one of its many appearances throughout the films, with everything from the angle of the drawn shades to the rugged leather chair in such detail that the visitors studying it draw to a collective hush. One creative decision that speaks again to the brilliance of the curatorial team is the office's lighting design. While the famous tenebrous lighting in *The Godfather* amplifies the film's themes of moral ambiguity, greed, and power, I assumed that the harshness of the lighting would create issues when taking a photo. However, the curator managed to light this space to cast a spotlight on the desk while still making its surroundings visible and dark. This speaks to the incredible attention to detail from the curatorial team, who almost certainly had it in mind to cast the lighting in such a way that it would be lit perfectly in person and on one's camera. Simple details like having ideal lighting for photo-ops continue *The Art of Moviemaking's* goal of making you feel like you are genuinely walking onto the set of these famous films. Traditional museum rules like no photography and having a set amount of time to observe the exhibition's top acquisitions simply do not exist, making the film's authenticity much more apparent.

Just a few steps to the right is a second set of compiled clips from *The Godfather*, roughly around the same length as those shown at the exhibition's beginning. However, this is not just another highlight reel from the films; rather, they are the screen tests and auditions of legendary cast members like Al Pacino, Robert de Niro, Diane Keaton, and Robert Duvall. The montage is similarly depicted on a simple black wall and could easily be unassuming footage of a casual conversation. That is, until these clips are joined by the sound of a 1996 interview between Marlon Brando and Francis Ford Coppola. The unmistakable raspiness

of Brando's voice shares his intimate feelings with the director as if he were either forgetting or not caring that his words would inevitably be shared. Shocking statements like how Brando had not yet played a character of Italian descent, that Paramount Pictures explicitly forbade Brando from being part of the *Godfather* films, or that Coppola only took the role as director to pay off hundreds of thousands of dollars in gambling debt are shared with those that stand and listen.

Even though these stories have been told so many times that they are largely considered Hollywood lore, one still walks away thinking that it is a miracle the first film was made at all, considering all that went wrong before and during production. However, that is what makes this exhibition so successful. It is curated and arranged in such a way that one almost forgets that *Part I* and *Part II* are widely regarded as the most influential movies of the past century, that they won a collective total of nine Academy Awards out of nearly thirty nominations, or that they were two of the most successful movies at the box office in their respective years. The consistent simplicity throughout the exhibition compels you not to think of the films as cinematic classics but as a story about a family caught in a rapidly changing world. *The Art of Moviemaking* challenges one's expectations, and while it features incredible props like the makeup and dentures used to shape Brando's jaw to one similar to that of a bulldog or the head of Jack Woltz's beloved horse, *Khartoum*, the exhibition ultimately uses its subdued nature to allow the power of *The Godfather's* narrative to speak for itself. Using core features of filmmaking to lead visitors through the exhibition, guiding museum patrons from "casting and performance" to "special effects" and "cinematography," *The Art of Moviemaking: The Godfather* invites those who are interested to look at the film trilogy through the eyes of those who made them. The exhibition thrives regardless of the impossible task of encapsulating the brilliance of the *Godfather* films. In fact, it more than rises to the occasion – it triumphs. By the time you finish your time in the exhibition, you will not even be thinking about the drive home.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: Elizabeth Macias of Fullerton, California, earned her B.A. in History (2021) from Westmont College in Montecito, California, where she is a member of the Alpha-Xi-Epsilon Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). She is currently pursuing an M.A. in Public History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), and works as an Archives Technician for the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) at the Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum in Yorba Linda, California.

*The Banning Museum. / The Drum Barracks Civil War Museum.*

401 East M Street and 1052 N. Banning Blvd., Wilmington, California 90744.  
[online](#) and [online](#).

From the arrival of Indigenous peoples like the Tongva to the later settlements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Los Angeles Basin has changed greatly throughout its history. It is a place that would be unrecognizable to the people from its past if they were to see it now, and equally to those who are here today if they could see it as it once was. Among the more overlooked portions of this great

change is the city of Wilmington, nestled between Long Beach, San Pedro, and Carson. Among the pot-marked streets, oil tanks, and port facilities sit two museums just down the street from one another that preserve intertwined aspects of Wilmington's – and by extension Los Angeles' – lesser known history.

Situated in the middle of a public park, with its Greek-Revival facade facing southwards toward the Port of Los Angeles, stands the home of Phineas Banning, one of the founders of Wilmington, and the man Los Angeles historians have dubbed the "Father of the Port of Los Angeles." Originally from Wilmington, Delaware, a twenty-one-year-old Banning arrived in San Pedro, California in 1851, sailing the Atlantic and the Pacific and traversing the isthmus of Panama in the process. Though Banning was not the most well-off new arrival to California, he was ambitious and was willing to make connections in various industries and within the new Anglo-centric political structures transplanted from the east, working his way up from being a clerk to a stagecoach driver to operating his own stagecoach routes out of Los Angeles. In the aftermath of the Civil War, in which Banning served as brigadier general of the local militia and thus forever referred to himself as General Banning, he then sought to dredge the shallow harbor to create a deep-water port for the city of Los Angeles, a port that, through further development after his death in 1885, has become one of the world's largest and busiest. Entering the Banning Museum after meeting with a tour guide in the visitor center located behind the mansion reveals a lovingly restored interior, furnished in accordance with the personal testimonies of the Banning family who called this building, built by Banning in 1864, home.

In stepping into the house from the front porch, Banning's personal office shows his business and political side, where the tour guide will point out Banning's signature on the certificate from the California Legislature denoting its ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, as well as noting the fact that he maintained many business connections to more developed cities such as San Francisco, where many building supplies for his business and furnishings for his family's home had to be shipped from. The nearby parlor and sitting rooms, along with several bedrooms upstairs, show a more personal side to Banning, providing an opportunity to discuss Banning's children and grandchildren, who continued to live in the house well into the 1920s, before it was acquired by the City of Los Angeles in 1927. Since its acquisition, the Banning family has donated many of the house's original furnishings for display.

In addition to showcasing the life and contributions of Phineas Banning, the property of the Banning Museum includes a stagecoach barn to display various types of buggies, wagons, and coaches, a well-maintained rose garden, and a modern exhibition on the development of the Port of Los Angeles funded by a grant from the Annenberg Foundation. The museum hosts several annual events, with the most noteworthy to museum staff being Victorian Christmas, which provides an opportunity for reenactors to present themselves in a more festive

manner and to delve into the Victorian-era Christmas traditions that heavily influence modern Christmas customs to this day.

In his narration of documentarian Ken Burns's popular television series on the Civil War, historian David McCullough proclaimed that "[t]he Civil War was fought in 10,000 places, from Val Verde, New Mexico, and Tullahoma, Tennessee, to St. Alban's, Vermont, and Fernandina on the Florida coast. More than three million Americans fought in it, and over 600,000 men, 2% of the population, died in it." While California's soil was not stained with the blood of Union or Confederate soldiers, it did play an unsung role in the Union's war effort – though its state politics were just as divided among the North and the South as the nation itself. The Golden State's role in the Civil War, largely unknown even to most locals, is well respected at the Drum Barracks Civil War Museum, located half a mile down Banning Boulevard from the Banning Museum. When news of the barrage on Fort Sumter reached Los Angeles, many settlers from the southern states celebrated and expressed a desire for their own state, or at least its southern portion, to secede from the Union. Indeed, in 1859, the California Legislature had already approved a plan to divide the state into two, but with the secession crisis spiraling out of control, the last thing the U.S. Congress wanted was to divide another state. But ambitious secessionists foresaw another great power spanning from sea to shining sea – one with Stars and Bars rather than Stars and Stripes.

Such proposals worried Banning, a staunch Unionist, and he urged that an encampment be installed near the Port of Los Angeles. Along with the city's mayor, Benjamin Davis Wilson, Banning agreed to offer sixty acres in Wilmington for the establishment of such an installation. The outpost was established in 1862 as the Drum Barracks, in honor of Colonel Richard Drum, the assistant adjutant of the Army's Department of the Pacific, which was stationed in San Francisco. There is no evidence that Colonel (later Brigadier General) Drum himself ever set foot in the Drum Barracks, which was also referred to as Camp Drum. During the Civil War, the Drum Barracks was home to the California Column, a volunteer force of both infantry and cavalry that fought Confederate forces (mostly from Texas) in the Arizona and New Mexico Territories, most notable being the Battle of Picacho Pass, the furthest battle fought west of the Mississippi River during the Civil War.

While the Civil War was the deadliest conflict in the history of the United States and the largest war waged on the North American continent, life at the Drum Barracks was as routine and as quiet as a soldier's life could be at that time. If one were to observe the daily events at the Drum Barracks during the war, it would consist of soldiers marching, drilling, and standing sentry duties. The camp, however, did have an unusual living feature in the form of camels. During the 1850s, the U.S. Army purchased and took delivery of dozens of camels imported from the Ottoman Empire in an experiment to determine the usefulness of using the cantankerous yet rugged animals in the American West. During the war, many of the camels that had remained in the Union and were not confiscated by the Confederates in Texas were in California, including at the Drum Barracks. The

museum itself actually possesses a number of items relating to the Camel Corps, including the only verified photograph of a camel at the Drum Barracks. By the end of the Civil War in 1865, some 17,000 Californians had served in Union blue, not only in volunteer regiments out west such as the California Column but in the eastern theater as well. Of those, records show that some 8,000 of these men passed through the Drum Barracks during the war.

After the war, the Drum Barracks would remain in service until being decommissioned by the Army in 1871. Banning and Wilson purchased the land and the buildings back from the U.S. government and repurposed the site for other uses, especially as Banning focused on expanding the port facilities and dredging operations in Wilmington and San Pedro. Eventually, most of the barracks' buildings were demolished or dismantled for their building materials, and much of the site was made unrecognizable by the construction of new housing developments, leaving only one of the original Army barracks within the neighborhood that grew around it.

By the 1960s, the Junior Officers' Quarters, the last surviving wooden structure from the Drum Barracks, was facing its own destruction when the citizens of Wilmington came together to save the landmark, making it the new home of a museum dedicated to the history of the Drum Barracks during the Civil War. Today, the building houses exhibits on the role of California during the war and the period's technological advancements, and some of the rooms have been restored to how they would have appeared to the men assigned to the Drum Barracks. These include the Officers' Parlor, the library, and the sleeping quarters upstairs. A gift shop provides souvenirs and programs to support the museum's ongoing activities. All visitors are guided through the museum by docents dressed in Union uniforms, and the museum also displays a model diorama to show visitors how the installation would have appeared during the war.

As with the Banning Museum, no photography is permitted inside the museum, but it is allowed for the outside of the building. Just outside the museum, adjacent to the parking lot, stands a cannon, which is protected by a canvas tarp outside of museum visiting hours. The volunteer staff will also mention to those interested the existence of another surviving structure from the days of the Drum Barracks: the powder magazine. This brick-and-mortar structure's walls were built in such a way that, if there were ever to be an explosion, the force of the explosion would be directed toward the roof rather than blowing the walls out. When the barracks were decommissioned, the powder magazine was used for a variety of purposes over the years, with several buildings being built and later torn down around it. At one point, it served as cold storage for a general store and was later encompassed within a house, but today, the powder magazine, located on the corner of Eubank Avenue and Opp Street, is fenced off. Numerous carvings can be seen on every corner of the structure, among them the initials of William S. Banning, the son of Phineas Banning, who also carved the date 1874 alongside his initials. A small neighborhood can also be found directly across the street from the

Drum Barracks Civil War Museum, complete with signage on the history of the local area and a painted statue of a camel at rest, a reference to the camels that were present at the Drum Barracks and the wider history of the pre-war Army use of camels in forging new overland routes to southern California.

In essence, while the Los Angeles of the 2020s is a completely different environment from the Los Angeles of the 1860s, both the Banning Museum and the Drum Barracks Civil War Museum are two institutions that work together to preserve this important yet often overlooked aspect of Los Angeles' long, complicated, and diverse history. With the Banning Museum remains the story of a man and a family typical of the kind of merchants who were in California during its early statehood period, as well as the way in which a small, shallow harbor in a marshy region became one of the world's largest shipping ports. The Drum Barracks Civil War Museum alludes not only to the significance of this outpost on the far corner of the Pacific but to the Golden State's wider contributions to the nation during its most tumultuous hour. But, in their own way, the two museums share the same mission of preserving an overlooked past. A visit is recommended.

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### *Defining Courage.*

Go For Broke National Education Center, Los Angeles, California.  
Permanent exhibition.  
[online.](#)

The *Defining Courage* exhibition at the Go For Broke National Education Center (GFBNEC) in Los Angeles offers an engaging and inspirational interpretation of Japanese Americans and their experiences during World War II. With innovative approaches to interpretation and education on topics such as war, loyalty, propaganda, incarceration, and sacrifice, it encourages visitors to reflect upon the experiences and the meaning of courage. The GFBNEC, formerly the Nishi Hongwanji Buddhist Temple, is a historic building where local Japanese Americans once stored their belongings before incarceration, an appropriate setting to share the history of Japanese Americans during World War II. *Defining Courage* is a participatory museum with hands-on learning in an educational environment. According to their website, GFBNEC's mission is "to educate and inspire character and equality through virtue and the valor of our World War II American veterans of Japanese ancestry." Exploring courage through the lives of Japanese Americans during World War II, the *Defining Courage* exhibition brings this mission to life and encourages visitors to act with courage.

Upon entering the National Education Center and on its second floor, visitors notice one of many keywords throughout the exhibition: *loyalty*, introducing the

history of members of the 100<sup>th</sup> Infantry Battalion, the 442<sup>nd</sup> Regimental Combat Team, and the Military Intelligence Service members who demonstrated their loyalty to America despite facing racism and violations of their civil liberties. The panel provides cards visitors can pull out and take home to read about World War II veterans and places where Japanese Americans lived. Each card provides a picture of a veteran on the front and a description on the back. At the exhibition's main entrance, the phrase "Instructions to All Persons of Japanese Ancestry" is largely displayed with visuals of Pearl Harbor. The "instructions" represent the executive order notice Japanese Americans received and set the tone for the exhibition interpreting the history of Japanese Americans in World War II. The next room displays different-size suitcases and household items with projections of film clips and voices from oral histories to demonstrate the experiences of families and their feelings regarding incarceration and having to sell or leave behind their belongings. The curators and historians use sound as a great resource, incorporating oral histories and film clips to convey personal experiences and the impact of war and incarceration on Japanese Americans.

The exhibition engages visitors to interpret the cause of the war and prejudice with the next display panel, "National Insecurity." "National Insecurity" includes photographs of historical events such as Pearl Harbor with the incarceration of Japanese Americans and the September 11 attacks with racism targeting Muslims in America. A powerful question moves the visitor to reflect on national insecurity: "It has happened before; it is happening now; when it happens again, how will you respond?" Proceeding to the largest room of the exhibition, visitors find another keyword, *propaganda*, with displays of political posters and cartoons that were distributed throughout American society during World War II. This portion of the exhibition demonstrates the power behind propaganda and how it conveys a specific message to the viewer. The propaganda and photography displays are effective in portraying the impact of prejudice against Japanese Americans. Visitors will find an interactive table in this area with photographs as an engaging approach that encourages them to see for themselves how the meaning of a person or event is changed when a photograph is cropped. By lifting a cover piece, visitors reveal the entirety of the photograph and its true meaning.

The middle of the room includes the Hanashi Oral History Program, which provides visitors with an opportunity to sit down and listen to oral histories through headphones. The oral histories document the lives and experiences of Nisei (second-generation Japanese American) veterans of World War II. The Hanashi Oral History Program gives audiences a chance to look into the experiences before, during, and after the war. Including oral histories is an impactful approach because of their accuracy in providing first-hand experiences. Oral histories from the Hanashi Collection offer a high level of detail and insights into the experiences, making them a valuable and educational resource. Based on the information available on its website, the GFBNEC holds a large collection of over 1,200 audiovisual histories. GFBNEC hosts the Hanashi Oral History



Collection through the Japanese American Military History Collective, a partnership with the Japanese American Service Committee, Military Intelligence Service Veterans Club of Hawai'i, and Nisei Veterans Memorial Center. Throughout the middle section of the exhibition, visitors find the keywords *loyalty*, *sacrifice*, and *courage* as they relate to veterans' histories. The collection is an integral feature of the exhibition as it provides the opportunity for a historically underrepresented group of people to tell their stories.

Panels honoring Japanese American members of the 100<sup>th</sup> Infantry Battalion, the 442<sup>nd</sup> Regimental Combat Team, and the Military Intelligence Service, along with Medals of Honor, are found throughout the exhibition. Displaying their bravery and loyalty is a respectful act by the leadership at GFBNEC. To demonstrate this honor and the meaning of courage, an interactive display with tags hanging from the ceiling and walls is an engaging approach that inspires visitors to explore and reflect on the meaning of courage by writing down a time when they or someone they know demonstrated courage. The effectiveness of this approach inspires visitors to read other people's stories and make connections between the courage of Japanese Americans and their own lives. After passing through the archway of courage tags, visitors encounter the next section, "An Interactive Journey." Here, electronic visuals housed in suitcases guide visitors through a narrative journey based on different choices, leading to information on locations of concentration camps, complete with photographs and oral histories. On the other side, another interactive activity includes weaving fabric into a display to determine whether a visitor disagrees or agrees to a statement written on a board. The statement on display reads, "The civil rights violations that happened to the Japanese Americans during World War II can happen again today to another group of Americans." Different colors of fabric are found on the board for visitors to choose from and match with their views, whether they agree or disagree, creating a woven pattern on the display. Visitors are encouraged to reflect on the actions of the past and make connections to the present.

To create an educational and inspiring exhibition like *Defining Courage*, curators and historians must put a tremendous amount of effort into the research, development, and design of the exhibition for interpretive context, imagery, and interactive hands-on learning to be successful. The visual quality is clear and interpretive rather than solely informative. The text—and the information it contains—is conveyed through various interactive methods. The overall presentation of the exhibition takes a visitor on an interactive journey through courage and time while learning about Japanese Americans and veterans of World War II. The interpretive panels and interactive displays demonstrate how public history can reshape our views of the past and inspire our future. Although powerful imagery, sounds, and voice clips may provoke strong emotions in visitors, the honorable acts, loyalty, sacrifice, and courage of the veterans and Japanese Americans are strongly displayed throughout the exhibition. The exhibition is available for anyone who wishes to come visit; however, field trip

tours are recommended for young students of grades 5 and up. In addition, the museum has educational resources for teachers such as lesson plans designed for grades nine through twelve. The *Defining Courage* exhibition is exemplary of participatory museums that encourage visitors to enjoy learning but also be emotionally and educationally impacted by the real histories of people in our communities who exemplify courage.

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*Eugène Atget: Highlights from the Mary & Dan Solomon Collection.*

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, California.  
August 1, 2023, to November 5, 2023.  
[online.](#)

Entering the twenty-first century, our technology has undergone exponential change, and cameras show how far the practice of photography has come. Photography allows people to capture images from their everyday lives, whether a beautiful sunset or a grocery list. Photography as an art medium has allowed people to capture and enhance the focus on the subject. With digital cameras, phones, and even the reemergence of the Polaroid camera, capturing the unique movements in one's life is easier than ever. So, how was photography approached and utilized in twentieth-century Paris? A pioneer in his field, the Parisian photographer Eugène Atget captured the underrated essence of photography.

In a small room located in the photography collection in the west pavilion of the Getty Center lies the "Eugène Atget" exhibition. First, viewers are welcomed to a small room with photographs on each wall and a glass table in the center displaying two albums, signifying a specific subject that Atget focused on throughout his career. The room is softly lit, creating a sense of intimacy and calmness, reminiscent of the atmosphere Atget captured when documenting Paris before dawn. This lighting invites viewers to think in his place, observing the soft light that diffuses across and on Parisian architecture, parks, and living quarters. In the center of the room, a glass display showcases two albums that Atget used to exhibit his photographs to potential customers interested in his pictures.

The room is inviting, and one feels like a buyer interested in purchasing a small slice of Parisian life. Though this collection of Atget's works is stunning, the modern person is not the intended audience for these photographs. Though these photos may be simple or plain to the average person, they are still valuable to artists and photographers. His works were intended as visual source material for working artists. Atget would be a modern equivalent to Stock Images — that is how valuable he was as a source. His photographs of parks, statues, and homes of

Parisians, including the horse-drawn carriages, were essentially a template for artists to use and insert their own characters. Though his photographs were simple, artists could use them to create something entirely new.

Atget worked alone, capturing and developing these quiet moments with his bulky camera. In each photograph, bustling people or horsed carriages are present, yet despite this, Atget flawlessly captured the quietness of Paris in black and white, evoking a sense of calmness and tranquility. He focused on specific aspects of Paris from nature to architecture. Each wall features a section that highlights Atget's interest at the time. His work *Trianon* (1923–1924), a matte albumen silver print, exemplifies what Atget captured in his career: quiet ambiance, the soft light that falls on the leaves, and how it encompasses the busts in an earthly glow. It not only manages to capture the smooth richness of nature but also the shadow of Atget and his camera. This photograph allows viewers to see what Atget saw when he was documenting nature in and around Paris.

While nature was one of Atget's foci, he also focused on the living quarters of working-class Parisians. *Interior, Mr. A's Home, Industrialist, Rue Lepic* (1910), an albumen silver print, is more than a simple photograph of a room; Atget would sell or advertise it to artists as a template for domestic scenes, thus allowing them to use their imaginations to create their own domestic scenes from the photograph. Although Paris is one of the many places where famous artists and businesses have flourished, it also has desolate areas ridden with poverty. The photograph *Poterne des Peupliers* (1913), a gelatin silver chloride print, is one of Atget's more solemn photographs. It is a quiet photo with a stillness that allows viewers to reflect on their livelihood. The photograph is of a makeshift home in a military zone on the outskirts of Paris on the eve of the First World War. The picture is filled with sheets of metal and trash, giving it a lived-in character yet radiating a quiet stillness. Atget's liberal political views and his documenting of these working-class and impoverished areas made him highly sympathetic to the inhabitants. Though he recorded these poor scenes, he was capturing the true essence of photography, which is not about the beauty but the reality of our world.

As Atget moved forward, he focused more on Paris's sex workers. Still documenting the working class of Paris, the photograph *La Villette, rue Asselin* (1921), a gelatin silver chloride print, is a photograph of a sex worker. The woman poses in a chair in front of a cement pillar, most likely the entrance to her home. She has a finger on her cheek, resembling a thinking pose, and due to the look on her face, Atget might have instructed her to pose or be in a natural state of reflection. When Atget began documenting sex workers, it was most likely an extension of his earlier documentation of tradespeople and vendors; in fact, it was most likely a commission by an artist for use as a source material. However, it was not seen through. Atget took these photographs with such gentleness; they are phenomenal examples of what he was trying to accomplish.

The following work deserves particular recognition: *Boulevard de Strasbourg* (1912), a gelatin silver chloride print. It is a simple photograph of a window shop

with mannequin busts decorated with frilly fabrics, most likely corsets for women. It is a haunting photograph that gives off an obscure aura. The Surrealists were fascinated by Atget's window shop photographs. They were a group of artists who witnessed the First World War and created a new wave of art and expression to deal with the trauma of it. Atget's works were praised by the Surrealists and caught the attention of the Surrealists, which made Atget's work fulfill its purpose. The Surrealists included some of the most notable artists of the day, such as Max Ernst, René Magritte, Salvador Dalí, and Joan Miro. Though neither explicitly identified as a Surrealist, both Frida Kahlo and Pablo Picasso are also associated with the movement and their works contained qualities of it. All these were famous artists who received recognition for their influential and groundbreaking works. Consequently, Atget's photographs should be given similar attention. His photos were so important that the art pioneers recognized the untapped potential they possessed. Even the most straightforward photos created by Atget showcase the importance of each of his subjects, whether it be the quiet areas of Paris, the stillness of living quarters and window shops, or the nature of Parisian parks welcoming the sun's warmth.

Each of Atget's works is special, highlighting his dedication to capturing these moments that most people skip over when photographing. Atget saw beauty in these simple subjects and knew they could be used as source material for artists to elevate their works. He worked alone: dragging his heavy camera to the center and to the outskirts of Paris, capturing and developing the photographs by himself, and dedicating the time necessary to do so.

The number of photographs in the collection is a notable aspect of the "Eugène Atget" exhibition at the Getty Center. On the exhibition walls, thirty pictures capture a variety of Atget's interests, be they quiet Parisian parks or the homes of the working class. The overall collection, however, is quite sizeable, featuring two albums and over two hundred photographs, which stem from the acquisition of Mary and Dan Solomon's collection of Eugène Atget's works. They collected the pictures that were still in good condition to display. Those with a keen eye will notice that each photo has three different chemical prints, which is most likely due to Atget's experience and experiments with various chemical processes.

