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Letter from the Editors

Dear *Clio* Readers,

After a semester of hard work, we are honored to present the 2024 *Clio* Student History Journal. This journal would not be possible without the contributions of Sacramento State students, from those who submitted their papers for consideration to those who supported us at events. Our editorial staff and contributors have embraced and supported the privilege and responsibility of having a student-led history journal, and we hope this volume encourages our readers to carry on that legacy in the years that follow.

The 2024 *Clio* hosts ten articles written by Sacramento State students. These essays cover a wide range of historical disciplines, ranging from sports history, public history, art history, and much more. These papers and their authors offer fresh perspectives on faraway places as well as our own backyard. In addition to these articles, we are proud to publish four articles written by local high school students. These essays were the winning submissions at this year's Sacramento County History Day contest and demonstrate that students of all ages can seriously engage with learning and writing history. Finally, we have included special features and book reviews by our own editorial staff to document local events and history and to encourage further historical inquiry.

In addition to our student contributors, we would like to thank our generous donors, our printing press, and all our other supporters. We are also grateful to our editorial staff for their eager participation in publishing this journal. From day one, each member of our editorial staff has stepped up and gone the extra mile. A special thanks must be given to Sean Duncan, our honorary editor-in-chief who supported us through the toughest editing days, and Amy Davey, fundraising extraordinaire who kept our team organized and our budget high. And like every editorial staff before us, we must give our greatest thanks to our advisor, Dr. Aaron Cohen. We appreciate Dr. Cohen's guidance throughout the editing process, his willingness to let us take the reins, and his teaching that has transformed us into better writers, editors, and historians.

History matters. As historians, we have the opportunity to tell important stories and to address our past critically. We believe that the authors presented here demonstrate the value of writing history, and we hope that *Clio* encourages our readers to continue engaging with history.

With pride and gratitude,
Ashlynn Deu Pree and Siena Geach
Editors-in-Chief

Making The Homemaker: Contradictions In Public Discourse on Women's Work

Douglas Andreasen

Abstract: A form of literature known collectively as “Homemaker’s Guides” sprang into being at the turn of the twentieth century. Researching these guides led to the discovery of an entire realm of discourse that took place in magazines, newspapers, and literature about what women’s work should and should not be. In this paper, I identify different sides of this public debate and explore both why it exists, and what impact it may have had on housewives. Fundamental to my argument is the idea that the advice prescribed by magazines, books, men, and other women, is fundamentally contradictory and in many ways, confusing. This research has revealed the dramatic paradigm that many women in the early twentieth century were faced with. I cite secondary source analyses and incorporate statistical analysis to frame my research. This research relies heavily on public discourse in newspapers and magazines.

All women are alike in their basic desire to do their best for their families and their household. It is the purpose of this book to help realize that desire.

The American Way of Housekeeping

At the turn of the twentieth century, popular culture in the United States had become increasingly enamored with the concept of the housewife as a profession rather than a default position held by the wife and mother in a home. *Good Housekeeping* and other magazines marketed toward women in the early twentieth century purported that housewives could hone their skills and improve in the art of housekeeping.¹ The concept of a skilled, professional housewife served a social and political purpose in the face of the suffragist movement and the changing opportunities for women in society. A new wave of feminism and the era of suffrage, both before and after the Nineteenth Amendment conjured ideas of women running wild and the death of the traditional family. This atmosphere led to a public discourse on the place of women in American society, and various actors in the early twentieth century prescribed contradictory and confusing advice to women on how the job of a housewife should be performed, resulting in public social conflict between ideologically opposed groups.²

Prescriptive lifestyle advice was offered by a variety of actors and parties. To understand the discourse that took place during this period, the most vocal actors must be defined. First, the authors and publishers of books that will collectively be called *Homemaker’s Guides*, which are the easiest group to label. This guidebook genre provided fairly milquetoast advice for wives and tended to contain mostly recipes and what would now be

¹ “The Housewife: Economical Housekeeping,” *Pictorial Review*, February 1901, 2, 15.

² “Housewife” and “Homemaker” generally refer to the same role, the (usually) female person performing labor inside of the home. However, distinctions are made in contemporaneous sources.

referred to as “life-hacks.”³ It is in this genre that one can find the quote that opened this paper, so included because it represents the locus of the American perception of homemaking.⁴ These books will be defined as a baseline that undergirds the expected status quo of gender relations and the place of women in the home as well as society more broadly. In essence, these books prescribed what American society at large had been working towards, with little in the way of provocative or groundbreaking advice.

As women began to experience greater social and economic freedom before, during, and after the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, opposition pushed back through public discourse. Often this discourse took the form of opinion columns in various newspapers and other publications. The authors of these articles often lambasted women for engaging in the behavior that they have been trained their entire life to perform.⁵ Other authors casted blame onto the vague idea of cultural decay that followed in the wake of the suffragist movement.⁶ Importantly, these authors, whether lamenting the suffragist movement or the quality of homemaking in their era, refused to engage with both the source of a given problem and the essence of any argument levied by the women’s movement.

The third group in question are the suffragists, their allies, and like-minded challengers of the status quo. Writers like Charlotte Perkins Gilman and Eudora Ramsay Richardson feature heavily in these writings. Often, authors of this kind spend less time providing traditional advice toward women and instead pointed out the contradictory or unhelpful advice. Eudora Ramsay Richardson points out, for example, that despite such great emphasis placed on preparing for wifehood, most women are provided no practicable advice with which to raise a child or tend a household.⁷ Charlotte Perkins Gilman indicated contradictory prescriptions in a similar manner.⁸ Numerous other writers that also provide keen insight into the contradictions facing women in the early twentieth century will be featured later.

An analysis of these three groups, as well as smaller groups that do not fit neatly into any category will show that the prescriptive advice offered in homemaker’s guides, magazines, and other such materials proved to be fundamentally incompatible with the advice of men, antisuffragists, traditional women, and the cultural expectations that were assumed at the time. Furthermore, it will be shown that various groups, especially feminists, were acutely aware of this philosophical incompatibility. These feminists made attempts to educate the public about the contradictions facing women, and the rhetoric used against

³ *The American Way of Housekeeping* (Tokyo: Far Eastern Literary Agency & Publishing House, 1948).

⁴ Imogene Wolcott, *Household Guide ... Of Assistance in Better Homemaking*, (Worcester, Mass: E. C. Whiting, 1935); *The American Way*, 2-48.

⁵ “The Housewife: The Grievance of not a few women against their husbands is that the latter give them no ground for grievances,” *Pictorial Review*, November 1903, 5, 33; “The Criminal Incompetence of the American Housewife” *Current Opinion* (New York City, NY), February 1914, 56.

⁶ “To All Husbands,” *Life*, (New York City, NY), February 1913, 61, 365.

⁷ Eudora Ramsay Richardson, “Recognizing the Homemaker,” *The North American Review*, June 1928, 225, 693.

⁸ Charlotte Perkins Gilman, “The Man-Made Family,” *The Forerunner*, November 1909, 1.

them often failed to engage with the content of the arguments made by the feminists.⁹ Such analysis will illustrate plainly the dialectical environment of prescriptive advice for homemakers in the early twentieth century.

The current historiography of this topic is plentiful. Many historians have published research on household economy, and there is a wealth of research on society's conception of women's place in society and the household. However, the analytical framework utilized here is novel because it incorporates three discrete perspectives and examines the effect of their intersection. This intersection is not often at the forefront of feminist historical study and is therefore the subject at hand.-

There is no excuse for the wife who makes her life a burden, even on the farm.

Mrs. H. A. C. "The Wife's Labors" *Indiana Farmer's Guide*

The discourse surrounding housewives and their work occurred against a backdrop of cultural assumptions regarding the way the world should be. In *Women and the American Experience*, author Nancy Woloch defines wifehood in the United States before the progressive era, stating "The position of women was a vital thread in the ideological cloth, so fundamental it was hardly conspicuous, so axiomatic it needed no defense."¹⁰ Prescriptive advice before the twentieth century were uncommon because it was simply not required. Woloch argues that by start of the twentieth century "the home had lost most of its productive functions [...] and had become a unit of consumption, for which the homemaker was responsible."¹¹ This profound change required a fundamental reassessment of a women's role in the household. The homemaker's guide sought to reinforce and adapt to these changes, and publishers crafted new guidelines to help women navigate this new world in a distinctly feminine manner.

The role of women as the primary consumers in the American household was emphasized heavily in contemporary media. Motherhood was understood by most Americans to be the "original and legitimate base of family life" and so from motherhood emerged all other roles in the household.¹² However, during the early twentieth century, a woman moving into her husband's house after marriage would struggle greatly if she did not prepare herself for the life she had ahead of her.¹³ It can be seen here the contradiction inherent in the genre of homemaker's guides. Women were assumed to be naturally skilled in managing the economics of their home, and in this way were leaders of their household.¹⁴ But at the same time, women also required preparation before striking out on their own, because they would fall into debt if they were not ready. Concurrently, though, "Unless in the case of a person who is mentally deficient, any woman with the average amount of brains [...]"

⁹ "All Husbands" *Life*, 365.

¹⁰ Nancy Woloch, *Women and the American Experience* (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2000), 15.

¹¹ Woloch, *American Experience*, 275.

¹² Gilman, "Man-Made Family."

¹³ "Economical Housekeeping," 15.

¹⁴ Henry Van Dyke, "Household: Where Woman Is Supreme," *Christian Advocate*, September 1905, 80.

can keep out of debt if she has a regular weekly allowance.”¹⁵ Women were viewed as both naturally skilled and doomed to poverty at the same time.

The expansion of the housewife’s role into relatively new spheres that were still considered to be distinctly feminine was noted in the popular discourse of the time. An article from *New York Times* in 1913 suggests that the housewife profession had become an amalgamation of smaller, distinct jobs.¹⁶ These jobs did not necessarily mesh with the classical concept of maternal homemaking but were still considered feminine extensions of the housewife’s role. The *New York Times* suggested the consideration of each chore as a different “role,” as if in a play, to avoid developing resentment toward her work or her family. Further, there was a contemporary distinction between housewives and homemakers.¹⁷

A housewife is a woman who obtained her title by virtue being married and staying at home, while a homemaker is one who performs household chores. Servants hired to perform domestic homemaking work for larger, wealthier households, were more likely to be young, single women of foreign origin.¹⁸ Before the twentieth century, a wife could simply buy her way out of her position as a homemaker and be contented with simply being a housewife if she were wealthy enough. However, from the 1860s to the 1920s, the prevalence of foreign and native-born white women in domestic servant roles dropped dramatically.

“Nearly half of all employed native-born white women worked as domestic servants in 1860, compared to nearly two-thirds of immigrant white women. By 1900 fewer than a quarter of native-born and immigrant white women were still employed in that capacity. Mistresses desperately sought reliable domestics, but few native-born women would work as domestic servants.”¹⁹

This downward trend in professionalized, career housework, is correlated to the rise in women who performed their own housekeeping by themselves, demonstrating the rise in popularity of guidebooks like *Good Housekeeping*, and women’s magazines like *Pictorial Review*. An article from *Outlook* titled “Exit the Maid” described a growing trend where many wives were unable to cope with the loss of their maids and were forced to learn how to be homemakers, not just wives.²⁰

Women in the early twentieth century found themselves navigating a novel middle-class existence without help. Cultural forces of the time sought to prepare these women

¹⁵ “Economic Housekeeping,” 15.

¹⁶ “Housewife, Instead of Being Always the Same, Can Play a Varied Role Every Day” *New York Times*, August 1913, 13.

¹⁷ Leslie’s Weekly, “Observations of a Housewife,” *Christian Observer*, January 1905, 93, 3.

¹⁸ Christina Spencer, *An Analysis of the Domestic Worker’s Place in the Late Nineteenth Century Household*, (MA thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1994), 6.

¹⁹ Enobong Hannah Branch, “Suited for Service: Racialized Rationalizations for the Ideal Domestic Servant from the Nineteenth to the Early Twentieth Century,” *Social Science History* 36, vol. 2: 181.

²⁰ May Ellis Nichols. “Exit the Maid” *Outlook*, May 1920, 74.

for their new station by linking traditionally maternal activities such as house cleaning, basic shopping, and childrearing, to distinctly modern activities like automobile shopping, and social activism. While women in the 1830s might have been expected to be experienced in food preservation and horticulture, a housewife of the 1930s was expected to make an informed decision on automobile purchases while participating in social clubs.²¹

This paradigm shift ran in opposition to other prescriptive advice, especially from men who saw the expansion of the feminine sphere as a threat to the fabric of society. While women's popular media offered prescriptions of the feminine ideal, detractors who viewed this expansion as an infringement on the classical family dynamic voiced vocal opposition. Homemaker's guides and women's magazines purported an optimistic look at the work expected of housewives.

There is a distinction to be made between homemaker's guidebooks and women's magazines. Homemaker's guidebooks provide a list of handy tips for various household tasks that would be expected of a wife.²² Women's magazines provide a more candid look into the world of women's work, with targeted advertising, columns from other women, and much more. An advertisement in *Good Housekeeping* from 1933 showcases a new Plymouth Six automobile and argues that women are naturally gifted at shopping.²³ Shopping, in this case, referred to woman's natural sense for economic value at the marketplace. As said previously by Woloch, the new role of women in the twentieth century was not to create, but to exist as a unit of consumption. Popular culture delighted in this concept, and advertisements like the Plymouth featured in *Good Housekeeping* showcased the methods through which women were embraced as a market base.

I say that if one-half of our businessmen conducted their business as women do their housekeeping the country would soon be bankrupt.

"The Criminal Incompetence of the American Housewife" Current Opinion

There existed a cultural pushback in the early twentieth century to the expansion of the women's sphere and the new responsibilities that wives held. Opponents voiced their opinions in newspaper and magazine columns. Many of the men who voiced opposition to the increasing responsibilities of women were also anti-suffragists, and this is especially true in the years before 1920. The antisuffragist movement evolved from initially disagreeing with the concept of a woman's right to vote to being "more broadly defined by a conservative defense of the status quo and fear of radical global social revolution."²⁴ The concept of suffrage served as a locus and patsy for the fears of radical societal change. Indeed, anti-suffragists had less problem with the concept of women being allowed to vote than they did with the real issue: a complete revolution of gender norms and family values. These

²¹ "Varied Role," 13; "When Ladies Meet," 2.

²² *The American Way*; Wolcott, *Household Guide*.

²³ "When Ladies Meet, the Talk often Turns to Cars!" *Good Housekeeping*, 1933, 97, 2.

²⁴ Kristy Maddux, "When Patriots Protest: The Anti-Suffrage Discursive Transformation of 1917," *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 7, no.3 (2004): 285.

fears manifested in aggressive critique of behaviors exhibited by many women in the twentieth century. These critiques, targeted women's behaviors that were explicitly condoned by guidebooks and women's magazines, to the point where the idea of what a "housewife" truly was, was mired in confusion and politically charged rhetoric.

Most notably, many men disagreed with the spending habits of women in the early twentieth century.²⁵ Men and male centric ideology made up the most outwardly vocal and inflammatory segment of antisuffragists, but female authors were also active at this time.²⁶ Often, opponents frame the poor spending habits of housewives as evidence that traditional society was experiencing some sort of decline. One opinion columnist wrote "how long will American husbands stand for the present inefficiency and incompetence of their wives?"²⁷ This is even though poor spending habits might have been attributable to women being outright scammed by male sellers.²⁸

Other disgruntled columnists lamented the station of husbands in this new world. One author wrote that the American husband "no longer appears necessary."²⁹ The author went on to say that the housewife had "triumphantly emerged from her chrysalis state and has formed herself into various offensive and defensive bodies. There are housewives' clubs, there are mother's clubs [...] but the weak and defenseless husband has no union." The author lamented that men were becoming lost in American society as a direct result of the widening of the women's sphere. He did not frame women's liberation in strictly negative terms but made it clear that the outcome of such liberation would be to the direct detriment of husbands the world over. The philosophy of men's activism during this period framed women's liberation not only as a moral wrong, but a wrong that was acting to the immediate detriment of the dominant social structure.

Men often lashed out publicly in newspapers against the suffragist movement by criticizing women's skill in housekeeping. Professional columnist Chester T. Crowell, who would eventually go on to write for the *New Yorker*, criticized what he saw as a long trend of household incompetence. He cited ineffective homemaking methods, poor performance, and a distinct lack of passion on the part of women:

For an equal number of years women have been cooking food, and they turned the work into disorganized drudgery from the day they look hold of it. Every single contribution toward lightening their work has been made by men. [...] It is fortunate for the women that they are not dependent upon their efficiency as

²⁵ "The Criminal Incompetence of the American Housewife," *Current Opinion* 56 no. 2 (February 1914): 152.

²⁶ Hannah Dyson, "The 'Antis,'" *Minnesota History* 67, no. 3 (Fall 2020): 163.

²⁷ "Criminal Incompetence," 152.

²⁸ Susan M. Yohn, "Men seem to take delight in cheating women, Legal challenges faced by businesswomen in the United States 1880-1920," *Women and their Money 1700-195: Essays on women and finance*. Ed. Anne Laurence, Josephine Maltby, and Janette Rutherford. (New York: Routledge, 2009) 226-37.

²⁹ T. L. M., "The Decline and Fall of the American Husband" *Life*, February 1917, 69: 258.

housewives and mothers lone in order to hold their jobs.³⁰

This article contains a foreword that claims such views were not uncommon in print media at the time. Such claims of ineptitude ran in direct contrast to the popular contemporary idea that women were indeed naturally gifted in the art of homemaking.³¹ Women were told by one party that they were gifted in the art of homemaking, while another party told them that they not only possessed no such ability, but that if they were in a workplace, they would have been fired.

As a recurring theme, critiques levied by men tended to focus on the perception that women were flagrant spendthrifts. An anonymous opinion article stated that that women's millinery establishments (hat stores) should be investigated, and all women should be supervised in department stores.³² This, too, flew in the face of the idea that women possess natural business acumen. Anti-suffrage humor placed women's financial incompetence at the focal point of their grievances.

Beyond their skills in economics, women at the time were also criticized for lacking "professional pride" in their housekeeping skills.³³ Such critiques often offered a remedy, prescribing housekeeping classes that would directly prepare women for their future jobs as wives and mothers. At the time, no such classes existed. Many women attended schooling that seemed to prepare them for anything but a life of motherhood and homemaking. Indeed, it was expected that a woman would attend school, a university, and then work professionally for a few years before settling down for marriage.³⁴ None of this work involved any sort of preparation for life as a wife and mother. This raises the question of how women were expected to find time to satisfy the contradictory expectations set upon them.

The message from antisuffragists was not strictly one of denying the right to vote. Rather, numerous dissenters made their voices heard by voicing their displeasure at the moral and traditional decay of their society.³⁵ The role of women in society was seen as being at the forefront of cultural evolution, and any change in societal values would be first seen in women. This was the result of the shifting class structure, helped by the growing number of publicly enrolled students.³⁶ By publicly voicing dissent to the growing sphere of femininity, men could effectively challenge the moral decay that they felt was pervasive

³⁰ Chester T. Crowell, "The Worm Turns" *The Independent ... Devoted to the Consideration of Politics, Social and Economic Tendencies*, January 1914, 77: 68-69.

³¹ "Economical Housekeeping," 15.

³² "To All Husbands," 365.

³³ "The Professional Training of Women," *The Independent ... Devoted to the Consideration of Politics, Social and Economic Tendencies* ... November 1909, 67: 1159.

³⁴ A Sympathetic Old Maid "Wants the Wife's Story," *The Independent ... Devoted to the Consideration of Politics, Social and Economic Tendencies* ... June 1908, 64: 1345; Richardson, "Recognizing the Homemaker," 693.

³⁵ Maddux, "When Patriots Protest," 285.

³⁶ National Center for Education Statistics, *120 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait* (U.S. Department of Education, 1993): 26-27; Robyn Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

in their society.

Who has a better right to the pursuit of all forms of labor than the sex that originated most of it?

Helen Million, "A Feminist on Feminism"

Feminists, suffragists, and other allies voiced their displeasure with what they saw as blatant contradiction in how they were being told to live. Prominent writers like Eudora Ramsay Richardson and Charlotte Perkins Gilman understood and explored these contradictions to their logical conclusion. These feminist critiques show that prominent writers understood the contradictory and unhelpful environment that they lived in. Also notable was the existence of the "nervous housewife" problem, where women became inexplicably ill, and at far greater rates than the women of the previous generation.³⁷ These sources indicate that subscribing to any idealistic prescription of housewife was fundamentally incompatible with any other. So too, do these sources imply, that being a housewife in the early twentieth century was incompatible with a happy life.

The idealistic image of a housewife, and to an extent the image of a family unit, in the early twentieth century was often centered around the concept of motherhood.³⁸ Some feminist authors, like Charlotte Perkins Gilman, argued that this foundational understanding of womanhood is based on a false premise:

The duty of the wife to the husband quite transcends the duty of the mother to the child. See for instance the English wife staying with her husband in India and sending the children home to be brought up; because India is bad for children. See our common law that the man decides the place of residence; if the wife refuses to go with him [...] such refusal on her part constitutes "desertion" and is ground for divorce.³⁹

Gilman provides this anecdote to showcase the cultural false premise of women as mothers first and foremost. In addition, she argues that women are seen not as masters of the household, but as subservient to men in all ways, including domestically. Contemporary writers understood the authority of wives as inferior to their husbands, but they framed it as a good thing.⁴⁰ Many believed that there was freedom in domestic servitude, while Gilman argues that life of domesticity predicated on the authority of men is not one of liberation.

The concept of liberation through domesticity, with wives as a kind of junior partner or "protectorate" as opposed to being subservient, appeared often in public discourse of this period.⁴¹ This, however, is contradicted in opinion columns by men and women

³⁷ Abraham Myerson, *The Nervous Housewife* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1920).

³⁸ Gilman, "Man-Made Family."

³⁹ Gilman, "Man-Made Family."

⁴⁰ Van Dyke, "Where Woman is Supreme," 1564.

⁴¹ Gilbert Jones, "Some Impediments to Woman Suffrage" *The North American Review*, August 1909: 158.

speaking candidly on the true nature of marital dynamics. For example, more than a few anonymous columns lambast women for being “too strict” in their households.⁴² If wives were truly the masters of the domestic sphere, such complaints would not be raised at all. Indeed, the suggestion that women are imbued with divine powers of housekeeping prowess precludes most any criticism from being levied. Another columnist argued that women are often not in charge of when or where they move to, and in fact give up any sense of authority when they enter marriage.⁴³ Women are expected not to work, or to busy themselves exclusively with household chores, and to follow their husband to any destination with which he finds himself fancied, but should not “pour forth all her petty domestic woes into the ears of any chance listener as well as her husband.”⁴⁴

A few writers recognized that the historically unstable marriage and family dynamic had itself led to the conflagration that was the suffrage movement. One author writes that “the fact that the home, the most vital human institution has been managed under a system of repression [...] is the cause of the undue publicity from which my sex is now suffering.”⁴⁵ The author points out that despite being hailed as the foundation of the traditional family unit, the wife does not receive her due. This article was not featured in *The Forerunner* or *The Suffragist*, but rather in *The Ladies' Home Journal*. This was emblematic of the dialectical disconnect between men and women in the early twentieth century. Opponents to the expansion of the feminine sphere and suffragists utilized rhetoric in very different ways.

It was not intended to drive people crazy, but to save people from being driven crazy, and it worked.

Charlotte Perkins Gilman “Why I Wrote The Yellow Wallpaper”

The rapidly changing family dynamic of the early twentieth century took a mental toll on wives.⁴⁶ Abraham Myerson, a leading neurologist, and psychiatrist published *The Nervous Housewife* in 1920. He cited the problem of the “Nervous Housewife” as being a recent trend, and “nervousness” in this case referred to symptoms now understood to be various forms of anxiety disorder.⁴⁷ Myerson contends that the various causes of nervousness in housewives can be linked to the nature of women.⁴⁸ Myerson says “From the very start woman is trained to vanity. [...] To the young child, the girl, the young woman, the important thing is Looks, Looks, Looks!” The historical record shows that popular media cultivated and supported, an environment where cleanliness became the ideal.⁴⁹ When standards of household ideals could not be met, women would experience this so called

⁴² Leslie's Weekly, “Observations,” 3; “The Housewife: The Grievance,” *Pictorial Review*, 33.

⁴³ Old Maid “Wants the Wife's Story,” 1345.

⁴⁴ “The Housewife: The Grievance,” *Pictorial Review*, 33.

⁴⁵ The Country Contributor, “The Ideas of a Plain Country Woman,” *The Ladies Home Journal* 1917, 34: 32.

⁴⁶ Myerson, *The Nervous Housewife*.

⁴⁷ Emily Terlizzi and Maria A. Villarreal, *Symptoms of Generalized Anxiety Disorder Among Adults* (Maryland: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2020).

⁴⁸ Myerson, *The Nervous Housewife*, 46.

⁴⁹ “The House Wife; House Cleaning” *Pictorial Review*, 1903, 4: 45.

“nervousness.”

Myerson also argues that the “romantic ideal” is instilled into women from a young age, which results in anxiety and depression, mostly stemming from literature, for instilling fantastical ideas of marriage into young women, leading to disappointment when these ideas do not come to fruition.⁵⁰ In recent years, scholars have noted a trend that explains the advent of this literary trend. Joanne Gillis argues that these genres “validated the skills and dispositions that women used to create and sustain domestic life.”⁵¹ In other words, women created media to cope with their lack of agency. Myerson correctly identifies the existence of the problem: nervousness in housewives and begins to knock on the door of the root cause. The cause is not the nature of femininity, as many antisuffragists argued, but rather the interactions between women and their rapidly changing world. Housewives made their grievances known, and placed blame on practical, not spiritual, issues.

Walter Lippman concisely summarizes the changing world of the early twentieth century by saying “The old family with its dominating father, its submissive and amateurish mother, produced inevitably men who had little sense of common life and women who were jealous of an enlarging civilization.”⁵² Lippman presents an argument that is self-evidently true. Indeed, who or what else could be blamed for the current state of the world than the world that existed before? Lippman posits that the only reason there could be for an expansion of the women’s sphere is that the world previous was unstable. In this there is the essence of the idea that housewives were expected, by different sects of society, to act contradictorily and in many cases against their own interest.

In 1892, Charlotte Perkins Gilman published *The Yellow Wallpaper*, the story of a housewife who is imprisoned in her husband’s home. The housewife is unable to indulge in any of her creative hobbies and is slowly driven mad by the end. While fictional, Gilman claimed that the book was inspired by events in her own life and the lives of other women. Experiencing some form of nervous anxiety and melancholia, a doctor ordered her to “live as domestic a life as far as possible,” to “have but two hours’ intellectual life a day” and “never touch a pen, brush, or pencil again as long as [she] lived.”⁵³

Prescriptive advice offered by disgruntled men, doctors, other women, traditionalists, and guidebooks all worked toward the goal of having wives act in the way that culture has defined. In the early twentieth century, women’s role in the domestic sphere served as a barometer for the spiritual health of society. The solutions offered by these distinct parties served as a means to a cultural end. The advice offered by these groups served to enrich businesses, satisfy cultural values, or keep women in the place that they had always been.

⁵⁰ Myerson, *The Nervous Housewife*, 47.

⁵¹ Joanne Gillis, *Feminism, Domesticity, and Popular Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 2.

⁵² Walter Lippman, “The Woman’s Movement,” *Forum*, August 1914, 153. Inflammatory as it is, “jealous” does not have the same connotation as it might in the modern day. Lippman only means “Something that women want to take part in.”

⁵³ Charlotte Perkins Gilman, “Why I wrote the Yellow Wallpaper,” *The Forerunner*, October 1913.

Prescriptive advice was offered in the face of socio-economic and cultural changes. This advice was both contradictory and confusing, and a woman following one prescription would no doubt violate the rules of another, and perhaps she might violate her own mental health. The unstable cultural atmosphere of the early twentieth century threatened the existence of housewives no matter which choice they made.

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The Gridiron at Carlisle: How the Success of Football Tore Down an Institution

Amy Davey

Abstract: The athletics program at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School was promoted as an opportunity to achieve success, yet it would lead to the school's undoing as administrators used the program to further personal agendas. An investigation into the establishment of the athletics program reveals that, rather than a place for students to succeed, the program enriched those entrusted with its care. The evolution of the program and the damage it caused to even its most prominent players provide the backdrop for corruption which would ultimately end the institution. Historical documents from the Carlisle school and the Congressional findings of the 1914 proceedings reveal a school that began with the intention of killing the Indian to save the man and demonstrate how it failed in its duty of care and exploited students for personal gain.

I give 'em the hip, then I take it away.

-Jim Thorpe

On a cold November morning, James Thorpe of Sac and Fox Nation strapped on his boots to prepare for the most challenging battle of his life. Across the field, a young army cadet named Dwight D. Eisenhower donned his uniform and prepared to enter the fight. Each man had been training for years and perfecting their strategy for this once in a lifetime contest. As the warriors took to the field with their squads, they focused on victory at all costs. The whistle blows, the ball is kicked off, and the game is on. On November 9, 1912, at the West Point academy in New York, a football game created a sport legend. The cadets of the US Army faced off against the Fighting Indians of the Carlisle boarding school.¹ The symbolism of the game and its shocking outcome would be impossible to miss. Promoted as a rematch between the underfunded but ferocious Native people versus the mighty and powerful United States Army, the game would be an opportunity for the boys from Carlisle to make their ancestors proud.