Atget worked diligently and created photography that influenced and inspired practices within the field. His works reflect the need to document the world around us. The seemingly simple subjects that Atget captured can reveal complexity to those who delve into the deeper meaning behind his need to document slices of Parisian history. The Getty Center's acquisition of the Mary and Dan Solomon collection of Eugène Atget's photographs is one of the best things that could happen to the history of photography. Bringing this collection to modern audiences showcases that photography is more than getting that perfect shot. It is about capturing the small details of life and its surroundings. That was Atget's true purpose: to present his works to audiences and artists, inspiring them to elevate their imaginations. Through his domestic scenes of Paris, he created

something phenomenal. The “Eugène Atget” exhibition at the Getty Center (though now closed) should have been a pilgrimage for all who love and enjoy photography. Even if you are not a photography lover or fanatic, exploring this exhibition would have allowed you to appreciate the world in new ways.

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### *The Gold Emperor from Aventicum.*

Curated by Jeffery Spier and Jens Daehner.  
Getty Villa Museum, Pacific Palisades, California.  
May 31, 2023, to January 29, 2024.  
[online.](#)

How often do you think about the Roman Empire? Its architecture, art, and social and cultural history have influenced our modern world. The Getty Villa Museum offers a glimpse into the history of ancient Rome and Greece. It first opened its doors to the public in January 1974; however, it then underwent renovations until 1996. It includes a vibrant and tranquil garden, providing visitors an immersive experience throughout their visit. Just north of Santa Monica, the Getty Villa displays ancient Greek and Roman art in a recreation of a Roman country home. This museum is modeled after the *Villa dei Papiri* in Herculaneum, Italy, which was buried by the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in AD 79. Most of the museum’s architectural and landscaping details are elements derived from various ancient Roman houses. Artworks throughout the museum are popular with the public because they provide insights into daily life in the ancient world.

The Getty Villa experience begins once you exit the parking lot and are immediately met with a quote from J. Paul Getty: “To me, my works of art are all vividly alive. They are the embodiment of whoever created them—a mirror of their creator’s hopes, dreams, and frustrations.” Continuing the scenic pathway, visitors see each reconstructed building, and their eyes are drawn toward the Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman Theater, an outdoor classical theater based on ancient prototypes. This theater sits in the middle of the pavilion. Just inside the original main entrance, visitors are transported back to this period as they approach the atrium, a common feature of Roman villas. What intrigues visitors is the immense attention to detail in the interior and exterior peristyle, which replicates walkways, wall paintings, sculptures, and details such as the Doric columns, all known to be from the ancient Mediterranean. Visitors can visit many galleries that feature works that highlight ancient Greek and Roman antiquities.

In addition to the permanent galleries, the Getty Villa also displays temporary exhibitions such as *The Gold Emperor from Aventicum* (reviewed here, but now closed). The focus of *The Gold Emperor from Aventicum* exhibition is a life-size gold bust depicting the emperor Marcus Aurelius, found at Aventicum. This Roman city was built on the site of the Celtic settlement and served as a regional capital.

Around 100 BC, the region that is now known as Switzerland was inhabited by Celtic tribes called the Helvetii. As the Romans expanded their empire, this territory became a Roman province. Thus, its Celtic inhabitants became Roman subjects and assimilated into Roman culture. Little is known about the early Celts, and most of the modern knowledge is completely dependent on ancient Greek and Roman historians and archaeological discoveries. Based on unearthing objects from the region, historians can determine that the Celtic social and cultural life changed drastically, and by the second century, the city had already constructed a series of buildings, which included an amphitheater, temples, and baths. Wealthy citizens meanwhile decorated their homes with luxurious wall paintings and floor mosaics, which are highlighted throughout the exhibition.

As visitors approach the exhibition, their attention shifts to the middle of the gallery. The spotlight is on an enclosed glass case holding a gold bust in a dimly lit room. Everything else seems to disappear as visitors gaze upon the bust. It depicts Marcus Aurelius (AD 121–180), a highly respected Roman ruler who spent his years fighting as a successful general against Germanic tribes on the northern border of the Roman Empire. The bust weighs about three-and-a-half pounds, is made from a single sheet of metal, and decorated on the breastplate is a winged head of the Gorgon Medusa. Medusa's symbolism has changed throughout ancient Greek and Roman antiquity. On the breastplate, it serves as a symbol of protection. The golden bust was discovered in an archeological excavation at Aventicum (near modern-day Avenches) in 1939, and workers found the sculpture in excellent condition, hidden in a sewage pipe. Upon further investigation, the bust is estimated to be from around AD 161–180. A photograph of the exact moment of discovery is shown behind the exhibit. Historians believe that it was hidden during an invasion by Germanic tribes in the late third century AD. It was attached to a wooden structure that would be carried in ceremonial processions.

The best approach for viewing this exhibition is to begin from right to left. To the right, the exhibition calls attention to limestone plaques with inscriptions of the Celts and the Camillus Family, a prominent family in Aventicum. The Camilli adopted Latin personal names and became Roman military officers, high civic officials, and priests and priestesses of the imperial cult. Featured in this part of the exhibition are Latin limestone inscriptions of surviving Celtic traditions. These inscriptions are dedications to the Celtic goddess Aventia, financial administrator Titus Tertius Severus, and tribal leader Caius Valerius Camillus. The inscription for Caius Camillus, AD 24–50, posthumously honors him for his civic service on behalf of the Celtic tribal community. Another well-preserved inscription from AD 200 serves as a dedication to the Celtic goddess Aventia and Titus Tertius Severus. The goddess Aventia was a patron deity of the city of Aventicum, and historians believe that she was most likely a water goddess associated with a spring, while Titus Tertius Severus served as a financial administrator for the city. Limestone inscriptions cover most of the exhibition's right and back walls.

In ancient Greek and Roman culture, the floors of public and private buildings were decorated with mosaics, which were composed of colorful stone cubes. Mosaics were symbols of wealth and status. This was also the case in Aventicum. Two mosaic floors were discovered in the city around 1786. The Swiss artist Joseph Emmanuel Curty (1750–1813) is responsible for carefully replicating two mosaics that did not survive. Mosaics were built into the foundations of buildings, and over time, these could be destroyed through natural disasters, looting, or simply by sitting underneath soil and vegetation for centuries. By now, the visitors have made their way toward the left side of the exhibition, which displays two mosaic drawings as well as a surviving fragment depicting a dolphin. Both drawings were made in ink and watercolor around 1786. The first drawing illustrates an array of geometric patterns, florals, and birds around a group in the center. Scholars assume that the group in the center is depicting personifications of the winds. The second drawing is covered in a mazelike pattern. Inside the square panels of the drawing are animals and a human head. Lastly, a Roman mosaic from AD 150–250 depicts a dolphin in tri-colored stone cubes along with a charcoal border.

The main purpose of the *Gold Emperor from Aventicum* is to present the gold bust with other objects from the site, which provides a view of the provincial capital. The ancient works on display in this exhibition are on loan from the Musée romain d'Avenches (the Roman Museum in Avenches) and the Musée cantonal d'archéologie et d'histoire (the Cantonal Museum of Archeology and History), both located in Switzerland. Jeffrey Spier, the Getty Villa's Anissa and Paul John Balson II senior curator of antiquities, curated this exhibition along with Jens Daehner, associate curator of antiquities. To anyone who is interested in learning more about ancient Roman and Greek civilization, I would recommend visiting the Getty Villa in its entirety. This museum serves as a historical avenue for all visitors who choose to embark on a historical journey while enjoying a nice stroll around a recreated Roman country home. *The Gold Emperor of Aventicum* might have been a tad underwhelming for the frequent visitor due to the limited objects on display as well as the lack of interactive programs that other permanent or temporary exhibitions provide such as *The Horse and Rider from Albania*. Nevertheless, for first-time visitors, it was a fantastic way to see how this golden bust as well as the featured exhibits shed light on the wealth and power of the Roman Empire in Northern Europe. The Getty Villa offers several temporary exhibitions throughout the year, which highlight this incredible period where art and culture flourished, complementing the museum's own collections of Greek and Roman art that are readily available to any visitor seeking to visit the Getty Villa Museum in the Pacific Palisades.

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*Keith Haring: Art is for Everybody.*

Curated by Sarah Loyer.  
The Broad, Los Angeles, California.  
May 27, 2023, to October 8, 2023.  
[online](#).

To understand Keith Haring's artwork is to understand the difficulty and transparency of exploration. *Keith Haring: Art is for Everybody* explores the tribulations of Keith Haring's personal life and the societal pressures of the late 1970s through the 1990s. The opening webpage for *Keith Haring: Art is for Everybody* indicates that the exhibition was curated by Sarah Loyer, The Broad curator and exhibition manager. Additional art and documentation were provided by the Keith Haring Foundation, which was created to raise funds for HIV/AIDS research. This exhibition comprises ten galleries and over one hundred twenty works and archival materials.

The queue for The Broad begins outside between the vault-like walls and vast windows of the museum. As you enter this structure on Grand Avenue, you are met with organic and cavernous charcoal walls and a reliance on natural lighting. The escalator at the center of the lobby leads to the free-admission contemporary art collection curated by Edythe Broad, Eli Broad, and Joanne Heyler. The first floor is dedicated to a gift shop and revolving temporary exhibitions.

On the first floor before the gift shop, you are met with booming synth-based eighties music that was curated from Haring's personal playlists and a floor-to-ceiling wall of vintage subway art posters. You can view Haring's journals, subway maps with the *Radiant Baby* drawn on them, his fingerprints from his arrest for subway graffiti, and a copy of *Art in Transit*, a publication of his subway drawings. This sets the precedent for what many viewers might already know about Haring and his work. It is imperative to note that the page provided by his journal is about the responsibility of artists to create art for the public. In his journal, he states, "Art is for everybody. To think that they [the public], do not appreciate art because they do not understand it and to continue to make art that they do not understand and therefore become alienated from may mean that the artist is the one that doesn't understand or appreciate art and is thriving in this 'self-proclaimed knowledge of art' that is actually bullshit."

The title of this exhibition, *Art is for Everybody*, is seen at the forefront of this quotation. Haring's point of accessibility to the public is one of the most important ideals he shares through this exhibition and his work: He dedicated most of his artwork to public spaces, his work remained affordable, and he contributed to many societal and political efforts in his community. This quote illustrates not only his purpose as an artist but also emulates the point of accessibility Edythe and Eli Broad had envisioned for their museum.

To provide further background on Keith Haring, his personal foundation utilizes a biography written by Haring himself at <https://www.haring.com/>. Born in 1958 in Reading, Pennsylvania, Haring was always drawn to the arts and



knew from an early age that he wanted to be an artist. His career as an artist began in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, at the Ivy School of Professional Art for commercial artistry. Soon into his education, he discovered that his passion for art was based heavily on fluidity and self-expression. He moved to New York City and studied at the School of Visual Arts (SVA). Haring began surrounding himself with like-minded peers, local artists, and mentors who believed in the exploration of oneself and different artistic mediums. Haring notes that the exploration of sexuality, and the popularity of his art began to rise cohesively. His icons, such as his *Radiant Baby*, his *Barking Dog*, penises, and sexually explicit figures, were extremely popularized in the New York art scene in the late 1970s.

Entering the first gallery of the exhibition *Art is for Everybody*, visitors are ushered into a neon-colored room with pop-art sculptures of Lady Liberty, a Corinthian column, and large abstract paintings of Haring's famous characters. The walls are painted with vibrant orange and pink stripes, accentuating the pop-art feel of his characters and his sculptures alike. Haring's art spread across the walls of New York subways, drawings in a sketchbook outside of the Museum of Modern Art, and posters he sold out of the Pop Shop in Soho. His identity as an artist began in New York, so it is imperative that the exhibition *Art is for Everybody* feel as if you have gotten out of a taxi in Times Square for the first time.

This second gallery is dedicated to Haring's 1982 exhibition at the Tony Shafrazi Gallery in New York. Haring's artwork introduces his contemporary style and creativity while providing more insights into twenty-two of his untitled works. An important exhibit in this gallery is *Untitled (1982)*, a floor-to-ceiling acrylic painting on Tarpaulin. Haring has thirty paintings labeled *Untitled (1982)*; this specific work portrays two outlined figures dancing in front of a bright red heart. His use of stark black lines portrays the motion of dance, and the heart's importance is stated clearly through its sole use of color in his painting. The notion behind *Untitled (1982)* is spreading love and uniting with others. Haring wanted to spread love and bring communities together through his artwork, and he was not shy with his usage of symbols throughout these different mediums.

Walking into the next two galleries, we see the political ideologies and social causes that were important to Haring through his work. *Glory Hole (1980)* is the first painting introduced. Haring painted a figure standing with an erect penis through a wall with hands underneath reaching upwards toward the erection. Black and red lines flow outwardly from the penis to emphasize its importance to the piece. This painting is a creative depiction of politics in 1980 and how Haring viewed capitalism in his society. The hands are grasping up at the erection to reflect what people in positions of power are giving out to the people. This is a statement piece with a comical take on political figures.

Haring openly rejected the movement of conservatism and nationalism in the United States. In his 1980 collages, Haring used newspapers to write out "Reagan Slain by Hero Cop" and "Reagan: Ready to Kill," which are both seen in this gallery, amongst other collages. Haring used this art to invoke conversations about

leadership the United States. These headlines were shocking and immediately grabbed the attention of anyone viewing them. Haring's art has always been attention-grabbing. His work was progressive, sexual, and extremely desirable in the New York art scene. In Haring's heart, activism was at the center, and this discernment is vital to understanding how one should digest his work.

Progressing through these galleries, viewers can define what Haring believed was significant and relative to his livelihood. Each piece of art mounted on the walls of these galleries shows the shaping of an individual's mind. The connection between his mortality, his community involvement, and his art is very apparent as you cross the threshold into his later work as an artist.

Another medium Haring experimented with at the SVA was language. He collaborated with classmates to produce videos of words, sounds, and letters to create new materials. There are three vintage televisions playing loops of different video projects that were directed and produced by Haring. *Painting Myself into a Corner* is a famous time-lapse of Keith Haring painting while listening to Devo, an American new wave band. This 1979 performance is dedicated to the motions Haring used to complete this painting, proposing that the actual art is his movement and fluidity and not just the painting itself.

Haring began to explore diverse cultures and their artistry during his navigation of symbols and societal pressures. He and his friend Kermit Oswald collaborated to make wooden sculptures, most notably *Untitled (Totem)* (1983). He was inspired by Indigenous cultures and their use of totems and symbolism in everyday life. Haring created totems with symbols relative to nationalism, capitalism, nuclear war, and mass media using his famous symbols. Japanese culture was a notable influence on Haring's artwork as well. He held an exhibition at the Galerie Watari in Tokyo to learn about Japanese culture and artistry. Japanese linework and calligraphy inspired new figures in Haring's collection, which is keenly reflected in his 1983 art. He passionately produced works about the nuclear war and the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. *Anti-Nuclear Rally* (1982) is a poster that Haring printed in protest during the *United Nations Second Special Session on Disarmament*. The Broad emphasizes Haring's community work as an activist; however, he never directly acknowledged the privileges he held as a white male artist. His use of other cultural influences, symbology, and rejection of conservatism are widely discussed because of cultural appropriation.

*Michael Stewart - USA for Africa* (1985) was painted to address the issue of systemic racism in New York City and South Africa. Michael Stewart was an artist studying at the Pratt Institute in Brooklyn. He was arrested for subway graffiti and sustained injuries from the arresting officers that led to a thirteen-day coma and Stewart's eventual death. The painting depicts the choking of Stewart by white arms, with a green hand stemming from the cash symbol grabbing Stewart's neck. A globe is bleeding in the background, with a river of blood flowing to the foreground of the painting. Arms have risen out of the blood toward Stewart, upside-down crosses, and two skeletons holding the keys to Stewart's handcuffs

are very prominent in the painting. Haring also marked two x's on New York and South Africa to indicate the locations of this suffering on the bleeding globe. Haring's art is violent and controversial, but it is necessary for understanding the impact that social movements have on artists. Haring created pieces that provoked the inescapable conversation that change needs to happen.

The Broad presents his more famous works and the decline of his health due to his HIV/AIDS diagnosis in the last galleries. *Ignorance = Fear* (1989) was a poster created for the HIV/AIDS activist movement ACT UP in New York. Figures covering their ears and mouths with x's on their chests are sandwiched between blue banners that say "Ignorance = Fear" and "Silence = Death." The linework used to surround these figures emulates a panicky or worried nature. This painting is in response to President Reagan and the government ignoring the AIDS epidemic and the silencing of minority communities that were directly impacted.

Haring identified and collaborated with his New York art community; this is seen through the archival materials and televisions in certain galleries. Polaroids of Haring and friends, invitations to events, and pictures of him with community members are all used to signify his involvement and appreciation for New York City. Community was imperative to Haring's ideas of how people connected with his artwork. From his peers at SVA to Jean-Michel Basquiat, Haring was extremely collaborative and adaptable with the stylization of his work.

Haring mentored the famous artist Andy Warhol. *Andy Mouse* (1985) is an exhibit dedicated to Warhol. This painting's background is green, with the American dollar sign drawn in between caricatures of Warhol's face on Mickey Mouse's body. Haring drew Warhol's signature face and glasses upon Mickey Mouse as an ode to Warhol's contemporary style. He painted this as an interpretive piece created out of Warhol's identity as an artist. Haring and Warhol created art in the same historic New York environment. They were both driven by social movements and personal interests. The Broad houses several artworks by Warhol in their permanent collection upstairs. On their website, they offer a catalog of Warhol's works that are exhibited on the upper level. Like Haring's temporary exhibition, Warhol relied on political and social activism as well as the popular culture of his time. *Two Marilyns* (1964) is a silkscreen that features Marilyn Monroe's face appearing twice on canvas. The two visages are made to look like a newspaper headline in Warhol's pop-art style. Marilyn's face and hair are brightly colored in contrast to the neon orange background. This work was created after her sudden death in 1962. As a result, Warhol faded half of her face to resemble her fading out of popular culture.

*Art is for Everybody* is an impressive homage to the life of Keith Haring and his contributions to the contemporary art world. The progression of his life is seen through ten galleries that thoughtfully bring together narratives that were of great interest to him. Furthermore, the exhibition sobers its audience to the disastrous social and political climates that affected minority populations in New York history. I would recommend this exhibition to anyone who is curious and desires

to interpret art and historiography themselves. I would also extend a recommendation to anyone interested in contemporary art and historical accessibility. Although this was a temporary exhibition at The Broad in Los Angeles, it is now a traveling exhibition that is truly remarkable and well worth visiting should it arrive at a museum near you.

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*Printed in 1085: The Chinese Buddhist Canon from the Song Dynasty.*

Curated by Li Wei Yang.  
The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.  
April 29, 2023, to December 4, 2023.  
[online.](#)

The Huntington Library boasts a collection of over 500,000 rare books. One of its oldest texts is over 900 years old and a testament to the earliest known practice of printing, which originated in China with the use of carved wooden blocks and ink. Wood block printing and the expansion of Buddhism played an incredible role in the dissemination of information throughout early China, and by extension, for present-day scholars and museum goers. The text that is owned by the Huntington Library is the forty-fifth volume of *The Scripture of the Great Flower Ornament of the Buddha*, which is part of the 5,850-volume *Great Canon of the Eternal Longevity of the Chongning Reign Period*. This massive printing project has a long history behind it that is interwoven with the popularity of the Buddhist religion in Asia. During the Han Dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE), Buddhist teachings made their way to China via Indian and Central Asian missionaries who were carrying manuscripts with them to share the teachings of the Buddha Siddhartha Gautama. Over time, Buddhism became a major religion in China. Emperor Taizu of the Song dynasty (960–1279 CE) set out to create the first Chinese Buddhist Canon by consolidating all collected Buddhist teachings into one single book.

The task of this early instance of mass production was taken on by the monks and artisans of the Dongchan Temple in Fuzhou, China. The abbot of the temple overseeing the project was Chonzen. The artisans and monks worked to cut and ink over 165,000 woodblocks in order to print the 5,850 volumes of the *Great Canon. The Scripture of the Great Flower Ornament of the Buddha* that is in the possession of the Huntington Library was printed by this very group almost a millennium ago, in 1085. The Dongchan Temple and the original wood blocks used to print the canon have been lost to time; luckily, *The Scripture of the Great Flower Ornament of the Buddha* and a few other volumes have survived and are held in various private collections around the world. Amazingly, this text preserves the names of the artisans and monks who printed it: the names Gen Ki, Chen Zheng, Fu, and Fang can be found printed either at the very end of the book or between columns of the

text. As described on one of the placards in the exhibition, the text bearing the printers' names probably had to do with quality control on the massive project of printing the Chinese Buddhist Canon.

The entire lower level of the library exhibits a number of other rare books. The Library Exhibition Hall is dimly lit with warm light to help preserve the many texts on display. Some of these other rare texts owned by the Huntington Library are the *Gutenberg Bible*, produced by Johannes Gutenberg, who introduced Europe to movable metal type for printing (1455); a manuscript of *The Canterbury Tales* by Geoffrey Chaucer (1343–1400); and a manuscript of *Walden* written by Henry David Thoreau. *The Scripture of the Great Flower Ornament of the Buddha* is exhibited in the West Hall on its own, and with good reason: the accordion-style folding of the book when expanded out in full is thirty-one feet in length. The text is exhibited in a specially designed case that allows the book to be displayed in full, taking up almost the entire length of the West Hall. The protective case that houses the text consists of a clear box surrounding the entire text. The print itself is supported by a clear acrylic mold, enabling viewers to see the print on the reverse side of the single piece of paper, which occupies about a third of the surface. The case also holds several placards that provide additional information about the print, including the surprising aspect that finding a printing from this time period with print on both sides is unusual. This is because most paper at the time would have been too thin to tolerate double-sided printing. Consequently, scholars have hypothesized that the paper used must have been produced from hemp, mulberry, or other possible fibers. The museum provides pamphlets for visitors, which contain supplementary historical information on early Chinese printing practices and the cultural relevance of Buddhism in Chinese culture. This information is printed in English on one side and Mandarin on the other. The pamphlet also displays a panoramic image of the text and is folded in the same accordion style as *The Scripture of the Great Flower Ornament of the Buddha*.

All four surrounding walls feature various pieces of information on the *Script of the Flower Ornament*. Both the north and south wall display an excerpt from the texts. On the north wall is an English translation, and a Mandarin translation of the same text can be found on the south wall; the excerpt speaks about living joyfully, paying reverence to the various Buddhas, and salvation granted to all of those afflicted by karma. The west wall displays four large placards supplying additional information so that patrons better understand the historical significance that this text holds. The first placard moving from left to right goes over the large-scale printing process that took place at the Dongchan Temple and how the temple had a large number of devoted Buddhists who were able to monetarily support the massive task of creating the first Chinese Buddhist Canon. The next placard describes the contents of *The Scripture of the Great Flower Ornament of the Buddha*, explaining one very well-known theme in Buddhism that revolves around the concept of a universal oneness in which all beings are part of a whole. The next placard discusses a concept known as the "Cult of the Canon," the widely held

idea in Buddhism that the acts of collecting, reading, and duplicating the Buddhist texts build merit. In Buddhism, it is believed that building merit will lead to a better next life. These merit-building activities were something that people across all socioeconomic backgrounds participated in. The fourth placard shares the history of Buddhism in China and how the people of China have been translating the teachings of the Buddha from the original Indian and Central Asian texts since the first century. The east wall holds an aspect of exhibitions that often goes unseen, and that is information on how the Huntington Library managed to acquire such a rare text. It displays a series of six letters spanning from 1964 to 1988. These letters were gifted by the Dibner family and are part of the Bern Dibner Personal Collection. The correspondences displayed are between Professor R. C. Rudolph, a UCLA professor in the Department of Oriental Languages, and various other scholars, but the majority of the letters are between R. C. Rudolph and Bern Dibner. Rudolph and Dibner seem to have struck up a friendship over their shared passion for rare books. The first letter explains that Dibner owned the Burndy Library in Connecticut. Subsequent letters explain how Rudolph acquired *The Scripture of the Great Flower Ornament of the Buddha*. A letter from H. G. H. Nelson from the British Museum in London, addressed to Professor Rudolph, explains how a package for Rudolph has arrived in good condition, including one item referred to as “a piece of Sung printing.” A 1984 letter from Rudolph to Dibner discusses several items in the professor’s collection that seem to be up for sale, including what Rudolph refers to as the “Sung Edition of Buddhist Canon.” The following document seems to be an itemized list of texts, and the first item is noted as unusual for having printing on both sides. The final letter is from Rudolph to Dibner’s family after his passing, speaking of his deep admiration for Dibner. In 2006, Dibner’s family gifted *The Scripture of the Great Flower Ornament of the Buddha* as well as these personal letters regarding the print to the Huntington Library.

The *Printed in 1085* exhibition provides an incredible learning experience by showcasing such a historic and rare piece of literature. Though not everyone is able to read the text itself, the exhibition provides a wealth of information on this nine-hundred-year-old print and the cultural significance it represents, as well as the history of print itself. The layout of the exhibition puts the print in the center of the room, allowing visitors to get a 360-degree view of the text. The print is surrounded by information demonstrating its importance and significance, such as the lesser-known history of wood block printing in China as well as the interdependent relationship between the practice of wood block printing and the dissemination of Buddhist teaching that would allow them both to ultimately flourish. All the information on the history of the print in this review was sourced directly from the pamphlet, placards, letters, and the print itself, all part of the *Printed in 1085* exhibition. Just ten feet away, there are a number of texts displayed in the Library Exhibition Hall, incredibly preserved pieces of literature, such as the *Gutenberg Bible* and *The Canterbury Tales*. While these works also hold great cultural significance, they unfortunately receive only small placards of information,

providing a fraction of their stories. It would be incredible to see those pieces in a larger, dedicated exhibition, much like *Printed in 1085*. It is one thing to simply view such a rare artifact, but it is another to experience it. Being able to learn what scholars have discovered about the history of *The Scripture of the Great Flower Ornament of the Buddha* and all the intricate details about the printing process made this a worthwhile visit, and I would have recommend this (now closed) exhibition to anyone who appreciates history.

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*Reviews (Films / Documentaries / TV Shows / Podcasts)*

*All Quiet on the Western Front* [film].

Directed by Edward Berger. 2022.

Amusement Park Films; Rocket Science Productions; Sliding Down Rainbows  
Entertainment; Netflix.  
147 minutes.

War is a nightmare. Imagine yourself in a muddy, rat-and-lice-infested trench and being there for days or weeks while dead bodies surround you. Not only that, but imagine joining something that is beyond your wildest expectations. Now imagine you are with a bunch of young high school students. This was the case for the Imperial German Army in 1917, as young men enlisted, albeit unknowingly, to join the bloody frontlines of what is known as the Great War or World War I. In the 2022 Netflix adaptation of *All Quiet on the Western Front*, director Edward Berger recreates the horrors of war on both the French and German sides of World War I. The Netflix adaptation is loosely based on Erich Maria Remarque's 1929 novel of the same name, which has been previously adapted in 1930 and 1979. This is Edward Berger's fifth film, and while he is not known for directing war films, his unique style of capturing the "essence" of a subject is perfectly suited for a movie like *All Quiet on the Western Front*. Berger claims his style was influenced by movies such as *Apocalypse Now* and *There Will be Blood*, where he drew inspiration for how to capture the essence of war, politics, and drama. While *All Quiet on the Western Front* is a war film, it is not your typical *Inglorious Basterds* or Quentin Tarantino action genre. Mixing fiction and history, the movie captures the essence of war rather than the romanticized version seen in cliché heroic war films.

When you think of war films, *Saving Private Ryan* or *Dunkirk* come to mind, with the heroic Americans and British emerging victorious at the end of the film. Berger's new four-time Oscar winning masterpiece captures war from a different angle. In media focusing on World War I, Germany is commonly portrayed as the faceless antagonist, filling the role of unambiguous enemy; the men who make up the military are not individuals but merely a mob. However, in *All Quiet on the Western Front*, the audience witnesses the painful reality of what the German soldiers faced on the frontlines, which humanizes them. Taking place on the Western Front in France near the end of the war in 1917 and 1918, the story is seen mainly through the eyes of Paul Bäumer, a newly enlisted young German soldier. The film focuses on both the experience of Paul and his friends as well as the major political and military leaders involved in the war, including German State Secretary Matthias Erzberger, a real member of the German Reichstag; General Friedrichs, a fictional commander of the Imperial German Army; and Supreme Allied Commander Ferdinand Foch, a real French general. The movie captures the angle of war and politics from both sides as it unfolds.

The movie opens with an unexpected outbreak of warfare in the trenches. Bombings, gunfire, and smoke can be seen, showcasing the severity of the war. In



the trenches, a German soldier named Heinrich is seen hiding in fear as a squad member approaches and forces Heinrich to move forward, leaving the relative safety of the trenches. Running across no man's land, he ducks down and finds himself surrounded by the dead and dying. Unable to turn back, he fires his gun until he runs out of ammo and then pulls out his shovel to continue the fight. As he advances, Heinrich encounters French and German soldiers fighting, and he ends up stabbing a French soldier. As his shovel enters the chest of a soldier, the scene goes black, the title of the movie in German flashing across the screen. Cut to a scene revealing the grim aftermath of war: a pile of bodies. Several men strip the fallen German soldiers of their uniforms and boots, while others move bodies and stack coffins. Blood-soaked bags full of uniforms are loaded onto a train and then a truck, which transports the clothing to a factory. There, the uniforms are washed, re sewn, and repaired. The scene shifts to Paul Bäumer and his friends in 1917, their faces beaming with anticipation as they prepare to enlist along with many of their classmates. Their spirits are further lifted by an impassioned speech from their principal, extolling the virtues of serving in the war. Joining the conflict is depicted as a noble cause, a chance to bring honor to the Kaiser and to Germany. With promises of triumph in Paris, the principal's speech inspires thunderous cheers from Paul, his friends, and the other young men.

The scene then cuts to a line of newly enlisted Germans getting their uniforms. Paul notices there is already a person's name on his uniform, that of Heinrich, the soldier from the first scene. The enlister sees this and tells Paul that this happens a lot and quickly rips Heinrich's name off Paul's new uniform, implying the cycle of violence keeps repeating itself. The next scene shows Paul and his friends smiling and excitedly donning their new uniforms. They are officially deployed. As they march, they sing songs about marriage and life after war, which gives rather a sad foreshadowing of what is yet to come. Paul and his friends are loaded onto a truck occupied by an officer with a serious look on his face welcoming them to "war." Upon entering the war zone, scenes of wounded and dead bodies are on full display. Paul and his friends enter the rainy, drenched trenches, and their attitude changes as scenes of explosions, gunfire, and gas are shown, with the lieutenant telling them that this is their home now. Paul then meets a man named Stanislaus Katschinsky, or Kat, who gives him food and tells him it will only get worse. Later in the scene, artillery fire rains down on the trenches where Paul and his comrades seek refuge underneath a bunker, which ultimately collapses from the forces of the explosions. Paul wakes up amidst the rubble, but he is rescued by his friends. As he walks around, surveying the piles of dead bodies, he sees that one of his friends has died and takes the dog tag from him.

The scene transitions to German State Secretary Matthias Erzberger meeting with the military administration to begin their talks of armistice with the French. In direct contrast to the political machinations occurring, where world leaders move military troops without acknowledgment that their forces are composed of individual people, the film cuts to Paul and Kat stealing a goose from a farmer,

which they bring back to cook with Paul's friends: Albert Kropp, Franz Müller, and another soldier named Tjaden. They all make jokes about the farmer, the goose, and happily sing. Later, the men encounter a group of local French women, who Müller leaves with, implying he has gone to spend the night. As Müller departs, Kropp, Kat, Tjaden, and Paul talk about life after the war. Tjaden tells his comrades that he is a corporal and dreams of becoming a military policeman. Paul and Kat are using an outdoor bathroom when Kat, who is illiterate, asks Paul to read him a letter from his wife. In the letter, she asks when he will come home. Kat is frustrated, worried about how he will be able to go back to peacetime after the war. In contrast to such a serious scene, the following one sees the return of Müller with the scarf of the French girl he has spent the night with, which is passed on to Kat, Kropp, Paul, and Tjaden, who all make jokes at his expense.

The next scene shows Paul's friends on a mission to find missing soldiers. They arrive at a freight station, where Paul enters an empty building and, to his horror, discovers the bodies of the missing soldiers. Kat and his group arrive, and he remarks to Paul that the dead soldiers were idiots for taking their masks off too early, implying they died of gas inhalation. The scene cuts to a train with Secretary Erzberger and a German delegation heading to Compiègne in France to negotiate a ceasefire. In another scene, German General Friedrichs enters his military compound, where he is met by Major Von Brixdorf. The General, who opposes armistice, rants about how the French are forcing them to agree to unfair terms. Ultimately, he orders an attack on the French lines, sending Paul's regiment to the front. Meanwhile, Secretary Erzberger, who has arrived at Compiègne with his delegation, meets a disgruntled General Ferdinand Foch, who gives them seventy-two hours to accept the Allied terms, or else war will continue.

The movie continues with graphic scenes of warfare, as Paul and his comrades push through the trenches. Amidst the chaos of rumbling tanks and echoing explosions, Tjaden is brutally injured, and Kropp dies, burned alive by French flamethrowers after being shot. Paul is later separated from his regiment and is hiding in a hole, when a French soldier spots him and attempts to shoot him. An explosion hits the French soldier, knocking him off his feet and into the crater with Paul. The two fight, with Paul gaining the upper hand before he fatally stabs the French soldier. Paul sobs in regret as he looks through the French soldier's belongings and discovers a photo of the man's wife and child. This particular scene effectively showcases the horrors of war, as many of those enlisted had lives back home with families. Scenes of atrocity and horror are juxtaposed with scenes of the secretary and the general, whose day-to-day lives are largely untouched by the grotesque realities of the front, symbolizing the corruption and politics associated with World War I. Fast forwarding, the movie continues with more of Paul's friends dying, including Kat, Müller, and Tjaden. Despite surviving his initial injury, Tjaden ultimately takes his own life, realizing that his dreams of becoming a military policeman are impossible because his leg will soon be amputated. It is finally 1918, and the German delegation signs the Armistice in Compiègne,

declaring that the war will end six hours from the time of signing. On that fateful day, Paul finds himself alone, without his friends and his regiment, making the final push when he gets into a scuffle with a French soldier. As they fight, the French soldier tells Paul it is 11 a.m. that the war is over but, unfortunately, Paul is fatally stabbed in the back by another French soldier. Mortally wounded, Paul pulls himself out of the trench bunker and looks in wonder at the horrors of war before dying. The scene then cuts to General Friedrichs sitting in somewhat deep regret. At the end of the film, a young soldier finds Paul's dead body. He takes Müller's scarf and wears it, but forgets to take Paul's dog tag, leaving Paul "Missing in Action" and without his death being recorded.

Berger's Netflix adaptation can be tear-jerking and depressing at times. The film starkly portrays war not as a thrilling action movie spectacle, but as a grave crime against humanity. Political and social issues regarding war, power, and nationalism are present in the film. When it comes to historical accuracy, Berger nails capturing the essence of war, effectively conveying the fundamental character of it. World War I was one of the bloodiest wars in history. Understanding it from the perspectives of a German politician, a high-ranking general, and a young soldier engages the interest of the audience with emotions of anger and sadness. While most of the characters are fictional, they serve as representations of the countless soldiers who experienced similar thoughts of life and innocence during wartime. If you are a military history fanatic or appreciate war films, I recommend the 2022 adaptation of *All Quiet on the Western Front* to you. Watching this film will change your perspective on war and the politics surrounding it today.

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*Babylon [film].*

*Directed by Damien Chazelle. 2022.*

Paramount Pictures; C2 Motion Picture Group; Marc Platt Productions; Wild Chickens; Organism Pictures.  
189 minutes.

*Babylon* is a movie about Hollywood by Hollywood, and it reflects the industry's inner workings and glamour, as well as its darker, more cynical aspects. The 2022 film is directed by Damien Chazelle, who has written and directed many famous films such as *LaLa Land* (2016) and *Whiplash* (2014). Chazelle does an excellent job of depicting the diversity of culture in the United States at a time when the country was going through many different transitions. Taking place from the middle of the 1920s to the start of the 1930s, the film follows Manuel "Manny" Torres (played by Diego Calva), a Mexican immigrant, as he rises from being "the help" working at big parties and befriends the famous Jack Conrad (Brad Pitt). Jack is an alcoholic

and a tenderhearted film star who, throughout the beginning of the first act, helps Manny rise through the film industry's ranks. The film also focuses on Manny's love interest, Nellie LaRoy (Margot Robbie), a rowdy, extravagant, self-declared star from New Jersey. *Chazelle* shows viewers the many different cultural aspects of the 1920s film industry, including the careers of an African American trumpet player, Sidney Palmer, and an Asian-American lesbian cabaret singer, Lady Fay Zhu. The film extravagantly follows the rise and fall of this ensemble as America goes through a huge cultural transition following the effects of the development of film technology. It also shows the effects of the dramatic economic consequences of the Great Depression and how each character deals with these struggles.

The film begins in 1926 in Bel Air, Los Angeles, with the introduction of Manuel Torres. "Manny," as he is commonly referred to, is tasked with transporting an elephant to a lavish party. After securing the elephant and arriving at the location of the party, the film transitions to the start of the party later that night. Here viewers are introduced to Nellie LaRoy, who drunkenly arrives at the party, hitting the mansion's mailbox. She has some problems trying to get into the party, claiming that she is a "star," but nobody around has heard her name before. Luckily, Manny sees her and sneaks her into the party. This moment sets the tone for the complicated friendship that arises between the two main characters.

Once at the party, viewers are treated to an excellent depiction of the lavish culture of the "Roaring Twenties." The room is filled with brilliantly conducted jazz music. The roaring and fast-paced music in the background perfectly expresses the party's wildness. This chaotic energy is particularly evident in Jack Conrad, who is introduced to viewers at the start of the party. He flirts with girls and boasts about his popularity, all the while revealing his struggle with alcoholism. Alcoholism was not uncommon during the 1920s, as the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment had ignited the Prohibition Era, leading to the proliferation of bootlegged alcohol and its consumption. *Babylon* skillfully portrays the widespread obsession with drinking, even in the face of government disapproval. Viewers are then introduced to Lady Fay Zhu, a cabaret singer who is performing to the raucous cheers of the crowd. Something to note from the entire party scene is that Lady Fay Zhu is the only Asian American woman in the mansion. This is historically accurate, as the National Origins Act of 1924 set immigration quotas and excluded a lot of Eastern Europeans and Asians. As Lady Fay Zhu sings, she gracefully moves through the audience, her hand gliding along people's shoulders and the backs of chairs, until she pauses beside a blonde woman. She leans forward and kisses the woman, revealing to the film's audience that she is lesbian. At the end of the performance, the audience cheers, depicting the historical openness to and recognition of homosexuality during the mid-1920s. As the party nears its end, Nellie becomes the center of attention through her dancing, mesmerizing those in attendance. Everyone watches her, captivated by the lavish emerging star known as Nellie LaRoy.

The next series of scenes focus on Chazelle's depiction of 1920s silent film production as the narrative alternates between Jack and Manny on the set of a medieval-inspired fantasy film and Nellie's first day as an actress. The day begins with Jack and Manny arriving on set, where they meet with George Munn, a famous producer. Jack introduces Manny as "The kid. The Mexican I brought," subtly highlighting the racism of the 1920s as Jack does not even bother to learn Manny's name. (00:35:51) The scene then shifts to the production of Jack's movie. Here, the obsession with alcohol during the Prohibition Era is evident, as the tent that all the stars and producers have access to is full of bottles of liquor. Hours go by on set, and numerous cameras break as the director pursues the perfect shot of a battle scene. The breaking of the final camera sends Manny off on a journey of his own, a desperate search for a replacement before the sun sets. Meanwhile, Nellie is taking part in her first film. She plays a minor role, but quickly upstages the star actress, impressing the director and crew with her ability to cry on demand. The scene cuts back to Manny's triumphant return with a camera. The crew grabs Jack, who is so drunk that they practically have to carry him up a hill to film the final scene. After completing both filming sequences, Nellie and Manny find themselves at another party, where Nellie's love of dance reveals her desire to live wildly. One thing the film does well is depicting parties, demonstrating the extravagant spending habits prevalent during the economic boom of the 1920s. Even during the filmmaking process, people were willing to spend money without restraint, a behavior that foreshadows the eventual crash depicted later in the film.

The film enters the second act in 1927, with the introduction of "sound pictures," the newest craze in Hollywood. During the second act, the main stars of the film struggle to adapt to the new technology, and consequently, Nellie and Jack star in fewer films. One scene depicts Nellie's struggle to adapt, as they must reshoot a scene excessively, effectively conveying the changes in film production. Nellie is forced to walk through a door and step directly on her mark. If she misses it in one direction, her voice is too loud, and they must reshoot. If she misses it in another direction, her voice is too soft, and they must reshoot. If a door opens somewhere on the set, the sound is captured, and they must reshoot. An entire industry was suddenly reinvented because of sound. In contrast to Nellie, Manny and Sidney Palmer adapt to the advent of sound, rising through the industry's ranks with Sidney becoming a star and Manny a famous director. One of the biggest struggles was that there was less creative liberty during filmmaking. At 01:15:38, the director and the sound producer on Nellie's set get into an argument because the lights, the microphone, and all the wires are fixed in exact positions so that they can film the scene a certain way. The director is now limited in what they can do because the rigid setup restricts their ability to explore different approaches to capturing the moment. It is a very different era of filmmaking compared to both silent film production and twenty-first century filmmaking.

The next scene begins with yet another party. Loud and energetic jazz music plays as scantily clad women dance across the floor. Drugs and alcohol are very

much present, with the people in attendance freely taking part in such illicit substances. There are a few things that are different about this take on partying during the twenties. Chazelle sets a focus on the jazz band, which is exclusively African American. While smoking cigarettes and discussing their performance, they offer a perspective on their experience as Black men inside these parties versus outside of them, noting that racism and homophobia were not as prominent within the party scene as they were in the world beyond it. The scene then cuts to another performance from Lady Fay Zhu, who dances with Nellie very intimately as the crowd watches in awe. However, the party is soon derailed by Nellie's father and inept business manager, Robert Roy, whom she tries to goad into fighting a snake. Instead, a clearly inebriated Nellie ends up fighting the rattlesnake in an effort to prove that she is still of interest to the public. The snake ultimately bites her, and Fay Zhu sucks the poison out. Having saved and revived Nellie, the two passionately kiss. (01:36:50) By the late 1920s, Hollywood had become less libertine, rejecting homosexuality and the wild personalities of people like Nellie. Nellie begins to sink lower in public opinion. Meanwhile, Kinoscope movie executives decide it is best to fire Lady Fay Zhu from her job as a title writer due to her perceived immorality as a lesbian. When firing her, Manny says, "You're messing with Nellie's career, people care about morals," (01:44:56) an example of Chazelle's awareness of this period's rise in homophobia.

As we approach the final act, a shift in scene takes us to a different kind of party. Gone are the scantily clad men and women, replaced by a more subdued atmosphere. The lively jazz music has been replaced, and alcohol consumption is heavily moderated. The scene starkly illustrates the cultural shift between the mid-twenties and the late twenties. For the rich and famous, the emphasis is no longer on boisterous personalities but rather on an air of culture and sophistication. In an attempt to revitalize her reputation, Nellie attends the party, changing her speech patterns and movements in an effort to appear as the epitome of class: "Show them that you're a lady of sophistication and you'll be back on top." (01:48:30) Ultimately, Nellie fails to maintain her façade of sophistication and unleashes her "wild side," lashing out at the upper-class snobbery of Hollywood's high society. She is shunned and consequently continues to fall in popularity, failing to land acting jobs. Jack also struggles, unable to give up drinking or adapt to sound film. He takes up lower-quality film jobs, which are laughed at, leaving him despondent. The film cuts to Manny directing another film, with Sidney playing his trumpet. Chazelle depicts the lack of acceptance permeating American culture. Manny is told by executives that they have a serious problem because "the band looks mixed...the other players are a lot darker than Sid." (02:02:19) They force Sidney to wear black makeup to look darker so that the film will perform better in the South. Sidney acquiesces to the request after initially protesting, but upon completion of the film, he leaves the studio.

No longer is Hollywood filled with extravagant parties and lust. As the movie winds down, the audience is shown the exact opposite side of the hedonistic world

Chazelle had introduced at the beginning. Now people drink to hide their trauma, calm their anxiety, and drive their sadness away. Nellie struggles with money and becomes indebted to an elaborate crime organization due to her gambling addiction. At one of the final parties of the film, there is no more dancing; instead, everyone mopes around and smokes. Something to note about the party scenes throughout the movie is that they become less and less extravagant over the years, representing the cultural and societal transitions from the Roaring Twenties to the Great Depression. After getting in more trouble because of her gambling debt, Manny and Nellie go on the run, where we see Nellie's final dance. She dances at a party on their way to escape to Mexico, eventually dancing away into a dark alley, never to be seen again.

By the end of the film, viewers can see how *Babylon* is an excellent depiction of the transition of culture from a time of endless economic possibilities to a time of economic depression. While *Babylon* is a fictional representation of the Golden Age of Hollywood, Chazelle does a masterful job of depicting what it was like to dream and live a movie star's life during the twenties and thirties, including the shocking arrival of the Great Depression. For anyone who finds *Babylon* of interest, *Once Upon a Time ... in Hollywood* by Quentin Tarantino and *Hollywoodland* by Allen Coulter are similar films discussing the dark underbelly of stardom and acting. While the film's final act abruptly shifts focus to an organized crime syndicate as the reason for Manny's, and, by extension, Nellie's departure from Hollywood, the rest of the film makes up for it because of how well Chazelle is able to illustrate the ups and downs of the 1920s.

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*Chevalier* [film].

Directed by Stephen Williams. 2022.

Element Pictures; TSG Entertainment; Searchlight Pictures.  
107 minutes.

In Paris on the eve of the French Revolution, stands the remarkable master fencer, violinist, conductor, composer, and top of his class in anything and everything: Joseph Bologne, Chevalier de Saint-George—the first known biracial classical composer of African descent. The 2022 biopic *Chevalier*, directed by Stephen Williams, seeks to re-introduce this lost figure to a contemporary audience, piecing together the known details of Saint-George's life and adapting them into an empowering film that can resonate past its historical time period and into the present. In preparation for the film, Kelvin Harrison Jr., who stars as the title character, reportedly assumed a rigorous training regimen in violin and fencing to portray Saint-George's virtuoso skills to the best of his abilities. His prior experience with these key skills and his immense preparation and dedication to the arts give him a convincing edge in his performance. Thanks to the meticulous

planning of the screenwriters, producers, and costume designers, as well as the spectacular locations, the audience is transported back to eighteenth-century France, complete with large, powdered wigs, private salon performances, gossip, rebellion, the luring eyes of lovers and rivals, and the grandiose displays of power and wealth among the French aristocracy. The film lets the audience sympathize with the emotional and social trials of the famed mixed-race musician as he is caught between his noble position in French society and his humble African roots.

The film launches its viewers into a packed concert hall, where the renowned musician and composer Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart asks the audience to choose an encore piece. Among all the loud requests, one catches his attention, namely, one for his Violin Concerto No. 5 in A Major, by none other than Saint-George. In true dramatic fashion, Mozart and Saint-George play face-to-face, trying to upstage each other and “win” the audience’s praise. Saint-George quickly steals the audience’s attention and receives roaring applause, leaving Mozart in flustered bewilderment, wondering where this mysterious man had come from. This punchy opening scene acts as a brief, clever commentary toward Saint-George’s historic title of association, “Le Mozart Noir,” and establishes him as an accomplished, esteemed composer and virtuoso violinist in his own right.

The film cuts to Saint-George in his youth, being dropped off at La Boëssière Academy by his father in confidence that the gifted young musician will become an “excellent Frenchman,” giving no one a reason to tear him down. In a single scene, viewers watch as Saint-George brands his father’s words in every move—he goes from peering into a masterclass to being front and center, showing off his skills before his professor and fencing instructor. Despite being stared at, bullied, and verbally abused by peers and competitors, Saint-George’s unfazed, determined expression and reserved demeanor remain the same. At the end of his education at La Boëssière Academy, he engages in a fencing duel with master fencer Alexandre Picard. Not mentioned in the film, however, Picard, for months, had sent letters to La Boëssière Academy asking to fight their “mulatto.” The offense was so great that Saint-George refused the challenge at first. However, his father eventually convinced him to accept the duel to prove his honor and that he deserved respect as a formidable opponent. As the film depicts, Saint-George defeats Picard in the duel. This victory impresses Queen Marie Antoinette, and she gives Saint-George the title of “Chevalier” and entrance into her court.