Legendary coach, G.S. "Pop" Warner stalked the sidelines during the match, chain smoking as he watched his young charges take on the heavily favored US Army team. The game provided a master class on the sport, featuring trick plays, edge-of-your-seat action, and athleticism previously unseen in the world of football. Eisenhower and Thorpe repeatedly clashed throughout the match until Eisenhower took a hit that removed him from the game. Thorpe proved his status as a gold-medal Olympian as he "continued to carve up the Army defense, further sapping the morale of the Cadets with every run and every flick of the wrist that led to a completed pass."² The Fighting Indians of the Carlisle school contin-

¹ All use of verbiage to Native Peoples as Indians are reflections of the historical writing of the time and not reflective of the views of the author.

² Lars Anderson, *Carlisle vs. Army: Jim Thorpe, Dwight Eisenhower, Pop Warner, and the Forgotten Story of Football's Greatest Battle* (New York: Random House, 2007), 290.

ued to march over the Army team, making play after play until the final whistle blew. When the game was over, Carlisle had won 27-6.³ The football program of the Carlisle School was an undeniable success, culminating in the 12-1-1 season of 1912 where the Indians defeated mighty schools such as Harvard and Georgetown.

The Cinderella story of the 1912 season, however, does not reflect the full story of the Carlisle Athletics program. The legacy of the program remains intact as it continues to be the winningest program of any defunct higher education. What started as an experiment turned into one of the most famous sports programs in American educational history. The program gave its athletes advantages previously unavailable to Native children on or off the reservation. Student athletes received the lion's share of resources at the severely underfunded school. They received special treatment, and the school administrators gave the athletes freedom from other responsibilities that may have taken their focus off their athletic endeavors. More importantly, student athletes were given hope of a future outside of life on a reservation or working for an Indian agency. The boys of Carlisle's athletics program were featured in national news articles and found themselves the underdog heroes of their age. Featuring athletes that were standouts in World Series games, Olympic gold medalists, and professional coaches, the program provided hope outside the concept of forced assimilation. Prevailing against powerhouse teams such as Harvard and Yale, the Fighting Indians of the Carlisle school were a story of success throughout the program's twenty-five-year history. This culminated in the shocking 1912 match against the cadets at West Point in the most famous upset in college sports history. But a darker truth lay underneath the surface of one of America's most storied athletic institutions.

Although promoted as an opportunity to achieve success, the athletics program at Carlisle would lead to the school's undoing. A historical investigation into the establishment of the athletics program reveals that rather than supporting student success, the program enriched those entrusted with its care. The tenure of Pop Warner, the evolution of the football program, and the damage it caused to even its most prominent players provided the backdrop for the dark side of the program at Carlisle which would end the institution. Documents from the Carlisle school, including personal records of Carlisle superintendents, commentary by coaches such as Pop Warner, reflections of athletes in Warner's care, popular media frenzy over the Carlisle athletes, and the Congressional findings from 1914 proceedings reveal a school that began with the intention of "killing the Indian to save the man" and then systemically failed its students in the name of personal gain.

After a series of bloody wars with Native tribes in the American West and the end of Native autonomy, Progressive Era policies sought to assimilate the defeated Native tribes into Victorian era white society. In keeping with the political ideals of the time, Brigadier General Richard Henry Pratt established in 1879 what would be the first of many schools designed to educate the younger generations of Native American tribes. He aimed to assimilate them into modern American society by ridding them of their Native customs and

³ Anderson, *Carlisle vs. Army*, 291.

proving that the Native peoples could assimilate and hold a place among white America. The premise of “prov[ing] that Indians were like other people and could be easily educated and developed” would be the foundation for a brick and mortar boarding school that would offer a holistic education to bring Native children into the fold of American society.⁴ The Carlisle Indian School would board and educate over ten thousand children and teenagers, providing vocational courses, academics, and athletics programs. Additionally, outing programs would give the children firsthand experience of the kind of work ethic expected by white society, and the school would provide any additional curriculum needed to further indoctrinate Native children with Victorian principles.

Pratt’s vision of seamless assimilation fell far short of the mark. Pratt experienced a lack of enthusiasm, funding, and tense “relations with our Government’s Indian system” which forced Pratt to a level of self-promotion he had not envisioned.⁵ The school, failing its duty of care, became a breeding ground for disease, and many children suffered through homesickness, abuse, and the stripping of their individual identity. The facilities were run down, and the school failed to meet the most basic needs such as adequate food and proper clothing for their charges.

The athletics program at Carlisle seemed to pull away from this narrative. Though the football program began as an exercise to encourage Victorian era principles of masculinity to the male students, it soon showed real promise as a promotional tool for Pratt’s vision. Pratt argued that “with the violence and intense combative emotion of the game, [...] there lay the possibility to demonstrate how controlled he had taught his Native American students to become.”⁶ Featuring Olympic level athletes and helmed by the legendary Glen Scobey “Pop” Warner, the Carlisle football program was a jewel in Carlisle’s shabby crown. Held up by historians as a rousing success, the football program at Carlisle demonstrated how sports could be the great equalizer for marginalized people, as “a number of the star players of Carlisle had distinguished careers as captains of their teams in college and university football while gaining a higher education.”⁷ Pop Warner’s innovation, Pratt’s support, and an ample supply of able-bodied students provided fertile ground for the development of a program unequalled, even in modern times.

The athletics program seemed to provide a pathway for standout student athletes to succeed in life after Carlisle. However, in what should have been an opportunity designed for the success of students, each administrator exploited the program for personal gain. Pratt would use the success of the football program as proof of his grand assimilation theory, Warner would use the notoriety of the program for financial and professional gains, and a series of school administrators would use bookkeeping loopholes and lack of over-

⁴ Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904*, ed. Robert M. Utley (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), 214.

⁵ Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 214.

⁶ John Bloom, *To Show What an Indian Can Do: Sports at Native American Boarding Schools*, vol. 2 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 13.

⁷ Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 320.

sight to participate in financial maleficence. Though Pratt, Warner, and others would run a successful public relations campaign regarding the success of the program, their underhanded dealings would eventually come under public scrutiny. Media reporting of professionalism aimed at star student athlete and Olympian Jim Thorpe would lead to the unraveling of the treasured program. What began with the public disgrace of Jim Thorpe turned into students coming forward with tales of abuse, suspicion of financial mismanagement, and exploitation of star athletes. Congress dispatched an inspector to investigate the activities of the Carlisle school and the administration of its programs. Reports and testimony from those who participated and those familiar with the athletics department at Carlisle revealed a program rife with corruption and financial misconduct, with little to no regard for the students they claimed to represent.

The investigation revealed a tangled web of documents, vague communications, and exploitation of loopholes that exposed how administrators used the lack of formal oversight to pull resources from the school and funnel them into the athletics program. Alongside the investigations of Chief Inspector E. B. Linnen and the revelations of Carlisle athletes, congressional hearings led to a complete overhaul of the athletics program and saw the ouster of the school leadership. An examination of the documents reveals a back-and-forth shell game where, in the absence of oversight, loopholes were exploited, fiduciary duty blurred, and the ensuing chaos helped funnel money to the school's prize athletics program. However, history will always have a partial picture of what happened, with accusations of document tampering and obfuscation of facts resulting in an incomplete investigation. Coach Warner and Superintendent Moses Friedman would be ousted from the school, and any criminal charges would be reserved for chief clerk Siceni Nori, member of the Pueblo nation and former student at Carlisle.

The administrators at the Carlisle school went on to live fruitful lives. Friedman would continue his career as a superintendent and educator, albeit in a different institution. Pop Warner would go on to Stanford University, credited as the inventor of modern football with a junior sports league dedicated to his memory. History often overlooks the accusations of abuse, bribery, and manipulation against Warner, preferring to focus on his athletic prowess and influence on the game of football. Whispers of corruption regarding Warner's tenure at Carlisle are shrugged off as eccentric behaviors of a coach driven to win at all costs. Warner's questionable tactics and self-serving behavior are mentioned as afterthoughts and take considerable digging to uncover.

The school, unable to come back from the devastating setback, shuttered its doors in 1918. The institution leaves a troubled legacy as a failure of forced assimilation, with its one successful program failing in its duty of care to the students.

Richard Pratt: Progressive Era Fanatic

Brigadier General Richard Henry Pratt had long envisioned a program that would bring future generations of Native American children into the fold of Western society. Al-

most a decade before the Dawes Act would legislate a formal assimilation policy for Native populations, Pratt had visions “to prove that Indians were like other people and could be as easily educated and developed industrially to secure the general adoption of *my views*.” (emphasis added)⁸ His school, established in the abandoned Army School of Instruction for Cavalry Recruits, would take the children of Native tribes far from the removed world of reservation life and provide them with life skills and instill behaviors found acceptable in white society.⁹ Pratt was driven to see his vision of integrated Native sons come to fruition. Lobbying congress for funds and embarking on extensive recruiting missions, Pratt was fervent in his belief to “conduct the Indian into a civilized environment and open a way to his rightful place as a co-equal man and fellow citizens [...] The location of the school, where there were fullest opportunities for Indian youth to see the best activities of our American life and participate in them [...] this was Carlisle’s great aim.”¹⁰

Pratt’s vision was not universally shared by both white society and the Native student population and required more promotional activity for the school than he originally thought. In his memoir, Pratt recounts while most official visits to the school gave “most encouraging expressions of interest and appreciation [...] Carlisle labored from the very start.”¹¹ Issues with funding and lack of enthusiasm from the student population would plague the fledgling school in its early years. However, Pratt recognized that the undefined nature of the institution as partially private and partially under the purview of the Bureau of Indian Affairs would allow him to creatively fund and market the school. He would turn to charitable programs to assist with school operations, creating independent funds for programs like music and sports that would not be subject to government oversight.¹² When football “early became a great motive force in school life,” Pratt wasted no time in building a hearty athletic program that would market the school and further Pratt’s agenda of assimilation and cultivate the notion of a “civilized Wildman.”

The football program would operate under Pratt’s strict framework, furthering Victorian ideals of sportsmanship and work as a marketing tool for the school, rather than focus on the health and desires of the students involved. When a group of students entreated the superintendent to reinstate a football program, Pratt made his expectations clear. The program would be an extension of the Victorian values taught at the Carlisle school. The boys were not to “slug” or behave in a manner that could sully the name of the school. The students could not simply enjoy the sport of the program as Pratt envisioned them to “make a record for your race [...] and] set an example [...] for the white race.”¹³ He quickly went to work organizing the program, setting up matches between the Carlisle students and surrounding schools. Each game, however, was to present the values of Carlisle. In an infamous match against Yale, Pratt refused to allow the team to retaliate for unfair officiating,

⁸ Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 214.

⁹ Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 212.

¹⁰ Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 273.

¹¹ Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 273.

¹² Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 283.

¹³ Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 318.

instead urging them to “play the game out.”¹⁴ While Carlisle eventually would lose to their opponent, the crowds audibly cheered for the Carlisle boys and reports in the press attacked the officials for unfair calls against the team.

Pratt utilized the warm response from crowds and media outlets to the Carlisle team in matches against larger and better-funded white schools to realize the potential of the program as a marketing tool for the institution. After the match against Yale was unfairly called, the crowds and local papers sided with the small Carlisle program.¹⁵ Pratt discovered that he could use this newfound popularity to further his mission for the school. Suddenly, the focus of the program shifted. No longer for the benefit of the students, the program became a marketing tool for Pratt’s vision of forced assimilation. He wasted no time ensuring the success of the program and sought out “the best coach in the United States” for the students at the Carlisle School.¹⁶ Pratt reached out to football authority figure, Walter Camp, who could think of one name to take charge of the fledgling program: Cornell graduate and coach, Glen Scobey “Pop” Warner. Even though the school was struggling financially, Pratt would spare no expense to fund his newfound way to market the school. Using the funds outside of government oversight, Pratt agreed to Warner’s exorbitant price tag of \$1,200 per season, even though it was far outside the budget.¹⁷ In time, Warner’s career as a coach and mentor would secure his place as one of the fathers of modern football.

Under the guidance of Pratt and Warner, the sports program became a standout activity at the Carlisle school. Pratt received personal requests from students touting their athletic abilities, such as Isidor Costo “who played center at the Phoenix school,” in the hopes of playing for the successful program.¹⁸ Student athletes would find that their living situation at the school and their prospects after Carlisle far exceeded those of regular students at the institution. These student athletes would also receive special treatment. Pratt himself wrote a letter excusing student Martin Wheelock from his assigned duties due to his “important position on the football team.”¹⁹ Chippewa-born Charles Bender “who first won fame as a pitcher at the Carlisle school” in 1901 would go on to pitch a no-hitter for the Philadelphia Athletics in their battle for the World Series against the New York Giants.²⁰ The program reached from “Boston to San Francisco and from Georgia to Minnesota,” and funding for the program never seemed to be an issue for the otherwise cash-strapped institution.²¹ Banquets thrown in honor of the winning program would feature elaborate

¹⁴ Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 319.

¹⁵ Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 319.

¹⁶ Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 318.

¹⁷ Jeffery J. Miller, *Pop Warner: A Life on the Gridiron* (Jefferson: McFarland and Company, Inc. 2015), 34.

¹⁸ Isidor Costo, Transfer Request, Archives and Special Collections, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Walder-Spahr Library, Dickinson College.

¹⁹ Richard Pratt, Request to Relieve Martin Wheelock of Duty, Archives and Special Collections, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Walder-Spahr Library, Dickinson College.

²⁰ Charles Bender, Student File, Archives and Special Collections, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Walder-Spahr Library, Dickinson College.

²¹ Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 319.

menus in direct contrast to the meager offerings for the non-athletes of the Carlisle school.²² The program, already a remarkable success, had only begun to reach its heyday. However, it came at the expense of the students the school was supposed to help. When Richard Henry Pratt was forcibly retired in 1903, the program would further drain the resources of the beleaguered institution and take on an entirely new identity with the help of future football legend and Carlisle coach, Glen Scobey “Pop” Warner.

Glen Scobey “Pop” Warner: The Coach and Opportunist

Cornell graduate G.S. “Pop” Warner was an accomplished self-promoter, and the experience at Carlisle provided a perfect opportunity to further his own financial and career goals. After negotiating an exorbitant salary from the financially struggling institution, Warner went to work shaping a program that would rival those at Harvard, Yale, and even West Point. Warner convinced Pratt to embark on a recruiting campaign to enlarge the athletics rosters, enticing students to enroll at Carlisle to solely further the program with little regard to their educational needs.²³ Warner ensured his team “always traveled first class and stopped at the best hotels” despite the financial state of the struggling institution.²⁴ Warner also finessed his way into a promotion at the school to athletic director, complete with a raise to a \$2,500 annual salary and administrative control over the athletic program and its funding.²⁵

Under Pratt’s administration of the school, Warner was limited to Pratt’s ideals of Progressive Era and Victorian values regarding sportsmanship and game strategy. However, once the administration changed, Warner was given free rein to manipulate the athletics program to enrich himself and use the Carlisle players as chess pieces to secure his legacy. Tales of back room deals and shady business practices pepper Warner’s tenure with the school as head of the athletics program, yet Warner is simultaneously lifted up as a model coach that provided the misguided school with at least one successful program. The change in the program began with Pratt’s departure. What followed was a series of superintendents, most notably William A. Mercer and Moses Friedman, who pushed for a robust athletics program to shape the identity of the Carlisle School.²⁶ Instances of the Carlisle head coach selling tickets for profit and placing bets on his own players plagued the team as he sought to profit from the labors of the students in his charge.²⁷ Additionally, accusations of un-sportsmanlike conduct enflamed racial tensions and undercut the message of equality for the younger Native generation.

Warner leaned into derogatory language of the time to emphasize racist stereo-

²² 1902 Banquet of the Carlisle Indian Football Team, Archives and Special Collections, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Walder-Spahr Library, Dickinson College.

²³ Miller, *Pop Warner: A Life on the Gridiron*, 48.

²⁴ Miller, *Pop Warner: A Life on the Gridiron*, 45.

²⁵ Miler, *Pop Warner: A Life on the Gridiron*, 46.

²⁶ Matthew Bently and John Bloom, *The Imperial Gridiron: Manhood, Civilization, and Football at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2022), 77.

²⁷ Bloom, *To Show What an Indian Can Do*, 28.

types that dehumanized the students in his charge as a marketing ploy for the team. Reverting to the narrative of Native peoples as wild red men, coaching methods emphasized and encouraged the “unusual fierceness and courage” in the Carlisle students.²⁸ Pop Warner extolled the “redskin wiles” of his players, proudly proclaiming that “trick plays are what the redskins loved best. Nothing delighted them more than to outsmart the palefaces. There was never a time when they would not rather have won [...] with some wily stratagem than by [...] straight football.”²⁹ A far turn from Pratt’s original concept of the program, Coach Warner sought to play on the past stereotypes of the wild Indian, rather than emphasizing their shared humanity with athletes at other institutions.

Warner used his position at the school to further his theories on the development of the sport as well as his own legacy. Warner relied on the naivete of the Carlisle athletes and their inexperience with the sport to “fully express his creative side.”³⁰ The team’s inexperience freed them from any preconceived notions on how the game should be played, and Warner used this to his full advantage. Developing dangerous plays like the “body block,” Warner was willing to put his charges in physical danger to further his theory on play.³¹ Deceptive plays and questionable physicality would feature heavily throughout Warner’s time at Carlisle as he was willing to put his students in harm’s way to experiment with his playbook on the sport.³²

Warner and Mercer deftly pivoted away from accusations of professionalism and financial maleficence and turned the argument to benefit the program, rather than address any issues of corruption. As early as 1907, former Carlisle physician Dr. Carlos Montezuma, who had intimate knowledge of the program, made accusations that the Carlisle players were involved in pay for play schemes, exploiting loopholes that allowed athletes continued participation well after the four-year eligibility and exposing certain players participating under assumed names to skirt any contention for eligibility. Additionally, Montezuma lobbed attacks of the financial management of the school, accusing Warner of exorbitant recruiting trips and admonishing Mercer for his refusal to audit or account for expenditures from Carlisle’s athletic funds.³³ Mercer was able to exploit Carlisle’s undefined status as part-private institution, not quite under the jurisdiction of any government agency, to prohibit any investigation on athletic fund expenditures.³⁴ Instead of answering to the complaints of discipline breakdown and stories that the school had “degenerated into a school of professional athletes,” Warner and Mercer turned to an ad hominem attack against Montezuma claiming the attacks were retaliation for slights Montezuma suffered while employed at Carlisle and that “Dr. Montezuma has none of the feelings of kinship

²⁸ Bloom, *To Show What an Indian Can Do*, 25.

²⁹ Bloom, *To Show What an Indian Can Do*, 25.

³⁰ Miller, *Pop Warner: A Life on the Gridiron*, 40.

³¹ Miller, *Pop Warner: A Life on the Gridiron*, 40.

³² Miller, *Pop Warner: A Life on the Gridiron*, 40.

³³ Accusations of Professionalism at Carlisle School, Archives and Special Collections, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Walder-Spahr Library, Dickinson College.

³⁴ Major M.A. Mercer, Response to Accounting Inquiry Regarding Athletics Program, Archives and Special Collections, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Walder-Spahr Library, Dickinson College.

with the Indian,” despite Montezuma being Native.³⁵ The attack on Montezuma would further link the athletic program with the identity of the school, and an attack on the program would be considered anti-Indian. Warner and Mercer made small adjustments to eligibility of play, however, when Montezuma’s story gained little to no traction, it became apparent that the popular media and culture were in favor of the Carlisle program, allowing Warner to operate freely without the scrutiny of the public eye. He continued to grow the sports program, enriching himself in the process and not knowing the best was yet to come until a young Jim Thorpe wandered on to his field and begged to play some football.

Jim Thorpe: All American

The greatest example of exploitation of those in the athletics program is the story of Carlisle student and athlete, James Thorpe. A member of the Sac and Fox nation, Thorpe first attended Carlisle in 1904, and although he did not continuously attend, he would finally leave the school in 1913.³⁶ Originally a track star, Thorpe’s athletic prowess would be exactly what Coach Warner was looking for in a player. Under Warner’s tutelage, Thorpe’s meteoric rise to fame would include decisive football victories against formidable opponents. In games where Thorpe and his fellow “Indians” were outmatched and outgunned, they managed to pull off stunning victories that sent shock waves through the sporting world. The most valuable student on campus, Thorpe would reap the benefits of his super star status. The talented athlete would surpass even Pratt’s vision of Native assimilation into white institutions, winning two gold medals in the 1912 Olympics. His achievements would prove that the vision could work with the proper resources and a healthy “can do” attitude. Thorpe would win the hearts and minds of the American people as the great underdog in international sports. In 1912, Warner, Thorpe, and the athletics program of Carlisle school were at the top of the world. However, Warner would use Thorpe’s abilities to further his own agenda, leading to the downfall of the superstar athlete.

His coach and mentor, Pop Warner, would ultimately be the architect of Thorpe’s undoing. After winning two gold medals in the 1912 Olympic games, accusations of professionalism appeared in media outlets. And while Thorpe participated in professional sports with the full knowledge and support of his coach and mentor, Thorpe would be the one stripped of his medals while Warner would escape unscathed. At Warner’s urging, Thorpe spent time playing professional baseball in the off-season before the Olympic matches and was ineligible to participate in the games. Reports surfaced of a cover-up as Warner sought to distance himself from accusations that he influenced Thorpe to lie about his professional history. Warner assisted Thorpe in a hastily signed confession, then escaped from the scandal unscathed.³⁷ Thorpe would not be so lucky. Stripped of his medals, he would bounce

³⁵ Accusations of Professionalism at Carlisle School. Archives and Special Collections, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. Walder-Spahr Library, Dickinson College.

³⁶ Thorpe, James, Student File, Archives and Special Collections, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Walder-Spahr Library, Dickinson College.

³⁷ “Sporting Dope from All Over,” *The Day Journal* 2, no. 100 (January 1913): 21, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress.

around the professional leagues until he was relegated to a footnote in history while Warner would use his notoriety to secure his legacy with the game of college football. Unbeknownst to Warner, his callous actions toward his former protégée would have long lasting effects, and “by 1914 several students were embittered by the role he played when the International Olympic Committee had stripped Jim Thorpe of his gold medals.”³⁸ Thorpe’s disgrace would be the first step in the unraveling of the now troubled athletics program at Carlisle.

E.B. Linnen and the Investigation

Detractors of the Carlisle school use the widespread notoriety of Thorpe’s disgrace to turn national focus on the beleaguered institution. The scandal of stripping Thorpe of his medals would cause a worldwide media sensation. On January 28, 1913, headlines of the *New York Times* reported “Olympic prizes lost; Thorpe no amateur.”³⁹ This unflattering press provided an opening for students to petition government officials with complaints about the institution.⁴⁰ One set of petitioners, organized by Carlisle athlete Gus Welch, specifically addressed student grievances against the corruption of Coach Warner. With a global news cycle pointed squarely at the athletic program of the school, Warner and Friedman were unable to pivot away from the scrutiny of a congressional investigation.

An investigation by Inspector E. B. Linnen revealed financial mishandling by the school administration that would prompt a congressional hearing regarding the status of the institution. In January of 1914, Indian Service Inspector E.B. Linnen conducted a surprise inspection of the school, “and largely as a result of his report, on February 6th, 1914, a joint committee of U.S. representatives and senators arrived in Carlisle to question students, employees, and members of the public about the state of the school.”⁴¹ Linnen’s investigation discovered several instances of financial maleficence and blurred records of double billing the government such as “railroad transportation used by Moses Friedman had been taken out of the athletic fund and after using mileage so paid for out of these funds he again vouchered it to the government and collected for the same.”⁴² The investigation also revealed the back and forth shell game of accounting. False student accounts were created and vouchered against government funds and the cash payments from parents for student transportation was not accounted for and double billed against government expense accounts.⁴³ Linnen also discovered the lax accounting for the monies in Carlisle’s athletic fund. The fund was established outside of federal oversight and did not keep accurate and complete ledgers regarding income and outgoing expenses. To further confuse the issue, Coach Warner was the presiding president of the fund and was not inclined to help with the investigation as reports from students stated that Warner attempted to use his

³⁸ Bently and Bloom, *The Imperial Gridiron*, 125-126.

³⁹ “Olympic Prizes Lost; Thorpe No Amateur,” *New York Times*, January 28, 1913, 1-3.

⁴⁰ Bently and Bloom, *The Imperial Gridiron*, 108.

⁴¹ Bently and Bloom, *The Imperial Gridiron*, 108.

⁴² Correspondence Regarding 1914 Congressional Investigation, Archives and Special Collections, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Walder-Spahr Library, Dickinson College.

⁴³ Correspondence Regarding 1914 Congressional Investigation, Archives and Special Collections, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Walder-Spahr Library, Dickinson College.

position to influence their testimonies.⁴⁴

In addition to Linnen's investigation, the affidavits and testimonies of those at Carlisle school revealed how Coach Warner used the athletics program to further his own agenda. The sworn statement of student athlete Gus Welch would be particularly harmful against Coach Warner. Welch, a contemporary of Jim Thorpe and fellow athlete on the famed 1912 team had firsthand knowledge regarding the actions of Coach Warner. In his affidavit, Welch states that "Mr. Warner is a good football coach, but a man with no principle that he does not have the right to influence over the student boys, that he is detrimental to their cause, that so long as he can use you he is ok with you."⁴⁵ Moreover, Welch points to the manipulation of the team for Warner's personal enrichment. Testifying about Warner's actions he noted "In each large game we have 50-75 complimentary tickets to give to patrons of the school, and we have seen him sell these tickets outright in hotel lobbies."⁴⁶ Welch echoed the same findings of Inspector Linnen regarding the athletic fund, saying that "the general opinion of the football boys is that Coach Warner is receiving a rake off, or something of value on account of purchases with the athletic money because the accounts have been so concealed that there must be something wrong."⁴⁷ Welch's statements would be reinforced by fellow students, Joseph Guyon and Edward Bracklin, who both testified to Warner selling complimentary tickets and using undue influence over the students at Carlisle.⁴⁸ Former student William Newashe confirmed the 1907 accusations of Dr. Montezuma in stating that, after leaving the school, he had been called back to play for the Carlisle team and was given credit at local stores as payment for play.⁴⁹ Additionally, financial clerk E.K. Miller testified that while other instructors at the school received salaries of \$700-\$900 per annum, Warner received \$4,000 per year for three months of work in addition to a fully heated and furnished home on school grounds.⁵⁰

The findings led to a complete overhaul of the Carlisle athletics programs and a shakeup of the school administration. The fact-finding investigation resulted in the resignation of Superintendent Moses Friedman and his clerk, Scieni Nori: both men faced criminal charges of embezzlement. While it would only be the Native and former Carlisle student Nori that would face imprisonment, Inspector E.B. Linnen was not convinced of Friedman's innocence. Despite the findings of the congressional investigation that "his conduct in handling the athletics has been demoralizing to said school and has been detrimental to the teaching in the academic and industrial departments of said school, and for such reasons [...] that in the best interests of said school his services should be promptly dispensed with," Warner would be allowed to remain on as coach until February of 1915.

⁴⁴ U.S. Congress, Senate and House, Joint Commission of the Congress to Investigate Indian Affairs, *Report by Inspector E.B. Linnen*, Presented February 24, 1914, 63rd Cong., 1914, Library of Congress, 1342.

⁴⁵ U.S. Congress, Senate and House, *Report by Linnen*, 1341.

⁴⁶ U.S. Congress, Senate and House, *Report by Linnen*, 1341.

⁴⁷ U.S. Congress, Senate and House, *Report by Linnen*, 1341.

⁴⁸ U.S. Congress, Senate and House, *Report by Linnen*, 1341.

⁴⁹ U.S. Congress, Senate and House, *Report by Linnen*, 1342.

⁵⁰ U.S. Congress, Senate and House, *Report by Linnen*, 1343.

However, Warner's role would be significantly downsized, and he would have to relinquish the lucrative role as president of the school's athletic fund. The athletics program would never fully recover from financial mismanagement, and the school would suffer.

The school was unable to fully recover from the scandal, shuttered in 1918 while the negligent administrators went on to fruitful careers. After the investigation, the school's reputation was in ruins, and the years of financial mismanagement would prove impossible to recover. Once a powerful recruitment tool for the institution, the athletics program was now a black stain on the already unpopular boarding school. The misappropriation of athletic funds plunged the school into debt and without a robust way to generate revenue the school went into further disarray. Enrollment declined and the school had little to offer those who stayed. The school shut its doors to accommodate the needs of the US Armed Forces during World War I, showing little success for its thirty-nine-year run.