The next scene shows how Saint-George’s life has completely changed. Instead of being quiet, reserved, and constantly in pursuit of proving his excellence as a biracial musician in French society, he is greeted everywhere he goes, can casually converse with the queen, sits at the best seats in the opera house, hears his music played at private elitist gatherings, and is accepted as part of the aristocracy. His friendship with Queen Marie Antoinette depicted in the film was not far from the truth. She was known to attend Saint-George’s concerts regularly and sometimes played fortepiano alongside his violin concertos. One night, after watching an opera, Saint-George—now generally referred to as “Chevalier”—enters an



“afterglow” among the Parisian elite, where musicians, including women, can show off their musicianship and converse with the upper class. Chevalier is soon approached by the opera’s lead soprano, Marie-Madeleine Guimard, who makes advances toward him, which he politely declines. Chevalier walks around the venue, hears the voice of Marie Joséphine, the Marquise de Montalembert (the wife of General Marc-René de Montalembert), and stays to listen to her sing. Chevalier returns to the queen, and with high ambitions, he sets his sights on the title of “Director of the Paris Opera.” Queen Antoinette then launches a competition for the coveted title in which the musician who composes the best opera will have their work debuted at the Paris Opera and be introduced as its new director.

The following day, Chevalier receives a letter stating that his father has passed away, leaving him without an inheritance since he is illegitimate as a “mulatto.” It also states that his mother, Nanon, has been freed and sent to live with him in Paris. The two are reunited and learn to adjust to living together as mother and son. Although this scene of Nanon’s return is heartwarming, it is not likely to have occurred. There is little known evidence of Chevalier’s mother. It appears that when Saint-George (Chevalier) was moved from Guadeloupe to Paris at age nine, he was joined by his father, his birth mother, and his father’s legal wife.

In the film, Chevalier then starts to build up his opera. He appeals to French writer Madame de Genlis, who has the financial means, deep connections, and familiarity with his work that will help him get a strong start. Once he has established a producer, he starts auditions for a soprano lead. His first pick is Marie-Joséphine. Despite her husband’s wishes, she accepts the role. Chevalier’s friend, Philippe d’Orléans, finds out that he has cast the wife of General Montalembert, who is known for being violent against anyone who stands in his way. Historically, Philippe d’Orléans was a good friend of Chevalier. He was the son of the Duke d’Orléans, a French abolitionist and liberal aristocrat who got Chevalier to invest time into the rebellion (a.k.a. the French Revolution).

The film quickly spans the process of building the opera from start to finish, including rehearsals, staging, instrumentation, and costume design. It also interweaves the budding love affair between Chevalier and Marie Joséphine with the growing public tension surrounding the rise of the French Revolution against the monarchy. When Marie Joséphine finishes singing her simple melodic line, the opera completes its performance in front of the music committee. Their responses are positive, and the crew celebrates with drinks and entertainment. The next day, Chevalier reads a petition from three opera divas (including Guimard) stating that “our delicate conscience could never allow ourselves to submit to the orders of a mulatto” and is denied the director’s position. This is the film’s most blatant, direct instance of racial discrimination and an actual, historical experience Chevalier had to encounter. While he looks to the Queen to void their petition and grant him the position he deserves, she remains silent. Chevalier denounces the queen’s betrayal and shouts at her for leaving her people on the streets to starve. After being kicked out of the venue, he is trapped by General Montalembert, Joséphine’s husband,

who beats him up and threatens to break his hands for having his wife participate in the opera. Marie Joséphine's pleas spare him. After losing contact with his lover and his coveted position, Chevalier is left in depression and immense sorrow for his situation and identity as a mixed-race Frenchman. At this time, his mother tries to pull him out of his anguish and takes him down the streets, where the freed African slaves dance, play music, and converse. He starts engaging with the elders and youth of the community, playing music, laughing again, and embracing the sounds of his African culture. The same night, Chevalier is visited by Madame de Genlis and finds out that Marie Joséphine had carried his child, but that Marie Joséphine's husband had killed the baby since he did not accept it as his own. This time, Chevalier turns to fight. The film shows Chevalier's mother comforting him and giving him cornrows instead of a powdered wig. She describes the horrific ordeals and treatment of African slaves on the plantation where she had been taken. She inspires Chevalier to rebel and put on a rallying concert to support the revolution. Chevalier premieres the tune his mother had sung to him as a child – an adapted version of his Violin Concerto in D Minor, Op. 3 No. I, II. Adagio. The last scene shows Chevalier exiting the concert hall, past the queen, with a crowd of aggressive people shouting "Liberté!" signaling that the French Revolution is in full swing and Chevalier is at its forefront.

The screen turns dark and features written statements about the history of France and our protagonist following this moment. It mentions that Saint-George went on to lead the first all-Black regiment. Despite Napoleon reinstating slavery and prohibiting Saint-George's music, scholars and musicians have started rediscovering his life and works, and he is now recognized as the first known Black classical composer and preeminent virtuoso violinist. The film ends with the audience listening to his Violin Concerto, Op. 8, No. 2.

Compared to *Chevalier*, the 2006 documentary *Le Mozart Noir: Revising a Legend*, produced by Media Headquarters Film & Television Inc., also provides the audience with an overview of Saint-George's life, his accomplishments, his possible relationships, and his impact on pre- and post-Revolution France. This hour-long film highlights Saint-George's actual compositions, revealing what kind of performer he was, his virtuosity, and his work as a classical French composer from a musicologist's perspective. Unlike the documentary, the biopic *Chevalier* appeals to a contemporary audience, draws upon some missing information about Saint-George's life, and crafts a convincing depiction of his life experiences, thoughts, and emotions using creative liberty. As a result, *Chevalier* focuses heavily on the relational aspects of Saint-George's life. The film invests in how his relationships influenced his demeanor, opportunities, and values. Saint-George's father had told him to "always be excellent," and he was. The queen supported his work. As a result, he was praised, admired, and accepted into the elite circles despite being a biracial musician in a prejudiced aristocratic society. The film shows his mother, Nanon, empowering Saint-George to fight for freedom, for justice against slavery and oppression of his people, and to fall in love with his

African roots through the culture, language, and music he had been taken away from at an early age. Saint-George's friend since the academy, Philippe, was an undying supporter as Saint-George was mocked and bullied for being half African. This intimate look into Saint-George's life allows viewers to sympathize with him as he longed to be wholly respected, loved, and accepted as an accomplished biracial Frenchman and brilliant musician.

*Chevalier* is a convincing depiction of Saint-George's life that focuses on his significant impact on eighteenth-century French society – making bold strides to be heard, seen, and revered for his brilliance despite the hostile social climate. The attention given by the screenwriters and the director to introduce characters, even those with the smallest of roles or merely mentioned as actual historical figures during Saint-George's time, complete with matching job descriptions and speculated relations to Saint-George, is altogether impressive. Yes, there are some major historical inaccuracies in the film, such as the re-introduction of Saint-George's mother when he was an adult, the flamboyant violin cadenza battle between Mozart and Saint-George, and the major opera competition for the coveted position at the Paris Opera. The film's composers took creative liberties by manipulating some of Saint-George's musical work in the performance setting to fit the specific scenes, including portraying more of an audible emotionally driven response in Saint-George's final "Liberté" concert performance, with added percussion and an almost Caribbean jazz-inspired adaptation of his work – hinting at Saint-George's embrace of his African roots and passion for equality. Such decisions are deliberate compromises to the integrity of the classical style and Saint-George's composed work. That said, the film incorporates many of Saint-George's compositions in its soundtrack, hinting at his later works and displaying a wide range of his repertoire, from his violin concertos to his lesser-known operas. Unfortunately, due to the Revolution, there is limited research on Saint-George from the perspective of musicology, and there are no substantial primary records of Saint-George. In sum, the film does a substantial job of connecting these missing details in a manner that is easy to understand and enjoyable to watch. It sustains a dramatic, empowering work for a modern audience to latch onto and sympathize with. I highly recommend to anyone, musician or not, to watch this film. The fact that the film industry is finally able to take the lost story of history's first known Black classical composer and showcase his incredible accomplishments, as well as the trials he faced as a biracial musician before, during, and after the French Revolution, is ultimately a testament to the fight for minority representation and diversity in the arts and the retelling of the powerful stories in history that were once forgotten because of prejudice.

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*The English Game: Season 1 [TV series].*  
 Directed by Birgitte Stærmose and Tim Fywell. 2020.

42; Netflix.  
 6 episodes (43–55 minutes).

The Beautiful Game, football, fútbol, and soccer are just a few of the names attached to the world's most played sport. *The English Game*, developed by *Downton Abbey's* Julian Fellowes, is a British historical sports drama Netflix miniseries that relates some of the early stories that led to the popular rise of soccer. It presents the origins of the modern football association in England, a contentious class divide between the elite and working class of the 1880s, all the while attempting to capture the spiritual essence of the game. Set in 1879, *The English Game* is based on the real-life events of two Scottish players, Fergus Suter (Kevin Guthrie) and Jimmy Love (James Harkness), who are regarded as the earliest full-time professional soccer players in the history of the sport. Recruited from Scottish club Partick (not Partick Thistle F.C.) by fictional Lancashire mill owner and manager of Darwen Football Club James Walsh (Craig Parkinson), Suter and Love are promised work in the factory, including a playing stipend.

According to Andy Mitchell, a research consultant for *The English Game* and the F.I.F.A. World Football Museum, football was in its infancy as an amateur sport during the playing years of Suter and Love. Its rules were formalized through the upper elite, composed of lawyers and bankers who dressed for dinner and considered the game for amateurs and gentlemen only. Paid professional players were not accepted by the Football Association (F.A.), so Suter and Love were paid under the table. The Darwen Football Club had been able to acquire the players from Partick due to an established relationship between the two clubs through exhibition matches. Darwen was open to the idea of compensating talent and had the means to do so by charging high gate fees to spectators. Contrary to the events portrayed in *The English Game*, it was Love who first made the move to Darwen from Partick, with Suter following a few weeks later during the 1878/1879 season.

In Fellowes's adaptation, we are offered insights into the evolution of English football on and off the pitch. On the pitch, we see a David versus Goliath story, the working class versus the elite, with spunky little Darwen F.C. from Lancashire facing the showy Old Etonians. In the quarterfinal match of the 1879 F.A. Challenge Cup, the Old Etonians, led by captain Arthur Kinnaird (Edward Holcroft), race to a 5-1 lead at halftime. The Old Etonians are a pack of well-fed giants compared to the scrappy millhands and thus steamroll Darwen across the field. In response, Walsh, Darwen's manager, makes Suter captain as the teams return to the pitch. Suter immediately begins implementing new tactics and revolutionary passing strategies, proclaiming, "This game is about space!" As the Old Etonians charge again, "We'll run right through them!"

Darwen, with Suter's adjustments, ties the game at 5-5 by the end of the match. However, fearful of defeat, the Old Etonians refuse to play extra time, and using their status as members of the F.A. board through a technicality, the Etonians force

a replay of the quarterfinal. With financial assistance from the town of Darwen and its residents, the team manages to cover the expenses to travel for the replay match. During the match, the Old Etonians target and shut down Suter and Love, easily winning the game and advancing to the semifinal. Upon Darwen F.C.'s return to their town, they are warmly and passionately greeted by the townsfolk for the team's efforts.

Off-the pitch, Fellowes deepens the overarching narrative by weaving a tale of history through the lens of sport, thereby strengthening the viewers' support for the working-class teams. Victory in the F.A. Cup would be tremendous for the lives of Lancastrians. During this time, football captivated fans across class divisions, reflecting social changes in Britain and amplifying them. The rapid spread of football forged bonds within industrial communities, creating a sense of kinship that empowered working-class individuals to demand change from the elites. Fellowes, in an interview with the Associated Press, credits the sport for this phenomenon as "something that would bind them into a unit, that would bind them into a community. Most humans spend their lives trying to feel they belong to something that has value."

*The English Game* thematically presents these ideals as well as the unique power of sportsmanship and the ability of sports to unite people despite their disparities and socioeconomic circumstances. We see Suter's and Kinnaird's relationship begin as tense, opposing rivals, but they find similarities in their differences. Even hotheaded Darwen F.C. footballer Tommy Marshall (Gerard Kearns), who consistently has confrontations with Suter and Love, humbles himself and sets aside his animosity for the greater good of his community and for the sport he loves. This is emphasized as Walsh tells Suter, "You've given these people something to believe in...the game feeds the soul." We see this come to fruition as the working-class communal towns of Lancashire bond together and root for their teams. Victory on the field unites, inspires, and spurs the working-class people to demand changes in how they are treated in terms of pay and working conditions.

Since its inception, the Football Association has promoted football as an amateur gentleman's game made for posh, educated men. Suter is credited as the man who redefined this dynamic, setting a precedent for working-class players. Initially, Suter is seen as an adversary to the sport, especially by those playing for Old Etonians F.C. However, this changes with Suter's development and his relationship with the Etonian captain, Arthur Kinnaird. Both men come to realize their commonalities with each other as individuals and fellow sportsmen, despite their opposing backgrounds and distinctions in social class. As the show presents, Suter and Kinnaird mature together and undergo notable outlook changes, with Suter adapting his strength and asserting his own agency and Kinnaird recognizing the difficulties working-class people experience in their lives.

By the penultimate episode, we see Suter and Kinnaird work together to redevelop the meaning of the game and who it is for. At an appeals hearing, Suter and Kinnaird argue that working-class players are forced to overcome a multitude

of hurdles compared to their upper-class counterparts just to be able to play on the same pitch as them. Directors Birgitte Stærmosé and Tim Fywell present this socioeconomic divide by juxtaposing the Old Etonians' luxurious pre-final dinner with the unruly pub celebration the working-class teams enjoy.

Beyond the focus on football, Fellowes creates several subplots in *The English Game* that are not completely resolved. Kinnaird's wife, Margaret Alma Kinnaird (Charlotte Hope), engages with philanthropy to help aid a women's house for single mothers and their children. However, this side plot is not fully developed. Another example is Martha Almond (Niamh Walsh), a self-supporting single mother and Suter's love interest, who finds work in Kinnaird's wife's refuge shelter. Yet, with the focus on Suter's and Kinnaird's stories, this narrative does not receive very much progression, and she is not fully developed as a character.

By the end of *The English Game*, Arthur Kinnaird is hailed as the bridge between the social divides of football. According to football historian Andy Mitchell, Kinnaird "did more to popularize soccer than any man who ever lived" and was hailed as "without exception, the best player of his day." Kinnaird, later titled Lord Kinnaird, took part in nine F.A. Cup finals, a record that still stands, and won five of them. He served as F.A. president for thirty-three years until his death in 1923. Accurately presented by *The English Game*, he was a philanthropist who dedicated his life to good causes, supporting women's shelters and working with orphans to teach them to read and write. A successful banker, Kinnaird would donate much of his wealth to the less fortunate. Under Kinnaird's leadership as F.A. president, the game of soccer exploded, quickly becoming the United Kingdom's national sport thanks to his role in creating comprehensible rules as well as heart-pulling and attractive competitions for spectators. He is perhaps the most influential man who helped develop the modern game that the world enjoys today.

*The English Game* offers remarkable insights into the early history of football that developed into the game we know today. At the heart of the show is a story of humanity, kinship, and respect for all sides or classes. While *The English Game* is a little too brief to fully resolve all the plots it sets forth, it presents a part of history that has never been told before. For those eager to learn more about different aspects of the sport, *All or Nothing: Manchester City*, directed by Manuel Hueriga, and *Captains of the World*, produced by Christian Cerami and Neil Housley, are two series of soccer documentaries. Altogether, Fellowes crafts a must-watch show for avid soccer fanatics. The show's acting, writing, and production all combine to create a story of the conceptualization of the modern game of football, which the world continues to relish.

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*Hansan: Rising Dragon* [film].  
Directed by Han-min Kim. 2022.

Big Stone Pictures; Well Go USA Entertainment.  
130 minutes.

*Hansan: Rising Dragon* is set in 1592 during the Imjin War (1592–1598) and relates one of the most significant naval battles of Admiral Yi Sun-Shin. Though this topic is heavily covered in Korean media, this film aims to bring the naval warfare of East Asia to the big screen with fascinating graphics and sound engineering that will immerse any audience. Directed by Korean director and screenwriter Han-min Kim, *Hansan* is the third time Director Kim has worked with the Korean actor Park Hae-Il, the previous films being *Paradise Murdered* (2007) and *Arrow: The Ultimate Weapon* (2011). In *Hansan*, Park Hae-Il portrays Admiral Yi Sun-Shin. Director Kim's most notable work to date is the first film of the Yi Sun-Shin trilogy, *The Admiral: Roaring Currents* (2014). *The Admiral* won the Best Director award at the 2014 Blue Dragon Film Awards and the Best Film award at the 2014 Daejong Film Awards. When *The Admiral* was first released, Director Kim had intended it as a stand-alone feature, but he subsequently decided to turn it into a trilogy to cover Admiral Yi's three greatest naval battles. This is why *The Admiral* is set in 1597, while *Hansan* is set in 1592. While there are some historical inaccuracies and creative liberties included for dramatic effect, the film stands uncontested in immersing the audience in the naval battles of that time.

The Battle of Hansan is remembered as one of Korea's greatest victories in its entire history. Japan invaded Korea in 1592 under the warlord Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who had unified Japan after one hundred years of internal fighting. After Japan's loose unification, Hideyoshi decided to direct all the military might that had accumulated during the civil war toward foreign expansion, and their first target was Korea. Completely unprepared for the massive invasion, Korea's defenses crumbled under the military might of the battle-hardened Japanese troops. With the capital taken twenty days after the invasion, the king of Korea fled north and even considered seeking refuge with China's Ming dynasty. The navy was the only hope left for the Korean forces. As one of the naval commanders, Admiral Yi Sun-Shin won consecutive naval battles against the Japanese navy to cut off the Japanese supply lines. The consecutive defeat of the Japanese navy delayed and eventually immobilized the Japanese troops that were marching north to capture the Korean king. This film highlights Admiral Yi's third campaign, which includes one of his greatest victories at the Battle of Hansan that completely crippled the Japanese navy. To familiarize the audience with some key aspects of the upcoming naval battle at Hansan, the film opens with the previous naval battle at Sacheon, where the turtle ship had first been deployed.

Interestingly, *Hansan* first introduces the antagonist, Wakizaka Yasuharu, who is ordered by Hideyoshi to assemble the Japanese fleet against the Korean navy that is devastating their forces. The film sets Wakizaka up as a formidable opponent by relating a decisive victory he had won over the Korean army on land

a month prior. The first act of the film provides some context and establishes the key characters, like Yi Sun-Shin and Wakizaka, along with their respective commanding officers. Critics have argued that the characterizations of the Japanese officers are more fully fleshed out than those of their Korean counterparts, despite it being a Korean film. However, this is intentional since many of the film's tensions are not in the historical records. The historical battle only took a few hours, but a film based on so little history is not too engaging, so the director fills in the gaps where the historical records are silent. This is not a problem, as the main point of movies is not historical accuracy but entertainment.

Much of the middle section of the film is dedicated to setting up the naval battle. There is not a lot of action because the primary focus is on intelligence gathering and espionage. This part is a bit dull, but not useless. Though historical accounts are lacking, the surrounding evidence points out that gathering intelligence was a crucial part of Admiral Yi's tactics. The preparations leading up to the naval battle at Hansan are no exception. As the director, Kim utilizes creative liberties to tell a compelling story and to build tension toward the upcoming fight. The characterization of Wakizaka as the big, intimidating boss to beat has been clear since his introduction. Another key element in the spotlight is the newly developed battleship called the turtle ship. The turtle ship had played a crucial role in the previous campaign, especially at the naval Battle of Sacheon, but the film highlights some major concerns the Korean navy had about its battle capabilities. Both the Korean and Japanese navy are trying to find solutions around the turtle ship, as they both think the turtle ship will play a crucial role in the upcoming naval battle. Director Kim intentionally spends a lot of time on the turtle ship, as *Hansan* is the only film in the trilogy for him to take full advantage of it in combat. Though the turtle ship had appeared in the 2014 film *The Admiral*, *Hansan* is the first to show its participation in actual combat. The constant set-up for the turtle ship does not disappoint when it enters combat during the last act.

Unfortunately, during this middle section of intelligence gathering and espionage, it is easy to get lost in the dialogues, as they introduce a lot of characters. Director Kim includes and names a lot of characters in both the Korean and Japanese navy, but it is difficult for the audience to remember them all. While most characters are historically based, the choice to include such a large cast takes away the focus that is needed to sharpen the main characters. Though the intent is to provide as much context as possible, the overwhelming number of characters that do not play a significant role detracts from the main story. And the constant cuts between the Korean and Japanese sides are only made clear by the difference in language and armor. I understand Director Kim's intention to create a parallel between the Korean and Japanese navy, but it is not utilized effectively to justify the constant cuts. Another plot device that is poorly utilized are the flashbacks because they insert something that is irrelevant to the upcoming battle. For example, Admiral Yi has a sudden flashback at 00:30:41 that is difficult to



understand. Even with prior knowledge of Admiral Yi's military past, the flashback does not serve its purpose of driving the story forward.

The key highlight is the cinematic fight in the third and final act. Director Kim's strength is showcased during the naval training scene and battle, as he displays the harsh conditions of operating a navy and the complexities of maintaining the warships in formation. My favorite scene is when the Korean fleet moves in an orderly formation together at the start of the battle. The aerial view of the fleet is breathtaking, and it provides the audience with a sense of scale for the battle at hand. Though there are some historical discrepancies, Director Kim does an amazing job of bringing the realistic naval battles of that time to life. And he fully utilizes the turtle ship to his advantage to highlight its prowess. The dramatic music, with the additional tension of the turtle ship entering the fray, makes for one of the best scenes in the film that fully immerses the audience. The sound design of the turtle ship's charge is done exceptionally well. As the turtle ship charges through the waves, the sound resembles a roaring dragon, reminding the viewers why this film is subtitled *Rising Dragon*. One of Director Kim's best decisions is to utilize two different models of the turtle ship, which is a nod to the historical debate over the structure of these ships. Scholars still do not know exactly how the turtle ship was structured, as no schematics or designs exist. Currently, two of the most likely structures are a two-floor plan and a three-floor plan. Instead of choosing one over the other, Director Kim includes both to highlight the strengths and weaknesses of each.

Understandably, Director Kim takes creative liberties to fit a lot of details into the film without making it too convoluted. Most of the characters are historical figures, but there are some that do not fit into this particular narrative. One of the most confusing parts is the land battle. Alongside the naval Battle of Hansan, the Japanese troops also planned a land assault on the province headquarters in Jeonju. Though mentioned briefly, this is confusing because Admiral Yi's naval base was located on the province's southern coast, while the province headquarters were located up north. Unfortunately, the film positions the land battle in such a way that it looks like the province headquarters and the naval stations are close to one another when, in actuality, they were on opposite sides of the province. Many of these historical inaccuracies are inserted for the sake of dramatic and cinematic effect, but this one changes the regional map completely.

Overall, *Hansan: Rising Dragon* is an excellent film to watch for those interested in medieval naval warfare. Instead of the Western warfare that many may be familiar with, this new and fresh perspective on Eastern naval warfare is definitely worth seeing. The film also serves as a good introduction to the historical figure of Admiral Yi Sun-Shin, who is noted as the greatest admiral in Korean history and ranks as one of the most successful naval commanders in the world that rivals even Admiral Nelson. Though the lack of Admiral Yi's characterization in this film is hard to overlook, the amount of detail that goes into the naval battle itself is

reason enough to see this film. Once the battle starts, you are immersed in the battle and gain a good understanding of the naval conflict.

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*Impeachment: American Crime Story: Season 3 [TV series].*

*Directed by Ryan Murphy, Laure de Clermont-Tonnerre, Rachel Morrison, and Michael Uppendahl. 2021.*

20th Century Television; Ryan Murphy Productions; Color Force; FX Productions.  
10 episodes (58–73 minutes).

In many ways, *Impeachment* (2021) is an odd choice for Ryan Murphy's third and most recent installment in his acclaimed FX series, *American Crime Story*. For starters, none of the characters (or, in this case, real people) commit a violent act. The first installment of *American Crime Story* details the gruesome double homicide of Nicole Brown-Simpson and Ronald Goldman in *The People v. O. J. Simpson* (2016). Its successor, *The Assassination of Gianni Versace* (2018), tells the story of the shocking murder of fashion legend Gianni Versace. *Impeachment*, however, revolves around the infamous sex scandal between then-President Bill Clinton and Monica Lewinsky and the ensuing impeachment trial and political fallout. Yes, it has the staples of a Ryan Murphy series: it revolves around a controversial subject, occurred in the 1990s, features an incredible leading performance by actress Sarah Paulson, and intersects with topics like gender, power, and fame. However, by the end of the final episode, no one is convicted of a crime, no blood is spilled, and yet, like all Murphy shows, no one walks away unscathed. If a crime has occurred at all, its victims are undoubtedly the season's main subjects: Monica Lewinsky, Paula Jones, and yes, even Linda Tripp.

*Impeachment* arguably pairs better with *The People v. O. J. Simpson* than *The Assassination of Gianni Versace*: both use nonfiction books by Jeffrey Toobin as their source material; both revolve around women from Los Angeles (Attorney Marcia Clark in *Simpson* and Lewinsky in *Impeachment*); both have ten episodes; and both shed light on the shameful media circus that ensued. However, both *Simpson* and *Assassination* share a detrimental trait not shared with *Impeachment* – the narratives are told overwhelmingly (and nearly exclusively) by men. This could not be further from how *Impeachment* is depicted. While the single thread that ties Lewinsky, Jones, and Tripp together is indeed the same man, not one episode is told from his point of view. Lewinsky even served as co-producer of the season and is credited at the end of each episode. Ultimately, this creative decision is *Impeachment's* crowning achievement and what sets it apart from its predecessors.

Episode 1, "Exiles," lays the foundation for what becomes the beginning of Lewinsky's shock and horror at realizing that her secret relationship with

President Bill Clinton (Clive Owen) is no longer a private matter. Even though the story is well known, when the camera shows a chipper Beanie Feldstein as Lewinsky waving to her soon-to-be former friend and confidante, Linda Tripp (Sarah Paulson), there is a sinking pit in one's stomach that only grows as Tripp walks closer to Monica. Sitting alone in the drab, gray mall food court, the depiction of Lewinsky, blissfully unaware that her days as a private and unknown citizen are about to end, is heart-wrenching. As one of the lead FBI investigators tells Lewinsky that she is part of a "federal investigation authorized by the Attorney General to investigate crimes committed in relation to the Paula Jones lawsuit," she looks to Tripp, her eyes widening in fear. (04:48) At Tripp's insistence that the agents have spoken to her as well and that it is "for your own good," the stage is set for the next ten episodes, perfectly executed within the first five minutes. (04:57) *Impeachment's* accompanying storyline, revolving around former Arkansas state employee Paula Jones's sexual harassment lawsuit against President Clinton, unfortunately suffers from shaky pacing. While the Jones storyline starts off strong in the first few episodes, not even the incredible performance of Annaleigh Ashford as Jones can save it from the show's inability to decide how large a role she should play in *Impeachment*.

Episode 2, "The President Kissed Me," is packed with moments familiar to those who followed alongside the scandal during its 1998 unfolding, like the President's successful re-election campaign, footage of a beret-clad Lewinsky hugging Clinton on national television, and the President and First Lady (Edie Falco) slow dancing at the inaugural ball. The two most pivotal moments, however, are the depiction of the President's flirtatious courting of Lewinsky and the doomed moment in which she divulges that she has been romantically and sexually involved with the commander-in-chief.

This episode largely meshes with its successor, Episode 3, "Not to Be Believed," which does a better job of fleshing out Paula Jones and those who surrounded her during the lawsuit. Due to Ashford's excellent performance as Jones and the direction by Michael Uppendahl (the episode's director), the episode reaches its emotional peak as Jones's naivete about the true intentions of those around her is laid bare, culminating in the unlikely chance to settle her lawsuit. Eager to put this time of her life behind her, as well as elated at the opportunity of receiving \$750,000, she almost accepts the settlement. However, she is discouraged from accepting this offer, depicted as a lifeline to Jones, by her new self-described "conservative feminist" handler, Susan Carpenter-McMillan (Judith Light). McMillan, along with Jones's deadbeat husband (Taran Killam), for their own separate but equally greedy reasons, are depicted as vultures preying on the weak. Jones's decision to reject the Clintons' settlement offer is tragic to watch, as she is manipulated by McMillan, who is seeking to leverage this into an attempt at removing Clinton from office, and Steve, her husband, who is determined to further cash in on his wife's assault. On the Lewinsky-Clinton front, the most impactful moment comes halfway through the episode when the President

attempts to end his affair with Lewinsky. As she and the President draw further away from one another, she draws Tripp in closer, increasing the amount of time they spend with one another after work.

If Episode 3 focuses primarily on the Jones lawsuit, Episode 4 (“The Telephone Hour”) does the opposite, revolving exclusively around the relationship between Lewinsky and Tripp. It is in this episode that Tripp makes the infamous decision to betray her 24-year-old friend and agrees to secretly record her daily phone calls with Lewinsky at the urging of a tabloid journalist. Tripp attempts to convince herself that she is doing so for the altruistic purpose of possibly using the tapes as a way to get Lewinsky help for her rapidly deteriorating mental health.

Episode 5, “Do You Hear What I Hear?” is when the two principal stories of Lewinsky/Tripp and Paula Jones merge. Due to Jones’s lawsuit moving forward, both Lewinsky and Tripp receive subpoenas and arrive at completely different ways to tackle this. Tripp, unsurprisingly, revels in this latest development and reads as nearly smug, all too eager to “take on the president.” Similarly unsurprising is Lewinsky’s choice to protect Clinton, even at the risk of perpetrating a federal crime and committing perjury. Both women unsuccessfully urge the other to either lie or tell the truth—equally convinced that the other is making a colossal mistake. Their friendship quickly unravels, and Lewinsky begins to suspect that Tripp is recording their conversations.

Episode 6, “Man Handled,” was reportedly so painful to relive for Lewinsky that it was the only episode in which she was not on set to watch or provide feedback in her role as producer. At the episode’s end, it is easy to see why. “Man Handled” returns to the initial few minutes of the first episode and fleshes out what happened that fateful January day. As dozens of FBI agents follow Lewinsky to a makeshift interrogation room at the Ritz-Carlton D.C., Feldstein as Lewinsky unleashes every possible human emotion through the remaining fifty minutes. Her performance is at its most haunting when she belts a truly blood-curdling scream at Tripp, crying, “Linda, what did you do?” (08:45). The episode is expertly directed by Ryan Murphy, as each shot feels increasingly claustrophobic, heightening the lack of control and agency that Lewinsky now has in her own life.

Episode 7, “The Assassination of Monica Lewinsky,” continues the link between the Paula Jones case and Lewinsky/Tripp, as all three are depicted as having been cast aside by their once-supposed allies. While Jones again gets little screen time (a mere eight minutes), Ashford manages to do an incredible job at portraying the meek Paula, who is so upset by the President’s emphatic denial that he sexually harassed her that she is reduced to tears and forced to excuse herself from the room. For a few brief minutes, when Tripp watches herself depicted by a man on a *Saturday Night Live* skit, telling her children she has been mocked for her looks through every moment of her life, one even begins to feel bad for her. This is a tribute to Paulson’s incredible acting abilities, her creative decision to show Tripp as a deflated, lonely woman no longer needed by the federal prosecutors she had so desperately sought to please. Ultimately, it is again Lewinsky who faces

the most public character assassination by the media. However, it is not the endless parade of deeply personal insults and mischaracterizations directed at her that sends Lewinsky to a new emotional low. It is the President referring to her as “that woman” that cuts the deepest of all. (55:40)

Episode 8, “Stand by Your Man,” focuses most of its attention on the First Lady, Hillary Clinton, and the rollercoaster of emotions that engulfed her during this time. First, she receives widespread criticism for her perceived cold demeanor in a joint interview with her husband. Following this, she publicly defends him against the “vast right-wing conspiracy” just before he admits to her that he did indeed have an extramarital affair with Lewinsky. (10:20) Betrayed and humiliated, the First Lady’s frustration at being caught between equally painful predicaments—either staying with the President or leaving him—is palpable.

Episode 9, “The Grand Jury,” and Episode 10, “The Wilderness,” could have easily been combined into one long finale. Both episodes serve to wrap up the season and depict the President’s impeachment and subsequent acquittal. Jones, having lost both the lawsuit and her marriage to Steve, faces crushing legal bills and agrees to pose nude for a magazine for payment. Her supposed supporters, having long dumped her, are nonetheless disgusted by her decision yet make no effort to help her now-shambled life. Tripp, proverbially stuck in her former friend’s shadow, is facing an indictment from her home state of Maryland as a result of recording her conversations with Lewinsky without her consent. The interest the public had in her, and all the potential tell-all books that came from it, have dissipated. Mocked in public, fired from her long career in the federal government, and branded forever as the face of betrayal, she too has lost everything. But it is again Lewinsky who walks away as the most scarred of all. The twenty hours of taped conversations between her and Tripp are now public information and available to anyone with access to the internet; her most personal conversations are quickly combed through and ridiculed on the national stage. This, combined with the public reaction to her answers to the Office of the Independent Counsel’s explicit questions, paints a harrowing depiction of a woman who had been essentially tarred and feathered in every way possible before she even turned twenty-five years old.

While the third season of *American Crime Story* suffers from shaky pacing and uncertainty as to the role that Paula Jones should play, *Impeachment* proves to be yet another knockout season of television by Ryan Murphy and his team. Finally, this infamous story is told with careful precision and, above all, impeccably related through the lens of the women who lived through it.

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*My Best Friend Anne Frank* [film].  
Directed by Ben Sombogaart. 2021.

Netflix.  
103 minutes.

A Netflix original film, *My Best Friend Anne Frank*, presents the story of a lifetime, a new perspective on a familiar narrative. It is directed by Ben Sombogaart, who has won an Academy Award for his film *Twin Sisters* (2002), and written by Marian Batavier, known for the film *Missing!* (2018), and Paul Ruven, known for co-writing the Oscar-winning *Alaska* (1989). *My Best Friend Anne Frank* tells the story of Anne Frank from the perspective of her best friend, Hannah “Hanneli” Goslar. The film is in Dutch with English subtitles, though other languages are spoken, including German, Hungarian, Hebrew, and English. The film is based on Alison Leslie Gold’s book, *Anne Frank: Reflections of a Childhood Friend* (1997), a memoir that recounts the story of Hannah Goslar and her friendship with Anne Frank. At the outset of the film, it is stated that the director and writers have chosen to dramatize parts of the film. Overall, the film is presented as a fictionalized account of Hannah Goslar’s life and friendship with Anne Frank, from Nazi-occupied Amsterdam to their “reunion” in a concentration camp.

*My Best Friend Anne Frank* moves back and forth between events in 1942 and 1945; sometimes there are clear cuts and sometimes the transitions are almost unnoticeable. The film opens in 1942 in German-occupied Amsterdam, where two typical teenage girls—Hannah Goslar and Anne Frank—are spending time together. The Star of David that is sewn onto their clothing is the only indication that they both belong to Jewish families. As they play hide-and-seek, they discover the door that leads to the annex where the Frank family will eventually hide, but they are interrupted by a disturbance in the street. The film then moves to 1945, and we see Hannah at the Bergen-Belsen Exchange Camp in Lower Saxony, Germany, a facility where Jewish prisoners are exchanged for German prisoners-of-war. Unexpectedly, Hannah hears whistling from the other side of the wall—from Bergen-Belsen Concentration Camp—that she recognizes as a code used by her and Anne during their happier days together. Back in 1942, we see Hannah and Anne going for walk and trying to get a boy’s attention. Both girls speak German but agree to never speak it again when two German soldiers take their ball. In 1945, during roll call in Bergen-Belsen, Hannah tells her little sister, Gabi, that Anne lives on the other side of the wall.

Back in 1942, we see Hannah and Anne in a park. A boy promises them a surprise and sneaks them into a movie theater where Jews are not allowed. While a propaganda film is running, the boy makes a pass at Anne. We learn that Hannah’s family wants to escape to Palestine. Meanwhile at the movie theater, Hannah gets Anne out of the boy’s clutches by saying that she has jaundice. They return to find a series of broken windows and are told by a German on the street that they stink. Hannah’s family is denied permission to leave the country, and when Hannah’s father Hans tells her mother to have faith, she is not interested.

Hannah suggests that Anne's father might be able to get them passports, to which her mother replies, "If Otto [Frank] could get passports, they would be gone already." Hannah's father gives her a family ring but makes her promise to keep it a secret. The doorbell rings and Otto Frank is at the door to ask Hans to let Hannah go somewhere with his family, but only Hannah, to which Hans replies that he and his wife need Hannah to help with their other children. When Hannah goes to see Anne, Anne is distracted with other girls. They all head to school with Hannah straggling behind as the other girls make fun of her and exclude her. Hannah takes out her new ring and puts it on. At school, their class is joined by a class where the teacher has not arrived yet, and no one knows where she is.

In 1945, at Bergen-Belsen, Hannah and her sister Gabi are taken to the infirmary to see their father, who is sick but who tells them that they are at the top of the list to leave the Exchange Camp tomorrow. During roll call, there is an air raid, and the German soldiers all go for cover, leaving the women and girls standing with their hands up in the open. While the Hungarian prisoners are singing, the sirens stop. Back in 1942, Hannah and Anne are both very flip about the Jewish rules and do not take them seriously; they look out the windows and even make prank phone calls. In 1945 at Bergen-Belsen, Hannah goes out into the rain to take out the waste buckets and goes to the wall. She calls for Anne but ends up speaking to someone else and tells them about Anne and Anne's sister Margot. Back in 1942, we see the girls putting on lipstick and planning their future – careers, babies, and so forth. They follow a noise and end up back at the secret door. They discover a book about female anatomy, get into a fight, and Hannah leaves. On her way home, she sees a family being taken away. The next morning Hannah goes to Anne's and is told that the Franks have departed for Switzerland, leaving behind their cat and not saying a word to anyone. Hannah and another girl look around, and they notice that the Franks have left things they might need in Switzerland. But Anne's diary is gone. Back at the Goslars, Hannah tells her parents that the Franks have gone. When there is knocking at the door and Hans will not open the door, Hannah does. German soldiers ask if they are hiding anything, and a soldier assaults Hannah's pregnant mother. When the mother goes into labor, Hannah is sent for a doctor even though she is not supposed to be outside at night. When she returns without a doctor, she finds that her mother and the baby have died. As Hannah and her father celebrate the Sabbath, Hannah says that her mother is in heaven. Again, there is knocking at the door, and when Hannah's little sister Gabi cries, they are discovered and ordered outside.

In 1945, in the barracks at Bergen-Belsen, the woman next to Hannah has just died. Hannah sneaks out of the barracks to the wall, whistles for Anne, and calls her name. This time, the whistle is returned and Hannah hears her name being called. The girls finally speak. Anne is coughing, and she asks Hannah about the baby that has died with her mother. Hannah says, "God will help us." Anne replies, "When will God help us?" Anne asks if Hannah has food. She is crying and tells Hannah that she, her family, and others had hidden in the annex of their

house in Amsterdam until they were discovered by German soldiers. Now at Bergen-Belsen, Anne and Margot are all alone, as they have been separated from their parents, and are both very sick. Then Anne just stops talking and disappears. Hannah asks to see her father, offering her ring for permission to do so. She gets to the infirmary, where her father is very sick, and asks him if they can stay to help Anne. She tells him that she needs to stay and get food to Anne in the night even though she is supposed to be transferred the next day. She leaves Gabi with her father and sneaks out to take Anne food, because Anne is her best friend and she feels she must. When Hannah goes to Anne, one of the Hungarian women prays a Hebrew prayer over her. There is an air raid, but Hannah whistles for Anne as bombs are exploding in the distance. She calls for Anne and then throws food over the wall. There is a fight over the food on the other side, with Anne crying hysterically and Hannah getting away from the wall just before she can be caught. Someone comes for Hannah from the infirmary where her father is dying. As she holds his hand, he dies. When Gabi shakes him, Hannah tells her, "Papa is asleep." The Hungarian prisoners offer Hebrew prayers and give the girls rocks of remembrance. And Hannah gets her ring back. Hannah returns to the wall with food. She gets it over the wall and then claws through thatch to see Anne. Anne is on the other side, crying, in rags, tiny, with her hair cut. She tells Hannah they will soon be liberated, and that – when they are – Hannah should do what makes her happy. Remembering one of their 1942 parties, Hannah says she will go with Anne to travel the world if that is still Anne's plan, and Anne says that it is. As Hannah leaves the wall, she faints in the yard. At the close of the film, we see women coming out of the barracks, including Hannah – with Gabi – carrying a suitcase. Prior to the end credits, screen text informs us that, shortly after Hannah's meeting with Anne, the Nazis fled; that Hannah never saw Anne again; that Anne and Margot passed away shortly before the liberation; that Hannah became a nurse in Palestine but that, in her thoughts, she still travels the world every day with Anne; and that, between them, Hannah and Gabi have seven children, 38 grandchildren, and 27 great-grandchildren. On October 28, 2022, just over a year after the movie's release, Hannah Goslar passed away in Jerusalem at the age of 93.

One of the most emotional scenes in the film is when Hannah struggles with her father, as he is laying sick in the infirmary at Bergen-Belsen, over being obedient to him and getting ready to be transferred, or sneaking out to help her friend Anne by taking her food. Hannah expresses that, although she wants to be there for her family and she knows the responsibilities of being an older sibling, she also wants to be with her friend. Earlier in film, Hannah had learned about the famous English nurse and social reformer Florence Nightingale, and she had told Anne that she wanted to be a nurse one day to help people, which is what happened. As this film shows, Hannah's desire to help people has gone far beyond nursing. By sharing her story with the rest of the world, she continues to educate people about World War II and the Holocaust. While it is not a documentary and creative liberties have been taken, *My Best Friend Anne Frank* is very powerful



and sends a strong message to the rest of the world to never stop caring, helping, and learning people's stories.

*My Best Friend Anne Frank* is a recommended film to watch to continue to learn and have conversations about the Holocaust, Nazi-occupied Europe, World War II, and friendships during dark times. Grab your tissues, because there are many emotional scenes. The cast in this film does phenomenal work in reenacting the lives of Hannah Goslar, Anne Frank, their family members, and their friends. While watching this film, I could not help but be reminded of another exceptional film about similar events, namely, *The Boy in the Striped Pajamas* (2008). So, what part of the film struck you the most? Might there be other survivors' stories from the Holocaust and World War II that have yet to be told to a larger audience?

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*Operation Mincemeat [film].*

*Directed by John Madden. 2021.*

Warner Bros. Pictures; Netflix.  
128 minutes.

The 2021 war drama film *Operation Mincemeat*, directed by John Madden, is based on British author Ben Macintyre's book on the British-led "Operation Mincemeat" during World War II (1939–1945). The film was first shown on November 5, 2021, at the British Film Festival in Melbourne, Australia. Warner Bros. Pictures subsequently distributed the film in the United Kingdom on April 15, 2022, and later on Netflix in North and Latin America on May 11, 2022. It stars Colin Firth, Kelly Macdonald, Matthew Macfadyen, Penelope Wilton, Johnny Flynn, and Jason Isaacs. *Operation Mincemeat* depicts the true story of the eponymous successful British-led deception operation leading up to the 1943 Allied invasion of Sicily ("Operation Husky"). For "Operation Mincemeat," which was intended to fool "Abwehr" (the German military intelligence), British intelligence clothed the body of Glyndwr Michael, a deceased homeless man from Wales, in a Royal Marines uniform, placed personal items on him that suggested his identify as that of a William Martin, as well as letters between British officers that pointed to an imminent Allied invasion of Greece and Sardinia (rather than Sicily).

John Madden is a British film director best known for directing the 1998 film *Shakespeare in Love*, which won the Academy Award for Best Picture. He has also directed other acclaimed films, such as *The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel* (2012) and its sequel, *The Second Best Exotic Marigold Hotel* (2015). Madden's career spans theater, radio, television, and film, showcasing his versatile talent in the entertainment industry through this latest film he directed in 2021, *Operation Mincemeat*.

The film follows a unique sequence in that it flashes back from July 10, 1943, when the Allied invasion of Sicily took place, to the events of "Operation

Mincemeat," which had started months earlier. The whole story displays various historical figures who are familiar, including all-star British actors and actresses such as Colin Firth as Lieutenant Commander Ewen Montagu, a Jewish barrister serving as a Royal Navy (RN) intelligence officer; Matthew Macfadyen as Flight Lieutenant Charles Cholmondeley, a Royal Air Force (RAF) intelligence officer; Kelly Macdonald as Jean Leslie, a secretary who is involved with the operation; Johnny Flynn as Lieutenant Commander Ian Fleming; Jason Isaacs as Admiral John Godfrey; and Simon Russell Beale as Prime Minister Winston Churchill. The extra casting characters include U.S. Army soldiers, both white and African American service members, British service members, British and Spanish civilians, and the actor Lorne MacFadyen as Sgt. Roger Dearborn and Glyndwr Michael.

As for the film's soundtrack, its composer Thomas Newman is known for his work on films like *The Shawshank Redemption* (1994), *WALL-E* (2008), as well as the James Bond films *Skyfall* (2012) and *Spectre* (2015). The soundtrack plays a crucial role in conveying the storyline's tension, drama, and emotions. One particular scene is especially impactful: as the orchestra plays a heroic theme, Sgt. Roger Dearborn is seen in battle uniform, battered with dirt, with his helmet off, observing the spectacle of the successful Allied landing in Sicily – one of the most significant deception operations in history, which turned the tide of the war.

The film strives to accurately portray the era in which its historical events occurred, the early 1940s during World War II. Military uniforms, insignia of British, American, and Nazi German officers, and other characters' clothing are crafted to reflect period designs. I noticed this when they put the deceased body of Glyndwr Michael (to be known under the false identity of Royal Marines officer William Martin) into a Royal Marines khaki uniform, rather than blue battledress, since they wanted the enemy to think that his plane had crashed into in the ocean, while he was carrying intelligence, and his death caused by drowning.

The production, including the sets and locations, also seeks to immerse the audience in the wartime period of the 1940s, using historical and recreated locales from World War II. Filming leveraged both authentic and reconstructed locations, predominantly in the United Kingdom, including the capital city of London, iconic sites like Clive Steps, the Old Admiralty Building, and the Duke of York Column, and by transforming Saunton Sands in Devon to depict a Sicilian shoreline, emphasizing the movie's dedication to historical accuracy and set during the Allied Invasion of Sicily. Beyond the United Kingdom, the production extended to the City Hall Building in Málaga, Spain.

The film references the Pacific War in the scene where RAF Flight Lieutenant Charles Cholmondeley is informed and bribed by RN Admiral Godfrey to spy on his co-worker Lieutenant Commander Ewen Montagu, because Godfrey suspects Ewen's brother, Ivor Montagu, to be a spy for the Soviet Union despite England's alliance with Joseph Stalin. During World War II, communism was considered a threat to Western governments, both political and military, because British and American men and women recruited as Soviet spies posed a threat to Western

countries' interests at home and abroad because these spies were gathering sensitive information and potentially undermining the trust and cooperation between the Allied powers, which could have long-term geopolitical implications even though they were temporarily aligned against Germany, Italy, and Japan. In return, Godfrey would locate and return the remains of Cholmondeley's brother, who had been killed at Chittagong in Bengal while serving in Asia fighting the Japanese. Since the film focuses on the European Theater, this incident brings awareness to the Pacific Theater, where the Allies are at war with Japan. *Operation Mincemeat* is especially recommended to those interested in the history of World War II. *Resistance* (2020), directed by Jonathan Jakubowicz, and *Six Minutes to Midnight* (2020), directed by Andy Goddard, are two similar war drama films that are worth watching as well.

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*Oppenheimer [film].*

*Directed by Christopher Nolan. 2023.*

Universal Pictures; Gadget Films; Atlas Entertainment.

180 minutes.

BANG! FLASH! BOOM! silence ... It is July 16, 1945, and the world will never be the same. Dozens of brilliant minds watch as an atomic bomb is tested for the first time. Centuries of human evolution and scientific innovation have come to an astounding stop as mankind has finally achieved the ability to indiscriminately destroy the world. The work of J. Robert Oppenheimer and his fellow scientists is a success. But at what cost? This question and others are explored in the 2023 film *Oppenheimer*, directed by Academy Award-winning director Christopher Nolan.