However, the key players in its downfall would go on to successful futures. Moses Friedman would continue to administer schools across the country until his retirement. Even after the congressional hearings Coach Warner would head football programs at Pittsburgh and Stanford, "and though his reputation was set back by the Thorpe scandal and the congressional investigations that came a year later, those controversies were quick to fade from the public consciousness."⁵¹ He continued on to leave an impressive legacy on the sport, his name synonymous with the invention of the modern game of football and his transgressions forgiven in favor of his athletic prowess. The students in his care would be relegated to sidenotes in sports history, revealing that the program was never about taking care of its students: it was only there to enrich the administrators.

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⁵¹ Miller, *Pop Warner: A Life on the Gridiron*, 115.

“By What Authority?”: The Levellers of the English Revolution

Julian Quinn

Abstract: In the aftermath of the English Civil War, a network of dissidents pejoratively labeled “Levellers” made the case for constitutional government and political democracy. Capitalizing on the political tumult resulting from the arrest of Charles I, the Levellers organized among soldiers of the New Model Army and London’s working class, directing a broad-ranging critique at the very foundations of traditional authority in English society. In so doing, the Levellers briefly became important political players, and opened a critical space for Oliver Cromwell and his officers to purge parliament and prosecute King Charles. Through a close study of Leveller texts, this article examines how the Levellers spearheaded a remarkable campaign for democracy and political rights, and traces the progressive radicalization of Leveller discourse, including its place in the founding of the Commonwealth.

In the wake of the English Civil War, a small group of passionate and eloquent dissidents began intense propaganda work in London, finding a sympathetic audience among elements of the lower classes and the soldiery who hoped that their sacrifices on the behalf of Parliament would yield extensive changes in English society. The Levellers, as their opponents labeled these “well-affected” citizens, appropriated and developed various strands of political, social, and religious discourse into a semi-coherent critique of “tyrannical” government and a platform for constitutionalism and greater democracy. Over the next several years, the Levellers spread their ideas through printed tracts and petitions and through agitation, while simultaneously developing a formal organization. The Levellers cultivated and co-opted radicalism in the army, campaigned for constitutional and democratic overhauls of English politics, inspired an incipient vision of wealth redistribution, and eventually provided ideological support to the purging of parliament and elevation of the New Model Army generals to power. In return, their former allies suppressed them ruthlessly with little effort. In short, the Levellers spurred a popular renegotiation of authority which led to unintentionally radical implications and ultimately undermined the Leveller movement itself.

The English Civil War, in its causes and its nature, had cast uncertainty on assumptions about the legitimacy and scope of political power, as each side fought for contrary conceptions of sovereignty.¹ King Charles’ reign prior to the civil war was marked by the dispute with Parliament over the acceptability of his absolutist aspirations and the limits of personal power, including his attempt to effectively levy taxes (under the guise of emergency powers to requisition “Ship Money”) in circumvention of traditional parliamentary approval. His obdurate will and Parliament’s equally stubborn defense of traditional common law culminated in war between England’s parliament and monarch. Parliament’s

¹ Alan D. Orr, *Treason and the State: Law, Politics, and Ideology in the English Civil War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 6.

initial showing in the war was mediocre. Relying on the haphazard and unreliable local forces it could muster at any given time, Parliament failed to bring a speedy resolution to the conflict. Midway through the war, the House of Commons reorganized its forces into a national and professional army, placing it under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, along with Oliver Cromwell and Henry Ireton, Fairfax's lieutenant general and commissary general, respectively.² Authorities “impressed”—forcibly conscripted—thousands of hapless lower-class men into the New Model Army and, at least among the soldiery, its culture was marked by open and passionate discussion of political and religious issues. And though mutiny and desertion were rampant, the new army under Parliament nonetheless bested Charles and took him into custody in January 1647.³

To speak of the Levellers as a single entity requires a delimitation of the movement. “Leveller” was, in the first place, an epithet fearful conservatives used to malign those whom they thought would wittingly or unwittingly usher in anarchy and the erasure of all social order and rank. The subjects of these attacks did not identify themselves as Levellers. There was, nonetheless, a real political faction behind the brand, which spoke and acted with substantial unity. Levellerism, even with its broad appeal during a brief window of time, revolved around a few driving personalities. Foremost among them was John Lilburne, a longstanding opponent of absolutism who from an obscure past had quickly risen to the rank of lieutenant colonel in the civil war from relative obscurity, then turned to authoring radical tracts when Parliament raised the New Model Army. Lilburne served as the symbol of the Leveller movement, singing his praises and denouncing the injustice of persecuting such a gallant crusader for the people's liberty mark nearly all its literature. The core Leveller leadership also included Richard Overton, an irascible man with close connections to the printing industry, who first published the writings of Lilburne (along with William Walwyn, John Wildman, and several others). All of them came from the minor gentry and espoused ideals which garnered support among middling and urban sectors of the population.⁴

Based on extant material, we can infer these individuals formed the core of a network which extended through much of the New Model Army near London, from foot soldiers to mid-level officers, and into the economically suffering strata of tradesmen in London, including enough printers to keep up steady propaganda even in the face of repression. Lilburne was popular among many London apprentices, who, apparently at his suggestion, elected their own “agitators” to advance the democratization of the guilds.⁵ Among the soldiery, books from Lilburne were “quoted by them as statute law,” as one

² Austin Woolrych, *Britain in Revolution: 1625-1660* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 67-69, 234, 303-6.

³ James Holstun, *Ehud's Dagger: Class Struggle in the English Revolution* (London: Verso, 2000), 3, 197-99.

⁴ Woolrych, *Britain*, 355.

⁵ George Unwin, *The Guilds and Companies of London* (London: Frank Cass & Company Ltd, 1963), 339-39; Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 63.

conservative observer complained.⁶ At the height of their influence in 1648, the Levellers maintained a central committee and elected officers as well as chapters in each ward and suburb of London, which collected dues, met regularly, and promoted Leveller petitions and propaganda. They published a weekly newspaper, the *Moderate*, and cooperated with groups in counties and regiments beyond London in order to subscribe some of their most popular petitions and, at times, to encourage disobedience in the New Model Army.⁷ The Leveller milieu did not extend into the ministry, whose members decried them with fury, into the houses of parliament or the City of London administration, or into the peculiar minor sects whose programs were at the fringes of mainstream dialogue and whose idiosyncratic demands are not explicitly voiced in Leveller literature.

The Levellers pointed out the precedent which parliament had set with its disobedience to Charles and premised much of their program on this example. Lilburne began his attack on Parliament in August 1645 by quoting the latter's justification of its war against the king. Parliament, he wrote, had shown that it is the "equity" of the law that matters, not its letter; for it is only "the execution of laws according to their equity that gives life to authority."⁸ Thus, even as the war still raged, Lilburne, though a mere lieutenant colonel, drew out the implications of the House's defiance and made them explicit. For Lilburne, the subjection of all law to rational criticism would dominate the political landscape in the wake of Charles' defeat. Levellers continued to expand on this argument. The Parliament, recognizing "the safety of the people [to be] above law," had declared itself the supreme authority. Though acting "against the known law of the land," Parliament answered to a higher law by arrogating royal and lordly authority to itself.⁹ Those who were loyal to their elected representatives during the conflict recognized the validity of this breach of the traditional limits of Parliament and could now use the same principle to criticize a defunct Parliament. Overton grounded his opposition to actions of Parliament on its own precedent more pointedly: since that body had defied Charles on the basis of "just principles and laws of nature," to condemn Overton as a traitor for his staunch insistence on those principles would be to condemn themselves.¹⁰ The singular breakdown of authority in the war between the king and Parliament therefore opened up a space for the Leveller challenge.

The Leveller opposition to established power rested, first and perhaps most fundamentally, on a desire to put the government of men on a foundation of universal principles. To this end, they attempted first to formulate a doctrine of natural, unalterable rights derived from an ideal state of nature. Lilburne explicated such a notion derived from the biblical parable of Adam and Eve. All men being descended from God's original creations,

⁶ Holstun, *Ehud's Dagger*, 200.

⁷ Norah Carlin, "Leveller Organization in London," *The Historical Journal* 27, no. 4 (Dec. 1984): 955; Woolrych, *Britain*, 410.

⁸ John Lilburne, "On the 150th page," in *The English Levellers: Texts in the History of Political Thought*, ed. Andrew Sharp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 4.

⁹ John Lilburne et al., "The Petition of 11 September 1648," in *The English Levellers: Texts in the History of Political Thought*, ed. Andrew Sharp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 136.

¹⁰ Richard Overton, "An Appeale," in *Leveller Manifestoes of the Puritan Revolution*, ed. Don M. Wolfe (New York: Humanities Press, 1967), 157-159.

he reasoned, none were inherently superior to any other, and purely on the basis of nature no one could justly command or rule over anyone else. Authority must be constituted “by mutual agreement or consent” which will be, then, to the benefit of both parties. It follows that to rule over others without their consent is both unnatural and unjust, but also that men had a duty not to part with their power such that rulers could permanently “undo them” by distorting natural justice.¹¹ Thomas Rainsborough, a colonel in the New Model Army who had aligned himself with the Levellers, included the special faculty of reason in his appeals to natural or innate qualities. God, he told the debaters at Putney, had implanted men with reason as a special faculty, and surely intended them to make use of it. Since no civil agreement could take away a gift of God, political privileges dependent on reason, for instance the vote, could not be denied to any man.¹²

The Levellers maintained a close association between nature and “reason” in their thinking, believing that reason was a universal human attribute and that, consequently, it could serve as a basis for more just government. As reason being a gift of God, “the submission of the mind is the most ignoble slavery,” and an active mind one of the most important attributes of a free man.¹³ In such an ideal, claims for the sovereignty of one over another are always exposed to demands for justification. Overton in particular stressed the importance of public, explicable reason as the arbiter and origin of all claims to rule and authority. In his writings, he presents Reason as an abstract, intrinsically divine, and just principle which remains constant and unchanging even while governments “fall and pass away.” Acknowledging that his position, penned in late summer 1647, had no precedents in English history or law, he defended himself by applying this same logic: “Reason hath no president [precedent], for Reason is the fountaine of all just presidents.” Reason, then, as a faculty derived from the perfection of God, is the source of all laws, governmental forms, and authority among men; it sets the limits of the latter, and therefore what is reasonable is also godly and just. Echoing Lilburne, Overton declared that reason gives life to the law, without which the latter would be but “a shell without a kernill.” Kingship itself is susceptible to limitation by reason, but not vice versa, for reason is “that which doth institute, constitute, and authorize the regality of Kings and Kingdomes.”¹⁴ Thus the Levellers hoped that liberation from the constraints imposed on rational thought and dialogue would lay the foundation for liberation in the political, social, and economic realms, and pushed ahead with their initial program on this basis.

In response to harsh criticism from conservatives and parliamentarians that the above conceptions would quickly entail the destruction of government, property, social rank, and family (expressed succinctly in the pejorative label “Leveller”), Lilburne and his comrades attempted to extend their doctrines to find some explicit defense of property and

¹¹ John Lilburne, “The freeman’s freedom vindicated,” in *The English Levellers: Texts in the History of Political Thought*, ed. Andrew Sharp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 31-32.

¹² A.S.P. Woodhouse, ed., *Puritanism and Liberty: Being the Army Debates* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), 55-56.

¹³ William Wälwyn, “Toleration justified and persecution condemned,” in *The English Levellers*, ed. Sharp, 19.

¹⁴ Overton, “An Appeale,” 157-159.

stable legal order.¹⁵ They attempted to argue that for the sovereign's unrestrained will to be in itself law is more threatening to the security of private property than political decentralization, but anti-Levellers failed to engage with this idea.¹⁶ Overton wished to make natural right a basis for property in one of his principle pamphlets, writing that all men are born as their own property, and "Mine and thine cannot be except this [self-proprietty] be." In this view, theft is reduced to a straightforward violation of the natural right to self-determination. However, if every man is his own "king, priest, and prophet," and no man would reasonably delegate to the government the power to "abuse, beat, torment, or afflict" him, this leaves vague how societal standards of property could be maintained in practice. Overton's own definition of personal power and propriety had precluded personal delegation of violent powers to the state as strictly impossible.¹⁷

By summer 1647, the Levellers felt confident enough in their gathering campaign against the generals and parliament to begin to define authority as a relationship of trust. The notion of a popular delegation of power was articulated in the first widely successful Leveller petition, authored by Overton and Walwyn in July 1646, *A Remonstrance of Many Thousand Citizens*. "We the citizens," they wrote, "possessed" parliament with the power "that was in ourselves" already, with the express purpose "to preserve the commonwealth in peace and happiness."¹⁸ The elaboration of this perspective developed gradually thereafter. Common men entrusted some of their natural power to rulers on the condition that it be used to further the common weal. But "As soon as the Betruſted betray and forfeit their [the people's] Trust" then, power "returneth from whence it came, even to the hands of the Truſters."¹⁹ This theme would become a stock-and-trade of Leveller discourse in the period of the movement's ascendancy; the army agents repeated it during their insurgency against the generals, and Lilburne would inscribe it in the first *Agreement of the People*.²⁰

The argument for the ultimate sovereignty of the masses expressed itself, at the height of the insurrection against the generals, as a demand for the vote. Levellers in the army called openly for universal male suffrage in their open letter to Fairfax, *The Case of the Army Truly Stated*, prepared to signal the soldiers' intentions before the meeting at Putney. "All power is originally and essentially in the whole body of the people," the army agitators declared, and parliament should faithfully represent and execute the will of the people as signaled by the regular election of representatives. This popular sovereignty, according to the *Case of the Army*, is precisely what the king had fought so bitterly to prevent, and the soldiers were adamant that it would be "the price of their blood."²¹ And indeed, they refused

¹⁵ Hill, *The World Upside Down*, 100.

¹⁶ John Wildman, "Putney Projects," in *Tracts on Liberty by the Levellers and their Critics*, ed. David M. Hart and Ross Kenyon (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2014-15).

¹⁷ Richard Overton, "An arrow against all tyrants," in *English Levellers*, ed. Sharp, 55-56.

¹⁸ Richard Overton and William Walwyn, "A remonstrance of many thousand citizens," in *English Levellers*, ed. Sharp, 33.

¹⁹ Overton, "An Appeale," 162.

²⁰ John Wildman and Edward Sexby [?], "The Case of the Army Truly Stated," in *Leveller Manifestoes*, ed. Wolfe, 212; John Lilburne et al, "An agreement of the people," in *English Levellers*, ed. Sharp, 96.

²¹ Wildman and Sexby, "Case of the Army," 212-13.

to cede any ground on the question during the subsequent debates. Rainsborough, defending the platform of the *Agreement* against the generals at Putney, saying plainly that no man is bound to live by the sense of a government to which he has not contributed.²² Though Lilburne had never explicitly sanctioned such a position, overwhelming enthusiasm in the New Model Army forced him to accept it, and it became the bedrock of radicalism in the ensuing year and a half.²³

The Levellers, by attempting to circumvent factitious legal and institutional barriers to their ends by means of agreements, covenants, and engagements made outside the formers' bounds, evinced a tacit understanding that the anti-monarchical movement would ultimately have to supersede such political constraints. In the first *Agreement*, the Levellers pointed out that acts and parliaments are alterable, and all representatives are corruptible; thus the people must formally declare their own intentions. Similarly, the soldiers in the army were aware that a mere Act of Indemnity given by the present parliament, such as that of 21 May 1647, could simply be revoked by another representative with equal powers and rights. It followed that a direct agreement with the populace would be the only way to secure the soldiers from later punishment following the restoration of more normal authority. Though Lilburne and his associates protested the "scandalous" charge that they wished to rule by the sword, in practice a document ratified by the people and the army, and presented as a *fait accompli* to the legal authorities, was a direct subversion of the latter's legitimacy.²⁴ Through their actions as well as their words, the Levellers claimed a preeminence of the authority of the masses over existing institutions.

The unequivocal defense of democratic ideals as the Levellers were amassing their support had already begun, either explicitly or implicitly, to sound a note deeply antipathetic toward the king. Overton accused Charles of causing "the most bloody war that ever this nation knew" and provocatively charged parliament with acting "as if it were impossible for any nation to be happy without a king." Venting his frustration, he wrote that parliament should "declare King Charles an enemy" and disown him.²⁵ Other Levellers also found a similar position at the logical endpoint of their arguments. Wildman wrote that Charles, "that originall of injustice [...] hath made his footsteps in blood" and "powred out the peoples blood like water" to preserve his prerogative and equated the king's veto with his absolute power.²⁶ Sincere efforts to define kingship within a system whose power derives from the people left the monarch as little more than "at most [...] supreme executioner of the laws."²⁷ But if the king were only required to approve the laws parliament had already enacted on its own, he would have been superfluous. Reducing the king to such a level makes

²² Woodhouse, *Puritanism and Liberty*, 52-53.

²³ Woolrych, *Britain*, 389.

²⁴ Lilburne, "An agreement," 97-100.

²⁵ Overton, "A remonstrance," 36.

²⁶ Wildman, "Putney Projects," 114.

²⁷ Overton, "An arrow," 63.

him, by definition, inferior to the people's representatives—and something less than a king.

The Christian creed, in its role as a unifying force among Englishmen, suffered a similar demotion at the radicals' hands. Though they did not adhere to a single religious sect, the Levellers nevertheless invoked the divine as an ultimate authority to advance their critique of temporal power. For the Levellers, affirming personal responsibility to God served to distance the realm of religious commitment from the authority of the sovereign. The Levellers advanced a political platform centered around toleration, relying on the claim that only God can command in religious affairs, and that government must refrain from compelling men in matters of conscience. On this principle there could be no compromise for the Levellers; it stood unchanged from documents dating from the end of the civil war to all the iterations of the *Agreement of the People*. Key to this position is a staunchly protestant desire that each man examine scripture for himself; to bow to any authoritative reading from "men who have or would have in their hands the power of persecuting" would be fundamentally un-Christian.²⁸ Thus they furiously condemned the attempts to enforce rigid Presbyterianism on the people: wrote Overton, "I may boldly say that the people of this nation never heard of such diabolical, murdering, devouring" command than that which would punish those refusing Presbyterian dogma.²⁹ The only divine law needed on earth, they thought, was the golden rule.³⁰

Simply upholding toleration as an ideal profoundly challenged established functions of the Christian faith. Indeed, for those with a vested interest in maintaining the latter, this doctrine seemed to threaten the very unity of England: "A *Toleration* is the grand designe of the Devil to topple the nation," wrote Presbyterian minister Thomas Edwards.³¹ In his hysterical invective against the faction under Lilburne, he accused the sectaries of "Disturbance and overthrow of all economical, Ecclesiastical and Politicall Relations and Government [...prone to] Power and Will, carrying all before them, and throwing down all that stands in their way."³² Prosecuting the sectaries for heresy, Edwards wrote, was the only way to save the kingdom.³³ The London ministry as a whole, in fact, was strongly opposed to toleration and did its utmost to shut down non-Presbyterian presses.³⁴ The Levellers' conception of the divine's place in human life, then, was utterly terrifying to those for whom religious unity undergirded society itself, creating an institutional impediment which would stand in the way of any peaceful implementation of the Leveller agenda.

Insistence on the traditional rights of freeborn Englishmen was central to the Leveller platform. They expressed this view time and again in outraged complaints about warrantless arrests, trials, and imprisonments, and the routine compulsion to incriminate

²⁸ William Walwyn, "Toleration justified and persecution condemned," 12.

²⁹ Overton, "An arrow," 65.

³⁰ Walwyn, "Toleration justified," 27; Anonymous, "No Papist nor Presbyterian," in *Leveller Manifestoes*, ed. Wolfe, 310.

³¹ Thomas Edwards, *Gangraena* (London, 1646), 121.

³² Thomas Edwards, *Gangraena*, 61.

³³ Thomas Edwards, *Gangraena*, 153.

³⁴ Walwyn, "Toleration justified," 10.

oneself.³⁵ The right of commoners to petition was particularly close to their hearts, and the House of Commons' disrespect for this sacrosanct custom inflamed their ire.³⁶ Overton, pushing the argument further, declared that the order of a parliament that will not uphold the ancient rights of commoners is implicitly illegitimate. In his eyes, the House's insult to the right of commoners to petition constituted treason.³⁷ Educated Levellers could also cite a range of legal precedents in their favor when it suited them, frequently referencing not only the *Magna Carta*, but also to royal precedents dating back to the reign of Edward II.³⁸

At times, the Levellers even implied that there were no legitimate foundations for justice at all beyond the original laws protecting free Englishmen. Thus, the most profound Leveller critique of authority on the grounds of traditional legal practices came from Lilburne, who wrote to Fairfax that to punish a commoner without "due process and writ original" and a trial by jury "according to the old Law of the Land" was to substitute a tyrant's whim for real legal procedures. To violate the traditional basis of law, then, was in effect to jeopardize law itself: "nothing [would] be Treason now, either against King or Kingdome, [were there] no Law to punish it."³⁹ For Lilburne, the exercise of arbitrary power had undermined the legitimacy of punishing anyone. He and Overton linked this claim with a critique of kingship and the arbitrary powers of kings stemming, they believed, from the Norman conquest. They spoke to the theme of the "Norman yoke," a critical component of contemporary political folklore which held that England "has been held in bondage since 'our forefathers'" were conquered by six centuries prior.⁴⁰ Though for literate radicals this theme was a stirring rhetorical flourish, it resonated on a fundamental level with the Levellers' followers.

Anger over the injustice of a monarchical tradition descended from conquest manifested itself most strongly among less-educated Levellers from the lower classes and the army ranks and met with stiff resistance during the Putney debates. Agitators and officers at Putney argued extensively about using a speculative pre-Norman ideal as the basis for England's legal and political future. For instance, the agitators, in an attempt to support their argument for universal male suffrage, claimed that before the Norman conquest all men had the right to vote. One, hoping to defuse the charge of anarchism, mused that the election of representatives was probably itself established in the long-distant past to preserve property.⁴¹ These conjectures did not stand up very well to careful criticism, however. In response to such conjectures, Ireton challenged anyone at Putney to demonstrate that in "ancient" times, before the Norman kings, there could be—even conceptually—laws with-

³⁵ Overton, "An arrow," 57-61; John Lilburne, "Englands Freedome, Souldiers Rights," in *Leveller Manifestoes*, ed. Wolfe, 248.

³⁶ Anonymous, "A Copie of a Letter," in *Leveller Manifestoes*, ed. Wolfe, 146; William Walwyn, "Gold tried in the fire, or burnt petitions revived," in *English Levellers*, ed. Sharp, *English Levellers*, 86-87.

³⁷ Overton, "An Appeale, 166-71.

³⁸ Overton, "An Arrow," 62.

³⁹ Lilburne, "Englands Freedome, Souldiers Rights," 250.

⁴⁰ Overton, "Remonstrance," 45; John Lilburne and Richard Overton [?], "Petition of January 1648," in *Leveller Manifestoes*, ed. Wolfe, 265.

⁴¹ Woodhouse, *Puritanism and Liberty*, 52, 61-62.

out the king's consent.⁴²

Those who in fact represented traditional authority had little difficulty turning arguments premised on the importance of tradition against the Levellers. At the Putney debates, the younger brother of John Lilburne, Henry, had to concede that speculations about the pre-conquest era were not founded in fact and that even the Saxons must have had kings. He conceded the ancestors of Englishmen were always enslaved and could not properly recover any freedoms at all.⁴³ Overall, the facts of tradition spoke loudly against the democratic aspirations of the Levellers, no matter how wedded the latter were to a romanticized notion of the free and autonomous Englishmen. As such, they never ceased to be attracted to this line of reasoning; the *Moderate* later scoured scripture and European history for precedents of punishing a king. Meanwhile, Charles himself mocked the parliamentary court that tried him as an empty and illegal pretension unauthorized by the "Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom."⁴⁴ He could dismiss the legitimacy of any attempt to topple kings with greater plausibility than those who hoped to find in English legal tradition any irresistible argument against monarchical tyranny, and the same generally held true in matters of religion, political representation, and military discipline.

The criticisms put forward by the Levellers, moreover, were not without their own internal contradictions. Though the Leveller leaders sincerely denied conceptions or goals approximating the anarchistic microsects on the fringe of English politics, they were not able to offer an entirely compelling defense of private property on the basis of their own principles. These defects were thoroughly exposed at the Putney debates. Ireton, pressing his attack on the agitators' defense of each man to subject laws and orders to the test of his own conscience, asked how this principle could preserve binding "human engagements," which, rather than divine commitments, are the actual foundation of justice "betwixt man and man." Without the obligation to keep "covenants freely made," there would be no rights at all, but only taking as one pleases, and therefore no property.⁴⁵ Critically, the debates further pushed the limits of arguments premised on abstract ideals. Wildman and others argued that no man should be obliged to obey orders he deemed to be unjust; Ireton was quick to retort that by that logic, "men are not obliged [to be obedient] to any authority that is set up, though it were this authority that were proposed" in the agitators' *Agreement*.⁴⁶ By the end of the debates, nonetheless, the generals too had been pushed into a position they could not have relished: "The Law of God doth not give me property, nor the Law of Nature," said Ireton, "but property is of human constitution."⁴⁷ While this position invalidates dubious appeals to scripture and to philosophy as either supports or attacks on property, it also compromises the inviolability of property. A merely contingent agreement

⁴² Woodhouse, *Puritanism and Liberty*, 119.

⁴³ Woodhouse, *Puritanism and Liberty*, 96.

⁴⁴ *The Moderate: Impartially communicating Martial Affaires to the Kingdome of England*, 23-30 January 1649.

⁴⁵ Woodhouse, *Puritanism and Liberty*, 26-27.

⁴⁶ Woodhouse, *Puritanism and Liberty*, 11.

⁴⁷ Woodhouse, *Puritanism and Liberty*, 69.

among people is vulnerable to another *Agreement of the People*.

The above four strands of thought—the defense of nature or reason, popular consent, divine sanction, and ancient tradition as foundations for authority—culminated in the first *Agreement of the People* and the momentous push against parliament by New Model soldiers and sympathetic Londoners in the second half of 1647. Throughout this time, the Levellers were fearful of an imminent reconciliation between king and parliament which would destroy them and their hopes for a democratic political transformation.⁴⁸ Their contributions were frequently marked by a growing impatience and protest against “disputing till we have our throats cut.”⁴⁹ Parliament, for its part, had recognized the ultimate incompatibility of the broad dialogue on authority which the Levellers had initiated. It declared the authors of the March petition “enemies of the state,” had the document burned by the hangman, and rushed to disband the New Model Army regiments near London while securing command of the City of London militia in trusted hands.⁵⁰ Efforts to shoo the soldiers away continued to no avail for months.⁵¹ An ordinance of 30 September 1647 condemned “the many Seditious, False and Scandalous Papers” circulating which impugned the parliament and its army; the act signaled a renewed attack on the elusive Leveller printing presses, prescribing harsh punishments for printers and distributors.⁵²

By the time of the scheduled rendezvous of multiple regiments at Ware on 15 November 1647, the situation in the army was escaping the generals’ control. The agitators were intent on a march toward London and complained bitterly that the army had not yet purged Parliament, and common soldiers sparred verbally with generals at Putney.⁵³ The Levellers insisted that the power of Parliament was essentially null, for the common soldiers had “associated themselves only as a company of free Commons of England.”⁵⁴ They openly proclaimed that “no formes are lawfull longer then they preserve or accomplish” the “equitie of popular safettie,” and were determined to use the rendezvous as an opportunity for the soldiers to ratify the *Agreement* by acclaim and thus force the generals’ hand.⁵⁵ But when the latter broke the mutiny at Ware and made an example of the unfortunate ringleaders, they did what the Levellers could not quite bring themselves to advocate: they

⁴⁸ Woodhouse, *Puritanism and Liberty*, 24; C.H. Firth ed., *The Clarke Papers* Vol. 1 (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1965), 170.

⁴⁹ Woodhouse, *Puritanism and Liberty*, 81.

⁵⁰ Overton, “An Appeale,” 171; Hill, *The World Upside Down*, 60.

⁵¹ “July 1647: An Ordinance for disbanded Souldiers,” in *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660* ed. C.H. Firth and R.S. Rait (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1911), 986-87.

⁵² “September 1647: An Ordinance against unlicensed or scandalous Pamphlets,” in *Acts and Ordinances*, ed. Firth and Rait, 1021-23.

⁵³ Firth, *Clarke Papers* Vol. 1, 170; Wildman and Sexby, “Case of the Army,” in *Leveller Manifestoes*, ed. Wolfe, 200; Woolrych, *Britain*, 371.

⁵⁴ John Lilburne, “A Defense for the Honest Nonsubstantiative Soldiers of the Army,” in *Leveller Manifestoes*, ed. Wolfe, 243.

⁵⁵ Wildman and Sexby, “Case of the Army,” 220; Woolrych, *Britain*, 395.

affirmed the primacy of simple strength.