In the beginning sequence of the film, Oppenheimer is interrogated by a panel of Red Scare politicians for his past affiliations with known Communist Party members. At this point in 1954, the Cold War is in full swing. The Soviet Union has tested its own hydrogen bomb a year prior, and the United States government looks to the "father of the atomic bomb" to understand how the current arms race had begun. As Oppenheimer answers the panel's intrusive questions, the film flashes back to the past as the great physicist recounts his early life. Nolan clearly separates scenes from Oppenheimer's past with color film, while the present trial and interrogation are presented in black and white. The immediate contrast of color serves to portray Oppenheimer's past as full of vibrant color and life, whereas the present appears to be devoid of life and any color. The film is shot mainly from Oppenheimer's perspective, and Cillian Murphy does an extraordinary job playing the role of J. Robert Oppenheimer. In the earliest scene, Oppenheimer recounts his days at the University of Cambridge. Here, he is shown

to be an awkward and clumsy student with a brilliant mind. He daydreams about the possibility of theoretical physics and is eager to study under some of the prominent figures in the field. Oppenheimer gets upset at one of his professors and, in a heat-of-the-moment decision, decides to inject poison into an apple sitting on that professor's desk while no one is around. Shortly after committing what could have been a fatal assault, Oppenheimer shows immediate regret and disposes of the apple before his professor can get to it. This scene mirrors an actual event in Oppenheimer's life where he poisoned his tutor's apple for similar reasons. Luckily, the tutor did not consume the laced fruit. Nolan chooses to include this story in the film because it adds to Oppenheimer's complex character.

The flashbacks begin with Oppenheimer's university days in the 1920s. One aspect of his life that is ignored is his childhood and family life. Although Nolan chooses to skip this part of Oppenheimer's upbringing, a brief mention of his family's success would have added more context for the viewer to understand his own success. Then again, at a whopping 180-minute runtime, perhaps Nolan chose well to cut these scenes out. Nevertheless, it is crucial to note that J. Robert Oppenheimer was the son of a successful Jewish immigrant who grew up in a wealthy neighborhood of New York City. His family's prominence in the textile industry allowed him and his brother to attend prestigious schools at a young age. This early academic success served as a springboard for Oppenheimer's later achievements and undoubtedly assisted in his enrollment in prestigious universities in Europe and the United States. Following Oppenheimer's apple incident, the film shows his brilliance through his ability to give a scientific lecture entirely in Dutch, which he had studied only six weeks prior to this lecture. During his time at Cambridge, Oppenheimer is seen interacting with figures who would play prominent roles later in the Manhattan Project., and he admits to several individuals his goal of bringing theoretical physics back to the United States.

After graduating from Harvard and the University of Göttingen in Germany, Oppenheimer secures a position as an assistant professor at the University of California, Berkeley. It is here at UC Berkeley that the film begins to show Oppenheimer's mature character development, and the audience is introduced to a number of key figures in his life. One of these key characters is Jean Tatlock, who is played by the astonishing Florence Pugh. Jean Tatlock is an active member of the Communist Party and becomes Oppenheimer's on-and-off love interest. The film flashes forward to the present black-and-white trial, where Oppenheimer is intensively interrogated about his relationship with her and the party. As Oppenheimer recounts his time with Jean, actor Cillian Murphy's eyes display all the passion and pain one naturally shows when recounting the precious time spent with a loved one. The film flashes back to a passionate moment between Oppenheimer and Tatlock, where Nolan decides to use the famous quote Oppenheimer would later use after testing the first atomic bomb. During this scene, Oppenheimer acknowledges his ability to read Sanskrit and quotes the Hindu Bhagavad Gita, stating, "Now I am become death, the destroyer of worlds,"

as he passionately makes love to Tatlock. In reality, Oppenheimer is caught on film using this quote as his remorseful reaction to the first atomic bomb testing in 1945. Instead, Nolan decides to use this powerful statement during a heated scene between lovers. While the quote's inclusion is greatly appreciated, perhaps saving such profound words for the possible destruction of humanity would have better suited the film's tone. But perhaps Nolan wants to highlight that the loss of a loved one does sometimes feel like the destruction of one's humanity. Suffering from depression, Jean Tatlock later, unfortunately, takes her own life. During his time at Berkley, Oppenheimer meets his future wife, Kitty Puening. Perhaps surprisingly, Oppenheimer is seen as quite the ladies' man.

During his trial, Oppenheimer recalls being recruited to join the Manhattan Project in 1942 by Matt Damon's character, Lieutenant General Leslie Groves. By this time, the United States had entered the Second World War, and the race to develop an atomic bomb was on. Groves appoints Oppenheimer as the head scientist for the project, and he sets about recruiting many of his former and current colleagues to assist with the development of the bomb. Nolan includes an all-star cast of actors whose faces are immediately familiar once they appear on screen. These stars are seen during Oppenheimer's recruitment montage and add to the film's already great writing and direction. At this point in the movie, tensions start to run high as the scientists begin to gather together to make the impossible possible. Oppenheimer suggests that they need a facility that can house the team and their families, so a town is built in Los Alamos, New Mexico. As the project continues, more scientists who have escaped from Europe continue to join the team. The film then flashes back to the present trial, and Robert Downey Jr.'s character—Lewis Strauss, a high-ranking member of the United States Atomic Energy Commission—is introduced. It is gradually revealed that Strauss is the one behind Oppenheimer's current interrogation and the government's lack of trust in his allegiance to the United States. Strauss never forgave Oppenheimer for humiliating him in front of Congress, causing him to accuse the physicist of being a Soviet spy during the Manhattan Project.

Back in 1945, the Nazis are all but defeated, and the Manhattan Project team is about ready to test their experiment. The date is set for July 16, and the team prepares for the inevitable. During these scenes, the film reaches its climax, as the bomb is now ready. The atomic bomb is placed several hundred miles south of Los Alamos, and the scientists anxiously wait for its detonation. There is the possibility that the bomb could ignite the atmosphere and cause the whole world to instantly go up in flames. As the music thunders, everyone stares in curious terror. The countdown starts. The button is pushed. A flash of heaven-like light. Complete silence. And then, after several painstaking minutes, the loudest BOOM thunders across the screen. They have done it. They have created the destroyer of worlds. The movie then flashes forward to the present, where it seems that Oppenheimer will be condemned for his affiliations with Communist Party members from his youth. Strauss is about to take his revenge when a scientist who

had had disagreements with Oppenheimer in the past attests to Oppenheimer's loyalty to the United States. The trial concludes with Oppenheimer not being found guilty but with his reputation in shambles. The film's final scene shows a powerful conversation between Oppenheimer and Einstein. Both men discuss how Oppenheimer could have destroyed the world when he tested the first atomic bomb, and Oppenheimer acknowledges that he did, in fact, destroy the world.

*Oppenheimer* is an extraordinary film that deals with complex characters engulfed in an even more complex situation. Oppenheimer's love of science gave humanity the ability to destroy themselves. The film does a great job showing his remorse after the bomb was dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. He meets with President Truman to persuade him not to develop the hydrogen bomb, and President Truman calls him a "crybaby scientist" and sends him on his way. The cinematography is stunning, and Nolan does such a phenomenal job that the film is highly recommended for history buffs and moviegoers alike. If *Oppenheimer* catches your interest, *Day One* (1989), an Emmy Award-winning made-for-TV docudrama praised for its historical accuracy, examines the inner workings of the Manhattan Project and is worth the watch. Ultimately, Nolan's *Oppenheimer* will make you question your own pursuits and how destructive humanity can be.

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*RRR (Rise Roar Revolt) [film].*

*Directed by S. S. Rajamouli. 2022.*

Pen Studios; Lyca Productions; KVN Productions; HR Pictures.  
182 minutes.

There is one scene from *RRR (Rise Roar Revolt)* that keeps on playing in my mind; A crowd of ten thousand or so people are surrounding a flimsy chain-linked military barricade guarded by at least 15 soldiers – the officers British and the soldiers Indian. This is happening because of a revolutionary fighter for independence has been arrested. All this goes on for a bit until one of the protestors throws a rock and hits a portrait of an English monarch. This is when one of the officers tells the soldiers to arrest the rock thrower but the crowd shuts the officer up. But then Alluri Sitarama Raju or Raju (played by Ram Charan) steps up and manages to parkour his way out of the twelve-foot fence into the crowd. There is a three to four-minute scene of Raju fighting his way through the crowd. He is hit on the head with a rock, breaks a couple of protestors' arms with his bare hands, but somehow retrieves the protestor, all the while dispersing the crowd.

The film's director, S. S. Rajamouli, is well known for his massive production movies. *RRR* is not historically accurate. Many inaccuracies could be listed here, but let us focus on inaccuracies pertaining to the main characters. First, while the two protagonists – Komaram Bheem (played by Nandamuri Taraka Rama Rao Jr.)

and the aforementioned Raju – did exist and were both revolutionaries who died fighting for Indian independence or at least against British oppression, they likely never met each other or could do any of the amazing physical feats of heroism that the movie shows. Secondly, the film's main antagonist, Governor Scott Buxton, is not even a real person. I could continue the list of historical inaccuracies, but that would be a distraction from what this movie is all about. At its very core, *RRR* is a buddy-action movie with a ton of drama to go along with it.

The overall plot revolves around Raju and Bheem and their relation to the British Empire. At the beginning, a young girl named Malli from Bheem's village is kidnapped by Governor Buxton and his wife, Catherine Buxton. The film then introduces us to Bheem, who somehow manages to outrun a tiger and capture it. He then heads off into the capital in search of Malli. Our introduction to Raju is the scene recounted above. Then we get to see what Raju's supposed motives are for becoming an officer in the British army. He has been passed up to become an officer, but luckily for Raju, news of Bheem has reached the capital, and the governor wants him captured. The reward is the rank of special officer and Raju steps up and accepts the challenge. While Bheem is in the capital, he sees an English woman named Jennifer and falls head over heels for her. In a collision course to meet each other, Raju infiltrates an Indian revolutionary headquarters and suggests they assassinate the governor. Everyone laughs it off but one, who is an accomplice of Bheem. Bheem's accomplice almost leads Raju directly to Bheem, but he catches on that Raju is an officer and flees to meet up with Bheem.

Then a calamity occurs with the life of a child on a knife's edge. Both Raju and Bheem – without realizing each other's identity – work together to save the child's life and soon a montage of their friendship begins. When both men see Jennifer (played by Olivia Morris) from afar, Raju notices that Bheem likes Jennifer. Raju becomes cinema's greatest wingman and gets Jennifer and Bheem to go out on a "date". During the date, neither of them speaks the other's language, but when Jennifer utters Malli's name, Bheem knows what he has to do. Jennifer invites Bheem to a dance which Raju also attends. After the dance, Jennifer takes Bheem, who is hurt, in a car to the mansion, where he finds Malli and plans her escape that same night. Raju finds a clue to the whereabouts of his sought culprit (who is none other than Bheem) in Jennifer's car. Heading toward a car repair shop near the capital, Raju finds Bheem's accomplice, captures him, tortures him for information, but gets nothing but a snake bite that no Western medicine could cure. This leaves Raju immobilized only for Bheem and his other accomplices to make a cure from traditional Indian medicine. During this time, Bheem tells Raju about his plan, which shakes Raju to his core. Bheem and his crew break into the mansion during another party, using captured animals as a distraction to create chaos and almost freeing Malli, until Raju reappears. After Bheem's shock, the two proceed to have a fight for the ages – all leading to Bheem's capture.

After his capture, Bheem is publicly tortured by none other than the newly appointed officer Raju. During this scene, Bheem begins to sing. This gets the

crowd in an uproar which almost starts a riot in the streets. After the torture, Bheem's execution is scheduled to be performed in secret. We then learn about Raju's actual motives, which are not simply to become an officer, but to free his country. We are treated to a flashback of Raju's past as a child, when his father, an anti-colonial revolutionary, was killed by British officers, leading Raju to his decision of becoming an independence fighter. After this flashback, Raju can no longer stand it and proceeds to risk everything to free Bheem, and he succeeds, but not before sending some weapons to his birth village. While escaping with Malli in tow, Bheem meets with Raju's lover who tells him about Raju's goal. Bheem then decides to rescue Raju, and they both go on to destroy a British fortress, killing the governor and his wife in an explosive ending to the film.

*RRR* is an action movie through and through, but between the scenes of violence, mayhem, and romance, there are interesting dualities that make it more than just a 1920s period piece. When Bheem and Raju meet to save the child, Bheem drives a motorcycle while Raju is riding a horse: Bheem's whole reason for being in the capital is to rescue Malli, yet the guy from the country is seen on a motorcycle while the cosmopolitan Raju is riding on a horse. When it comes to the two protagonists' love interests, Bheem ends up with Jennifer, who would not seem to be used to the simple life of a country village; meanwhile, the cosmopolitan Raju stays loyal to the woman he has known all of his life, staying, in a way, married to his village, to his home, and never straying away.

Another theme in *RRR* is nationalism. The characters are not merely Raju and Bheem, but Indians together in a struggle against the British. It does not matter that Bheem and Raju are complete opposites in personality; they struggle and fight for the same thing. There is so much use of patriotic imagery that it becomes pretty clear that *RRR* is not just a movie about these two but, rather, a movie about India—the (re)birth of India. And therein lies the question: If the themes and desires of this film are so clear, did the film deliver in its desire to not just be a patriotic film but also an entertaining one?

The answer is “yes,” on both fronts. The storyline as described above pales in comparison to what unfolds in detail on the screen and what it is like to watch the film and experience the emotions it inspires. Admittedly, the story itself is indeed that of a simple buddy-action movie. But there is not one moment of boredom. At every plot point, I was drawn in by the action, the sound, and the sights. The actors did a fantastic job of convincing me that these characters were what and who they claimed to be. Some scenes may be a bit overdramatic, but the action scenes simply took my breath away. The music used throughout *RRR* fits like a glove, and if these praises are not enough to convince you to watch the movie right now, then—for your own sake—watch *RRR*'s “Naatu Naatu” song and dance; it will become obvious why it won the Best Original Song award at the Oscars. So, I highly recommend watching this movie. It may not be the most historically or physically accurate rendition of 1920s India, but *RRR* is the definition of entertainment.



*RRR*'s patriotism should be examined in the context of the rise of Hindu nationalism in India today. There are a couple of scenes in *RRR* that bring up religion, yet not by naming any religion explicitly. One scene that comes to mind is when Bheem is heading into the capital and he disguises himself in traditional Muslim clothing that is typical for the region, even though he is not a Muslim. In another scene, Raju looks upon an altar and takes inspiration from it when he has his final battle with the governor. Overall, the movie's love of India seems, at least on a surface level, not discriminating against the many Muslims of India.

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*Welcome to Wrexham: Season 1 [TV series].*

*Produced by John Henion, Andrew Fried, Sarina Roma, Dane Lillegard, Nicholas Frenkel, George Dewey, Rob McElhenney, Ryan Reynolds, Humphrey Ker, Drew Palombi, Jeff Luini, and Aaron Lovell. 2022.*

Boardwalk Pictures; DN2 Productions; Maximum Effort; RCG Productions; 3 Arts Entertainment; FXP.  
17 episodes (20-47 minutes).

"Every day, it's a-getting closer / Going faster than a rollercoaster / Love like yours will surely come my way / A-hey, a-hey-hey / Every day, it's a-getting faster / Everyone said, 'Go ahead and ask her' / Love like yours will surely come my way / A-hey, a-hey-hey / Love like yours will surely come my way."  
*Everyday* (Buddy Holly)

The opening credits for *Welcome to Wrexham* begin with an early-twentieth-century black-and-white shot of smiling soot-covered industrial coal miners heading into a quarry, followed by a frame of a slowly moving mine cart. The lighthearted jingle of Buddy Holly's "Everyday" plays to red flashes and shots of a football team's glory years during the 1970s with on-field pitch celebrations, bus parades, and balloons. Then there are gloomy frames of dilapidated buildings being demolished in the town during the 1980s, intermingled with gray and the hopeful faces of locals supporting their town's football (soccer) team through thick and thin in modern times. The credits close with an aerial view of the world's oldest active international football stadium as Holly sings, "Love like yours will surely come my way," while the red Welsh dragon fills up the screen. *Welcome to Wrexham*.

*Welcome to Wrexham* is a sports documentary series that tells the life and stories of Wrexham Association Football Club—Wrexham AFC—following the club's purchase by Hollywood superstars Ryan Reynolds and Rob McElhenney in February 2021. The FX TV series is based on the pair's attempt to resuscitate the Welsh club and the town of Wrexham, documenting the team's performance under their stewardship. Neither Reynolds nor McElhenney have any previous experience directing a sports team. The documentary also highlights the lives of Wrexham's inhabitants and their hopes that a sprinkle of Hollywood magic may bring their team and town back to their former glory.

Wrexham AFC was founded in October 1864 at the Turf Tavern by members of the Wrexham Cricket Club, making it the oldest professional football team in Wales. Deeply rooted in the origins of the game and as an epicenter for Welsh football, the team is the third oldest professional football club in the world. Wrexham AFC's home ground is known as the Racecourse Ground, as it had been used for horse racing prior to its adoption by the football team. On March 5, 1877, the Racecourse Ground hosted the first ever international home match for the country of Wales, earning it its reputation as the oldest active international football stadium in the world. Wrexham was put on the map during the Industrial Revolution when the population surged due to its coal, tanning, and brewing industries. With a working-class population making up a significant portion of Wrexham townsfolk, they sought their entertainment at the Racecourse Ground for cricket and horse racing, and eventually for the football club that bears the town's name. The town and team have faced their ups and downs, but Wrexham, the people, the team, the Racecourse Ground and the Turf Tavern still stand.

When Reynolds and McElhenney purchased the historic football club, it was languishing at the bottom of paid professional non-league football and struggling for promotion back into the English Football League. The town's and club's numerous difficulties on the field and off since the 1980s had led to Wrexham's relegation from league football in the 2007–2008 season, thus ending its 87-year stay in the English Football League. In *Welcome to Wrexham*, Reynolds and McElhenney seek to tell the stories of the trials and tribulations of Wrexham's AFC hiatus from league football, while simultaneously giving the historic team and town a much needed lift from being down on their luck.

"Why Wrexham?" is the question that gets asked throughout this documentary TV series. Why would two American Hollywood stars, albeit one a TV star from *It's Always Sunny in Philadelphia*, with no knowledge of how to run a sports franchise want to buy a football team in Wales? It is a valid question from the residents of Wrexham and supporters of the club who have watched their team suffer at the hands of previous greedy owners. Rob McElhenney offers his own personal sentiments for "Why Wrexham" as the driving force for the whole story. He admits his lack of knowledge of the sport itself, however, what uniquely connects him to Wrexham is the spirit of its people: "Even though I've never been there, it reminds me of Philadelphia." Through his hometown of Philadelphia and his love for the Philadelphia Eagles, McElhenney has witnessed the power of sports and how it can bring a whole community together. He accentuates the spiritual essence of the game of football and how it creates this clear, yet inexplicable bond between people, their town, and their team, which is passionately expressed in forms of loyalty and brotherhood. This connection allows people to take pride in their origins as their daily existence is validated every Saturday when Wrexham AFC kicks-off at the Racecourse.

While it is Reynolds's and McElhenney's goal to bring some good fortune back to Wrexham, as they offer hope and financial support with their superstar status,

the documentary is at its most gripping when it pulls away from the two and focuses on the town, the club, its supporters, and players. With a touch of Hollywood charm, games are filled with behind-the-scenes action reveling with high-tension excitement as they are enhanced with a suspenseful soundtrack, dramatic slow-motion shots, and edge-of-your-seat cliffhangers. However, where the documentary succeeds the most is in its telling of the lives of the people of Wrexham as they share their love of Wrexham AFC as fanatics of their team who love their club with such stubbornness and fervor. This allows viewers an insight into how valued the club is for the surrounding community and show that the bond between people and the sport goes well beyond winning and losing.

To some, Wrexham AFC means everything. The vulnerability of humanity shines as people talk about financial hardship, difficulties with family, illnesses, and the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic. "There's got to be something more to life than this," Shuan Winter says, a divorced father of two young boys who despises his repetitive job as a painter, yet comes alive when he reminisces of the glory days of going to Wrexham games with his father. Throughout the series, we see Winter struggle to cope with the collapse of his relationship with the mother of his children, but he finds joy in sharing his love of Wrexham AFC with his boys. The idea of Wrexham AFC represents identity for its supporters, a type of shared history that is difficult to come by and explain. Wayne Jones, the owner of the historic Turf Tavern where the club was formed, captures this sentiment, "You can't put into words what the club means to people here. It suffered almost as if we lost an arm. There are those who say it's just a game, but it's so much more than that. For the people of this city, their football club is everything."

*Welcome to Wrexham* is a sports tale rollercoaster with wonderful twists and turns, one that highlights the valuable passions in life that give people a little something to live for. The series touches the soul in ways that are entirely human as you feel for the people, the town, and the club. The sincerity Ryan Reynolds and Rob McElhenney display for Wrexham makes it impossible for the viewer not to adopt Wrexham as a second home and second team. It does not matter if one has zero interest in history or football, *Welcome to Wrexham* has a little something for everybody in the marvelous stories and narrative it portrays. The FX TV series is like watching history unfold before one's very own eyes as it does an excellent job of illustrating the background of Wrexham and its club, while also breaking down the rules of the English football system for those who may not have any knowledge of the sport. As Ryan Reynolds most aptly puts it, "I don't know how you don't root for a town like Wrexham."

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## Reviews (Games)

### *Assassin's Creed Mirage*

[action-adventure open-world video game].

Developer: Ubisoft Bordeaux.

Platforms: Xbox One, Xbox Series S/X, PlayStation 4, PlayStation 5, Microsoft Windows/PC.

Release date: October 5, 2023.

The sun is scorching the dust-covered streets of Baghdad. Its citizens move about, talking, shopping, and conducting business. Suddenly, a man screams out in terror and begins charging through the crowd – clearly, he fears for his life. As he pushes through the crowd, he looks around and cannot find who or what is causing him such terror. He continues to run, causing more commotion. Bystanders whisper, wondering what is going on. Suddenly, like an eagle descending on its prey, a hooded man clad in white robes lands on top of the terrified man, and his screams are silenced. Guards on the other side of the road, realizing what has just happened, call out to the robed figure, drawing their swords. But before they reach him, he has already sprinted down the street, vaulted himself on top of a market stall, grabbed onto the ornate protrusions of a building, and whisked himself onto its roof. By the time the guards reach the roof, the white-robed figure is gone. The man he has killed lays in a pool of his own blood, with a single feather resting on his chest. This is the world of *Assassin's Creed Mirage*.

*Assassin's Creed Mirage* is the thirteenth installment in the now massive franchise from developer Ubisoft. As people familiar with the franchise know, each installment focuses on a different period in history and tells a fictional story embedded within and around real locations, events, and people. The common thread that ties the franchise together is the never-ending war between the Templars and the Assassins, or, as they are sometimes referred to, the Order of the Ancients and the Hidden Ones, respectively. In every game, they appear as recurring characters, different generations of each organization operating in the shadows, manipulating the major events of history. This brand-new installment, released October 5, 2023, is set in the city of Baghdad during the ninth century, with the story beginning in the year 861. The protagonist you play as is named Basim, a character who has appeared as a veteran master assassin in the prior game, *Assassin's Creed Valhalla*. This new game has players witness and play through the beginning of Basim's induction into the Order of the Assassins and his development into a young man caught in the Assassins' conflict.

In the ninth century, Baghdad found itself in the middle of the Islamic golden age, a time period known for the flourishing of knowledge and science throughout the Arabic world between the eighth and thirteenth centuries. That means *Mirage* takes place right at the height of this golden age and in the capital of the ruling Abbasid caliphs. The setting is beautifully realized by Ubisoft, who have managed to yet again immerse gamers in a deep and richly detailed historical locale.

Architecture, people, sights, and sounds are expertly crafted to provide players the sense that they have been transported into a living, breathing city of the past.

Basim's story begins in the slums of Anbar, where he works as a common thief. Basim wakes from a nightmare, his sleep haunted by what looks like a mummy or zombie. He conveys the contents of his dream to his fellow thief Nehal, who serves as a tutorial character for the player and as an introduction to the world. She and Basim venture out into the city to do some pickpocketing and free running. Eventually, Basim speaks with Dervis, a man offering a contract to steal a ledger for the Hidden Ones (i.e., the Assassins). Basim accepts the contract, showing clear interest in the organization. He mentions wanting to be of more use to them, having a desire to serve a higher purpose and to live a life beyond being a street thief. Basim receives word that the Hidden Ones are after a special artifact that is being held in the Prince's Winter Palace. Seeing an opportunity, Basim, with the reluctant help of Nehal, breaks into the palace and steals the artifact. This turn of events leads to retaliation against the people of the slums, particularly the children. Roshan, a member of the Hidden Ones, helps Basim escape pursuit and becomes his mentor as he begins his training as an assassin.

The mechanics of *Mirage* will be familiar to long-time fans of the franchise; much of the design and focus are a callback to its earliest games. This means that the game focuses much more on stealth, parkour, and hiding in plain sight as you stalk your targets. The core gameplay revolves around these elements as players follow Basim's story: a member of the Order of the Ancients, usually presented as a tyrant or scheming villain, has come to power within a district of Baghdad. Basim undertakes the task of uncovering their true identity by investigating their operations, seeking an opportunity to assassinate them, and liberate the district from the Ancients' control. The choices and tools players have available for completing the contract add variety to their interactions with the world.

Through cunning, creativity, and precision, players can complete objectives and assassinate targets in the city of Baghdad. Basim possesses a range of tools, including a smoke bomb, throwing knife, blow dart, noisemaker, trap, and torch, each serving a purpose depending on the situation players encounter. Beyond these tools, the famous social stealth system makes a grand return. In the first game of the *Assassin's Creed* franchise, the social stealth system kept track of how much attention the assassin attracted from guards due to his actions. In order to complete missions, a player had to ensure that their protagonist would remain inconspicuous in public environments, blending into crowds, distracting enemies, or luring guards into secluded areas. In this most recent edition to the series, tokens have been introduced that can be used to bribe entertainers, guards, merchants, mercenaries, and rebels. In exchange for these tokens, the citizens of Baghdad will distract guards, look the other way, or assist the player in combat. The tokens are gained by completing contracts for the Order of the Assassins, pickpocketing, and other side quests.

One example of how a player might complete a mission is by focusing on stealth, a classic method present throughout the series: blending into crowds, stalking your target, striking when unseen. In order to accomplish this, a player needs to wait for just the right moment and keep an eye open for opportunities as they present themselves. Is the target isolated? If so, that would be the moment to strike. Such moments are where the iconic hidden blade comes into play. Since the inception of the series, every single game – including this new one – has featured a variation of the hidden blade, a wrist-mounted device that can swiftly unsheathe a blade for rapid kills and then retract back just as fast. This tool allows players to execute quick and stealthy kills. Often, taking the sneaky approach allows players to escape unscathed and avoid long, drawn-out battles.

*Mirage* sees the return of an urban environment, with the city of Baghdad featuring buildings that are multiple stories tall and tightly packed together. This creates the opportunity for players to utilize another method to reach their targets: parkour or free running. From the outset of the game, the player is capable of scaling almost any structure they come across. While players must search for the correct path up a building, typically filled with potential handholds to grip onto, it is rare to find an unscalable wall or building in the city. Once on the rooftops, players can leap across the narrow gaps and stalk targets from above. Additionally, you can literally ambush someone by leaping from a rooftop to strike your target before they ever see you coming.

Players who enjoy spy movies, thrillers, or media focused on cunning and intrigue will be delighted to know that information gathering, infiltration, and sabotage are options for contract completion. Sit on a bench in a busy market square while eavesdropping on the guards of one of your targets; perhaps they will reveal when a member of the Order of Ancients will be vulnerable. Before engaging in an inevitable battle, sneak around a fortress and disable the alarm bells. Bribe entertainers to distract some particularly stubborn guards. Set traps in front of important choke points to catch pursuers off guard during your escape. Each mission presents itself as a puzzle with many possible solutions, which can make completion very satisfying as the player can find their preferred playstyle.

*Assassin's Creed Mirage* continues the legacy of the franchise, basing fictional stories within real historical settings while incorporating real historical figures. The effort that Ubisoft has made to accurately represent ninth-century Baghdad is commendable. The game immerses players in the architecture, the historical landmarks, bustling streets, and atmosphere. Just taking a stroll down a street may result in you overhearing citizens protesting the rule of the caliph or perhaps haggling over the cost of goods. Everywhere you look, immense care has been taken to make the world feel real. Perhaps the most valuable part to historians is that embedded within the game is a series of collectibles that players can find. These collectibles are called Historical Sites. These unique locations encourage player exploration. When found and activated, players are given a brief summary of a particular artifact, concept, or place that actually existed. It is a great

opportunity for players to learn real history, as Ubisoft has gone as far as to cite sources directly in the summaries, including information like where the artifact being referenced is currently housed.

*Mirage* is yet another example of the potential of history as a setting and inspiration for the medium of video games. Ubisoft has long led this charge with its centuries-spanning series. Other games have done similar things but not quite to the level of detail that Ubisoft offers in their handcrafted worlds – these games can teach people history. Maybe it starts with just the small facts here and there, but eventually it can inspire further exploration into the topic or maybe even begin the career of a lifelong historian. While the story is fictional and the portrayal of real historical figures in the games can be controversial at times, the significant role this series plays in historical video game discussions is undeniable and continues to be influential for a reason. *Assassin's Creed Mirage* would be an engaging game for anyone who enjoys history, open-world exploration, or stealth and combat in a medieval setting.

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*Call to Arms - Gates of Hell: Ostfront*  
[real-time tactics/real-time strategy video game].

Developer: Barbedwire Studios, Digitalmindsoft.  
Platforms: Microsoft Windows/PC.  
Release date: June 11, 2021.

Wars throughout history are often limited to the memories and accounts of the veterans who participated in them, leaving historians and people interested in the topic to only wonder what a battlefield of its kind would look like. But there is an alternative way to experience these battles and skirmishes from a perspective I believe no other media can provide. This would be through a video game: *Call to Arms - Gates of Hell: Ostfront*. Developed by Digitalmindsoft, a German-based company, the game falls into the genre of real-time strategy, where you command squads of soldiers and vehicles from an aerial top-down perspective and are always in motion. Because of its dynamic nature, the game constantly challenges your micromanagement and quick decision-making skills to outmaneuver the enemy, resulting in high replay value. Digitalmindsoft is responsible for a variety of other real-time tactics games, which focus on different wars from the twentieth century. Their products include, for example, the *Men of War* franchise (since 2009). For *Call to Arms - Gates of Hell: Ostfront*, Digitalmindsoft partnered with Barbedwire Studios, a developer that focuses on historically accurate and realistic portrayals of World War II in video games, to craft an extraordinary experience.

Those with a passion and interest in World War II will find the recreation of vehicles, weapons, and battles to be particularly captivating. The Eastern Front is recreated with realism in mind, while still allowing for adjustments to maintain a smoother and more enjoyable gameplay experience. A notable example of the realism incorporated by the game developers is the vehicle combat. During combat, when the vehicles are hit by various munitions, the game takes into account the penetration power of the round, the thickness of the armor at the point of impact, and the potential damage to internal components if the armor is breached by a sufficiently powerful round. The game also considers which crew members would be wounded or killed as a result of the hit, meaning you will lose operational efficiency if the crew is injured or dead. Enthusiasts of military history will appreciate the opportunity to witness various vehicles from the period come to life and execute realistic tactics during the game's battle scenarios. This experience proves both enjoyable and educational, offering insights into warfare during the period. I believe the game's appeal lies in its realistic depictions of the Second World War, which may spark further interest in military history and even inspire individuals to pursue additional education in the subject.

Visually, the graphics of the game hold up well against other real-time strategy games, though when compared to the larger triple-A games coming out today, there is quite a noticeable difference. Color-wise, the game has a drab tone to match the darker tones of warfare, primarily making use of grey, muddy browns, dark greens, and white to make up the snowy, blasted warzone environments on the Eastern Front. The models of the weapons, vehicles, and soldier uniforms do an excellent job of being accurate to their real-life counterparts. Special attention was clearly dedicated to creating a realistic battle experience between the Wehrmacht and the Red Army, spanning from intense close-quarters skirmishes to long-range tank battles over large fields throughout the Eastern European countryside. An interesting feature within the game is the ability to select a vehicle or soldier and gain direct control over them from an over-the-shoulder third-person view. This allows you to get up close to the action in the game and sometimes achieve greater accuracy while aiming for your soldiers. When assuming control of vehicles, you are provided with a close third-person view, enabling you to fire and switch between different types of shells for the main gun of a tank, as well as operate other mounted weapons like hull machine guns or a coaxial guns. Such a viewpoint allows the player to aim more accurately and attempt to hit enemies through the fog of war. The "fog of war" is visually represented on the maps, with darker areas indicating areas where your soldiers lack line of sight. Objects like trees, rocks, hills, wrecked vehicles, and smoke will obstruct their vision, rendering those areas dark and indicating there is no information on what could be in the fog of war. Despite this, loud vehicles such as tanks remain audible through the fog of war, allowing players with a keen sense of sound to locate units without visual confirmation.



Ammunition remains an important gameplay feature that separates *Gates of Hell: Ostfront* from others in its genre. In many real-time strategy games, soldiers and vehicles running out of ammunition are not usually a concern. But within this game, it is a constant concern, requiring players to keep track. This leads to more careful planning, as the player cannot afford to simply fire at anything that moves. Shots need to be taken sparingly, especially in defensive wave-type missions within the campaign. In a first-time playthrough, you do not know how many enemies will be coming, so every shot will need to count, and none can afford to be wasted. If the player's soldiers do run out of ammo, they can be commanded to scavenge weapons and ammunition from dead enemy soldiers. There is also the option of getting more creative with your defensive and offensive actions. If the player knows that enemies will be coming down a specific path, there are explosives, such as land mines or dynamite, that can be set up for the purpose of both conserving ammunition and inflicting massive casualties on your opponent. In offensive missions, if the player is aware of an enemy's presence within a building, they can collapse the building with a few shells from indirect fire, using mortars, field guns, and other artillery pieces available and thus weaken the enemy's defensive line. Again, this tactic enables players to inflict more losses on the enemy by creatively utilizing the environment to their advantage.

Looking at the multiplayer aspect of the game, you are able to team up with up to three other players to fight against a computer-controlled army or another set of four players. Firstly, there is the game mode called "Battle Zones." The objective in this mode is to capture and hold key points located around the various maps that can be selected. Whichever team holds them the longest wins the match. The second mode is "Domination." In this mode, you must inflict as many casualties on your enemy as you can while preserving your own soldiers. You must also keep an eye on your headquarters (HQ) and protect it against enemy attacks; if your headquarters is destroyed, your team loses. My personal favorite mode is the "Cooperative Campaign" mode, which lets you and a friend play through the primary set of missions within the game. As a result of playing with a companion, you are able to both split up your forces, leading to some unique maneuvers and gameplay. Alongside the campaign missions and multi-player battles, there is a single-player "Conquest" mode where you and a computer-controlled opponent engage in larger battles spanning several matches across randomly selected maps. You must attack during your turn and defend during the opponent's turn. Afterward, players have the ability to research new units and acquire fresh reinforcements to bolster their own offensive. These reinforcements may include various types of infantry squads with more advanced weapons, specialist units, support units, vehicles, and more. As the player wins battles, they make progress towards the enemy's HQ sector. Once this is taken, the player is victorious, and the conquest ends. The same can be said for the player's HQ sector; if it is captured, they will lose the conquest and will have to re-start from the beginning. As for all the game modes within the game itself, players can adjust the computer

opponent's difficulty to various levels. The primary distinctions between the different difficulties include limiting the player's resources while granting the computer opponent more, increasing the damage taken by the player's soldiers, and decreasing the player's damage output against the opposing army. This dynamic can be quite challenging on some of the holdout missions where the waves are significantly tougher in terms of health and difficulty, especially with certain weapons requiring additional shots to defeat opposing soldiers.

The game offers three optional DLCs (downloadable content) for purchase, providing additional content for players who wish to experience more after the initial launch. The first is *Gates of Hell: Talvisota* (\$17.99). This DLC, covering the Continuation War between Finland and the Russian army on the Eastern Front, introduces a new faction – the Finnish – with new units, weapons, and vehicles. It also includes an expanded campaign focused on the Finnish, with new missions to play through in single-player or cooperative play. The second DLC, *Gates of Hell: Scorched Earth* (\$9.99), adds additional units to the existing German and Russian factions and includes eight new single-player or cooperative missions, featuring missions like the siege of Sevastopol and the Battle of Narva as well as battles in Kursk and Kyiv. During the Russian campaign, the player can take control of units from the 1<sup>st</sup> Ukrainian Front and liberate Kyiv from its occupants. The last DLC, *Gates of Hell: Liberation*, is a free addition to the game, featuring battles from the Western Front and introducing the United States Army as a playable faction, which brings new weapons and vehicles to the game from the Western Allies. While the inclusion of the British army would have been welcomed, the focus on the Eastern Front makes the addition of any Western armies surprising.

Overall, I thoroughly appreciate this game for its entertainment value and my interest in historical events. While the game strives for realism, it remains focused on playability and enjoyment, omitting issues like vehicles getting stuck in the mud, breaking down due to manufacturing issues, or any of the other numerous issues that plagued the armies of the Second World War. Personally, I would not recommend this game for any kind of serious historical research unless it was specifically on the topic of historical gaming. However, I highly recommend it to those who have any level of interest in learning more about the war. For the general public, I truly believe that historical video games, along with movies and TV shows, are a great way to get more people interested in a variety of historical topics. They serve as valuable forms of public education, sparking interest and increasing awareness of historical events.

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*Gerda: A Flame in Winter*  
 [role-playing narrative adventure video game].

Developer: PortaPlay, BirdIsland/PortaPlay.  
 Platforms: Steam, Windows/PC.  
 Release date: September 1, 2022.

December 1939. Gerda—the character you play—arrives at the train station in Tinglev, Denmark, where she is met by her husband, Anders, and her father, Herr Klien, a nationalistic German working at the train station. Upon speaking with both of them, you must make your first decision: Who will carry your bag? This is but the first of many decisions that you will make throughout the course of the game. With each decision, you progress forward as Gerda's quiet life is turned upside down. An adventure role-playing game, *Gerda: A Flame in Winter* asks the question: How far would you go to protect your loved ones?

Fast forward to February 1945, Gerda and Anders are residing in a nice, cozy farmhouse set against the backdrop of snowy southern Denmark. Anders prepares to leave for work with his friends Torben and Peter while Gerda wakes up to tend to her daily routine. Gerda is a nurse in Tinglev, a nationalistic village that is angry at the Nazi occupation of Denmark. Their anger is not only directed at the Nazis but also at all Germans. Gerda, who is half Danish and half German, often finds herself in challenging situations due to her mixed heritage, though she is generally well-liked by many. Gerda goes to the clinic and encounters a German soldier in need of help, forcing her to decide whether to side with the doctor or force them to take him. This decision sets the tone for Gerda's role in the ongoing conflict: Will you take the side of the Germans, the Nazis, the Danes, or the Resistance?

Returning home, Gerda discovers Nazi soldiers searching through her belongings and, upon going to the bedroom, she finds one soldier attacking her husband. Anders cryptically instructs her to find clues hidden in the chicken feed. As a player, you can either question his statements or simply take his word for it. Anders is taken away by the Nazis, leaving Gerda alone with the knowledge that her husband has been keeping secrets. After examining the chicken feed, Gerda discovers a paper that confirms that Anders has been involved with the Resistance, aiding two Jewish people, a mom and child, and providing plans to the leadership of the group. With Anders held captive by the Nazis, Gerda embarks on a mission to save her husband, forming alliances with various groups and individuals.

As Gerda, players must navigate complex relationships and make strategic choices to gain trust and support. Developing relationships is key, as higher levels of trust make certain choices easier to navigate. So, you must determine who to invest your time in and who you believe will offer the least assistance. Some choices remain locked due to insufficient trust from others or lack of trust between you and various factions—the Danes, the Germans, the Nazis' occupation forces, and the Resistance. Gerda also writes diary entries, recording everything that has happened. You decide what comment she makes about the situation, which can increase your wit, compassion, and insight levels. This is an important factor in

choices because you can sway officials and other people by having points of compassion, insight, and wit. These points are critical as you cannot make certain decisions without them. Although it is a little hard to know which comment to choose in order to gain more points in the various categories, this does add the realistic element that not everyone has equal skills in wit, compassion, and insight. Another element to consider while playing is that you must choose where to go and what activities to do in the time allotted. Ultimately, you cannot do everything, you have to make decisions, no matter how difficult.

The gameplay is remarkably similar to that of *Telltale* games—your choices matter. The setting of the game, Nazi-occupied Denmark in 1945, is familiar in the sense that other media have examined the wartime experience of World War II. However, *Gerda: A Flame in Winter* examines the journey of a regular civilian who ends up in chaos trying to save her husband from death. In my opinion, the game depicts a very realistic point of view. All of the decisions are remarkably hard to make. You cannot do everything the game offers; you will have three to four areas to choose from but will only be able to interact with two to three. There were so many times I had to sit in front of the computer to reflect on what I wanted to choose because I wanted to save everyone involved, especially my husband. This game forces you to put yourself in the character's shoes. While playing, I was so passionate about the narrative that it felt like my choices were actually happening and that I was going through what happened in the game. At multiple points within the game, you must make a choice between personal ethics and what would be the best way to save your husband. You do not want to help the Nazis, but maybe getting them to trust you can help get your husband out? Or maybe helping the Resistance might break him out? Or do you try to save him on your own?

In my playthrough, I followed my instincts and avoided fully aligning with any faction, although I made a conscious effort not to help the Nazis. However, I encountered difficulties with the Danes whenever I helped other Germans. During war, people will die; it is inevitable, and I think this game shows that perfectly—you cannot save everyone. From what I have observed, I believe there are several possible endings: you survive, but sadly Anders dies; you both survive together, but at what cost; and you can both die. Ultimately, there were not many shortcomings to the game. While playing, my only issue was with the depiction of characters and their nationalities. They are shown with either the Danish flag or the modern German flag; in Gerda's case, both are displayed in a small circle. While this helps you understand the origins of each character, given the context of the time period, it perhaps would have been more appropriate to have used the flag of the German Reich.

*Gerda: A Flame in Winter* is incredibly realistic because it is actually a real-life story. Hans Von Knut Skovfoged, CEO and Creative Director at PortaPlay (the company that developed the game), shares the story of his grandmother, who was a part of the Danish resistance during World War II. Because you are interacting with a variety of characters on both sides of World War II, there is a more human

element to the game which even results in a humanization of the Nazi soldiers, who are given a personality. For example, Wolfgang Holtz, a Nazi soldier engaged to Gerda's childhood best friend Margrit Vestergaard, is a character Gerda encounters throughout the game. During my playthrough, he ended up dying, and I was devastated because I liked him even though he was a Nazi.

In terms of the overall historical aspect of the game, while playing, you encounter people, places, and events that ordinary people in Denmark would have encountered at the time. When you come across such moments, you receive an interesting fact to look at when Gerda writes in her diary. Such historical people, places, and events include the experiences of Danes during the occupation of Denmark (1940–1945) like fuel shortages, blackout rules, and rationing; Nazi organizations like the NSDAP-N (the Nazi Party in Denmark), *Zeitfreiwillige* (a unit of the Waffen-SS composed of collaborationist volunteers from Denmark), the *Hitlerjugend* (the Hitler Youth, a youth organization of the Nazi Party), and the Gestapo (the Nazi secret police force); and the work of the Danish Resistance (especially in Sonderjylland, or southern Jutland) through actions like railroad sabotage. The developers incorporate all of this historical context in the game and so much more, which adds to the realism of the experiences. They even show real pictures of the time that were found in archives. I did not know about many of the events mentioned in the game because, so far, I have learned more about the war itself than about how people were affected by the Nazis in their daily lives.

Overall, *Gerda: A Flame in Winter* is both enjoyable and educational, as it teaches about the time period and civilian life. While this game deals with a heavy topic, which you definitely feel while playing, it provides a fascinating way to learn about the ending of World War II without solely focusing on the war itself.

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### *Mount & Blade II: Bannerlord*

[sandbox action role-playing strategy video game].

Developer: TaleWorlds Entertainment.

Platforms: Xbox One, Xbox Series S/X, PlayStation 4, PlayStation 5, Microsoft Windows/PC.

Release date: October 25, 2022.

The rags-to-riches story is one of the most popular and archetypal narrative structures one can employ. What would you say if I told you that the journey to those riches depended entirely on your choices, and that the tale would unfold in a violent medieval realm? These are the conditions and opportunities presented by TaleWorlds's *Mount & Blade II: Bannerlord*. Initially the game was launched in early access, a type of release where the product is still a work in progress, on Monday, March 30, 2020. Since then, it has undergone significant updates, and its

complete version was finally released on October 25, 2022. During the two years of early access, TaleWorlds focused mainly on fixing bugs or issues with the initial build of the game, adding more and more mechanics and content until it was time to officially release the final build. The final build is something to behold—an entire fictional continent for players to explore and interact with.

The events of *Bannerlord* take place in Calradia, a fictional representation of the European continent. The story is set during the year 1084, toward the end of the Calradic Empire—think of it as a parallel to the disintegration of the Roman Empire and the rise of the so-called “Dark Ages.” During the time period in which the game takes place, there are a wide variety of up-and-coming kingdoms looking to challenge the former empire and stake their claim in the lands of Calradia. These include factions like the Aserai, who are characterized as desert nomads inspired by real Islamic and Arabic empires; the Sturgians from the north, who are an amalgamation of Slavic and Viking inspirations; the Vlandians, who make great mercenaries and bear a resemblance to various European cultures (especially the Normans, Vandals, and Goths); the Khuzaites, who are a derivative of the Mongolian Empire, complete with powerful cavalry and fast movement speed; and the Battanians, who resemble early Anglo-Saxon cultures with a focus on woodland combat. The Empire is also selectable as a faction; and they are inspired by a combination of central European cultures and the Roman Empire.

The nation you choose to play as mainly affects the statistical bonuses to your abilities as a character; it rarely, if ever, directly affects how non-playable characters interact with your player character. For instance, choosing a Sturgian will net you and your warband a 20 percent reduction of the speed penalty normally applied when traveling through snow. Alternatively, choosing the Empire will grant your character a 20 percent construction speed bonus to building town projects, completing structural repairs, and building siege engines. Building a character can be as deep or as shallow as you want it to be. Of course you can design how your character looks, but most options look quite terrible because graphic quality was never the focus of *Mount & Blade* games; it has always been about simulating medieval worlds. After designing the look of your character, you are presented with a series of background questions that are related to the nation you chose to play as. These background questions serve the dual purpose of giving your character a backstory before the game begins and granting bonuses to a variety of skills depending on the choices you make. During your adolescence, did you work at the village smithy? Or sell produce at the local market? The former bestows a bonus to your two-handed skills and your vigor, while the latter applies the bonus to your trade and charm skills. Many of these choices are irrelevant to the narrative or gameplay, so you can ignore what they say and just focus on trying to get the exact skill bonuses you want.

The sandbox-like nature of the game encourages multiple playthroughs. There are so many different ways to play the game, and it would be difficult and tedious to do it all with one character. So, I settled on creating three distinct characters.

The first was a merchant and blacksmith named Martin. Martin began his story by helping a local village deal with a bandit problem; he hired villagers to join the fight with him. After defeating the bandits, he took the money and supplies the villagers paid him and immediately bought grain, sheep, and any other supplies for sale. He then traveled to the closest city in the north called Lycaron. It was here that Martin sold his supplies and used them to buy iron ore and hire soldiers as bodyguards. At the local smithy, Martin began to craft weapons, and once finished, he took the weapons and traveled to neighboring cities and kingdoms to sell them. Sometimes he would buy other supplies and sell them for a profit in a different kingdom since the game has a simulated market economy, with supply and demand affecting the pricing of goods throughout the entire map. Martin maintained his routine, increasing profits as he went and hiring more and more soldiers as protection. Initially, this was quite a simple, yet dull gameplay loop, but once you are carrying supplies worth thousands of gold, bandit warbands take an interest and attack you during your travels throughout the map. Martin had no martial talents, and so, in battle, he would mainly command his troops to charge while he watched the chaos from afar. Admittedly, this was not the most engaging way to play, but after a while, Martin was obscenely rich and able to buy himself the nicest clothes, armor, and weapons, even if he could not use them that well.

The next character I made was called Faramir, a classic knightly figure who was skilled with a sword, shield, and heavy armor. After dealing with the same bandit issue that Martin had started his story with, Faramir went on to swear fealty to the leader of the Southern Empire, the widowed Empress Rhagea. From there, Faramir went on to serve the Southern Empire, completing quests for Rhagea herself or any citizens in need of help. He was often rewarded with gold, which he used to grow his army. This story was much more engaging because Faramir was leading the charge in most of his battles and was always in the thick of every combat encounter. It is here that the game's mechanics really shine; of course, one could never say it is extremely realistic, but it tries to be, and there is an internal logic to the way combat plays out if you are paying attention. Use archers to weaken forces before they reach you, create a defensive shield wall at choke points, and charge your cavalry around the flanks of the enemy to flatten them from the side or the rear—all logical tactics that consistently work. Most importantly, no one character is a "hero" capable of taking on more than two or three characters. If you try to "solo" a warband, you will be surrounded and killed quickly. You will always need your men with you, so put some thought into how you engage in combat. Faramir was a natural leader and great combatant; after completing so many quests, he was granted a fort to call his own. This opens up the kingdom management system to the player. Faramir could now manage the fort and surrounding villages by setting up tax systems and trade routes, by staffing farms and guard towers, and by all sorts of micromanaging.