Following the collapse of the insurrection in the New Model Army, the hopeful and idealistic principles which had driven the renegotiation of authority in 1646-47 ceded to an ideological tone expressing the increasingly stark reality of repression and scarcity. As arguments for natural right ran aground on the stubborn defense of property rights, Leveller discourse took a turn, asserting that plain necessity ought to inform and limit political power. This undercurrent thread runs through much of the Leveller literature, even those explicitly concerned with loftier principles and in material designed to win the support of the lower classes. Soldiers petitioned persistently for their arrears, for care of widows, orphans, and those crippled in service, and the return of common land to the poor. These were accompanied by more widely subscribed petitions which harangued parliament about the excise tax, monopoly companies, and which asked that something be done to relieve the poor from their deepening suffering.⁵⁶ Such appeals culminated in documents openly demanding that the people be fed by virtue of simple Christian decency, drawing a sharp contrast between those whom Parliament's high taxes had reduced to the most miserable poverty and those who, allegedly, had profited from the same, citing this inequality as clear "oppression."⁵⁷

In January 1648, an anonymous group of London tradesmen produced a pamphlet bitterly denouncing the ostentation and political scheming of powerful men. "Is not all the Controversie," the authors asked rhetorically, "whose Slaves the poor shall be?" The pamphlet ended with a warning: "Necessity dissolves all Laws and Government, and Hunger will break through stone Walls: Tender Mother will sooner devour You [Parliament men], then [sic] the Fruit of their own womb, and Hunger regards no Swords nor Canons [...] tell them, if they be still deaf, the Teares of the oppressed will wash away the foundations of their houses."⁵⁸ The central message was that the urgent necessities of the suffering eclipsed legal and juridical actualities, if not in theory then in deed. The House of Commons, after considering this document in the context of discovering the Levellers' extensive organization and hearing slanderous accusations against him, charged Lilburne with treason on the assumption that he was its author.⁵⁹ The *Commons' Journal* does not record Lilburne owning this document, however, and its dark, menacing tone is quite uncharacteristic of his writing, whose style remains distinct and recognizable even when he did in fact attribute his work to local tradesmen.⁶⁰ If Lilburne was blamed for the threatening content of a tract he did not author, it only underscores the more radical layer of discourse

⁵⁶ Wildman and Sexby, "Case of the Army," 212-16; Lilburne, "Petition of January," 267-71; Walwyn, "Gold tried," 80; Lilburne, "Petition of 11 September," 136.

⁵⁷ Overton, "Remonstrance," 47.

⁵⁸ Anonymous, "The Mournfull Cryes of Many Thousand Poor Tradesmen," in *English Levellers*, ed. Wolfe, 276-78.

⁵⁹ "19 January 1648," in *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 5, 1648-1651* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1802), 437-38.

⁶⁰ John Lilburne, "The young men's and apprentices outcry," in *English Levellers*, ed. Sharp, 179.

that had begun to form in the shadow of Leveller propaganda.

The same theme, the argument that need constitutes a certain authority in its own right, surged in prominence from late 1648 to spring 1649, and affected parliamentary policy. In the aftermath of Charles' execution, and amid the rush to remove royalists from power and monarchical principles from law, some of the most destitute of London's inhabitants informed Parliament that commoners would not be free until they were also forgiven of their debts.⁶¹ Shortly thereafter, parliament freed men in London debtors' prisons and began paying down royal debts to the "well-affected" with the proceeds from the sale of confiscated royal estates.⁶² Similarly, in the context of the bad 1648 harvest and widespread deprivation, Gloucester residents complained bitterly of their hardship in open letters to the House. There is little bread, they wrote, their wives and children go begging; meanwhile, a handful of greedy officials "drink the sweet [sic], and eat the fat of our daily labors." If something is not done soon, "the people will rise up against this self seeking and destructive Generation, and chuse others in their stead."⁶³ Hunger and high food prices "may produce more then diging [sic], if some speedy care be not taken for relieving of them," remarked the *Moderate* evocatively.⁶⁴ Taking note, Parliament debated price ceilings on coal and corn, and even decided to prosecute hoarders for keeping corn prices high.⁶⁵ And, in the army, the argument from need was predictably compelling. Soldiers embraced the principle, looting in London, the counties, and even Fairfax to pay for his quarter of his men in the capital, simply seized the City of London treasury.⁶⁶

Meanwhile, the ceaseless denunciation of tyranny and political iniquity found a logical culmination in the argument that only the sword could confer authority. As with need, references to the emancipatory potential of the sword had been in the subtext of much of the Levellers' rhetoric. Overton, always the most fiery Leveller writer, had already expanded his rage against the parliament into a prediction that it would suffer God's vengeance.⁶⁷ In his *Appeale*, he made a passionate and eloquent denunciation of the House, that "degenerate body," urging commoners to "rise up in the cause of the Army for the removall of these obstructors and traitors [...] Halters and Gallowes is more fit for them then [sic] places in Parliament." He even declared with the king and parliament having both betrayed their duties to the people's liberties, "the renowned and faithfull Army" was the only possible Head of the nation.⁶⁸ Within months, Overton's impassioned condemnation would be echoed in the Army Council. Such an explicitly mutinous attitude toward parliament remained predominantly in the subtext of Leveller discourse in its idealistic infancy, however, in the form of suggestive references to the people's sacrifices and what they expected

⁶¹ *Moderate*, 27 February—6 March 1649.

⁶² *Moderate*, 6-13, 20-27 March 1649.

⁶³ *Moderate*, 13-20 March 1649.

⁶⁴ *Moderate*, 17-24 April 1649.

⁶⁵ *Moderate*, 13-20 March 1649.

⁶⁶ *Moderate*, 5-12 December 1648, 6-13 February, 13-20 March 1649.

⁶⁷ Overton, "Remonstrance," 50.

⁶⁸ Overton, "An Appeale," 157, 169, 172, 184.

in return.⁶⁹

These indirect suggestions became explicit as soon as the Levellers saw no way to realize their program in a purely consensual manner. In September 1647, Colonel White, another mid-ranking officer with strong Leveller sympathies, suggested to the army council that “The King and his party being conquered by the sword [...] I believe the sword may justly remove the power from him and settle it in its original fountain next under God—the people.” Cromwell, aghast, subsequently had him expelled from the Council.⁷⁰ Weeks earlier, Major Tulida, whom Parliament had already imprisoned once for his involvement with Leveller petitioning, had made nearly as strong a claim.⁷¹ And at Putney, a mere infantryman told the generals plainly that “the sword was the only thing that had from time to time recovered out right.”⁷² While these individuals were only advocating the use of force to return corrupt power back to the people, to establish a precedent of armed insurrection against purportedly illegitimate power, with the promise of returning it to the people at the appropriate time, falls outside the bounds of normal political discourse.⁷³ Once authority is said to be in the sword, the Levellers would discover, it cannot be easily returned to its rightful place.

Stretched to its limit point, the radicalized Leveller position found an unlikely vehicle amid the crisis of royalist revolts and parliamentary apathy in 1648. Disillusioned with legal avenues to peace after the Second English Civil War, the generals were ready to consider drastic measures. The Levellers, too, had lost not only all faith in the king but nearly all in their representatives as well. Charles, the *Moderate* reported, had confessed that he and the Cavaliers were “guilty of all the blood that hath been shed [...] for eight years together [...] which] cries to heaven night and day for vengeance.”⁷⁴ The paper reprinted a letter from “divers Officers” denouncing parliament for attempting to conclude a personal treaty with the king behind the army’s back, “putting our Capital and bloody Enemy into an equal footing with all the People and their Representatives.”⁷⁵ Lilburne and his comrades moved toward a reconciliation with the grandees, giving up trying to divide soldiers from their officers, and instead focused on uniting the entire army behind a constitutional platform. The generals obliged, wishing to adopt the Leveller program, purge Parliament, and push for the execution of Charles in hopes of clearing the way for a final peace. In mid-November, Ireton and the Levellers met clandestinely, and Lilburne agreed to support the generals on the condition that an *Agreement* be settled on first.⁷⁶ Ireton agreed and publicly endorsed the reforms the Levellers had advocated in their widely subscribed September petition.⁷⁷ The new alliance moved ahead quickly with its plan. By early December 1648,

⁶⁹ Wildman and Sexby, “Case of the Army,” 204; Walwyn, “Gold tried,” 84; Lilburne, “An agreement,” 100.

⁷⁰ Quoted in *The World Upside Down*, ed. Hill, 66.

⁷¹ Firth, *Clarke Papers*, 204; Walwyn, “Gold tried,” 73-74.

⁷² Woodhouse, *Puritanism and Liberty*, 96.

⁷³ Hill, *The World Upside Down*, 66.

⁷⁴ *Moderate*, 26 September—3 October 1648.

⁷⁵ *Moderate*, 3-10 October 1648.

⁷⁶ John Lilburne, “Legal Fundamental Liberties,” in *Leveller Manifestoes*, ed. Wolfe, 413-14.

⁷⁷ Woolrych, *Britain*, 422-24.

the *Moderate* was summoning arguments for the legality of trying and punishing a monarch and was continuing to call for the impartial execution of justice on Charles.⁷⁸

Lilburne drew up a second *Agreement* to offer to the generals on the heels of Pride's Purge, and even as he pushed for the prosecution of Charles, tried to distance himself from the popular program which had hijacked Leveller rhetoric, in the hope that he could salvage the goal of constitutionalism. Shedding his lofty prose, Lilburne penned the *Foundations of Freedom*, as he styled it, in the most straightforward terms. He opened by decreeing the dissolution of parliament and its replacement by a new representative as soon as possible, and by barring beggars, servants and wage-earners from the franchise. No one, he wrote, shall vote "or have any hand or voyce in such Elections" for seven years, unless they swore to uphold the *Agreement*, and for seven more if they did not sign within the first seven years. He demanded that parliament immediately appoint a Council of State to manage the kingdom until the next parliament could meet. Finally, his *Agreement* concluded with a thundering threat, declaring that henceforth any army man who disobeys parliament "shall [...] lose the benefit and protection of all the Laws of the Land, and die without mercy."⁷⁹ This, of course, was precisely what he had indignantly proclaimed unjust and abhorrent less than a year prior.⁸⁰

Lilburne was not betraying the Leveller program, however; he was extending it to its limits. If Leveller ideals of personal freedom and popular sovereignty were to become enshrined in the English political order in the face of royalist and conservative intransigence, a top-down imposition by an armed minority was the only viable means to this end—irony be damned. Whatever his later protests about the generals' treachery, in fact the latter only seriously disputed position of Lilburne in one respect, that being his proposed removal of all compulsive power in religion from the magistrate.⁸¹ The so-called *Officers' Agreement* which Ireton presented to Parliament for its approval on 10 January 1649 was essentially a Leveller tract, even repeating much of Lilburne's *Agreement* word-for-word. The Leveller leaders, moreover, were ultimately willing to substitute violence for moral principles as a means to their ends. The *Moderate* felt compelled to sanction the quickening prosecution and execution of important royalists in early 1649.⁸² Overton, likely in part pressing an old grudge, petitioned parliament to try and execute the Earl of Manchester, threatening the MPs with the same "impartial Justice" they had exacted on Charles if they did not oblige.⁸³ These expedients sacrificed Leveller ideals in the short term in the hope that they might eventually become permanent.

Such was the logical endpoint of the idealistic crusade against kingly tyranny begun three years prior. King Charles had two bodies, a physical one and a juridical one

⁷⁸ *Moderate*, 28 November—5 December 1648.

⁷⁹ John Lilburne et al, "Foundations of Freedom," in *Leveller Manifestoes*, ed. Wolfe, 297-301.

⁸⁰ Lilburne, "Englands Freedom," 256.

⁸¹ Firth, *Clarke Papers* Vol. 2, 113-130.

⁸² *Moderate*, 13-20 February 1649.

⁸³ *Moderate*, 6-13 March 1649.

spreading throughout his entire realm; the Levellers found they could not get rid of the latter without sacrificing the former.⁸⁴ Until he was dead, his enemies did not even dare explicitly vocalize their intentions. They limited themselves to wondering aloud why, all men being equal before God, a monarch should be immune from the law, and spoke suggestively of bringing to justice the chief instigators of the war.⁸⁵ But, once it was victorious, commitment to anti-absolutism inevitably became a commitment to the extirpation of monarchists. Lilburne and many others had taken up arms for parliament knowing that “the laws of the land make it expressly a crime no less than treason for any to raise war against the king,” because “if he did set up his standard it tended to the dissolution of the government,” their only legitimate representative.⁸⁶ Personal preferences aside, their survival depended on continuing that war to its conclusion by any means and with any confederates.

Once in power, the generals quickly dispensed with their erstwhile allies. In January, Parliament cracked down again on unlicensed printing and raided Leveller presses.⁸⁷ Lilburne and Overton nevertheless authored and printed two invectives in the following months, accusing Cromwell and Ireton of conniving over a course of years to replace the tyranny of the king with their own.⁸⁸ In response, the critics and their companions were charged with treason and imprisoned in the tower of London for the final time. Their redoubled organizational efforts in the New Model Army came to fruition in May; on the same day that they published their last attempt at an *Agreement*, mutinies erupted throughout the New Model Army. The insurrection encompassed in total some 2500 soldiers for two weeks, but they had little stomach for a serious fight and Cromwell dispersed them with an only handful of casualties.⁸⁹ In short order after the ringleaders were executed, Leveller support dried up entirely, the *Moderate* ceased publication, and Lilburne was tried and banished. Their ideology was partly forced underground, partly absorbed in the formative Commonwealth. With such developments, the Levellers had little left to fight for and their movement dissolved in the face of repression.

In the final period of their active existence, the Levellers, increasingly desperate to realize their program, systematically misconstrued their own role as midwives of the Commonwealth. Lilburne later denounced the Council of State, conveniently forgetting that he had conceded its necessity and endorsed its speedy assumption of power in the aftermath of Pride’s Purge.⁹⁰ He pinned all blame for the king’s execution on the manipulative grandees and denounced the execution as illegal, forgetting his own ominous admonition to parliament the previous September for not bringing the “capital authors” of the civil war

⁸⁴ Orr, *Treason and the State*, 45–46.

⁸⁵ *Moderate*, 28 November—5 December 1648, 16–23 January 1649.

⁸⁶ Lilburne, “Petition of 11 September,” 132.

⁸⁷ Richard Overton (and William Walwyn?), “To the Commons of England,” in *Leveller Manifestoes*, ed. Wolfe, 327; John Lilburne, “England’s new chains discovered,” in *English Levellers*, ed. Sharp, 147.

⁸⁸ Lilburne, “England’s new chains,” 147; Richard Overton, “The Hunting of the Foxes,” in *Leveller Manifestoes*, ed. Wolfe, 359.

⁸⁹ Woolrych, *Britain*, 443–48.

⁹⁰ Lilburne, “England’s new chains,” 142; Lilburne, *Foundations of Freedom*, 299.

to justice.⁹¹ He even obliquely suggested in his last *Agreement* that Charles, Prince of Wales might return to take the throne, forgetting that, in the immediate aftermath of Charles I's execution, he had wished to incorporate a clause into the constitution barring the restoration of monarchy forever.⁹²

The historical role of the Levellers can be concisely summarized thus: they turned the parliament's disobedience to Charles against it, and the grandees turned their insurrection against them. But this brief existence contributed to a remarkable revolution in English politics. The king, whose person was formerly the very embodiment of sovereignty, was gone, and the struggle over the nature and source of sovereignty continued, though without great success, for years. By end of May 1649 the Levellers too were effectively annihilated, but their influence survived in an inverted form into the 1650s through two channels. Gerrard Winstanley and the Diggers, the self-proclaimed "True Levellers," who began their utopian community just as the Levellers were losing all relevance in London, preserved and augmented the argument for the authority of need into a proto-communist ideology. Meanwhile, Thomas Hobbes' masterwork *Leviathon*, published in 1651, developed the contrary vein of thought: authority for authority's sake, lest the polity ever again sink into such bloody bedlam.

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⁹¹ Lilburne, "England's new chains," 146; Lilburne, "The young men's and apprentices outcry," 180; Lilburne, "Petition of 11 September," 138.

⁹² Lilburne, "The young men's and apprentices outcry," 195; Lilburne, "England's new chains," 143.

Marriage of the Holy and the Heretical: Christian Iconography in German Renaissance Alchemical Treatises

Rebecca L. Allen

Abstract: During the Renaissance, the use of Christian iconography to represent alchemical processes within alchemical treatises became commonplace throughout Europe. Although we know that this tradition of alchemical Christian images persisted long after the Renaissance, the potential impacts of the Protestant Reformation on these images have been largely ignored by scholars. This paper aims to address this issue through an analysis of images from two pre-Reformation alchemical treatises, *Aurora Consurgens* (Ms. Rh. 172) and *Buch der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit* (BSB Cgm 598), and two post-Reformation alchemical treatises produced in Protestant areas of Germany, *Splendor Solis* (MS. 3469) and *Pandora*. The fact that these images were still produced amidst an iconoclasm in Protestant areas of Germany speaks to their significance in the transmission of alchemical knowledge. I posit that the employment of these images changed only subtly in order to adhere to the guidelines for religious images given by Martin Luther.

Until recently, the scholarly acknowledgment of alchemy's significance in Renaissance culture has been notably limited. This has resulted in a lack of comprehensive studies concerning alchemical treatises and their art historical implications, particularly regarding the significance of the Christian iconography often contained within them. Building on the existing scholarship, I will examine illustrations from two Pre-Reformation German handwritten and hand-painted treatises, *Aurora Consurgens* (c. 1414-1417, Ms. Rh. 172) and *Buch der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit*, (c. 1467, BSB Cgm 598), and from two Post-Reformation German woodcut print images, *Splendor Solis* (1582, Harley MS. 3469) and *Pandora* (1598, housed at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek). The examination, analysis, and comparison of these images demonstrate how the use of Christian iconography within German alchemical treatises was impacted by the Protestant Reformation. I posit that there was little change from the Christian iconography contained in pre-Reformation treatises to that contained within post-Reformation treatises.

Amongst the limited scholarship about Christian iconography within alchemical treatises, there seems to be disagreement on the role that Christian iconography played within these treatises. Some scholars, including Jane Paisley Russell Corbett and Matilde Battistini, assert that the post-Reformation manuscript *Splendor Solis* includes some overtly Christian symbols that contain a dual Christian-alchemical meaning, most especially the image of a white dove perched atop the head of an Christ-like alchemist while he sits in an alchemical bath (Fig. 7).¹ Others like Rafal T. Prinke argue that these symbols have no Christian meaning whatsoever and are purely referential to alchemical processes and stages

¹ Jane Paisley Russell Corbett, "Painted Science: Convention and Change in Seventeenth-Century Netherlandish Paintings of Alchemists, Physicians and Astronomers," Ph.D. Diss., ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2004; Matilde Battistini, *Astrology, Magic, and Alchemy in Art*, translated by Rosanna M. Giammanco, (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum), 2007.

of the Great Work (the process of creating the Philosopher's Stone).² The majority of the scholarly publications on Christian alchemical imagery in Renaissance alchemical treatises seem to agree that these images allude to both the physical processes involved in the Great Work, but also a sort of Great Work of the soul: a spiritually transformative process that the alchemist experiences during his quest to create the Philosopher's Stone. The concept was popularized initially by Petrus Bonus during the Middle Ages, and then again by Renaissance alchemist Paracelsus.³ Some of the scholars who believe that there was a spiritual layer to popular Renaissance alchemy include Michael T. Walton, Matilde Battistini, Jane Paisley Rusell Corbett, Stanton J. Linden, Urszula Szulakowska, Tara Nummedal, and Laurinda Dixon.⁴ Other scholars like Rafal T. Prinke disagree with this concept of a spiritually transformative element to Renaissance alchemy, arguing that these interpretations of Renaissance alchemical treatises are inaccurate Jungian readings, are instances of scholars reading too far into these texts and are examples of scholars imposing their own views onto the text rather than seeing the actual intentions of the authors that wrote them.⁵

Unfortunately, little scholarship published on Renaissance alchemy contains any mention of the unique relationship between Christianity and alchemy. Even less has discussed the impacts of the Protestant Reformation on this relationship. The primary scholar to have published work on this subject is Urszula Szulakowska, whose 2006 book, *The Sacrificial Body and the Day of Doom: Alchemy and Apocalyptic Discourse in the Protestant Reformation*, asserts that many of the Paracelsian-inspired German alchemical treatises containing Christian iconography from during the Renaissance were produced in Protestant cities by liberal Protestant printers.⁶ Szulakowska argues that a primary reason for the widespread Protestant interest in these illustrated treatises was the sudden lack of Catholic icons, which had been such a major part of contemporaries' lives and religious practices just a few years earlier. As Szulakowska explains, many Catholic ideas were still deeply ingrained in the beliefs of the people in newly Protestant Europe. The banning of such ideas and images was not enough to instantly obliterate all interest in them.

The need for further examination of the impacts of the Protestant Reformation on alchemy is clear. In her article "Alchemy and Religion in Christian Europe," Tara Nummedal directly highlights the need for further scholarship on the subject, ending the article

² Rafal Prinke, "History and Authorship of Splendor Solis," in *Splendor Solis: The World's Most Famous Alchemical Manuscript* (London: Watkins Media Limited, 2019), 19-63.

³ Michael T. Walton, "Alchemy, Chemistry, and the Six Days of Creation," in *Mystic Metal of Gold: Essays on Alchemy and Renaissance Culture*, ed. Stanton J. Linden (New York: AMS Press, 2007), 233-255.

⁴ Corbett, "Painted Science"; Walton, "Alchemy, Chemistry, and the Six Days of Creation"; Battistini, *Astrology, Magic, and Alchemy in Art*; Stanton J. Linden, *Mystical Metal of Gold: Essays on Alchemy and Renaissance Culture*, (New York: AMS Press, 2007); Urszula Szulakowska, *The Sacrificial Body and the Day of Doom: Alchemy and Apocalyptic Discourse in the Protestant Reformation*, (Leiden: Brill, 2006); Tara Nummedal, "Alchemy and Religion in Christian Europe," *Ambix* 60, no.4; Laurinda Dixon, "Alchemical Imagery in Bosch's Garden of Earthly Delights," Ph.D. Diss. (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1981).

⁵ Prinke, "History and Authorship of Splendor Solis," 19-63.

⁶ Urszula Szulakowska, *The Sacrificial Body and the Day of Doom: Alchemy and Apocalyptic Discourse in the Protestant Reformation*, (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 1-12.

by stating that “the significance of the Reformation [on alchemy], clearly, awaits further investigation.”⁷

To properly address this complicated issue, one must first understand what “alchemy” meant to European contemporaries of the Renaissance and the extent of its popularity in Renaissance culture. During the Renaissance, alchemy was not viewed as the occult art or pseudoscience that it is seen as today, but rather an entirely credible science.⁸ The most frequently discussed aim of alchemy is the quest to create the Philosopher’s Stone, which could supposedly be used to transmute base metals into gold. What is less commonly discussed today, but would have been common knowledge to the people of the European Renaissance, is that the Philosopher’s Stone was also intended to be used to create an Elixir, also known as the Quintessence or the Elixir of Life, which was believed to purify human life just as the Stone was believed to purify base metals.⁹ Medieval English philosopher Roger Bacon defined alchemy as “a science teaching how to make and procure a certain medicine, called the ‘Elixir’ which being thrown upon metals, or imperfect bodies, reduces them to absolute perfection.”¹⁰ This application of the Elixir was believed to not only heal the body and extend one’s life on earth but also to heal the soul and result in one’s eternal salvation.¹¹ This aim of alchemy was popularized by the Swiss alchemist Paracelsus (1493-1541), who worked during the German Renaissance. Paracelsus condemned the alchemist’s quest for gold, instead emphasizing the spiritual and medicinal aspects of alchemy.¹² The ideas of Paracelsus became so popular that a new branch of alchemy emerged: Paracelsian alchemical theosophy. Part of the cause for this rapid popularization of Paracelsian views of alchemy was the invention of the printing press, which allowed for many prominent Paracelsian-inspired alchemical treatises to be printed, including *Pandora*. Although three of the treatises examined here are handwritten and hand-painted, all of them were later reproduced in printed form. The printing of alchemical manuscripts is also partially responsible for the widespread knowledge of alchemy during the European Renaissance. Alchemy became such a prominent interest during the Renaissance that many monarchs had royal alchemists appointed to their courts, including Elizabeth I of England, James IV of Scotland, and Rudolph II of Prague.¹³

Though it would be near impossible to summarize every detail of Renaissance alchemy in this paper, readers need to understand the basic alchemical processes, which were frequently represented through Biblical allusions, especially the Passion and Resurrection of Christ, in written form and Christian iconography in visual forms. There are five primary phases to the alchemical Great Work. In their respective order they are: nigredo

⁷ Tara Nummedal, “Alchemy and Religion in Christian Europe,” *Ambix* 60, no. 4: 322.

⁸ Laurinda S. Dixon, “Water, Wine, and Blood: Science and Liturgy in the Marriage at Cana by Hieronymus Bosch,” *Oud-Holland* 96, no. 2: 73-96.

⁹ Corbett, “Painted Science.”

¹⁰ Dixon, “Water, Wine, and Blood,” 73-96.

¹¹ Szulakowska, *The Sacrificial Body*, 1-12.

¹² Prinke, “History and Authorship of Splendor Solis,” 19-63.

¹³ Corbett, “Painted Science.”

(the blackening, or the Black Work), albedo (the whitening, or the White Work), citrinas (the yellowing, or the Yellow Work), viriditas (the greening, or the Green Work), and finally rubedo (the reddening, or the Red Work).¹⁴ These phases were believed not only to be the physical processes of the creation of prima materia (prime matter, a perfect element that was required for the creation of the Philosopher's Stone), but also spiritual processes that resulted in the spiritual elevation and purification of the alchemist, and a microcosmic reflection of the processes of God's macrocosmic divine creation of the world as described in the book of Genesis.¹⁵

The use of Biblical allusions and Christian iconography to refer to alchemical processes first began with medieval European alchemists who belonged to the Church and wished to convert the Arabic alchemical tradition that had recently been transmitted to Europe into something more appropriate for those of the Christian faith. Medieval alchemist Petrus Bonus promoted the idea that through alchemical practices and processes, the practicing alchemist could attain knowledge of Christian doctrines.¹⁶ Alchemical processes were seen by these early European alchemists as reflections of the life of Christ in that they involved creation, death, and resurrection, a view that persisted well into and beyond the Renaissance era.¹⁷ As a result of this reflection, alchemical treatises frequently represented alchemical processes using Christian iconography. This layer of Christian symbolism was not lost on the public of the German Renaissance, Protestants and Catholics alike. Martin Luther, the father of the Protestant Reformation, had this to say about the respected art of alchemy: "The science of alchymy I like well, and indeed, 'tis the philosophy of the ancients." He then commented on "the profits [alchemy] brings in melting metals, in decocting, preparing, extracting, and distilling herbs [and] roots. [...] I like it also for the sake of the allegory and secret signification, which is exceedingly fine, touching the resurrection of the dead at the last day."¹⁸ In addition to the reflection of the life of Christ seen in alchemical processes, the Philosopher's Stone itself was often represented as Christ. This likeness was seen in the Philosopher's Stone's supposed existence as a perfect or pure material that had undergone the processes of creation, death, and rebirth, much like experiences that Christ underwent on earth to reach his ultimate divine, purified, form. Renaissance alchemists also saw the use and impacts of alchemical medicines on the human body as reflections of the 'purified' bodies of sacred figures in Christian doctrine, including the Virgin Mary and Adam.¹⁹

As noted by Szulakowska, it is remarkable that many of the Paracelsian-inspired German Renaissance alchemical treatises containing Christian symbolism and iconography were printed in predominately Protestant cities such as Strassburg, Frankfurt, Oppenheim,

¹⁴ Battistini, *Astrology, Magic, and Alchemy in Art*, 320.

¹⁵ Walton, "Alchemy, Chemistry, and the Six Days of Creation," 233-246.

¹⁶ Lawrence M. Principe, "A Practical Science: The History of Alchemy," in *Art and Alchemy: The Mystery of Transformation*, trans. Susanna Michael, ed. Sven Dupre (Munich: Hirmer, 2014), 20-32.

¹⁷ Corbett, "Painted Science."

¹⁸ Nummedal, "Alchemy and Religion," 311-322.

¹⁹ Nummedal, "Alchemy and Religion," 311-322.

Hanau, and Augsburg.²⁰ In her seminal work *The Sacrificial Body and the Day of Doom*, Szulakowska asserts that the materialization of these Paracelsian-inspired manuscripts in Protestant areas of Germany was no mere chance happening, but rather it was a direct result of the banning of Catholic-Christian icons in these areas and “the resulting spiritual and emotional insecurity experienced by the faithful.”²¹ Szulakowska elaborates that many Catholic ideas were still deeply ingrained in the beliefs of the people in newly Protestant Europe, and the banning of such ideas and images was not enough to instantly obliterate all interest in them. She also explains how and why the Christian iconography contained within alchemical treatises would have been acceptable in these Protestant areas, and the answer lies within the stylization of the images and the rejection of Renaissance techniques in favor of a reversion to earlier medieval styles. The images within these treatises utilized the style developed by the school of Lucas Cranach the Elder, who adapted their style to follow the guidance given by Martin Luther about religious imagery; namely that the Renaissance visual techniques of illusionism and realism would confuse people and lead them into idolatry. To avoid the promotion of idolatry as cautioned by Martin Luther, Lucas Cranach and his followers pioneered a style of art that reverted to the flattening of pictorial space that was so popular just a century before. The artists of the images within most German Renaissance alchemical treatises also utilized this medieval-like style to adhere to the standards of their Protestant Christian religions.²²

The first pre-reformation treatise is *Aurora Consurgens (The Rising Dawn)* (Ms. Rh. 172). *Aurora Consurgens* is handwritten and hand-painted, created around 1414-1417 during the Church Council at Lake Constance in Germany.²³ Authorship of the treatise is attributed to Thomas Aquinas, though this is the case of an author using the name of a well-known philosopher and alchemical scholar to gain credibility and draw attention to the text, a practice that was quite common during the Renaissance.²⁴ It is most likely that the author was a cleric, one with significant knowledge of the Vulgate (the Catholic Church’s official Latin translation of the Bible at this time) as evidenced by his continual Biblical quotation throughout the text.²⁵ Though its text is ripe with overtly Christian messages and Biblical quotations, its illustrations contain more subtle allusions to Christian figures. The particular illustration that will be examined here depicts the murder of the male and female aspects of impure prime matter (Sol, Sulphur, and Luna, Mercury), represented by Christ and the Virgin Mary; this is not obvious in the illustration, though it is denoted in the accompanying text by a blue star-headed figure, representative of the alchemist (Fig. 1).²⁶ Preceding their murder, the two were united in the ‘Chemical Union’ through sexual

²⁰ Szulakowska, *The Sacrificial Body*, 1-12.

²¹ Szulakowska, *The Sacrificial Body*, 1-12.

²² Szulakowska, *The Sacrificial Body*, 1-12.

²³ Urszula Szulakowska, “Alchemy, Apocalyptic Discourse, and the Spiritual Franciscans,” in *The Alchemical Virgin Mary in the Religious and Political Context of the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017).

²⁴ Szulakowska, “Alchemy, Apocalyptic Discourse, and the Spiritual Franciscans,” in *The Alchemical Virgin Mary*.

²⁵ Carl G. Jung, *Collected Works of C.G. Jung, Volume 12: Psychology and Alchemy*, edited by Gerhard Adler and R. F.C. Hull (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), 377.

²⁶ Urszula Szulakowska, “The Woman on the Crescent Moon and her Shadows: The Virgin Mary in Catholic Doctrine and in Alchemy,” in *The Alchemical Virgin Mary in the Religious and Political Context of the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017).

intercourse, an illustration which is obscured by black ink in this edition. The concealment appears to have been purposeful, perhaps because of the heretical content of the image (the supposed incestuous union of the Virgin Mary and Christ). After their death, which represents the putrefaction of prime matter, they will be resurrected as the alchemical hermaphrodite. In this context, the alchemical hermaphrodite represents the successful creation of the purified form of prime matter (the element required to create the Philosopher's Stone), which is depicted on the final page of the treatise (Fig. 2). The hermaphrodite is grasped in the talons of a blue eagle, representative of Philosophic Mercury, the substance needed to create the Quintessence, or the Elixir of Life.²⁷ The illustrations contained within *Aurora Consurgens*



Figure 1: Page 56 of Ms. Rh. 172, Zurich Zentralbibliothek



Figure 2: Page 204 of Ms. Rh. 172, Zurich, Zentralbibliothek

utilize significantly less overtly Christian imagery than is seen in the other three manuscripts discussed. Instead, the author creates the bulk of his Christian metaphors in the form of written text, with ample Biblical scriptures quoted throughout the treatise.²⁸

The second pre-Reformation treatise is the *Buch der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit* (*Book of the Holy Trinity*) (BSB Cgm 598), produced around 1467 in the region of Franconia, Germany. The *Buch der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit* presents its alchemical knowledge as divine knowledge that was revealed by God.²⁹ As is the case for many popular alchemical treatises of this time, the *Buch der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit* was frequently reproduced throughout Germany and resulted in many different printed editions of the treatise, as is the case with all four of the treatises. The edition of the *Buch der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit* is CGM 98, which is handwritten and hand-painted, and housed in the Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. The author of the treatise was likely a Spiritual Franciscan, as is indicated by the illustration of St. Francis being given the stigmata from Christ on a winged crucifix (Fig. 3).³⁰

²⁷ Battistini, *Astrology, Magic, and Alchemy in Art*, 276.

²⁸ Jung, *Collected Works*, 377.

²⁹ Nummedal, "Alchemy and Religion," 311-322.

³⁰ Szulakowska, "The Apocalyptic Mary in the *Buch der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit*," in *The Alchemical Virgin Mary*.

Buch der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit was also the earliest known alchemical text to be written in the German language, rather than in Latin, which could be the reason for its popularity in German-speaking countries, as evidenced by the significant number of reproductions of the treatise in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland.³¹

Though Christian iconography appears throughout the treatise, there are three illustrations of note within the *Buch der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit*, the first two of which are slight variations of the same subject and composition. In the first, crucified Christ is depicted directly above the crowned Virgin Mary who is seated atop a down-turned crescent moon and surrounded by a mandorla-like oval made up of rays (Fig. 4). This image depicts the earthly form of the Virgin Mary, representative of mercury, in relation to her position with the moon before her ascension into heaven. In the second illustration the Virgin Mary is depicted within an even larger mandorla-like sun shape, now surrounded by twelve stars and with a slightly larger and more ornate crown. This image depicts the Virgin Mary after her ascension into heaven where she receives her 'glorified body,' representing the resurrection of mercury as the purified Quintessence.



Figure 3: Page 344 of CGM 98, Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

Together, these images represent the creation of the Quintessence, also known as the Elixir of Life, through the death (putrefaction) of mercury (represented by the Virgin Mary) and its subsequent resurrection as the purified Quintessence.³² Just as the Virgin Mary is said to have been resurrected in heaven after her death and given a new 'glorified body,' mercury dies (the phase of putrefaction) and is 'resurrected' as the purified Quintessence. This is the first known treatise to use the ascension of the Virgin to symbolize the creation of the Quintessence, but these images would be copied and reproduced in many later treatises.³³

The second image of the Virgin Mary fits the description given in Revelations 12:1-6, 13-17 of the Apocalyptic Woman, "a woman clothed in the sun, standing on the moon, and crowned with twelve stars."³⁴ Though this apocalyptic reference may seem out of place

³¹ Szulakowska, "The Apocalyptic Mary in the *Buch der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit*," in *The Alchemical Virgin Mary*.

³² Battistini, *Astrology, Magic, and Alchemy in Art*, 292.

³³ Szulakowska, "The Apocalyptic Mary in the *Buch der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit*," in *The Alchemical Virgin Mary*.

³⁴ Szulakowska, "The Apocalyptic Mary in the *Buch der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit*," in *The Alchemical Virgin Mary*.

at first, some historical context from the time clarifies its significance. During the Renaissance, it was widely believed in Christian Europe that the second coming of Christ and the subsequent apocalypse would occur around the year 1600 after a period of religious, social, and political unrest.³⁵ This belief also created an urgency for the alchemist, who would need to successfully create the Quintessence to heal his body and soul and guarantee his salvation.

The third and final illustration from the *Buch der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit*

is a depiction of its namesake, the Holy Trinity and the Coronation of the Virgin Mary combined into one image, though it is a version of the Trinity that has been significantly altered to fit the

alchemical agenda (Fig. 6). Here, the Holy Trinity is shown as God the Father, Christ, and the Virgin Mary as the Queen in Heaven, a significant departure from the traditional depiction of the Holy Trinity as God the Father, Christ, and the Holy Spirit. The image also contains the symbols of the four Evangelists, one in each corner, which in this context represent the four elements (earth, air, water, and fire). Above Mary's head rests a dove that represents the Holy Spirit, as the accompanying text explains, "When Jesus and Mary are one, the Holy Spirit is third." This refers to the 'Chemical Union' of Christ and the Virgin, sulphur and mercury, which must occur to create the Quin-



Figure 5: Page 178 of CGM 98, Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek



Figure 4: Page 167 of CGM 98, Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

tescence.³⁶ This scene also represents the creation of the white tincture, which is needed to create the Quintessence, which occur later in the treatise. In her analysis of this particular image, Szulakowska notes that the author likely did not intend to challenge the Christian

³⁵ Szulakowska, "The Apocalyptic Mary in the *Buch der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit*," in *The Alchemical Virgin Mary*.

³⁶ Szulakowska, "The Apocalyptic Mary in the *Buch der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit*," in *The Alchemical Virgin Mary*.

Doctrine in his alteration of the Holy Trinity but was solely seeking to tailor the image to the alchemical subject at hand.³⁷

Although the content of these three illustrations from the *Buch der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit* may seem heretical, the alchemist-cleric creator and his readership did not see it this way. In their view, Christian images were transposed into the alchemical context to protect the secrets of the alchemical process, emphasize the spiritual layer of alchemy, and shield themselves from the criticisms from those who thought alchemy to be a false science concerned only with the creation of gold. As a result of this transposition of religious images into a secular context, the alchemists believed that the boundaries and strict characteristics of these icons became looser, allowing them greater freedom to alter these well-known images to suit their purposes.³⁸ Overall, the *Buch der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit* contains far more overtly Christian iconography than *Aurora Consurgens*, which was produced only about fifty years earlier. The *Buch der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit* was reproduced many times throughout the German-speaking countries of Europe, as its images became quite popular with alchemists and were copied and sometimes altered in other treatises, including *Pandora*.³⁹



Figure 6: Page 59 of CGM 98, Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

The first post-Reformation treatise is *Splendor Solis* (*Splendor of the Sun*). *Splendor Solis* was handwritten and hand-painted in 1582, likely in Nuremberg or Augsburg, which were predominately Protestant cities.⁴⁰ As is the case for all of the treatises discussed, there are many different versions of *Splendor Solis*, so it is important to note that the particular edition that will be discussed here is Harley MS. 3469, which is housed at the British Library. The authorship of this treatise is attributed to Salomon Trismosin, a mythic figure supposed to have lived about two hundred years before the creation of *Splendor Solis*; again, as we saw with the authorship of *Aurora Consurgens*, this attribution was likely made in an effort on the part of the author to attract greater attention to the text and to generate cred-

³⁷ Szulakowska, "The Apocalyptic Mary in the *Buch der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit*," in *The Alchemical Virgin Mary*.

³⁸ Szulakowska, "The Apocalyptic Mary in the *Buch der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit*," in *The Alchemical Virgin Mary*.

³⁹ Szulakowska, "The Apocalyptic Mary in the *Buch der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit*," in *The Alchemical Virgin Mary*.

⁴⁰ Jörg Völlnagel, "Harley MS. 3469: Splendor Solis, or the Splendour of the Sun: A German Alchemical Manuscript," *Electronic British Library Journal*, (London: UK, 2011), 3.



Figure 7: Plate 11 of Harley MS. 3469, British Library

teenth-century Venetian mosaic of the subject within the Cathedral of San Marco in Venice in which a white dove, the Holy Spirit, descends upon the head of Christ as he is in the baptismal waters, purifying him, much like the illustration in *Splendor Solis* (Fig. 8).⁴³ A noteworthy difference between the two images is that while the dove in the mosaic descends upon the head of Christ, the dove atop the head of the alchemist is preparing to take flight upwards. In the view of Henderson, this is an intentional alteration meant as a reference to the popular alchemical principle,

ibility.⁴¹ This particular treatise has been a source of contention among scholars and has generated much disagreement as to whether or not the manuscript alludes to a spiritual practice of alchemy and Christian doctrine or merely references nature and alchemical laboratory processes.

A particular illustration that has been interpreted differently by various scholars depicts an alchemist resembling Christ. He is seated within an alchemical bath as a white dove sits perched atop his head with his wings spread, about to take flight, which is depicted within a classical architectural setting (Fig. 7). Some scholars, including Joseph L. Henderson and Jane Paisley Russell Corbett, interpret a dual Christian and alchemical meaning to this illustration, referring to the spiritual purification and elevation of the alchemist that occurs during the Great Work and the Christian baptismal ritual of purification.⁴² Henderson goes so far as to directly compare this illustration to thirteenth-century mosaics of the Baptism of Christ, such as the thir-



Figure 8: The Baptism of Christ. Mosaic from the Cathedral of San Marco, Venice, thirteenth century

⁴¹ Völlnagel, "Harley MS. 3469," 4.

⁴² Corbett, "Painted Science."

⁴³ Joseph L. Henderson, *Transformation of the Psyche: The Symbolic Alchemy of the Splendor Solis*, (Hove: Brunner-Routledge), 91.

“as above, so below,” meaning that in alchemy, salvation and purification come from below as well as above.⁴⁴ Other scholars, like Prinke, argue that this image makes no such reference, but rather it represents only the alchemical process of boiling and volatilization which was a necessary process for the purification of matter.⁴⁵ I am inclined to agree with the spiritual and dual Christian-chemical meaning behind the illustration, primarily because this treatise draws heavily on the pre-Reformation treatise previously discussed, *Aurora Consurgens*, which was ripe with Christian symbolism (although it was contained more so in the text than in the illustrations), including many direct quotations of scripture.⁴⁶ As was also seen in *Aurora Consurgens*, the images in *Splendor Solis* are significantly less overtly Christian than the images contained within some of the other alchemical treatises produced at this time. Therefore, it seems that the author and artist of the treatise did intend for a subtle Christian reference, which adept alchemists, especially those with knowledge of *Aurora Consurgens*, would immediately recognize.

Notably, Fig. 7 is the only illustration discussed that employs the techniques of the Renaissance to achieve a level of realism that is not seen in the other treatises' illustrations, such as the depiction of an architectural setting using linear and atmospheric perspective. The subject depicted here is not as overtly Christian as some of the other alchemical illustrations discussed, and the desire to render these illustrations using Renaissance techniques may have impacted overt depictions of Christian images. The lack of overt use of Christian iconography in this manuscript is likely also the result of the Protestant Reformation and this treatise's creation within a Protestant city.

The second and final post-Reformation treatise is *Pandora*, printed in 1582 in Basel, a Protestant city in Switzerland that lies right on the border of Germany.⁴⁷ The title of this treatise does not allude to the myth of Pandora's Box, but rather to Gaia, the ancestral mother and provider of gifts. Pandora, here meaning “she who gives all gifts,” gives the gift of alchemical knowledge, the divine gift of God.⁴⁸ The author of this treatise draws heavily on the ideas and images contained in the *Buch der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit*, copying its images of the Life of Christ and the Coronation of the Virgin, though without the icon-like grandeur seen in the *Buch der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit*, an element that was likely disposed of in order to adhere to Martin Luther's guidance on the subject of religious images.⁴⁹

Since the Coronation of the Virgin from the pre-Reformation treatise, *Buch der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit*, has already been examined, it seems most suitable to also examine the version of the scene that appears in this post-Reformation treatise. In contrast to the illustration seen in the *Buch der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit*, this illustration is a woodcut print and was not hand-painted. As a result, this image is significantly less detailed and icon-like, which,

⁴⁴ Henderson, *Transformation of the Psyche*, 92.

⁴⁵ Prinke, “History and Authorship of *Splendor Solis*,” 19-63.

⁴⁶ Völlnagel, “Harley MS. 3469,” 4.

⁴⁷ James R. Voelkel, “Pandora's Secrets,” *Distillations Magazine*, December 19, 2011.

⁴⁸ Szulakowska, “Marian Imagery in Reusner's *Pandora*,” in *The Alchemical Virgin Mary*.

⁴⁹ Szulakowska, “Marian Imagery in Reusner's *Pandora*,” in *The Alchemical Virgin Mary*.

was likely a conscious choice to conform to Luther's standards for religious images. This is also likely the reason why the author of *Pandora* has chosen to omit the two images of Christ and the Virgin Mary that were in the *Buch der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit*. Another reason for this omission may have been the fact that the images of Christ and the Virgin Mary contained in the *Buch der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit* were based on Catholic Marian ideas. Nonetheless, the images within *Pandora*, which was produced in a Protestant city, are far more overtly Christian than those seen in the other post-Reformation treatise, *Splendor Solis*.

Though the Christian images within these alchemical treatises may have been acceptable to the Protestant and Catholic Churches and quite commonplace in the Renaissance era, the accompanying concepts promoted in Paracelsian alchemy and these treatises garnered contention on the basis of heresy from both Catholics and Protestants alike.⁵⁰ Heretical concepts within alchemical writings and the manufacture of counterfeit gold had been concerns of the Church since shortly after their inception in Europe during the medieval period, leading to Pope John XXII's 1317 decree against alchemy and Charles V of France's ban on alchemy in 1380.⁵¹ Despite the bans on alchemy in certain regions of Europe and the antagonism that alchemists faced, the practice of alchemy persisted well after the Renaissance period. It resulted in an increased level of secrecy and symbolism in alchemical texts and images, ensuring that only the adept alchemist would be able to decode the secret alchemical practices and processes denoted through increasingly altered, and sometimes even bizarre, Christian metaphor and imagery, something that can be seen in all four of the manuscripts examined.⁵²

Based upon this examination, the use of Christian iconography in alchemical treatises did not change significantly. As was seen, both overtly Christian images and more cryptic ones were used in both the pre-Reformation treatises and the post-Reformation treatises. The most significant change uncovered here is the omission of images that were thought to be based on Catholic Marian ideas in Protestant manuscripts, seen in *Pandora's* omission of the Marian images contained within the *Buch der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit*, and the toning down of images that were too icon-like in order to conform to Martin Luther's guidance on the sub-



Figure 9: Page 273 of *Pandora*, Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

⁵⁰ Szulakowska, *The Sacrificial Body*, 1-12.

⁵¹ Russell, "Painted Science."

⁵² Principe, "A Practical Science," 20-32.

ject of religious images. The continuation of the tradition of Christian-alchemical imagery is significant. The fact that many of these treatises were produced in Protestant cities speaks to the attachment that many still felt to the Christian images and the significance of the spiritual layer of alchemy to post-Reformation alchemists. In summation, based on the evidence examined, the Protestant Reformation appears to have had little impact on the forms of Christian iconography presented in alchemical treatises, and the use of Christian iconography in alchemical treatises endured well after the Renaissance era.

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The Glue That Held the Sacramento Music Scene Together

Sid Akbar

Abstract: The paper attempts to understand how the rise of digital media led to the decline of live music in Sacramento, CA. By arguing that the role that the record stores served was more than just a location to purchase physical media, I connect their existence to critical auxiliary duties as community centers, where local musicians and their audiences could buy tickets to shows, post handbills for upcoming events, leave stacks of zines, listen to live performances, and mingle with other enthusiasts. Once music and advertising transitioned to online distribution, it was not only the brick-and-mortar records shop that went down but ultimately led to the demise of the art and culture scene they sustained and impacted the number of music venues available for gigging to perform at. I source local independent publications, compare national newspapers, and studies of the emerging digital technology and its revolutionary impact on radio and print.

Throughout the 1990s and 2000s, Sacramento's live music scene was thriving. National acts, upcoming artists on tour, and local talent proliferated across the city's many live music venues. These musicians and their fans in the region were a close-knit community that supported and promoted each other. This flourishing live music scene can be attributed in part to a free, independent local magazine called *Alive and Kicking*. From 1991 to 2008, *Alive and Kicking* was published by Jerry Perry, the magazine's editor-in-chief, and his group of volunteer contributors, writers, and distributors. The tag line for each issue read, "a publication celebrating local music," followed by issue specific content. Their articles covered local and national music as well as other important community events like cancer runs or bowling leagues. The magazine also featured a calendar spread that allowed local fans to get an overview of the dates and venues at which their favorite local acts were performing. As an independent publication, *Alive and Kicking* depended on local businesses as advertisers to underwrite its production expenses. With the emergence of digital technology towards the end of the twentieth century, music, advertising, and journalism all moved online. The shift in media from physical to digital outlets led to the decline of businesses such as *Alive and Kicking* promoting local music. Without income from advertising, the magazine could no longer afford to stay in print, leaving Sacramento without a magazine to champion its local music scene. As a result of this shift to digital media as well as a shift in public discourse away from supporting live music, Sacramento's once thriving live music scene declined.

Research on the social and fiscal impact of digital music has neglected to connect it to the decline of local music. The best of this research is from David Verbuč, who makes a strong connection with the American underground DIY scene of musicians in local economies and social structures.¹ Others study consumerism and note that music consumption

¹ David Verbuč, "A Whole Society, with Its Own Economic System': The Reciprocal and Capitalist Configurations of American DIY Music Scenes." *Ethnomusicology Forum* 32, no. 1 (2023): 5–27.

has become more of an individual experience rather than a collective one across centuries.²

Research indicates that Sacramento was not the only metropolitan area to see a decline in local music. Many cities across the globe, from New York to London, Melbourne to Flagstaff, all experienced a demise in live music after the turn of the century.³ Several papers have investigated the impact that the digital age had on live music, in particular how the decline of records sales for artists in the twenty-first century has forced musicians to travel farther to perform in an effort to make up for lost income.⁴ Another study investigated the value of live music in a digital age, focusing on the social experience gained from being present at a show.⁵

None of these papers connect the impact of the digital age to the demise of local music performances. To understand why Sacramento's once thriving music scene has deteriorated since the emergence of digital music, we must examine the reasons that the music industry chose to move from physical media to digital technology.

By the end of the twentieth century, much of the media industry had transitioned from analog to more convenient digital media. VHS tapes became DVD, vinyl records and cassette tapes became CDs and MP3s, newspapers and their advertisements became websites, television evolved into on-demand streaming, photographs evolved into digital images, and live shows, such as theatre and concerts, became remote performances available to distant audiences anywhere around the globe. These novel forms of digital media were cheaper to produce, replicate, and distribute. Being digital meant that all this new media could be played back on a single device: the personal computer. By the beginning of the new millennium, the consumer no longer required multiple playback devices like heavy and clunky record players or VCRs. All anyone needed was a computer with access to the internet.⁶

This technological revolution had a devastating impact on the distribution market. Not only did the radio broadcasters move to digital media, the entire music industry did. In hindsight, the collapse of brick-and-mortar businesses such as Blockbuster Video and Tower Records seemed inevitable. However, there were unintended consequences, such as digital piracy and the decline in local music performances, whose economic impact is harder to ascertain. Regardless of legitimacy, there is a clear connection with the proliferation of digital music to the demise of records stores. The collapse of the local record shop

² Christian Fuentes, Johan Hagberg, and Hans Kjellberg, "Soundtracking: Music Listening Practices in the Digital Age" *European Journal of Marketing* 53, no. 3 (2019): 483–503.

³ Andrew Stafford, "Rock in a hard place: the decline of the all-ages music venue" *The Guardian*, April 18, 2018; Kathleen Allen, "Finding Flagstaff: Grazing the Flagstaff Music Scene" *The Arizona Daily Star*, July 11, 2010; Kathleen Allen, *Finding Flagstaff: Grazing the Flagstaff Music Scene*. Washington: Tribune Content Agency LLC, 2010.

⁴ Daegon Cho, Michael D. Smith, and Rahul Telang. "An Empirical Analysis of the Frequency and Location of Concerts in the Digital Age." *Information Economics and Policy* 40 (2017): 41–47.

⁵ Collins, Nicolas. "Why Live?: Performance in the Age of Digital Reproduction." *Leonardo Music Journal* 18 (2008): 7–8.

⁶ Jim Barthold, "Can't Live with It." *Telephony* 240, no. 7 (2001): 94.

contributed to the downfall of vibrant live music culture in cities like Sacramento and the end of *Alive and Kicking*.

The advent of digital music brought about a shift in broadcast radio technology. For decades, the radio stations employed disc jockeying. Being a radio DJ was as much a science as it was an art. Disc jockeying involved both manual labor and creativity to manage a catalog of hard, physical media (such as vinyl records, reels, tapes, and even CDs) and queue up playback with precision timing while live on air. By the late 1990s, the broadcast radio industry made DJing easier by adopting the playback of digital music. Writing for *Billboard* magazine, Steve Traiman notes that, “More and more FM and AM radio stations are moving toward all-digital, computer hard-drive-based systems for music storage and delivery.”⁷ By examining a new class of vendors attending the annual National Association of Broadcasters Spring Engineering and Technology Show, Traiman uncovered several economic benefits to digital media. Digital media storage took up less space in the radio station, weighed less, and was easier to transport and back up. The on-demand access to digital music through a database also saved time compared to handling and queuing up music on physical media. These advantages alone were enough to usher in a complete shift in the radio industry.

The devastating impact of radio stations switching to digital would not be immediately felt by record shops. Faster, cheaper, and easier to reproduce and store, digital media quickly became as ubiquitous as CDs in record stores and as MP3s in online downloads.⁸ Although there was a time in the twentieth century when record shops were the specialty stores for buying music, consumers could soon find their favorite albums in department stores, discount retailers, and even corner shops.⁹ Soon dollar stores had CDs and DVDs on their shelves. These discounted prices forced record stores to compete at an economic disadvantage. Constantly slashing their prices to unsustainable lows ultimately led to the demise of brick-and-mortar music retailers. For almost a century, record shops were the exclusive centers for regional music distribution, but by the beginning of the new millennium consumers had moved to the online market.

The collapse of record stores was not just a business catastrophe; it was a cultural one. Their brick-and-mortar locations did not just supply customers with music, they often served as cultural centers for music enthusiasts of all persuasions. For the Sacramento music community, Tower Records was one such cultural center. The founder of Tower Records, Russ Solomon, passed away in 2018, and the *New York Times* honored his legacy with a touching article reflecting on the impact his stores had across the music distribution market:

Starting at his father’s drugstore in Sacramento, where he sold used jukebox records as a teenager, Mr. Solomon built a retail empire that became known as

⁷ Steve Traiman, “Music Delivery Enters Digital Age,” *Billboard* 109, no. 15, (1997): 71.

⁸ Knopper, Steve. “Record Biz’s Digital Hope: Downloads Soar Seventy-Seven Percent; Rock, Rap CD Sales Tank.” *Rolling Stone*, no. 1006 (2006): 17.

⁹ Paul Sweeting, “Tower Said to Be Teetering,” *Video Business* 21, no. 27 (2001): 1.

much for its selection — vast by brick-and-mortar standards — as for the culture that surrounded it. Employees were opinionated aficionados, and Tower stores, open till midnight, were gathering places for fans.¹⁰

In addition to audiophile consumers, musicians and their fans hung out at record shops, and some of them were even employed there. Immortalized by the cult Hollywood film, *Empire Records*, screenwriter and former Tower Records employee, Carol Heikkinen wrote a story about how record shops served the community for more than just buying records.¹¹ The record shop was the place to procure tickets to upcoming concerts, purchase rock and roll posters, and buy hip hop clothing and accessories. In record shops, musicians could recruit bands members and even play shows.

Live music performances have always been a draw for the music community. They offer a space to celebrate local artists and enjoy the music, camaraderie, alcohol, illicit substances, and all that rowdiness and mischief attributed to live punk, hip hop, reggae, and rock shows. In this way, live music functions as an experience, as Nicolas Collins writes in the *Leonardo Music Journal*:

But it is also possible that there is something about live performance—its unpredictability, its physical discomfort, its exclusivity (an unlimited number of people can download, but only a limited number can be in one place at one time, and no amount of post-fact googling can make up for that difference)—that makes it fundamentally different from any other way of hearing music.¹²

The live music scene fostered creativity of all kinds, including a great deal of local art and literature. For decades, handmade posters for local shows would appear on lamp-posts and telephone poles. Entire underground publications emerged across metropolitan regions dedicated to live music.¹³ These independent magazines (commonly abbreviated to “zines”) were distributed at record shops and music venues, stacked alongside the promotional flyers for upcoming local shows. Both the zines and the handbills were handcrafted and hand-drawn and included cut-and-paste and photocopied collages. They were artful and tactile, meant to be held in your hands. They represented the underground element of art and culture beyond the mainstream media.

In the digital age, these independent publications and promotional flyers transitioned from handmade bills to digital media made on computers and distributed online. These new flyers were harnessing the latest technology to promote shows digitally through

¹⁰ Ben Sisario, “The Power of Tower Records,” *New York Times*, 2018.

¹¹ Paul Donoughue, “Empire Records Totally Bombed, but 25 Years Later, It’s Still Got a Loyal Following: The Film, Now 25 Years Old, Resonated with Those of Us Who Listened to “Alternative Music” and Wanted to Telegraph Our Displeasure at The Man” Sydney: *Australian Broadcasting Corporation*, 2020.

¹² Nicolas Collins, “Why Live?: Performance in the Age of Digital Reproduction,” *Leonardo Music Journal* 18 (2008): 7–8.

¹³ David Tkach and Carolyn Hank. “Before Blogs, There Were Zines: Berman, Danky, and the Political Case for Zine Collecting in North American Academic Libraries.” *Serials Review* 40, no. 1 (2014).

websites or email. Digital marketing does not cost as much as printing out thousands of copies nor does it require venues for distribution. Digital flyers could target their audience directly or employ blanket marketing at specific geographical locations. Without the need for record stores or coffee shops, zines soon transitioned to an online presence as well.

Online shopping had a devastating effect on record stores as well. For example, tickets for live music, both local and national acts, used to be sold primarily through record stores. Big-name bands would promote their concerts on local radio and make sure a certain number of tickets were readily available at the record shops. Just like the physical media they stocked, tickets, albums, clothing, and merchandise were all available for purchase at the record store. But times were changing.