Once Faramir was left to manage his fort, I felt it was time to try something different. I created the iconic raider, a Viking-like, axe-wielding warrior named

Ragnar. Ragnar decided to help the small farm with bandits, take every bit of money he earned, hire mercenaries, return to that farm, and completely wipe it out. This began a chaotic loop of raiding, stealing, and killing any small targets he could find, mainly villages and smaller towns. Using the weapons and supplies from the raids, he would feed and pay for his raiding party, which grew to a rather large size. Of course, it did not take long before multiple kingdoms began to send armies and warbands to hunt down Ragnar. This was where travel and positioning on the map became vital for survival. By carrying a lighter load and having more horses, you can outrun other parties who may be after you. Also, running into the forests allows you to hide from armies that may be looking for you. There were times when Ragnar was unable to outrun the soldiers sent after him; this resulted in a savage, chaotic battle that was often filled with hit-and-run tactics. Unfortunately, this gameplay loop became quite stressful, and the terrible actions of Ragnar caught up with him when two massive armies converged on his position, wiped out his raiders, and killed him.

This game has so many engaging moments of emergent gameplay: the potential stories you can create, the roles you can fill, and the opportunities to just exist in this medieval simulation seem endless. The game is not without its flaws; if you are used to beautiful cinematic games with top-tier voice acting and animation work, you will not find that here. Often, non-playable characters with lots of dialogue are not even voiced, so there will be quite a bit of reading dialogue depending on how often you are interacting with diplomacy or trade. You can walk around cities, towns, and villages and view a very passable representation of a “world” that exists; however, it does not necessarily have the dynamic nature of something like *Grand Theft Auto* or *Red Dead Redemption*. This game is trying to simulate an entire continent. You can always tell what the focus of development was, namely, the combat and the economy.

The game’s value for the study of history mainly comes in the form of the simulation itself. It is an opportunity to engage with and exist in what a medieval world “might” have been like. Of course, any serious historian will quickly point out some of the game’s silly or anachronistic elements that are included for the sake of player fun. *Mount & Blade* can be a gateway for students to learn about and study medieval warfare, economies, kingdoms, and politics. The simulation is clearly inspired by all of those topics as they existed within our real history. If you are someone capable of role-playing and making their own fun, this game is perfect for you. If you want a well-crafted cinematic story, you might want to look elsewhere. A comparable game with a focus in medieval world building is *Manor Lords*, a real-time tactics and strategy based game released on April 24, 2024. I thoroughly enjoyed my time with *Mount & Blade II: Bannerlord*.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: Vincent de la Torre of La Habra, California, earned his B.A. in Media Arts (2015) at California State University, Chico, and both his Single-Subject Teaching Credential in Social Science and English (2018) and his M.A. in History (2024) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). He is currently teaching history at the high school level.



*Synaxarion: Acts Part 1*  
*[third-person adventure video game].*

Developer: Ignatios Productions.  
 Platforms: Nintendo Switch.  
 Release date: October 27, 2022.

No sentence has ever changed the world as “It is finished,” when Jesus gave up the ghost on the Cross. The tearing of the veil in the Temple, the darkening of the sky, the earthquakes, and the rising of the dead that proceeded afterwards turned the whole world upside down. The Crucifixion and the events that followed are often seen as compelling moments in history that many would consider traveling back to if they had the opportunity. Aside from attending Mass or Divine Liturgy, the closest you will get is *Synaxarion: Acts Part 1*, developed by Ignatios Productions, a Catholic media production company. The game begins with the Crucifixion and ends where the Book of Acts finishes (hence the name) with tidbits added in from the Synaxarion. For those unfamiliar with the Synaxarion, it is defined immediately upon clicking “New Game” on the main menu:

The Synaxarion is a collection of Saints’ lives, which are celebrated each day of the year. They are a light that leads us to Christ in every generation, a living Gospel. The ministry and very life of Christ is worked out in the lives of the Saints, His faithful servants. They are the glory of the Church, the God-bearers on earth and in heaven. Most of the Saints were unknown to the world, but the Grace of God made them known to the whole universe and to all the ages. Amen.

The Synaxarion is the collection, also known as “Lives of the Saints” used by the Greek Orthodox Church; it is known in the Slavic nations as the “Prologues.” Upon loading into the game, you find yourself, a disciple of Christ, at Golgotha, where the world of ancient Judea emerges in a beautiful array of colors. The game was made in the Unreal game engine, which is the software framework used by the majority of game developers due to its powerful 3D creation tools, and it certainly shows. The game’s visuals bear resemblance to another title on the Nintendo Switch, *Octopath Traveler* (without the sprite animations). The music is fitting for the area; it is very Middle Eastern, though it does feel like some of the music (particularly on the world map and elsewhere) came from royalty-free music resources. You approach the foot of the Cross, impossible to miss on the map due to it being a 3D rendering of a Byzantine icon depicting the Passion, and press “A” to start the scene. The screen goes dark before displaying a beautiful Byzantine icon of the Crucifixion, with the text following the account in St. Luke’s Gospel. All scenes found in the game (Crucifixion, the Harrowing of Hades, Pilate’s Court, etc.) are depicted via iconography. After the retelling, you approach St. Mary Magdalene, who requests that you tell St. Joseph of Arimathea so that the burial process can begin. You can also approach St. John, St. Longinus (the centurion who pierced Jesus’ side and was healed of his blindness), and a few other Roman soldiers, if you would like, who offer some dialogue before heading into Pilate’s court, where the rest of the story plays out.

Being on the Switch, the game makes use of both joycons. The left joycon is used for movement, and the right joycon is used for interacting with NPCs (non-player characters) as well as for adjusting the camera angle. Upon hitting the “plus” button, you open the menu, which gives you several options: “Save Game,” “Return to Entrance” (which sends you to the entrance of the level or area you are in), “Options,” and “Exit to Title Screen.” In this pause screen, you also see the next objective for you to reach (e.g., talk to Nicodemus, etc.). Each loading screen will offer some Christian trivia, usually rotating between the Synaxarion, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, or gameplay tips.

If you bought this game expecting action, combat, or anything of the sort typically associated with video games, you will be sorely disappointed. While this is a video game, it is more of a visual novel (i.e., a video game genre that tells an interactive story primarily through text). The developer does have a role-playing game (RPG) titled *The Last Dragon* in the Nintendo eShop for those desiring a more actionable experience. In *Synaxarion: Acts Part 1*, there is a form of achievement hunting/puzzles in the game through the collecting of coins and treasure chests (which are primarily used to unlock stories of the Saints on the world map) that a “wise old man” buried across the game; however, that is the only additional content present. I initially sidestepped coin collecting because, personally, I just wanted to experience the story, but the game will lock you out of progressing forward unless you have collected enough coins and/or chests. A couple of hours into my playthrough, I had to go to the Upper Room (see Mark 14:15, Luke 22:12, and, of course, Acts 1:12–13, etc., in the New Testament), but the game refused to grant me entrance until I opened one chest (which can be found in Pilate’s Court). Of my few complaints regarding the game, this is probably the most egregious. Another issue I encountered quickly with the gameplay is that my character would frequently get stuck in weird corners of a map and would not budge no matter which direction I moved the joycons. The only thing to do at that point was pause the game to hit “Return to Entrance” and respawn at the beginning of the map again. While this one might be chalked up to personal preference rather than objectivity, I did not like the fact that the game requires the Switch to be docked. This was annoying as, on several occasions, I was not able to play with my Switch docked, so I would have to have the Switch propped up somewhere in my room while using my joycons. It would be much simpler had the developers allowed the game to be played in handheld mode (holding the Switch as opposed to hooking it up to the TV in dock mode). The game’s entry on Nintendo’s website does say that all modes of play are supported (TV, Dock Mode, and Handheld), so the information might be incorrect.

Thankfully, there is more I like about the game than I dislike. The most attractive aspect of the game is, by far, the art. When a game is full of beautiful Byzantine iconography and excellently detailed models for the characters, it is near impossible to be ugly. The visuals for the world map and certain buildings, in particular, remind me of assets found in RPG Maker. Specifically, some assets,

notably buildings, appear to be reused. However, I do not blame the developer for this decision because indie developers pour their soul into their work and often face budget constraints that are more severe than those encountered by AAA developers. Another detail I loved – and wish more games would employ – was that non-player characters (NPCs) will actually move their heads to follow your character, tracking your movements if you approach them, which I have not seen since playing the massive multiplayer online game (MMO) *Mabinogi* during my childhood. If you accidentally open a dialogue with an NPC, you can walk away, and after a certain distance, their speech bubble disappears. Lastly, I love that a Christian developer is making Christian-themed games. The last era where Christian video games were prominent were the 1980s with games like *The You Testament*, but none of them were very good. You do have various video games available that are either inspired by Christian material, such as the video game *Dante's Inferno*, or Christian themes, such as *Doom*. However, it is unlikely that many Christian parents would purchase such games for their children due to the presence of hyper-violent content found in those entries.

One neutral point I might add, as this might matter for some, is that the game is not “original” in the sense of artistic liberty. Aside from the models used for the buildings, interiors, and characters, everything else is taken straight from Orthodox tradition or use. All scenes are depicted via iconography. There is no creative liberty taken with the portrayals or with the way the dialogue is written: everything is taken directly from the Bible, the Synaxarion, or hymns. In other words, the game and its developers are very true to the source material.

When considering who might purchase the game, I think it is important for anyone who identifies as Christian to consider buying it, regardless of denominational leaning. If Christians wish to encourage the creation of more Christian-themed content, then they should consider financially supporting existing Christian developers. That said, the target demographic appears to be Orthodox Christians given the content and visuals. For example, one scene in the game depicts the Harrowing of Hades, which, while mentioned in the Scriptures, is not as pronounced or covered in churches outside of Orthodox and Catholic circles. However, if the idea of a visually interactive Book of Acts appeals to you, then I would encourage you to buy this game. If nothing else, the game is only \$4.99 on the Nintendo eShop and takes less than 4.0 GB of space, so there is no real downside to purchasing it. *Synaxarion: Acts Part 1*, which can be found in the Nintendo eShop for digital download on any Nintendo Switch Console, is rated T (for “Teen”) for blood, sexual themes, and violence.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Jacob Nikolson of San Marcos, California, earned his B.S. in Business Administration (2020) at California State University, San Marcos (CSUSM). He is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), where he is a member of the History Student Association (HSA) and the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). He also served as an editor for volume 50 (2023) of “The Welebaethan: A Journal of History.”*

*Total War: Rome Remastered*

[turn-based strategy video game with real-time battles].

Developer: Creative Assembly, Feral Interactive.

Platforms: Microsoft Windows/PC, Android, macOS, iOS.

Release Date: April 29, 2021.

How will you dominate the Mediterranean in 270 BC? Can you do better than the ancient Romans? What if the Carthaginians had won all three of the Punic Wars? What if Persia had reclaimed their lost territory and more during Alexander the Great's conquest? What if Gaul took control of the Italian Peninsula 745 years before the fall of Rome in 476 AD? These are some scenarios *Total War: Rome Remastered* (2021), developed by Creative Assembly, can show us. *Total War: Rome Remastered* has the base game and two expansions that take place at different times during the time of the ancient Romans. The base game sees the Roman Republic at the heart of Rome. The player's goal is to win the *Imperial Campaign*, which requires them to choose one of nineteen factions and try to conquer the known world of the Mediterranean in 270 BC. The *Barbarian Invasion* is the first expansion pack of the original game *Rome: Total War*. This pack takes place during the migration period and during the time of the Western Roman Empire's collapse (363–476 AD). *Alexander* is the last expansion pack the game received. It takes place from 363 BC to 323 BC and has you take control of Alexander the Great through his conquest of the Persian people and their empire.

On the game's main title screen, there are three different game types: the *Imperial Campaign*, *Historical Battles*, and *Custom Battles*. Each game has a custom battle type. In this mode, the player can choose the factions, the units that will be deployed, and the map location. The game and the expansions all come with their own time- and period-specific scenarios called *Historical Battles*. These battles are based on famous battles sourced by Creative Assembly from historical records, with some creative liberties. These preprogrammed battles feature preassigned units from the respective faction and are set in the starting scenario depicted in the records. In the *Imperial Campaign*, the player can choose from various Mediterranean factions: in the base game, these are the Roman, Greek, Carthaginian (African), Barbarian, and Eastern cultures; in *Barbarian Invasion*, these factions are Hunnic, Nomadic, Barbarian, Eastern, Northern African, and Roman. By contrast, in the *Alexander* expansion, the only faction available to the player in the main campaign is Macedonia, home to Alexander the Great.

At the outset of the game, the player has only three starting factions to choose from in the Roman culture: the House of *Julii*, the House of *Brutii*, and the House of *Scipii*. If the player conquers a faction in the main campaign, it will unlock that faction as playable in another campaign. While you begin with the Roman faction, you are free to conquer whatever you want. The three Roman houses need to appease the Roman Senate as well as the people (S.P.Q.R., i.e. *senatus populusque Romanus*) by completing tasks that reward you with units, fame, or *denarii* (the in-game currency). During gameplay, there are two types of maps: the campaign map

and the battle map. On the campaign map, the player is tasked with maintaining their chosen faction's growing empire. This is where the turn-based part of the game begins. After a player exhausts all of their possible actions, their turn is over. In-game time moves along at a pace of six months for each turn that is taken. The possible tasks the player oversees completing can be broken down into two categories: *City Maintenance* and *Empire Maintenance*. With *City Maintenance*, the player needs to maintain public order by recruiting military units (both land and sea), spies, assassins, and merchants. *City Maintenance* also chooses what building is to be constructed or repaired if needed. The city panel is where taxation is set to either low, normal, high, or very high. If public order is not maintained, riots will start, destroying city buildings. If not quelled, a full rebellion will take over the city, kicking out garrisoned troops. With *Empire Maintenance*, the player must use diplomatic agents to engage in negotiations with other factions, which can result in trade, military access, alliances, ceasefires, map information, tributes, region exchanges, and bribery. The player is also able to move their armies, fleets, and agents around through the fog of war on the campaign map. Each unit has a set number of movement points per turn. Armies and fleets can engage in battles with enemy factions. Armies can lay siege to cities. If a city has a wall and the attacking army has no siege engines (onagers or *ballistae*) or siege equipment (battering rams, siege towers, sapper points, or ladders), they must be built a turn before the battle. Once the battle is initiated, the map changes to the battle map. The battle map implements the real-time strategy aspect of the game. The player commands units that have been assembled on the campaign map before the battle, directing them into battle on open fields or during city sieges. These battles are won by either killing all enemy units or routing all enemy units off the map. In sieges, the player is additionally tasked with capturing and holding the town square for three minutes. The player must focus on each unit's morale to make sure the unit does not flee from the battlefield. Morale is affected by fatigue, the size of the enemy forces, and the leader of the army. The player must keep the general or captain of the army from being killed by the enemy, which causes the biggest loss of morale.

*Total War* was developed by Creative Assembly and originally published by Activision, though the rights were later acquired by Sega Corporation, who now publishes the games. Activision has been a well-known video game developer and publisher since 1979. Located in Santa Monica, California, Activision is most recognized for several franchises: *Call of Duty*, *Guitar Hero*, *Crash Bandicoot*, and *Tony Hawk's Pro Skater*. The Sega Corporation is one of the oldest publishers and developers and has been well-known in the video game market since 1960. Located in Shinagawa, Japan, Sega was one of the biggest rivals to Nintendo during the "Console Wars," which started in the 1980s and persisted until their departure in 2001 from the console manufacturing side of the industry. After 2001, Sega shifted their focus to developing and publishing games. Sega is renowned for creating the *Sonic* games, as well as publishing multiple series: *Company of Heroes*, *Persona*, and *Total War*. The developer of the series, Creative Assembly, now a

subsidiary of Sega (acquired in 2005), was founded in 1987 in Horsham, England. Creative Assembly is known its series *Total War*, a turn-based strategy game with real-time battle sequences. They have solo-developed several other games including *Alien: Isolation*, a survival horror game based on the *Alien* movie franchise, and *Halo Wars 2*, a real-time strategy game from the *Halo* series.

*Total War: Rome Remastered* is a remastered version of the third installment of the beloved *Total War* series, which is known for depicting historical periods of great warfare: the Sengoku period of Japan, the Napoleonic Wars, the American Revolution, the High Middle Ages before the Crusades, and the Three Kingdoms era. The game uses the real names of units, people, and cities. The units of each faction have similarities to each culture but have unique unit types specific to them. The Roman factions utilize the real names of different types of soldiers: *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*. This game is a good representation of the time period of the Mediterranean Sea between the years 363 BC and 476 AD. I have played all of the factions that are unlockable for the game. Each of the factions is intended to be balanced, but the Barbarian and Eastern factions do struggle during the middle to late part of the game. The visuals for the game have been improved compared to the 2004 original game. There is voiced dialogue every time a unit, army, fleet, or agent is selected. These dialogues can get annoying for some people since they repeat themselves whenever selected. The remastered unlocks include all factions for the player, except for rebels and the Senate. Furthermore, the graphics have been updated from the original 2004 release. With the map looking less pixelated, the use of water-colored cutscenes in addition to in-game assets helps update the visuals for the remastered version. The map user interface (UI) has the addition of wider zoom, additional information tabs, and map rotations. These features became standard after the release of the fourth game, *Total War: Empire*, in 2009 along with the introduction of a new game engine. When in battle, the troops tend to be slow to react to orders. The remastered version boasts an improvement to the game's artificial intelligence (AI) pathing, allowing for more tactical maneuverability on the battlefield as well as the addition of the merchant on the campaign map. Even with this improvement, the AI still has some units getting stuck on terrain or walls, but far less frequently.

The original *Total War* was my introduction to the franchise, and I have played it for at least 200 hours. I continue to recommend this game and franchise to any PC (personal computer) gamer who is interested in history. Even with the newest game in the series, *Total War: Pharaoh*, released 2023, *Total War: Rome* is considered to be the best game in the series to date, giving Creative Assembly a reason to create an updated remaster. With the ability to create "what if" scenarios with ancient Mediterranean civilizations, the remastered version keeps players coming back for its high replay value.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: Kevin W. Harper of Mission Viejo, California, earned his A.A. in History (2020) at Saddleback College. He is currently pursuing his B.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).

# Department of History (Awards) 2023/2024

## **Student Award Recipients**

Kathryn Foyt ♦ *Academic Support Scholarship*  
Latosha Thomas ♦ *Bakken Book Fund Award*  
Jessica Hunter Casciato ♦ *Black Family Fellowship in History*  
Jennifer Cruz ♦ *Black Family Fellowship in History*  
Amanda Vitale ♦ *Carmen Delphine Bayati Memorial Scholarship*  
Eva Amarillas Diaz ♦ *Dr. Jeffrey Griffith '13 Award in U.S. History*  
Moriah Esquivel Narang ♦ *Dr. Jeffrey Griffith '13 Award in U.S. History*  
Dayana Reyes-Cruz ♦ *Dr. Jeffrey Griffith '13 Award in U.S. History*  
William Trevilla ♦ *Dr. Jeffrey Griffith '13 Award in U.S. History*  
Jessica Hunter Casciato ♦ *Hansen Fellowship in Oral and Public History*  
Marian Stefany Navarro ♦ *Jorice Maag Local History Scholarship*  
Isabella Praslin ♦ *Lawrence B. de Graaf History Student Fellowship*  
Amer Hamid ♦ *Lawrence B. de Graaf History Student Fellowship*  
Jessica Hayes ♦ *Nancy Fitch Women and Gender History Award*  
Moriah Esquivel Narang ♦ *Ronald Rietveld Fellowship on the Era of Abraham Lincoln*  
Natalya Rowe ♦ *Seymour Scheinberg Jewish Studies Award*  
Daisy Sandoval ♦ *Warren Beck Outstanding History Student Award*  
David Marlin ♦ *Wendy Elliot Scholarship in California History*

## **Faculty Award Recipients**

Allison Varzally ♦ *James Woodward Faculty Achievement Award*  
Stephen O'Connor ♦ *Leland and Marlita Bellot Release Time Award*  
Kristine Dennehy ♦ *Leland and Marlita Bellot Research Grant*  
Aitana Guia ♦ *The Woodard History Faculty Travel Grant*

# Phi Alpha Theta (Theta-Pi Chapter) 2023/2024

## **Officers**

Isabella Praslin ♦ *President*  
Scott Terlouw ♦ *Vice President*  
Adam Estes ♦ *Board Member-at-Large*

## **Faculty Advisor**

Robert McLain

## **Spring 2024 Initiates**

Trevor Arcadipane  
Ryan Christensen  
Wesley Estes  
Katherine Garcia  
Moriah Esquivel Narang  
Sebastian Hoang  
Aixa Guadalupe Martinez Tello  
Sean Morkus  
Marian Stefany Navarro  
Matthew Olsen  
Isabella Praslin  
Anna Schiebeck  
William Trevilla  
Akilah Young



# Submission Guidelines for Volume 52 (2025)

*The Welebaethan: A Journal of History* invites authors to submit their scholarly articles and essays (including article-length theses); editions of archival materials (e.g., of manuscripts, oral histories, and historical photographs); as well as reviews (e.g., of books, exhibitions, films, documentaries, TV shows, podcasts, and games that are of interest to historians) for publication consideration; reviews must pertain to items with a publication/release date of January 1, 2022, or thereafter.

Submissions should be authored either by undergraduate or graduate scholars at California State University, Fullerton, who are currently matriculated or have graduated within one year before the journal's next publication date (summer 2025); or by undergraduate or graduate scholars from other institutions, as long as a brief recommendation written on letterhead by a faculty member from the author's home institution is sent directly via e-mail to the journal's faculty advisor by the respective deadline (see below). Authors do not have to be History majors. Multi-author submissions may be considered. Authors may submit more than one item for publication consideration but must send each item attached to a separate e-mail (see below).

Citations must follow the *Chicago Manual of Style* (Notes-Bibliography style). Authors should consult the journal's current volume as a guideline when they prepare their citations. Submissions must be in the form of MS Word documents, carefully proofread, and with as little formatting as possible. The responsibility to obtain copyright clearance and permission to publish with regard to archival materials and images rests with the authors and will be required in writing. Note that "public domain" does not equal copyright clearance or permission to publish.

Authors must attach their submission as a MS Word document and send it via e-mail by the respective deadline (see below). The following must be included in the original e-mail:

1. *the author's full name, e-mail address, and cell phone number;*
2. *a very brief bio of the author (consult the bios in the journal's current volume as a guideline);*
3. *the title of the submission;*
4. *the type of submission (i.e., article, essay, edition, or review);*
5. *a brief abstract (for articles and essays only; consult the journal's current volume as a guideline);*
6. *the name of the class for which the submission was originally produced;*
7. *the name of the professor who taught the class;*
8. *the semester and year (e.g., spring 2024) during which the submission was completed;*
9. *the institution (e.g., CSUF) where the submission was completed;*
10. *a statement whether a plagiarism report (e.g., Turnitin) was generated for the submission;*
11. *for archival material and images only, a statement whether copyright clearance and permission to publish has been obtained; if yes, the respective paperwork must be scanned and attached (PDF);*
12. *this statement: "If my submission is accepted, I, [insert author's name], will cooperate with the editorial staff of 'The Welebaethan' in a timely fashion to prepare my submission for publication. I declare that the work submitted herewith is mine, not AI-generated, and constitutes original, previously unpublished scholarship not currently under publication consideration elsewhere."*

Complete submissions will be acknowledged via e-mail within thirty business days. All submissions will undergo triple-blind review (usually by CSUF's matriculated scholars, faculty members, alumni, and external reviewers). Decisions will be communicated to authors within thirty business days after the respective deadline (see below). Acceptance for publication is provisional and contingent upon an author's collaboration with the editors and timely consent to final galleys. *The Welebaethan* is an online publication <https://www.welebaethan.org/> and registered with the Library of Congress: ISSN 2692-501X. Inquiries should be sent via e-mail.

First deadline for submissions: Tuesday, **September 3, 2024**, noon (PDT).  
Second deadline for submissions: Monday, **December 23, 2024**, noon (PST).