Writing for *The Sacramento Bee*, Cathleen Ferraro investigated how another established Sacramento record store, Dimple Records, tried to adapt to the new digital market: “In 1974, you could sit on a carpet, stare at some lint, listen to the Velvet Underground, and you were happy. Now it’s video games, Web surfing, DVDs.”¹⁴ In an effort to keep up, Dimple tried to further diversify its catalog by introducing the sale of used video games, just like they did with used records. At their peak in the 1990s, Dimple operated four stores in the Sacramento Valley. But by the beginning of the twenty-first century, Dimple Records had also gone bankrupt.

Throughout the 1990s and the early 2000s, Sacramento had a vibrant and far more varied live music scene. Compared to today, there were more small-to-medium-sized music venues, more local artists, and more up-and-coming national acts coming through Sacramento.¹⁵ The glue that held this live music scene together was *Alive and Kicking*.

Alive and Kicking was founded by Jerry Perry: a fan of local music, sometimes a band manager, and often a promoter. Perry began humbly by creating handmade promotional flyers for shows of bands who performed at several popular local venues throughout the 1980s. Perry soon got the attention of Bojangles, a decent-sized live music venue which he rebranded as the Cattle Club for his live music promotions. By the early 1990s, Perry booked up-and-coming artists such as Pearl Jam, Primus, Nirvana, the Violent Femmes, GWAR, and Mud Honey, all of whom would go on to national fame. The Cattle Club quickly emerged as the launching pad for Sacramento bands, many of whom also went national, such as Seven Seconds, the Deftones, Oleander, and Cake. And how was a local music fan to find out about these shows? Where could they go to read a review about a certain band? All this information was available every month in the *Alive and Kicking* magazine.

The very first issue of *Alive and Kicking* was published independently in August of

¹⁴ Cathleen Ferraro, *Sacramento’s Independent Music Stores Distinguish Themselves from the Chains* (Washington: Tribune Content Agency LLC), 2003.

¹⁵ Jerry Perry, Publisher/Editor-in-Chief *Alive and Kicking*, interview with author at his home, Sacramento, California, February 2023.

1991, over a year before the *Sacramento News and Review* came into print.¹⁶ On the cover of their black and white debut issue was the picture of the band Primus, an up-and-coming California band that had recently signed to a major label. The cover of their eighth issue would feature the Deftones, a Sacramento band that would also “go national” a few years later, with their singles appearing on Hollywood soundtracks such as for the blockbuster film, *The Crow*.¹⁷ Continuing to feature up-and-coming artists on the covers, *Alive and Kicking* gathered enough notoriety and revenue that it began adding color on their covers in 1998 and went full color in 2003.

Not only were the covers of *Alive and Kicking* a marketing tool to get music fans to pick up an issue, they also were essentially endorsements that could predicate fame and success. Many local bands who were featured on the cover ended up with record contracts or at least received a huge boost in promotion that translated to an increase in the number of fans at their next performances. All these local musical experiences were showcased and promoted by *Alive and Kicking*.

Within the pages of the magazine, the content got more detailed and intimate. Not only was there a full spread calendar, with dates, names of bands, and the venues that they would be performing at, but every issue featured deep dive interviews with local artists. Perry or one of his staff writers would sit down with artists and ask questions about their history and future endeavors. For example, in a 1997 article promoting local band Nothing, the author recounts how he and the band went to the drive-in theater to watch a movie, drink beer, and talk about their experience recording their new album, *For Crying Out Loud*.¹⁸ *Alive and Kicking* also covered the near fatal car accident involving the local band Bucho. In their interview with Jerry Perry, Bucho discusses their experience and excitement of being on tour. Such an opportunity is a dream come true for many artists, and especially for the recently signed Bucho. Unfortunately, they experienced a tragic motor vehicle crash and were subsequently dropped from their label who released the band in fear of an insurance scandal.¹⁹ By providing such journalism, *Alive and Kicking* offered an intimate connection between their readers and the bands they featured. While often humorous, *Alive and Kicking* did not shy away from the harder truths such as the grim dangers of life on the road.

Alive and Kicking also addressed politics and issues within the local community. On the cover of their October 1997 issue, they featured the Capital Aids walk, displaying a photograph of 150 local musicians and fans in matching t-shirts at the front steps of the capitol building.²⁰ The article featured on the cover was a story about how the local music scene promotes awareness and fundraises for the worthy cause. These exposés were more wholesome and oriented to civic engagement. Other articles were about simple carnal

¹⁶ Perry, Interview, 2023.

¹⁷ Scott McLennan, “Deftones Clear Leader of New California Heavy Metal Pack: ALL Edition.” *Telegram & Gazette*. 1997.

¹⁸ Jerry Perry, “Drinking and Driving: Turbulence” *Alive and Kicking*, February 1997, 6-7.

¹⁹ Jerry Perry, “Bucho Ouch” *Alive and Kicking*, July 2003, 12-13.

²⁰ “Capital Aids Walk Team. Sunday, September 21, 1997” *Alive and Kicking*, October 1997.

desires. For example, they once “humbly” reviewed a local burger joint. Of course, their angle was through local music, so who better to invite as guest reviewers than the local band Deftones?²¹

By adding community events and local business into their celebration of regional music, *Alive and Kicking* nurtured a community of music lovers and garnered support for local business. Across their pages, the magazine was swathed with advertisers alongside their reviews of live music shows. Ultimately, their goal was to promote local bands and venues, and in doing so *Alive and Kicking* established their presence in the community and gained respect as an authority on the local music scene. Anyone who wanted to prove their legitimacy as a local musician vied to be featured among the contents of *Alive and Kicking*.

At its peak, the publication circulation circulated 30,000 copies a month available at over 300 local businesses.²² According to one of their regular advertisers, multi-platinum engineer Joe Johnston of Pus Cavern Studios, *Alive and Kicking* was principally responsible for the vibrance of Sacramento’s music scene.²³ But when the music industry went digital, the subsequent downfall of record shops was followed by the demise of *Alive and Kicking*. The loss of *Alive and Kicking* was an early indicator to the decline of Sacramento’s thriving live music scene.

Along with record shops and video rental stores, newspapers, and magazines, independent or otherwise, also dwindled. In 1994, the New York Times invested 1.5 billion dollars in what they called, at the time, electronic media.²⁴ With the proliferation of web browsing, newspapers and advertisers began targeting an online audience. Surfing the web became a new leisurely activity, much like listening to records in your living room in the 1970s or playing video games in the 1990s. Many publications failed to generate enough revenue to stay afloat.²⁵ Newspapers and magazines that had been established for decades found themselves on the verge of bankruptcy.

Once *Alive and Kicking* could no longer sustain their publication, they too moved online, but without the record stores and the face-to-face interaction of giving someone a physical handbill or magazine, it was just not the same. Musicians and venues started using personal computers to create their own websites or design their own flyers but attempts to promote through online advertising or through email were not as effective. Once a close-knit network of venues, musicians, and audiences, the music scene splintered into isolated cliques of people that specialized in their own genres. The number of shows decreased, as did the number of patrons in attendance. Without the support and revenue of audiences,

²¹ Jerry Perry, “Chewing the Fat: Exploring Greasy Spoons Since 1994” *Alive and Kicking*, February 1997, 16.

²² Perry, Interview, 2023.

²³ Joseph Johnston, Owner and Engineer at Pus Cavern Studios, Interview at his Studio by author, March 2023.

²⁴ Patrick M. Reilly. “New York Times to Invest as Much As \$1.5 Billion in Electronic Media.” *Wall Street Journal Europe*. 1994.

²⁵ Graham Medcalf, “NEWSPAPERS: The Sky Is Falling. Or Is It? With News Content Moving Online, and Advertising Revenues Declining, Some Are Predicting the End of Newspapers as We Know Them.” *Marketing Magazine*, 2009, 44.

small-to-midsize venues also started to disappear.

The value that *Alive and Kicking* magazine had as a physical medium cannot be understated. In the digital age, music consumption is more of an individual experience, on a digital player, directly into our earphones. The purpose of *Alive and Kicking* was to celebrate and promote live music. As a physical magazine, *Alive and Kicking* thrived at the record shops, where congregations of music enthusiasts could pick up a free copy and take it to their friends to figure out how they would spend their evenings. Much like the handbills that promoted shows at both record shop and gig venues, *Alive and Kicking* was ubiquitous. You could find the publication almost anywhere, packed with content regarding the local music scene and paid for by advertisers who wanted to target the urban, hip music audiences. The shift to online marketing directly impacted the ability for *Alive and Kicking* to stay in print, as the magazine could not be published without advertising revenue. Although *Alive and Kicking* eventually went online, their digital presence did not stimulate the local music fans as much as their physical presence did.²⁶

Another element in the demise of the local music scene was the role of the city government. Live music tends to bring a lively if not raucous crowd. Much like major metropolitan areas across the globe, Sacramento faced a backlash from the kind of behavior displayed by fans during and after live music events. In 1997, Sacramento passed a law to post no bills on telephone poles.²⁷ Residents near music venues would regularly complain to the city about the noise from the loud shows. The popular phrase “Sex, Drugs, and Rock n’ Roll” is not without merit. Older men used drugs to prey on underage girls at these venues. In one case, a famous Texas musician and promoter was apprehended and charged for cocaine possession, child pornography, and sex with underage minors.²⁸ Parents and local government needed to find ways to control all-ages shows and crack down on the dangers minors were exposed to.

After enough noise complaints, drug busts, crime, and violence the city began to crack down on venues that hosted all-ages shows. Property owners and real estate developers chose to raise the rent on venue operators or diversify into more lucrative businesses rather than the coffee shops and bars in which live music gigs once proliferated. In an effort to find more profitable (or at least more respectable) business ventures, landlords and developers moved away from investing in live music venues. This left only larger music halls, which were only available to established national acts. Big acts with name recognition encouraged higher ticket prices that only certain people could afford. Gone were the days of all-ages shows. Gone were the days of grimy little punk rock gigs. A similar decline in shows was happening across the globe:

In Sydney – once a live-music Mecca to rival London or New York – bands now struggle to play at all, with venues under pressure from soaring real estate

²⁶ Perry, Interview, 2023.

²⁷ Perry, Interview, 2023.

²⁸ Joe Nick Patoski, “Sex, Drugs and Rock & Roll. (Cover Story).” *Texas Monthly (Austin)* 24, no. 5 (1996): 116.

prices, noise complaints, punitive regulations and a cozy relationship between government and developers. The city's longest-serving live venue, The Basement – which, over 45 years, has hosted artists from Dizzy Gillespie to Prince – closed last week, though its owners are hopeful of finding other premises.²⁹

By the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, the music industry was nothing like it used to be. Radio listeners had gone to online streaming, and novel podcasts were now on-demand.³⁰ Record shops had all but disappeared, their value as cultural centers lost, their clientele adrift on the cyber waves.

Without the record stores as centers for ticket sales, a place to peruse promotional handbills for shows, or their counters to place stacks of *Alive and Kicking*, local live music suffered a notable decline. Without zines dedicated to celebrating local music, local promoters shifted their focus to the draw and revenue promised by booking established national acts. Without *Alive and Kicking*, who would champion and promote local artists? The city of Sacramento was more interested in cracking down on the rancor caused by small shows and was working on plans to develop a new stadium in the middle of downtown.³¹

The city was no longer promoting local bands in its “Concert in Park” series. For fifteen years Perry was booking agent for this series, and he used this platform to book talented local bands.³² The city later handed over the program to local radio stations. These radio stations decided to focus on drawing in large crowds and booked already established national acts instead of utilizing local talent.

At one point in *Alive and Kicking's* publication history, the magazine would promote “Three Dollar Thursdays,” where you could watch three hours of local musicians at an all-ages show at the Cattle Club.³³ By the end of the 1990s, the days of three-dollar entry for three local bands was gone. Sacramento's city ordinances had effectively cracked down on many all-ages venues.

The good news is that the live music scene remained resilient.³⁴ Perhaps not as vibrant and prolific as previous decades, live music venues and local artists have endured. Venues like Old Ironsides, Harlow's, and Boardwalk continue to host class acts. Legendary bands like the Groovy Ghoulies and the Brody's are still playing, and almost every night of the week you can find incredibly talented Sacramento musicians etching out a space to perform.

Biography: Sid Akbar is pursuing his master's at Sac State, with an emphasis on World History. His

²⁹ Stafford, “Rock in a hard place,” 2018.

³⁰ Liana Jonas, “J&R To Air Live Internet Radio Shows.” *Billboard* 112, no. 46 (2000): 81.

³¹ Lonnie Wong, *BRIEF: Sacramento County Proposes Parking Plan to Help City Build a New Arena*. Washington: Tribune Content Agency LLC, 2012.

³² Perry, Interview, 2023.

³³ Calendar Spread, *Alive and Kicking*, Issue 12, July 1992.

³⁴ Marcus Crowder, *Sacramento Live: Big Music Happening at the Little Geery Theatre*. Washington: Tribune Content Agency LLC, 2010.

research includes the impacts of the digital revolution on the entertainment and information market - from a shift in the standard physical media of the twentieth century such as newspapers, cassette, and discs, into digital media stored on the cloud. His studies include analysis of the economics of advertising, distribution, and consumption. Mr. Akbar has been a public high school teacher for the last seventeen years.

The Sutter's Fort Curriculum: A Tale of Three Eras

Xavier Bauer-Martin

Abstract: The evolution of Sutter's Fort from its restoration in the 1890s to present day demonstrates the shifts in ideological values and attitudes prominent in the field of public history over time. The fort's curriculum has been undergoing a new stage of reinterpretation since 2020, as exemplified by the park's updated national landmark proposal and the 2022 *Sutter's Fort SHP Interpretive Management Plan*. These recent developments in the fort's reinterpretation aim to elevate the histories and experiences of California's Indigenous people and emphasize inclusivity. This essay examines the evolution of Sutter's Fort's curriculum using sociologist James W. Loewen's three eras framework. Developed in his book *Lies Across America: What Our Historic Sites Get Wrong*, the framework includes the site's manifest narrative, the story of its erection or preservation, and the current era. The evolution of Sutter's Fort is also analyzed through historian Michael Kammen's heritage syndrome definition: the impulse to remember and bolster only what is attractive or flattering but to ignore everything else. The Sutter's Fort restoration project and its status as a state park in the years thereafter reflect changing attitudes towards long-prevailing historical narratives, John Sutter as a historical figure, inclusivity (or lack thereof), and the role of politics in public history. This paper is supported by both primary and secondary sources, including archived *Sacramento Bee* news articles, an archeological investigation, museum and park pamphlets, audio tour transcripts, a field trip guide, promotional material such as advertisements, and interviews conducted by the author, along with contemporary scholarship of life in Northern California during and after the operation of Sutter's Fort before restoration.

Sutter's Fort State Historic Park has reflected the values and attitudes held by the dominant currents underpinning public history since its initial restoration, beginning in the late 1880s when the fraternal organization Native Sons of the Golden West purchased the property. As historian Ty O. Smith argues, Sutter's Fort was initially restored in the "context of pioneer hero worship."¹ This "pioneer hero worship" demonstrates how Sutter's Fort administrators have been susceptible to what historian Michael Kammen calls *heritage syndrome*: the impulse to remember only what is attractive or flattering and ignore everything else.² As Sutter's Fort evolved from a state of restoration to a museum to a living history program, the curriculum also evolved and attempted to challenge the heritage syndrome in its roots.

In his 1999 work, *Lies Across America: What Our Historic Sites Get Wrong*, James W. Loewen categorizes historical sites across the United States into three specific eras. The first era of historical sites focuses on the site's "manifest narrative," which is the event or person that the site is initially dedicated to.³ The person and place are not presented in a

¹ Ty O. Smith, "Epilogue: Sacramento, Before and After the Gold Rush" in *River City and Valley Life*, ed. C. Castaneda and L. Simpson (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2013), 316.

² James W. Loewen, *Lies Across America: What Our Historic Sites Get Wrong* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2000), 36.

³ Loewen, *Lies Across America*, 41.

historically unbiased fashion that retains a breath of neutrality, but rather are repurposed as reflections of the political and social attitudes of those actively engaged with the site's restoration and preservation. The heralded individual in the case of Sutter's Fort is John (Johann) Augustus Sutter, the Swiss frontier entrepreneur and founder of the New Helvetia colony.

Loewen's second era is the site's "story of its erection or preservation," which in the context of the fort refers to the restoration project undergone through the joint effort of the Native Sons of the Golden West and the California State government.⁴ From its restoration and well into the beginning of the twenty-first century, John Sutter and the fort's image were reconstructed. He was morphed into an exemplar Anglo pioneer as opposed to the Swiss immigrant who fled his home country, a naturalized citizen of Mexico, and a debtor to Russia that sought to create his own private agricultural empire.⁵ The personification of the fort was transformed in a similar fashion. The fort was completed in 1841 through the mostly forced labor of local Nisenan and Miwok Natives along with migrant California Natives. The fort was overwhelmingly inhabited by Native laborers but was also composed of Native Hawaiians and non-Anglo Europeans. The restoration and further presentation of the fort did not reflect this frontier melting pot, instead being altered into what Ty O. Smith describes as a "haven for Anglo American settlement, the cradle of the gold rush, and the birthplace of California."⁶ The restoration of the fort and the efforts that followed focused on these aspects, eclipsing the experiences of its diverse inhabitants from 1839 onward and withholding a more accurate representation of life as it was.

Both eras amalgamate into the unresolved issues of a third era, our own.⁷ *Lies Across America* laments—the lack of representation of the multicultural aspects of pioneer settlements that has created a landscape suffering from a historical amnesia.⁸ Such was the case for much of Sutter's Fort State Historic Park's history, but recent trends in academia have shifted the tide. Albert L. Hurtado's 2006 historical biography, *John Sutter: A Life on the North American Frontier*, portrays Sutter holistically through his achievements, historical relevance, and many ethically questionable acts. Hurtado argues that "[t]here is no way to 'balance' [Sutter's] flaws against the virtues that often reinforced his defects . . . Remove a part of him, and you have a different person who could not have done what he did."⁹ Dr. Hurtado's book signifies a shift in how Sutter's legacy is understood as well as how early California history is interpreted by stepping away from historical hero worship and incorporating previously sidelined voices and perspectives of Native Americans, Latinos, and

⁴ Loewen, *Lies Across America*, 36.

⁵ Smith, "Sacramento, Before and After the Gold Rush," 316. The term "Anglo pioneer" or "Anglicized" is attributed to Dr. Ty O. Smith whenever it appears in this paper.

⁶ Smith, "Sacramento, Before and After the Gold Rush," 316-317.

⁷ Loewen, *Lies Across America*, 20.

⁸ Loewen, *Lies Across America*, 18.

⁹ Albert L. Hurtado, *John Sutter: a Life on the North American Frontier* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), xiii.

other silenced groups, a shift that he himself claims is a necessity.¹⁰

Another significant work in this shift is historian Benjamin Madley's 2016 monograph, *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe*. The book documents in detail the California genocide beginning in the late 1840s to the end of the Modoc War in 1873. Between 1846 and 1873, the California Native population dropped from perhaps 150,000 to 30,000 due to a combination of disease, dislocation, forced labor, massacres, abduction, and starvation.¹¹ As Dr. Madley points out, the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill in modern-day Coloma in 1848, and the gold rush that ensued brought about miners and mountain men that engaged in what Sutter himself described as a "war of extermination against the aborigines."¹² While the gold rush would eventually lead to the demise of Sutter's private empire, there is no denying that his entrepreneurial endeavors in the Sacramento Valley would eventually snowball into what is now known as the California Genocide. The shift in the historical interpretation of early California American history reflected in such works as Madley's *An American Genocide* and Hurtado's *John Sutter* have penetrated the public consciousness and bled into public history, Sutter's Fort in particular.

Sutter's Fort and its evolving curriculum provide insight into the eras in which each stage of the curriculum was presented. In recent decades, there has been a trend in academia to question traditional historical narratives and to bring to light historically marginalized voices. Yet, this reinterpretation is not built off newfound, manufactured evidence to support a specific historical negationist view. Rather, the facts have for the most part remained the same: Sutter's enslavement of California Natives, participation in the slave trade of Native children, raids upon Native villages, and harsh punishments against those who disobeyed him ranging from whippings to execution have been known by academia and to the public to an extent from Sutter's Fort's restoration onwards. This recent development is merely the newest stage of the ever-evolving curriculum of Sutter's Fort, reflecting changing attitudes towards John Sutter as a historical figure, inclusivity (or lack thereof), and the role of politics in public history.

To understand why the fort's curriculum is currently undergoing a stage of reinterpretation, we must first analyze its past interpretations and their eras, beginning with the tail end of the nineteenth century and into the first decades of the twentieth century.

1881-1924: Restoration of Sutter's Fort and the Precedent Set

The late nineteenth century brought with it an existential crisis for Californian identity: what can be done to keep the memory of the pioneer generation alive? The pioneers that resided in Mexican California and in the early years of the territory's acquisition

¹⁰ Hurtado, *John Sutter*, 346.

¹¹ Benjamin Madley *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe, 1846-1873* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016), 3.

¹² Madley, *An American Genocide*, 86.

following the Mexican American War were in their final days. The death of John Sutter in 1880 drove the point further for California residents. In January of 1881, a self-described Convention of Pioneers was held in Sacramento to discuss possible methods of honoring his memory. While several measures were proposed, such as erecting a monument or memorial chapel, nothing materialized.¹³ Six years later, another proposal was made to honor the legacy of John Sutter, this time from the Women's Relief Corps. The corps sought to establish a fund to purchase the frontier entrepreneur's former fort, which laid in disrepair for the better part of the three decades following the California Gold Rush. Once purchased and refurbished, it would be donated as a home for invalid wives and widows of army and navy personnel.¹⁴ It was thought that this would be a fitting development to the legacy of the fort, which was heralded as a safe haven for American pioneer families. While neither attempt gained substantial traction, they were the first attempts to reinterpret and repurpose the fort in a fashion that would fit Kammen's heritage syndrome.

The Native Sons of the Golden West was the primary organization that controlled the direction of the interpretations revolving around Sutter's Fort in the decades to come through their successful effort to restore the property. Formed in 1875 in San Francisco, the Native Sons of the Golden West was a fraternal organization that embodied a growing concern for the preservation of the historical memory of early California, particularly through the lens of the aging pioneer generation. In 1888, the Native Sons of the Golden West received a proposed resolution from Carl E. Grunsky, a member of Sacramento Parlor 26. This was the first proposal for the fort's preservation and reconstruction by the organization, in which Grunsky stated that "there is no spot in California more closely associated with the history of the pioneer days of this state" and that "it is the duty of our organization to perpetuate the memories associated with the spot and to preserve the site from further desecration."¹⁵

While the resolution was accepted, action was not taken until 1889, when the Native Sons of the Golden West called for donations in newspapers up and down the Pacific and even the East Coast.¹⁶ A November 9, 1889 issue of the *Sacramento Bee* published one such call for donations: "It is proposed to make the fort and its surroundings to conform as nearly as possible to the appearance they presented in 1849, as a reminder of the glorious 'days of gold' when its hospitable doors were so often opened to the weary wayfarer."¹⁷ By October 1890, the owner of the property, Benjamin Merrill, deeded it to the Native Sons of the Golden West at \$20,000.¹⁸ The State of California allocated money to aid the funding of the fort's reconstruction, the cost of which totaled \$55,890.¹⁹ On April 26, 1893, the state dedicated Sutter's Fort Memorial Monument/California Pioneer Memorial, with the

¹³ Cheryl Anne Stapp, *Rise, Ruin & Restoration*, (Walnut Creek, CA: Andrew Benzie Books, 2018), 103.

¹⁴ Stapp, *Rise, Ruin & Restoration*, 103.

¹⁵ Stapp, *Rise, Ruin & Restoration*, 103-104.

¹⁶ Stapp, *Rise, Ruin & Restoration*, 104.

¹⁷ "Sutter's Fort: Subscriptions Bring Taken for Its Purchase and Restoration," *Sacramento Bee*, November 9, 1889, 7.

¹⁸ Stapp, *Rise, Ruin & Restoration*, 105.

¹⁹ Stapp, *Rise, Ruin & Restoration*, 108.

restoration nearly complete.²⁰

The successful restoration of Sutter's Fort did not just affect historic preservation efforts within the confines of Sacramento but of the American West more generally. Dr. Anne Lindsay, a professor of History at Sacramento State University, and head of the University's Capitol Campus Public History Program, emphasizes the restoration project's significance to historic preservation:

Pioneer heritage initiatives in California and the far west in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century used pioneer heritage as a reason to begin the historical preservation movement. [...] Sutter's Fort is the first place that's preserved and reconstructed for pioneer heritage reasons, for commemorative reasons in the west, but it set off a wave of historical preservation across the region.²¹

In this sense, heritage syndrome set in motion a public cry for historic preservation. The restoration project and the Native Sons of the Golden West as an entity were emblematic of this trend of historic preservation. This may seem somewhat apparent given that local communities usually want to bolster the positive aspects of the history pertaining to their landscape to garner a sense of pride, a concept particularly pertinent to the legacy of John Sutter in the end of the nineteenth century.²² In the published preamble of an 1891 meeting conducted by the organization in conjunction with the Sacramento Society of California Pioneers, their admiration for Sutter runs thick: "Its [Sutter's Fort] builder was in his lifetime a trusted, beloved member of our Society, whose memory is cherished by us and held dear to all patriots."²³ The irony of describing Sutter as "trusted" should not be lost given his reputation for dispelling tall tales regarding his business ventures and military past, as well as him being the subject of a smear campaign by the likes of his former business partner Laufkotter through his book *John A. Sutter, Sr., and His Grants* (1867).²⁴ Regardless, the Native Sons of the Golden West personified John Sutter as a romanticized Anglo pioneer in order to push their heritage syndrome and further their political ambitions.

This was displayed front and center on the morning of September 9, 1895, when the Native Sons of the Golden West were greeted on their arrival to Sacramento with a parade through the city. Floats glamorizing the State's gold rush past as well as its annexation into the United States were present, along with not one but two grand arches built in honor of the organization across K and J Streets respectively.²⁵ The Sacramento Bee reported on the event

²⁰ Stapp, *Rise, Ruin & Restoration*, 108.

²¹ Anne Lindsay, interview by author, Sacramento, March 30, 2023.

²² Loewen, *Lies Across America*, 41.

²³ "Pioneer Sarcasm: A Series of Resolution Before That Body," *Sacramento Bee*, December 5, 1891, 8.

²⁴ Hurtado, *John Sutter*, 343

²⁵ "Gay Decoration: Sacramento Adorned Like a May Queen," *Sacramento Bee*, September 9, 1895, 1; *Sacramento Bee*, "A Veteran Still at Work," September 9, 1895, 8.

and heralded the Native Sons of the Golden West as “the successors of the Pioneers.”²⁶

The paper also reported on a banquet that was held in Sutter’s Fort in which members of the aging pioneer generation were invited and celebrated. The article “Sutter’s Fort: A Banquet Held Within its Historic Walls” is peppered with romanticized language and historical revisionism.²⁷ For one, it described the fort as “a monument of what can be termed the first footprint of American civilization on the Pacific Coast,” omitting the fact that the colony of New Helvetia was made within the limits of Mexican rule, with Sutter himself a Mexican citizen who sought mainly to maintain power over the valley.²⁸ In this way, the Native Sons of the Golden West frame Sutter’s establishment of New Helvetia, in 1839, as an inevitable part of westward expansion by the United States. The multicultural element of the fort is also glossed over, although not entirely swept under the rug. The article notes the “eight Kanakas” who helped establish New Helvetia.²⁹ The author omits the two Native Hawaiian women that were also present, one of whom, Manuiki, was in a long-term relationship with John Sutter.³⁰ The article attributes the construction of the fort to foreigners who joined the colony.³¹ In reality, as documented by Sutter in his own journals and by Albert Hurtado, the California Native laborers built the majority of the settlement.³²

The *Sacramento Bee* article incorporates Native Americans only either as mere background actors imbedded in the scenery surrounding Sutter’s Fort or the subjects of the pioneers’ sexual desires. California State Senator John Boggs was an attendee of the banquet and had arrived in California in 1849 as a teenager during the California gold rush. In the article, he relays his experience and contact with California Native women: “The only females we had in the country were the digger squaws. Some of them had youth and banged hair on their side, could smile and flirt with the boys, but most of them were old and wrinkled tar-faced mahales, who were libel on mother Eve.”³³ This reflects the dehumanization of California Natives, particularly of Native women, during the California genocide and the years that followed.

Historian Ashley Riley Sousa describes the different relationship dynamics present at Sutter’s Fort before and after the gold rush in her article “‘An Influential Squaw’: Intermarriage and Community in Central California, 1839-1851.” While interracial relationships between settlers and Native women were marked by sexual violence during and after the gold rush, early relationships often displayed different dynamics rooted in fur-trade or-

²⁶ “Neath the Bluest Skies,” *Sacramento Bee*, September 9, 1895, 8.

²⁷ Smith, “Sacramento, Before and After the Gold Rush,” 316.

²⁸ “Neath the Bluest Skies,” *Sacramento Bee*, September 9, 1895, 6; Smith, “Sacramento, Before and After the Gold Rush,” 316.

²⁹ “Neath the Bluest Skies,” *Sacramento Bee*, September 9, 1895, 6.

³⁰ Ashley Riley Sousa, “‘An Influential Squaw’: Intermarriage and Community in Central California, 1839-1851.” *Ethnohistory* 62, no. 4 (2015): 719.

³¹ “Sutter’s Fort: A Banquet Held Within Its Historic Walls,” *Sacramento Bee*, September 9, 1895, 6.

³² Hurtado, *John Sutter*, 67.

³³ “Sutter’s Fort,” *Sacramento Bee*, September 9, 1895, 6.

igins, entering relationships based on mutually desirable and beneficial factors.³⁴ For Native women, settler husbands could mean protection and economic security, even when settler men reconnected with their previous families through the fur-trading practices of turning off. Turning off was an economic and romantic arrangement between settlers and Native women that ensured stability in the event of divorce in the form of ongoing economic support on the part of the settler.³⁵ Of course not all these relations were mutual in the early days of the fort, with Sutter himself being a sexual aggressor against Native women.³⁶ However, the discrepancy between Senator Boggs's recollection during the gold rush and life at the fort beforehand drives home the warped historical perspective that prevailed in the late nineteenth century.

The state of California continued the trend of romanticization through the beautification of the fort's grounds during the early twentieth century. Within the decade, the state planted a variety of oaks, willows, sycamores, vines, and other vegetation on the grounds to make them more aesthetically appealing.³⁷ In 1907, the California state legislature officially accepted Sutter's Fort from the Native Sons of the Golden West. This was more of a formality than anything else given that the state had already agreed to take responsibility for the fort more than a decade prior in 1891.³⁸ Two years later, two bizarre additions were made to the grounds' artificial ponds: five-foot alligators. The alligators resided there for a short time until an unknown assailant shot "Mr. Alligator" with a rifle. The remaining female alligator was removed and replaced with a swan, geese, and ducks.³⁹

1925-1952: A Pioneer Memorial

The State's decision to transform the fort into a commemorative museum and its hiring of Harry C. Peterson as the museum's first curator would continue the trend of romanticization in the early half of the twentieth century. Peterson was hired by the State of California on the heels of his work for the Stanford Mansion. He had a straightforward plan for Sutter's Fort: to make it a shrine to the American annexation of California and the gold rush era. In 1926, Peterson stated, "the buildings, interior, and exterior, [should] be handled in such a manner as will best retain and impart the romantic atmosphere of the 'Days of Forty-Nine.'"⁴⁰ The application of his mission statement in 1926 increased traffic at the fort substantially, with a rise from about 400 tourists in 1925 to over 2,500 the next year, after Peterson's "Days of Forty-Nine" museum had opened.⁴¹

To say that this museum reflected Sacramento's heritage syndrome would be an

³⁴ Sousa, "An Influential Squaw," 708.

³⁵ Sousa, "An Influential Squaw," 717.

³⁶ Sousa, "An Influential Squaw," 718.

³⁷ Stapp, *Rise, Ruin & Restoration*, 116.

³⁸ Stapp, *Rise, Ruin & Restoration*, 115.

³⁹ Stapp, *Rise, Ruin & Restoration*, 116.

⁴⁰ Carroll D. Hall and Virginia Stori, *Sutter's Fort Historical Museum* (Sacramento, CA: Distributed by Bureau of Printing, Documents Division, 1944), 28.

⁴¹ Stapp, *Rise, Ruin & Restoration*, 122.

understatement. The museum's goal was not to present Sutter's Fort as it was in the time of New Helvetia's operation, but rather as a romanticized presentation of California's past from the discovery of gold to the development of the Union Pacific Railroad.⁴² It was of little concern to the museum's curriculum that John Sutter did not own the fort's property for most of that period. The museum acted as an assortment of knickknacks and curiosities for the American West above anything else. Peterson curated an assortment of objects reflective of the period and outlook that he and a significant portion of the public wanted to project onto the fort.

The museum relied on thousands of donations of portraits, letters, diaries, guns, household goods, furnishings, and tools, among other more grandiose donations.⁴³ The museum itself encouraged donations from the public to add to its collection. The tail end of the museum's 1939 pamphlet states enthusiastically: "WHAT HAVE YOU TO OFFER FOR SUTTER'S AGGRANDIZEMENT? HE MERITS IT!"⁴⁴ By 1944, the museum had approximately 7,000 objects listed in its records, with more to follow in the coming years.⁴⁵ These trinkets and knickknacks would culminate into what some have described as the "state's attic," reflecting one vision of California's past that glossed over its nuances along with its multicultural elements.⁴⁶

Heritage syndrome at Sutter's Fort was also demonstrated in the summer of 1939, when fifteen northern California counties held a Centennial Celebration to commemorate Sutter's 1839 landing on the banks of what is now known as the American River.⁴⁷ The celebration could be described as more or less an expanded rehash of the celebration held with the arrival of the Native Sons of the Golden West in 1895, emphasizing an Anglo-American interpretation.

The narrative can be summed up by a map published by Pacific Lithoprint Co. and designed by Walter Castello titled "Sacramento Golden Empire Centennial 1939."⁴⁸ The map displays twenty-six events from John Sutter's birth in Kandern (near Switzerland) in 1803 to the construction of the California capitol building in 1869, outlining a direct and seemingly inevitable link between John Sutter and California's Americanization. The map displays caricatures of Native Americans and Hawaiians, who are portrayed as infantile and backwards, with Native Americans being described as "savage Valley Indians." This racist view toward Native Americans was also reflected in the museum's 1939 pamphlet:

Sutter treated [California Natives] kindly, much as would a kindly father toward small children. [...] By 1843, the walls of the fort were still incomplete, but Sutter reigned over 30,000 humans, less than 300 of whom were white. The Indians

⁴² Stapp, *Rise, Ruin & Restoration*, 122.

⁴³ Laura T. Collins, *Sutter's Fort* (Sacramento, CA: Larkin Printing Company, 1939), 21.

⁴⁴ Collins, *Sutter's Fort*, 37.

⁴⁵ Hall and Stori, *Sutter's Fort Historical Museum*, istpori 29.

⁴⁶ Smith, "Sacramento, Before and After the Gold Rush," 317.

⁴⁷ Stapp, *Rise, Ruin & Restoration*, 123.

⁴⁸ Walter Castello, *Sacramento Golden Empire Centennial*, "David Rumsey Map Collection," 1939.

were, for the most part, devoted to Sutter, having had but few brushes with them.⁴⁹

Both the map and the pamphlet dehumanize their non-white subjects, heralding Sutter as a colonizer. Hurtado asserts that the public enthusiasm for Sutter's violent conquest of the California interior against California Natives was genuine and outright because they had converted what they perceived as a threat to American conquest.⁵⁰ The Native Sons of the Golden West had planted the seed in the 1890s and by 1939 it was in full bloom.

Harry C. Peterson died of a heart attack in 1941, but his vision for the museum would carry on through the decade by his successor Carroll D. Hall, who served as the fort's curator from 1941 to 1953.⁵¹ Along with the aforementioned 7,000 objects donated to the museum, the 1944 pamphlet also details "exhibits of special interest" that have little to nothing to do with the fort's history and more to do with the overall aesthetic the curation was trying to project. Some of the exhibits included a hay press built in 1868 in Plumas County, the fire bell tower that formerly sat atop the Young America Company No. 6 fire station on 10th Street in Sacramento beginning in the 1850s, Maryville's first steam fire engine, an old hearse from Volcano, Amador County, and a four-barreled goose gun located in the fort's gun room.⁵²

Two years earlier, an advertisement for the Western Pacific Railroad Company was placed in the *Sacramento Bee* encouraging military servicemen to visit Sutter's Fort. The advertisement lamented the exhibits displayed, such as the fire bell and Maryville's steam fire engine, and framed the fort within a patriotic lens: "In brief, Sutter's Fort presents a panorama of 'The American Way,' heritage of the past, which California and its sister states are battling to preserve."⁵³ While attempts to connect Sutter's Fort's legacy to a sense of American patriotism had been present since the late nineteenth century, the United States involvement in World War II had linked the fort's heritage syndrome to a contemporary conflict. This displays a direct call for pride and patriotism regarding the fort, leaving no room for maligned historical perspectives or criticism.

1953-1979: A Shift in Perspective

By 1953 there was a growing concern amongst academia and the public at large for how historical sites were being presented, manifesting into a new California State Parks interpretive policy. The 1953 policy maintained that each California State Park ought to limit exhibits and programs to their own significant eras. For Sutter's Fort, this meant changing the park's focus to 1844 to 1849 when John Sutter was still a central figure.⁵⁴ Instead of the "state attic" that had dominated Sutter's Fort's curriculum for over a decade,

⁴⁹ Collins, *Sutter's Fort*, 10-11.

⁵⁰ Hurtado, *John Sutter*, 343, 344.

⁵¹ Stapp, *Rise, Ruin & Restoration*, 126.

⁵² Hall and Stori, *Sutter's Fort Historical Museum*, 1944 istpori, 31, 47.

⁵³ The Western Pacific Railroad Company, "Historic Sutter's Fort Mecca of Thousands of Service Men," advertisement. *Sacramento Bee*, October 7, 1942, 8.

⁵⁴ Stapp, *Rise, Ruin & Restoration*, 129.

the park attempted to present the fort in a more historically accurate fashion, with the implementation of dioramas and mannequins enacting historically significant events as a key component. Displays included a figurine diorama depicting the arrival of John C. Fremont and Kit Carson at the fort in 1844. Figurines of Sutter's California Native soldiers were also incorporated in this display.⁵⁵ Another notable display was set in Sutter's office, depicting James W. Marshall showing Sutter the gold he discovered at his mill in 1848.⁵⁶

Another development that influenced this new interpretation of the fort was the recovery of an 1848 map that showed the ground plan for Sutter's Fort as it was in 1847. The map, produced by Heinrich Künzel for a German pamphlet, had been buried for decades within the archives of UC Berkeley's Bancroft Library until it was rediscovered in 1958.⁵⁷ The map provided the correct dimensions of the fort and outlined its precise interior structures. When compared to the map, the reconstructed fort was built on just two-thirds of what stood pre-gold rush.⁵⁸

An archeological investigation headed by archeologist William H. Olsen in 1959 confirmed these proportions. While the investigation confirmed that the Künzel map was indeed accurate, it also confirmed the idea that the knoll was previously a California Native village site. As the report of the investigation states, "The earliest occupation of the knoll was by a group assignable, on the basis of the archeological material, to the Central California Middle Horizon [sometime between the last 2,000 to 3,000 years] ... the bone and antler artifact inventory is clearly attributable to this period."⁵⁹ The investigation also references journal entries present in the *New Helvetia Diary* (1939) to provide background information about the nature of Native labor as it relates to the fort: "[John Sutter] also used Indian labor for the making of adobe bricks, which were used in the construction of the fort, and Indians also made up a majority of his small garrison."⁶⁰ While this was not new information, the investigation report is more removed from the trappings of heritage syndrome, stating plainly the facts of the fort through direct analysis of both archeological and historical evidence.

This transparency found its way into the park's 1969 pamphlet. Along with stating that Sutter's Fort was in fact built with Native labor and the help of Hawaiian overseers (albeit still with a lingering sense of infantilization of non-white historical actors), the pamphlet provides an account from Edwin Bryant, the famous military commander of Company H who played a significant part in the Mexican American War. The account describes an instance of John Sutter dehumanizing Native laborers that made even Bryant

⁵⁵ *Sutter's Fort: State Historical Monument* (Sacramento, CA: California Department of Parks and Recreation, 1969), 15.

⁵⁶ *Sutter's Fort: State Historical Monument*, 17.

⁵⁷ Stapp, *Rise, Ruin & Restoration*, 129.

⁵⁸ Stapp, *Rise, Ruin & Restoration*, 132.

⁵⁹ William H. Olsen, *Archeological Investigations at Sutter's Fort State Historical Monument, 1959* (Sacramento, CA: State of California Department of Natural Resources, Division of Beaches and Parks, 1961), 45.

⁶⁰ Olsen, *Archeological Investigations*, 29.

uncomfortable:

The laboring or field Indians about the fort are fed upon the offal of slaughtered animals, and upon the bran sifted from the grounded wheat... placed in wooden troughs standing in the court, around which the several messes seat themselves and scoop out with their hands this poor fodder.⁶¹

The pamphlet also references the 1959 archeological investigation, explicitly commenting on the remains found and stating how the knoll had been frequented by California Valley Natives long before Sutter's arrival.⁶² The admission of a Native presence on site before 1839 and the glimpse into the dehumanization that Native laborers faced at the hands of Sutter show a slight shift in interpretation.

The incorporation of these elements could also be attributed to a wider awareness to social injustices in America's past during the 1960s and into the 1970s. The publication of the 1969 pamphlet was on the heels of the American Civil Rights Movement and other social movements, including the New Left Movement and the Red Power Movement. Sutter's legacy was in the crossfire along with a growing wave of critiques against older historical narratives. One example of critique and counter-critique on John Sutter's legacy could be seen in a letter published by the *Sacramento Bee* in 1979 by artist and historian Ted Baggelmann. Baggelmann's letter was in response to the following statement made by Blanche Goldstein, then the assistant director for community affairs within the California State Department of Social Services: "Sutter's Fort was built by enslaved Indians at a low point in the history of exploitation of the native of California."⁶³ Baggelmann claims that Sutter only engaged in one confrontation with California Natives and invited them to work for him afterwards, neglecting to mention several documented instances in which he whipped, imprisoned, and executed Native laborers and those who tried to escape. Baggelmann specifically refers to a raid conducted by John Sutter predominately against Nisenan tribal members in 1840, but conveniently forgets his later participation in an 1847 raid alongside US Army Captain Edward M. Kern in the upper Sacramento Valley in which twenty Natives were killed in a one-sided campaign.⁶⁴ He also notes the fact that the uniformed Native guards of the fort were "double in numbers than all the Europeans and Hawaiians living at the fort," as if substantive Native presence served as substantial evidence against Sutter's engagement in the California Native slave trade and role as an enslaver when it benefitted his purposes.⁶⁵ This back and forth reflects the socio-political environment in a Civil Rights Era United States, in which even government officials questioned the legitimacy of historical narratives rooted in heritage over fact. It is also reflective of a continuous debate on John Sutter's legacy that remains present today, perhaps even more prominent

⁶¹ Olsen, *Archaeological Investigations*, 13.

⁶² Olsen, *Archaeological Investigations*, 44.

⁶³ Ted Baggelmann, letter to the editor, "Sutter History," *Sacramento Bee*, September 3, 1979, 17.

⁶⁴ Madley, *An American Genocide*, 62.

⁶⁵ Baggelmann, "Sutter History," *Sacramento Bee*, September 3, 1979, 17.

than it has ever been.

1980-2019: Living History at the Fort

In 1980, Sutter's Fort went through yet another substantial change that shifted its curriculum oriented towards a living history model. George Stammeriohan and Eileen Hook both founded the Sutter's Fort's Living History Program after Hook had seen a demonstration of living history at a conference. Hook sought to bring to life the fort circa 1846 from the perspectives of American immigrants and Europeans involved in the fur trade.⁶⁶ It was geared towards an elementary school demographic, with the program becoming a staple in school curriculums for fourth graders across Northern California. The field trip aspect was not a new development, but the Living History Program further solidified the heritage syndrome lingering within the fort's curriculum since the Native Sons of the Golden West reconstructed it in the 1890s.

The program was run through the help of volunteer docents, who would embody both historical characters and composite characters who most often represented American pioneer families. There were several types of field trips available for visiting students, but perhaps the most notable in respect to the program was the Audio Tour field trip. This tour involved a volunteer docent playing John Sutter to guide children throughout the fort, during which he would speak via real quotes from Sutter derived from his diary entries, letters, and memoirs.⁶⁷ Three other docents were present on the tour that would portray Heinrich Lienhard, John Bidwell, and James Marshall through each of their historical character's personal accounts.

A narrator tied the tour together by filling in the historical gaps left by the docent's quotes. The tour would begin under the flagpole located in the center of the fort's interior, then it would proceed throughout the fort in places like Sutter's office, the jail, the bakery, and so on. While at the flagpole, the narrator called on tourgoers to imagine "the rooms and the yards occupied by those we call 'pioneers,'" listing off the typical mountain men, gold seekers, fur traders, American immigrants, and the like, whilst also keeping in mind "the Indians already living in the valley ... They too, were part of the pioneering era at Sutter's Fort."⁶⁸ The tour ended at the bell also located near the center of the fort's interior, with the narrator noting that the bell had "brought a new concept to the native people of the valley. Time is money. By answering the bell, by going to work for Sutter, Indians stepped into the modern world."⁶⁹

The tour provides a docile view of what life was like at the fort before the California Gold Rush. One can cut in and point out that it needed to be sanitized given that

⁶⁶ "Stepping Back in Time," *Sacramento Bee*, December 21, 2007, K1.

⁶⁷ Michael S. Tucker, *A Teacher's Guide to Sutter's Fort* (Sacramento CA: California Department of Parks and Recreation, 1992), 12.

⁶⁸ Michael S. Tucker, *Sutter's Fort State Historic Park: Audio Tour Transcript* (Sacramento, CA: California Department of Parks and Recreation, 1992), 16.

⁶⁹ Michael S. Tucker, *Audio Tour Transcript*, 38.

it was targeted towards an elementary school audience. Yet, it is strange that even at the transition between the twentieth century and the twenty-first century the enslavement of California Natives was glossed over and minimized. The tour did a good job at providing primary source material to children in a digestible way that keeps children engaged, but it was still from the perspective of those who did not make up the majority of the fort's inhabitants, nor did it reflect them. The closest to enslavement that the tour gets to was that "some of those native people who were first hostile to Sutter's colony became his allies and employees," minimizing the fact that Sutter's New Helvetia venture was propelled substantially through forced labor. In one of the few accounts from the perspective of California Natives, William Joseph, a Nisenan man who worked on John Sutter's estate just north of the fort, stated that Natives who did not work suffered flogging "with a big whip made of cowhide."⁷⁰ It is notable that there are few accounts from California Natives that portray Sutter in a wholly positive light, something that would seem improbable to any tourgoer who didn't know otherwise.

The sanitized narrative projected by the fort's curriculum continued well into the twenty-first century, as was noted in Dr. Oona Kersey Hatton's 2007 field study of the Environmental Living Program. By then, the Living History Program had expanded, providing an experience during which fourth graders would spend the night at the fort embodying historical figures and characters themselves. Dr. Hatton shadowed a fourth-grade class on their overnight stay after spending a month with them in the classroom beforehand. Her study showcases the program's historical trappings, noting that it contained "traces of the frontier thesis, which might visually be conceived as a vertical line moving slowly and inexorably from the Eastern seaboard towards what would become the Western United States."⁷¹ Late-nineteenth century historian Frederick Jackson Turner, coined the term "frontier thesis" in 1893, arguing that the availability of unsettled land paired with ideas of westward expansionism driven by individualism and democracy were the most important factors in fostering America's national development.⁷² Hatton goes further by noting that the State Park's narrative figures were described as United States citizens even though Sutter's Fort was still under Mexican rule in 1846, the year in which the program was set.⁷³

Like the tours, the Environmental Living Program addressed non-European occupants through a surface level portrayal whilst bolstering the stories of European occupants and travelers. The Environmental Living Program thereby mirrored Turner's frontier thesis, displaying the fort as a sort of Anglo-American stronghold that was destined to be annexed by the United States, minimizing the presence, stories, and contributions of non-European peoples. As park aide and interpretative specialist of the California State Indian Museum Michael Ramirez observed, "There have been people [volunteer docents] who had been

⁷⁰ Madley, *An American Genocide*, 52.

⁷¹ Oona Elizabeth Kersey Hatton, "Taking on History: Children's Perspectives on Performing the American Past" (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 2010), 56.

⁷² Hatton, "Taking on History," 55.

⁷³ Hatton, "Taking on History," 65.

there a decade and had no idea the names of the tribes of the enslaved people.”⁷⁴ The interpretation of Sutter’s Fort was still heavily defined by assumptions made generations ago, harkening back to the twisted narratives pushed forward more than a hundred years prior by the likes of Frederick Turner and the Native Sons of the Golden West that made way for an Anglicized interpretation that excluded the experiences of the dominant inhabitants of the New Helvetia Colony.

2020-Now: An Uncertain Future

The Covid-19 pandemic brought the world to a standstill, and Sutter’s Fort was no exception. The docents who had participated in the Environmental Living Program were predominately senior citizens, one of the most at-risk demographics for the disease. Because of this, the program was halted until further notice. The National Historic Preservation Act of 1967 spawned the National Historic Landmarks Program, with Sutter’s Fort becoming one of the first designated landmarks in the American West. Sutter’s Fort’s status as a national landmark was in need of renewal in 2020, meaning that the park’s proposal would need to be updated. Through Sacramento State University’s Capitol Campus Public History Program, Dr. Anne Lindsay and several students took on the responsibility of drafting a new proposal.⁷⁵ The year 2020 also saw the George Floyd protests which drove racial injustice to the forefront of public dialogue, with monuments of controversial historical figures being the subject of intense debate. This resulted in the removal of a John Sutter statue located directly across the fort on June 15, 2020.⁷⁶

Many attribute the removal of the statue and the George Floyd protests as the driving forces behind Sutter’s Fort’s reinterpretation, but Lindsay said that was not the case:

It was already happening before the statue came down. It was sort of an unfortunate coincidence. [...] My start of the project was more of a response to the pandemic and the fact that we [the Capitol Campus Public History Program] couldn’t travel to the sites that we would normally travel to [...] I really ended up on this project because it was local.⁷⁷

People were calling for a reinterpretation and reevaluation of Sutter’s Fort along with Sutter’s legacy in the decades leading up to the Capitol Campus Public History Program’s involvement in the proposal, and the *2022 Sutter’s Fort SHP Interpretive Management Plan*. This could be seen in the previously mentioned letter published in a 1979 issue of the *Sacramento Bee* by Ted Baggelmann in response to Blanche Goldstein’s comment that Sutter’s Fort was built using the forced labor of California Natives.

The *2022 Sutter’s Fort SHP Interpretive Management Plan* was thus drafted on the

⁷⁴ Michael Ramirez, interview by author, Sacramento, March 30, 2023.

⁷⁵ Ahmed V. Ortiz, “Students Play Role in Process to Designate Historic Sites,” *Sacramento State News*, September 25, 2020.

⁷⁶ Molly Sullivan and Alexandra Yoon-Hendricks, “After Outcry, John Sutter’s Statue No Longer Stands in Midtown,” *Sacramento Bee*, June 16, 2020, 1A.

⁷⁷ Anne Lindsay, interview by author.

heels of this new proposal along with an overall heightened sensitivity towards marginalized peoples. The plan places a heightened emphasis on inclusion, historical accuracy, and the California Native American experience. This can be seen in the plan's eleven goals, which include the following:

- 1.) Represent an inclusive, complex, and accurate history of Sutter's Fort's role in the colonization of California.⁷⁸
- 3.) Explore the changes to California catalyzed by Sutter's Fort including the consequences of those changes on Native people and on native lands over time.⁷⁹
- 4.) Promote the stewardship of Sutter's Fort SHP rooted in the values of ongoing learning, truthful representations of the past, and a diversity of historical perspectives.⁸⁰
- 9.) Nurture partnerships for the development of interpretation with Native American tribes, cultural institutions, community organizations, universities, historically relevant places, and all groups of people with cultural connections to the Fort.⁸¹
- 11.) Enable staff and volunteers to deliver high quality, thematic interpretive services focused on inclusion, complexity, and accuracy.⁸²

These goals are ambitious in that their language combats the “traces of the frontier thesis” that Hatton noted more than a decade earlier in her field study. Each goal is paired with an objective followed by several strategies to achieve said goal. Some of these objectives even seek to address the California genocide against Natives. This is the case for objective 3C, “Create exhibits and programs that explore the Fort's impact on the government of California,” of which its third strategy is listed as such: “Discuss the long-suppressed history of state-sanctioned genocide of Indigenous people.”⁸³

The integration of California Native perspectives in recent years derives mainly from federally recognized tribes such as the Buena Vista Rancheria and Wilton Rancheria of Miwok.⁸⁴ The recent proposal for renewing the fort's status as a federally recognized landmark was coordinated with federally recognized tribes and excluded cooperation with non-federally recognized tribes. “Being a non-federally recognized Native, I know that the terminology and the extension of friendship and allowance for that story to be told is only coming from the federally recognized Natives, and there's not many in the Sacramento region.”⁸⁵ Michael Ramirez is a member of the Maidu tribe whose ancestors had escaped enslavement from Sutter's Fort, yet the status of being a member of a non-federally recognized

⁷⁸ *Sutter's Fort SHP Interpretive Management Plan (Draft)*, 22.

⁷⁹ *Sutter's Fort SHP*, 24.

⁸⁰ *Sutter's Fort SHP*, 26.

⁸¹ *Sutter's Fort SHP*, 32.

⁸² *Sutter's Fort SHP*, 34.

⁸³ *Sutter's Fort SHP*, 26.

⁸⁴ Pauline Bartolone. “We Missed the Truth’: California Parks Reinterprets John Sutter's Fort in Sacramento to Include Indigenous Experiences,” *CapRadio*, December 23, 2021.

⁸⁵ Michael Ramirez, interview by author.

tribe meant that stories such as his were not incorporated. Ramirez further states, “I don’t think the use of that federal status is intentional or malicious, but it leaves out so much of the California Native story in order to fit those criteria.”⁸⁶ The *2022 Sutter’s Fort SHP Interpretive Management Plan* is not an outline set in stone and its status as a draft means that it is malleable. However, Ramirez warns of the slow-moving process of California State bureaucracy and calls it “the tool that has been used against the Native people for so long. ‘Oh, it takes time,’ then nothing happens, the momentum is lost.”⁸⁷

The fort is currently in a state of transition in 2024. There are only a few docents at the fort, with activities such as candle-making being performed by parents on field trips. These parents do not have to adhere to guidelines about the inclusion of Native presence in the fort nor the more brutal aspects of forced enslavement and slave trading. However, State Park guides include references to how Native Californians were the predominant occupants of the fort during its operation and address the use of enslaved labor by Sutter in the construction of the settlement. The fort’s exhibit room plays a short documentary produced by the Center for Sacramento History titled *John Sutter – What We Didn’t Learn in School*. The documentary reexamines John Sutter’s legacy with speakers such as Dahlton Brown and Jesus Tarango of the Wilton Rancheria, Capital District Superintendent and author of the *2022 Sutter’s Fort SHP Interpretive Management Plan* John Fraser, and Dr. Hurtado. The displaying of this documentary in the fort’s exhibit room is perhaps the greatest signifier of a changing curriculum to visitors, as it interrogates the whitewashed portrayal of John Sutter that had been projected onto the fort since the 1890s and addresses the mistreatment of Native Californians directly.

The evolution of Sutter’s Fort from its restoration in the 1890s to the present day is reflective of changing attitudes regarding the historic preservation of early California sites, especially when viewed through the lens of Loewen’s three eras. His first two eras, the site’s “manifest narrative” and “the story of its erection or preservation,” provide an outline for examining what event or person is being heralded as well as who is involved in the site’s presentation and for what ideological reasons. As Loewen states, “Too often our historic sites relate inaccurate and misleading history owing to the ideological demands of the time and the purpose of their erection or preservation.”⁸⁸ The ideological demands of the Native Sons of the Golden West to present the fort as an Anglo-American stronghold bound to annexation by the United States has plagued the site since its restoration. Kammen’s definition of heritage syndrome encapsulates these demands and their lasting effects. Such ideological trappings continued to linger within the curriculum well into the twenty-first century, with the Environmental Living Program’s whitewashed portrayal of life at the fort.

Loewen’s third era is our own, of which unresolved issues are left to either be addressed and corrected or cast aside.⁸⁹ The *2022 Sutter’s Fort SHP Interpretive Management*

⁸⁶ Michael Ramirez, interview by author.

⁸⁷ Michael Ramirez, interview by author.

⁸⁸ Loewen, *Lies Across America*, 36.

⁸⁹ Loewen, *Lies Across America*, 20.

Plan is an attempt to combat the fort's heritage syndrome and present a more holistic and historically accurate representation of life in the New Helvetia colony, yet its successful implementation is yet to be seen. The plan reflects a shift in the evolution of the fort's curriculum that places a heightened emphasis on inclusion, historical accuracy, and the California Native American experience, a far cry from the Anglicized and exclusionary ideological framework of the Native Sons of the Golden West in the 1890s.

Biography: Xavier Bauer-Martin graduated *summa cum laude* from California State University, Sacramento with a Bachelor of Arts in History in the spring of 2023. He is interested in public history, the social history of both Sacramento and the United States, and archival work. Xavier was able to apply these interests through his previous internship at the Sacramento Central Library's Sacramento Room and his current volunteer work with the Center for Sacramento History. Both roles have allowed him to research and digitize a variety of ephemera, postcards, and photographs, as well as catalog archival inventory. Xavier plans on obtaining a Master of Library and Information Science degree.

Between *Inu* and the Fifth Column: Comparing Perspectives of Incarceration from the Florin JACL Oral History Project

Spencer Bull

Abstract: Prior historical research has focused on the decision makers or the effects of incarceration on the Japanese community. This paper's research goal is to gauge the individual reflections from those incarcerated, and to explore the complexities in how individuals within the Florin community reacted, engaged with, and incorporated the incarceration period into their personal narratives. In 1942 Japanese American immigrants and US citizens were forcibly evacuated from the American West coast in what became known as Japanese American Internment, referred to now as Incarceration. Prior historical research has focused on the decision makers or the effects of incarceration on the Japanese American community. The research goal of this paper is to gauge the individual reflections of those who suffered incarceration. Many of these reflections only recently became available following the redress movement of the 1980s. This paper reveals complexities in how individuals within the Florin community reacted, engaged with, and incorporated the incarceration period into their personal narratives. Answers to questions such as of one's loyalty, or victimhood are not simple. Some of the interviewees found strength, resolve, and motivation from their experiences and others or anger or indifference. The focus of this paper is on the oral histories regarding the experiences of Japanese Americans from the community of Florin, CA. The main sources searched were created with the help of Florin and North Central California chapters of the JACL, the Florin community Buddhist church, CSUS students and faculty, and Mary Tsukamoto.

During World War II, government officials, the associated press, and fraternal organizations in the United States of America published and perpetuated misinformation about Japanese people residing in the US. This misinformation encouraged the belief that all Japanese people and their descendants residing in America were secret subversive agents who wanted the United States to succumb to the Japanese war machine. A consequence of this misinformation was the enactment of Executive Order 9066, which authorized the secretary of war and military commanders to exclude any persons deemed a threat from any area deemed militarily important for the war effort.¹ Consequently, this order suspended the writ of habeas corpus of over one hundred thousand American residents.

In the historiography of Japanese American Internment (labeled academically as Incarceration), historians have accepted as fact that racial prejudice motivated the proponents of the Order 9066.² In 1983, congressional report *Personal Justice Denied* concurred that Executive Order 9066 originated from "race prejudice, war hysteria, and a failure of

¹ "Executive Order 9066: Resulting in Japanese-American Incarceration (1942)," National Archives, last modified January 24, 2022.

² Roger Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion* (New York: Atheneum, 1967), 72-96; Alice Y. Murray, *Historical Memories of the Japanese American Internment and the Struggle for Redress* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 1-14.

political leadership.”³ However, during the period directly following the bombing of Pearl Harbor, Americans, specifically those living in Hawaii and on the West Coast, realized the danger of living in a potential combat zone. As a result of this unrest, there were competing viewpoints in the press and public on the loyalty of both Japanese immigrants and Americans of Japanese descent. Japanese Americans were classified by the American media as either unassimilable and seditious, or loyal and patriotic. Oral interviews conducted with former camp internees from 1989 to 2005 reveal that *Nikkei* (Japanese emigrants and their descendants) perspectives of national loyalties were far more nuanced than wartime propagandists claimed. Evidence from newspapers, academic research, government documents, and firsthand experiences of Japanese Americans demonstrates the nuances of Japanese American Incarceration history. Research of these sources was inspired by Alice Y. Murray’s historiography *Historical Memories of the Japanese American Internment and the Struggle for Redress*. In this historiography, she discusses the problems with portraying Japanese Americans as loyal and patriotic to the United States because it neglected the stories of those who felt abandoned by the US and resisted incarceration and Americanization on the grounds of unfair treatment. Scholars Roger Daniels, Bill Hosokawa, and Ronald Takaki, have all produced seminal histories on the topic of anti-Asiatic, and anti-Sino movements on the West Coast and Hawaii. The portrayal of Japanese immigrants and their descendants in the media were classified as either American Japanese (American first and Japanese second) or as fifth columnist subversives (the fifth column refers to residents attempting to undermine the nation they live in through acts of espionage in support of an enemy nation).⁴

The Florin JACL (Japanese American Citizens League), North Central Valley JACL, and the CSUS Oral History Project contributed to the collection of oral histories recorded from 1987 through 2002. These histories highlighted the experience of those involved with and incarcerated within American concentration camps. The project focused on Japanese American Incarceration and added to the collection of incarcerated testimony. Directly after the conclusion of the war, incarcerated Japanese Americans had been reluctant to speak about their experiences in the camps. This began to change in the 1970s, when memoirs started to become more popular, though the topic remains difficult for many to speak about. As a result, the Oral History Project is integral in capturing primary perspectives of incarceration. However, the collection does not speak for the entirety of the Japanese American community. The sample selected Japanese Americans who had achieved a considerable amount of success and had relatively long-lasting lives. The lack of interviews from the perspective of dissenters and pro-Japan positions, reflected the views of the JACL, a bias that historians have noted in other histories of incarceration.⁵

After the, what were portrayed by the government as, evacuation and relocation orders, Japanese Americans were portrayed in the media on one hand as ultraloyal, Christian, heroic soldiers, self-sacrificing, obedient, and assimilable. For example, the *Pacific*

³ “Personal Justice Denied: (Book),” Densho Encyclopedia, last modified, Feb 24, 2021.

⁴ Wallace Carroll, “Amazing Fifth Column Work in Honolulu is Described,” *Sacramento Bee*. December 30, 1941, *News Bank: Access World News Historical and Current*.

⁵ Murray, *Historical Memories*, 137-38.

Citizen encouraged the Japanese American community to follow relocation orders and to volunteer and fight for the United States and lauded those who were unquestionably loyal to the nation. This was a problem because it justified and encouraged relocation orders to the broader population while silencing its critics within and outside of the concentration camps. Additional evidence was prevalent in local papers such as *The Sacramento Bee*, *The San Francisco Enquirer*, *The Nikkei Bei*, and *The LA Times*. Dillion Meyers and Milton Eisenhower, the heads of the War Relocation Authority (WRA), also tried to push the narrative that the incarceration camps provided work opportunities and safety from racists on the West Coast. The inherent damage of the American Japanese portrayals was the whitewashed assimilationist view it created in which, the Japanese in America were cast as submissive, docile, and weak. This perpetuated the idea that Japanese culture was alien and, therefore, problematic and in need of conversion to a culture that mimicked that of white Anglo-Saxons.

Assimilation narratives have relied on the idea that there is a hierarchy inherent in any given society. Assimilation assumes that there is a dominant and uniform social identity. Therefore, there are degrees to which a person could appeal to the dominant group in society. Approval can be found through conforming to the dominant social norms, customs, and languages. There was a war for the public perception of the Japanese Americans, which intensified after the start of the Pacific War. This in turn, led to the creation of the Japanese American model minority myth.⁶ After the attack on Pearl Harbor, the American public debated the assimilability of Japanese immigrants and their children more vociferously than ever before and reinforced problematic caricatures of Japanese people in the American media.

Tetsuo Ted Ishihara provided one of the starkest examples of the absurdity of the capricious stereotypes the press presented. Ishihara was born in Hiroshima, Japan and followed his father to the United States in 1922, “as a *Yobiyose* [one who is called]” to work for his laundry business in Utah.⁷ What was interesting about Ishihara was that he was a first-generation immigrant, or *Issei*, but considered himself part of the pro-American group and was the director of his block at the Tule Lake Camp.⁸ The directors of the block were communicating with the WRA administration often and were generally tasked with relating unpleasant news to the members of their blocks. At the same time, the *San Francisco Examiner* was publishing articles that said, “*Issei* are too mentally rooted in Japan to turn against their native land.”⁹ However, Ishihara’s loyalty was not the result of fervent nationalism for either the US or Japan. Rather, he saw himself as a polite guest in a neighbor’s home, trying his utmost to respect what they asked of him, despite the clear abuse of their

⁶ Murray, *Historical Memories*, 44.

⁷ Tetsuo Ted Ishihara, Bernice Natsuye, *Oral History Interview with Tetsuo Ted Ishihara: October 2, 1997, January 19, 1998, Stockton, California / by Bernice Endow for Stockton JACL*, Sacramento, Calif: Consortium of JACL Chapters Florin, French Camp, Lodi, Placer, Stockton, 1999, 2.

⁸ Ishihara, *Oral History*, 5.

⁹ Wendell Webb, “Jap Evacuees tire of Tule Lake Camp,” *San Francisco Examiner*, May 25, 1943.

power.¹⁰ Ishihara delivered a Japanese proverb to explain his respect: “*kunshi wa ayauki ni chikayorazu*,” meaning a wise person does not dare to commit anger [sic] when they know how dangerous it is before they try it.”¹¹ However, other incarcerated in the camp made Ishihara uncomfortable with expressing his true political views. Ishihara summed up his views about Japanese loyalty succinctly when he said, “There were two types of people in the camps. The people who sympathize with the USA, and those who just didn’t want to be moved again.”¹² As far as Ishihara was concerned, the United States was a place where he could prosper. When Ishihara listed his top priorities in life, first was social participation, second was religious status, and third was politics.¹³ For Ishihara, it was important to live and act respectfully wherever he was, and his primary concern was life, not the politics of the world or conceptions of his loyalty.

Alice Yakeo Goto’s interview echoed the frustrations of other interviews but represented a pro-America view despite them. She said that “war is sad. Nobody wins. And evacuation is sad, too... but many of the young people rose above this experience. They became persons that contribute so much and learned to walk the second mile.”¹⁴ The first part of the quote showed her frustration with the situation of internment and lamented that the war was antithetical to her Christian values. The second part revealed her feelings about loyalty. Her statements, “young people rose above” and “walk the second mile” reference the Japanese American Veterans, and the postwar economic performance of Japanese Americans compared to other minority groups. Goto was a Christian, and her cousin Brian Masaoka was the secretary and then president of the JACL during internment.¹⁵ Masaoka has been criticized for urging the Japanese community to comply with the government.¹⁶ Goto’s family ties and Christian background illuminate the motivations behind her words. Goto’s interview highlighted a minority yet powerful position within the incarcerated community: the perspective of the JACL *Nisei*, or second generation, born in the US Japanese Americans. Most explicitly, she spoke to a crowd of internees, urging them to remember Abraham Lincoln, and praised America while many were presented with the infamous loyalty questionnaire.¹⁷ For this, she was threatened with violence.¹⁸ The conflict that Goto faced for sharing her values was telling, because it was dangerous for her to share a position supporting the United States which endangered her and her family’s lives. This danger originated from both incarcerated and the WRA cracking down on dissent with riot police.

Class and educational status played a role in shaping the perspectives of internees, which is most evident in the oral interview of Chizu Iiyama. Chizu Iiyama was a civil rights

¹⁰ Ishihara, *Oral History*, 10.

¹¹ Ishihara, *Oral History*, 9.

¹² Ishihara, *Oral History*, 16.

¹³ Ishihara, *Oral History*, 13.

¹⁴ Alice Yakeo Goto, and Mark Nakagawa, *Oral History Interview with Alice Yakeo Goto: December 3, 1992, Sacramento, California / by Mark Nakagawa*, Sacramento, Calif: Florin Japanese American Citizens League, 1994, IV.

¹⁵ Goto, *Oral History*, 1.

¹⁶ Murray, *Historical Memories*, 111.

¹⁷ Goto, *Oral History*, 27.

¹⁸ Goto, *Oral History*, 27.

activist, who spent her life fighting for her community even though her views brought her into conflict with others in this community that disagreed with her.¹⁹ Chizu was the sister of famed Japanese American sociologist Harry L. Kitano; in fact her whole family was well educated and financially successful.²⁰ Chizu, in the camps, was appointed the director of recreation and helped with families easing into camp life.²¹ She attended UC Berkeley and belonged to the *Nisei* democrats with her husband. Self-aware as she was, she mentioned in her oral interview that the economic and social class of internees has been often overlooked in academic discourse.²² Her background in activism and awareness of pressing political issues combined with her knowledge of Japanese culture from attending Japanese language schools informed her reaction to incarceration. When she remembered the controversy of the loyalty questionnaire, she delivered controversial statements to her fellow incarcerated. She was nineteen when she urged fellow incarcerated to reconsider protesting and answering no-no to the loyalty questionnaire.²³ She said, “don’t let anybody rush you into a judgement, that you need to think carefully about your future, you need to know really about why you are making those answers. Think carefully because your future depends on it.” Which after saying she was met with silence.²⁴ Chizu and her interviewer Joanne Iritani both agreed that there was plenty of pro-Japanese elements in the camps.²⁵ It might have been easy to dismiss Chizu and her husband pejoratively as *Inu* (Japanese for dog), or subservient to the WRA, but in another way their goals were to help their community in a pro-Japanese way. Chizu oversaw the building of Buddhist churches, Sewing and Tea ceremony classes, and her husband successfully made the case for Kendo to be taught at the Topaz, Arizona camp.²⁶ Additionally, the FBI took her to Bismarck, North Dakota.²⁷ Given that Chizu was from a relatively privileged background, she reacted to her questioned loyalty with a sense of responsibility to help her community. She felt it was most important to give aid and inspiration rather than responding with aggression or resentment on either side, which may fit into a narrative that was pushed by the WRA, but she also pushed against these narratives when she advocated for the importance of Japanese culture.

Allan Hida’s interview reflected the internal struggle of incarceration, which he explained in intense detail to his *Sansei* (third generation) daughter, Susan Hida. Susan conducted interviews of her *Nisei* father and *Issei* aunts. Hida’s interview was informative, because it was the perspective of an elder generation passing down family history. Allan Hida was incredibly detailed throughout his history, attempting to give the most complete interview for his daughter, which would likely be passed on to her offspring. Both were

¹⁹ Chizu Iiyama, and Ernest Satoshi Iiyama, “Oral History Interview with Chizu Iiyama and Ernest Satoshi Iiyama,” Interview by Joanne Iritani, Sacramento, California: [California State University, Sacramento], 2000, ii, iii.

²⁰ Iiyama, *Oral History*, 54.

²¹ Iiyama, *Oral History*, 39.

²² Iiyama, *Oral History*, 17.

²³ Iiyama, *Oral History*, 93.

²⁴ Iiyama, *Oral History*, 93.

²⁵ Iiyama, *Oral History*, 93.

²⁶ Iiyama, *Oral History*, 83.

²⁷ Iiyama, *Oral History*, 33.

prominent members of the Wisconsin JACL.²⁸ In his interpretation of Japanese American incarceration history, Allan Hida described the FBI rounding up individuals before Executive Order 9066 saying, “many of these individuals were people like leaders of the Buddhist Church or leaders of their flower arrangement society, leaders of the bonsai society—these were all people that were leaders in the community that had some kind of a Japan national or cultural ties.”²⁹ Most importantly, Hida discussed one of the more controversial aspects of incarceration history: the backlash of supporting either nation during a time of war. He mentioned that to be a block manager, or spokesman for the WRA, was akin to betrayal.³⁰ He also mentioned the brave soldier who went to fight or support the US military.³¹ Generally, Hida was a passive observer. Hida was only a resident of the camps from the ages of 8 years old to 11 years old. However, he remembered this era of his life vividly. Hida found that his experience was tremendously important to his identity, and impacted how he would carry himself for the rest of his life.³² Since Hida was a child, he could not have taken part in either supportive or subversive actions in the camps. His interview, however, demonstrates how impactful being put in concentration camps could be for a youthful mind, and how important of a story it has been to pass down to the younger generations. The care in which he took to tell his story is inspiring and a testament to this era of American history.

Alternatively, the *Issei and Kibei* (*Kibei* referring to Japanese Americans born in the US, but educated in Japan) were portrayed as subversive, pagan, unassimilable, anti-American, fifth columnists, who threatened the United States economy and women. The Robert Munson report to Congress held that there was significant subversive activity in Hawaii during the Pearl Harbor attack, and that there was routine communication between the West Coast’s fishing industry and the Japanese Imperial Navy.³³ *The San Francisco Examiner*, synonymous with William Randolph Hearst, continuously produced and published stories that demonized the incarcerated. This newspaper portrayed the Tule Lake camp as filled with rebellious Japanese Nationalist attempting to take over the United States from the inside, perpetuating the cycle of harmful rhetoric towards Japanese citizens.³⁴ The community magazines of the Native Sons of the Golden West, the American Legion, and the Grange also portrayed Japanese Americans as dangerous elements.³⁵ These sources were the originators and disseminators of racist and reactionary propaganda targeting Japanese Americans. These papers and organizations sharply increased in popularity during the war years and

²⁸ Susan E. Hida, Shizuko Ito, Mitsuko Hironaka, and Allan Hida, *Oral History Interview with Shizuko Ito: March 26, 2000, Campbell, California; Mitsuko Hironaka: March 26, 2000, Santa Clara, California; and Allan Hida: July 28, 2000, Wauwatosa, Wisconsin* / by Susan Hida, Sacramento, Calif: Florin Japanese American Citizens League, 2001, II.

²⁹ Hida, *Oral History*, 15.

³⁰ Hida, *Oral History*, 37.

³¹ Hida, *Oral History*, 35.

³² Hida, *Oral History*, 42.

³³ “C.B. Munson’s “Report and Suggestions Regarding Handling the Japanese Question on the Coast,” Dec. 20, 1941,” Densho Encyclopedia, accessed October 15, 2023.

³⁴ Ray Richards, “Washington indifferent to Tule Lake Dangers,” *The San Francisco Examiner*, November 9, 1943.

³⁵ Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, 79, 85.

fueled the fire of reactionary bigotry on the West Coast.

Kibei made up a small portion of the Japanese American population at no more than a few thousand.³⁶ They were regularly cast as devils for having been born in America and choosing to have spent many of their formative years in Japan, as their Japanese education was portrayed as a conflict of interest to the American war effort. This resulted in *Kibei* being demonized in the press. The *Sacramento Bee* published an interview with Dillion Meyers, the head of the WRA, who said of *Kibei* that “they are the most maladjusted group of Japanese in this country. They speak English atrociously. The girls did not even like to dance with them.”³⁷ The group was discounted as being troublemakers and disrupters, but many *Kibei* also provided important contributions to the US war effort in the Pacific War. They served in both intelligence and diplomatic roles. The historical memories of *Kibei* recorded with the Florin JAACL conflicted with Dillion Meyers and *Sacramento Bee’s* account on how the *Kibei* were currently occupied.

Yasuka Akamatsu was a *Kibei* who did not fit within the confined narrative boxes that the WRA had drawn for her. Foremost, at the beginning of her interview, the interviewer exclaimed that “You are a *Kibei*. You fooled me. Your English is so fluent.”³⁸ Additionally, she married one of the first Christian converts in the Elk Grove area³⁹ and answered yes-yes to the loyalty questionnaire.⁴⁰ She was a social worker at Tule Lake, dedicated to keeping families together during the tumultuous process of forced removal.⁴¹ Akamatsu spoke English well, supported her fellow country people, and did not vocalize significant criticism of the US government, despite being held hostage. In fact, she was the most upset with Japan’s government for engaging the war.⁴² Interestingly, when the interviewer asked about where her loyalty lied when the war broke out, Akamatsu shrugged off the question. It was received as if it was irrelevant to be asked such a question.⁴³ Akamatsu did not conform to the expectations of the 1940s public perception of what it meant to be a *Kibei*. While Akamatsu actively supported and participated within the JAACL, an organization that supported pushing the image of loyal and complicit members of the Japanese American community, she did not live her life to conform to a public relations narrative. Instead, Akamatsu lived her life prioritizing being a kind and helpful person, disregarding what any organization had to say about her identity.

Another interesting interview with *Kibei* was that of Minayo and her daughter Su-

³⁶ “The Kibei Story Is ‘The Biggest Unexplored Episode In The History Of Japanese Americans.’ Here’s Where to Learn More About It,” last modified June 6, 2023.

³⁷ “Dillon Meyers Outlines Plan to Avoid Riots in WRA Camp,” *Sacramento Bee* (Sacramento, CA), December 3, 1943.

³⁸ Yasuka Akamatsu, Midori Kanemoto, Paul Ito, Tsuneishi and Yasuka Akamatsu, *Oral History Interview with Yasuka Akamatsu: June 28, 2005, July 4, 2005, Sacramento, California 1* by Marion Kanemoto and Midori Ito, Sacramento, Calif: [Florin JAACL], 2006, 8.

³⁹ Akamatsu, *Oral History*, 2.

⁴⁰ Akamatsu, *Oral History*, 16.

⁴¹ Akamatsu, *Oral History*, 13.

⁴² Akamatsu, *Oral History*, 15.

⁴³ Akamatsu, *Oral History*, 12.

mako Imada. Their main concern was family ties. Minayo moved to America in the hopes of striking it rich with her husband.⁴⁴ Imada Sr. was an *Issei*, born in Japan, who had sent her daughter, Sumako, to Japan for an education in the fifth grade. She felt that the education in Japan was better.⁴⁵ The interview made clear that Imada felt a pride for her homeland in Japan, however, she was upset with the nation disrupting her life with their war. Sumako was stranded in Japan during the war because of her education.⁴⁶ Sumako was conflicted about her feelings during the war because she was content living in Japan, however, she had much concern for her family in the United States. During her time in Japan, she was unaware that her father and mother had been imprisoned.⁴⁷ Sumako was a *Kibei* stranded in Japan, who longed to make it home to her family. Her mother, on the other hand, still felt a strong connection to Japan and was critical of the US for temporarily taking her husband and home.⁴⁸ Their family farm had been destroyed because the people that had rented their farm had negligently burnt the building down. They returned to California and struggled. They had land “but we couldn’t eat the dirt.”⁴⁹ Afterwards, Imada Sr. and her family decided to move back to Japan for a short while, but eventually returned to the US because that was where she felt she could build a home. Her grandson wrote that when she was in Japan, she often missed living in the United States.⁵⁰ It would be a mistake to conflate cultural pride and critique of government with seditious activity. However, this was such a common belief that the WRA had to publish a book dispelling this belief as a myth.⁵¹ However, a look at the specific details of Imada Sr.’s life revealed nothing seditious. Imada cared about having her family together again. The best days of the Imadas’ lives were when they had returned from Japan in the nineteen fifties to build a farm and finish raising their family.⁵²

Yaeo Hatano was an *Issei* from Hiroshima-*ken* (prefecture), who provided insight from the perspective of an outspoken critic of incarceration, clearly disliking the US government for its actions. She said life in the camps “was difficult. If you show concern for Japan, then some did not like it, and if you side only with America, then the others did not like it. It was difficult.”⁵³ Her motivation in coming to America was the better economic prospects. She also mentioned the increased food security of America as compared to Japan when she moved.⁵⁴ Yaeo was a mother concerned with the proper upbringing of her kids,

⁴⁴ Minayo Imada, Sumako Imada, Mary Tsukamoto, and Stephen Takeshi, *Oral History Interview with Minayo Imada and Sumako Imada (Aka Fukuman): March 29, 1988 / by Mary T. Tsukamoto*, Sacramento, Calif: Florin Japanese American Citizens League, 1993, Appendix A, 5.

⁴⁵ Imada, *Oral History*, Appendix A, 5.

⁴⁶ Imada, *Oral History*, 34.

⁴⁷ Imada, *Oral History*, 36.

⁴⁸ Imada, *Oral History*, 32.

⁴⁹ Imada, *Oral History*, 6.

⁵⁰ Imada, *Oral History*, Appendix A 7.

⁵¹ *Myths and Facts About the Japanese Americans: Answering Common Misconceptions Regarding Americans of Japanese Ancestry*, Washington, D.C.: Dept. of the Interior, War Relocation Authority, 1945, 7.

⁵² Imada, *Oral History*, Appendix A, 8.

⁵³ Yaeo Hatano, Mas M. Hatano, and Gerry, Goishi, *Oral History Interview with Yaeo Hatano: January 27, 1994, and February 2, 1994, Sacramento, California / by Mas Hatano and Gerry Goishi*, Sacramento, Calif: Florin Japanese American Citizens League, 1994, 26.

⁵⁴ Hatano, *Oral History*, 1, 15.

which meant sending them to Japanese school in their spare time, but she laughed with her children about how they did not enjoy Japanese school so much.⁵⁵ Generally, she said that she did what was required to live during her time spent in Tule Lake.⁵⁶ She said that making trouble was not worth it, so she tried to work as a housekeep for the WRA admin because it paid the best.⁵⁷ Yakeo Hatano was primarily concerned with helping her family prosper economically. To her, the concern about who would win the war took a back seat to almost every other concern in her life.

Yakeo's case is interesting because she described her religious affiliation as *Shinto*, which is an animistic religion in which most members believe that the emperor of Japan was descended from divine beings.⁵⁸ However, there was a large contingent of *Shintoists* in the United States who did not believe this was the case.⁵⁹ The FBI and media sources assumed that because this faith believed that Emperor Hirohito was a divine being, many of its members would actively fight against the US in the Pacific War.⁶⁰ "It wasn't just race, but it was a conflation of race and religion that made these people seem un-American, or perhaps even anti-American."⁶¹ However, in reality, it only meant that Yakeo was more critical of the United States than an average citizen, which during times of war can be tantamount to treason.

An interview about a *Nisei* who returned to Japan after incarceration, countered the conventional narrative about *Nisei* incarcerated. Joy Yukashi Nozaki Gee was a *Nisei* that was interviewed for the Florin JACL oral history project. After the war, she had to return to Japan with her father. Nozaki Gee's interview is unique because it is much more descriptive than many of the other interviews in the collection. The assumed reason for this, is that her father was pro-Japanese, so her perspective needed to be carefully laid out to avoid scrutiny. In her interview she stated, "my father was pro-Japan and you couldn't blame him because America kept screwing with him."⁶² Gee's Father's family was well educated, and her father had studied English in Japan because he felt he could do more good in the world with that degree.⁶³ He was interested in the American dream, so much so, that he dedicated his life to using his privilege to study its language. In her account, Gee repeatedly provided metaphors that described the hypocrisy she felt in America. She said that the Vice Provost of UC Berkeley told her and her classmates that their civil rights would be maintained, and that she remembered watching the Japanese children in the camps singing *God*

⁵⁵ Hatano, *Oral History*, 16.

⁵⁶ Hatano, *Oral History*, 30.

⁵⁷ Hatano, *Oral History*, 30.

⁵⁸ Hatano, *Oral History*, 5.

⁵⁹ *Myths and Facts*, 7.

⁶⁰ Alejandra Molina, "In WWII, Japanese Americans' faith came under suspicion and helped them survive their incarceration," *Religion News Service*, last modified, April 29, 2022.

⁶¹ Molina, "Japanese Americans' faith."

⁶² Joy Nozaki Gee, and Violet Hanae, Hatano, *Oral History Interview with Joy Yukashi Nozaki Gee: April 25, 1996, Sacramento, California / Interview by Violet Hatano, Transcription, Photo Work, and Desktop Publishing Done by Joy Gee*, Sacramento, Calif: Florin Japanese American Citizens League, 1997, 33.

⁶³ Gee, *Oral History*, 1-2.

Bless America.⁶⁴ These stories were evocative of the cosmic humor that the American Government had played on Japanese Americans. Preaching about saving democracy and the world's humanity, while at home violating the very people they claimed to protect. However, she had faith that the American government would treat them fairly in the camps, which was a testament to her loyalty but also explained why she had felt betrayed.⁶⁵ As her father could not bear his socio-economic class decline postwar and there was no place in American society for a Japanese school teacher, he returned to Japan to face lousy economic prospects and starvation.⁶⁶ The irony was that they wanted to stay in America, but the demonization of Japanese culture during the war forced their family to move back to Japan and, consequently, encouraged her father to support Japan during the war.

Occasionally, some oral histories contradicted what a person would have assumed based on media accounts of the loyalties of incarcerated. For example, an account of a *Nisei*, *Shinto*, Veteran, who worked on the Hydrogen bomb, yet hated war, would defy preconceived notions. Shuki Hayashi was all these things and had one of the most page-turning oral histories in the collection. Veteran accounts of WWII have always been popular, and Shuki's was no exception. Immediately prior to internment, he went to Berkeley studying medicine, engineering, and finally physics.⁶⁷ He was well educated and intelligent, which informed his outlook on life. During college he was sent to the Poston incarceration camp. While in the camps he volunteered for the 442nd battalion, the famed segregated battle unit that was the most decorated army unit during WWII, along with his brother.⁶⁸ However, the war left a bitter taste in his mouth because as on the very last day of fighting his brother was shot and killed.⁶⁹ After the army, he finished his education and went to work for Edward Teller to develop the Hydrogen bomb.⁷⁰ The war and incarceration deeply affected his psyche and caused him a great deal of suffering. It appeared that during his youth, like many others, he was drawn to the allure and grandeur of fighting for a just cause. Shortly after, he realized the implications of his work. He quickly joined a contingent of his colleagues and resigned from his position on the Manhattan Project.⁷¹ While at camp Poston he met his wife, Marian Hayashi, in the internment camp nursery. Marian was a practicing quaker and, as marriage tends to do, influenced Hayashi's outlook on the world, namely, he opposed war.⁷² His wife and experiences at war combined, with the creation of the hydrogen bomb, which later became a war crime, left a lasting impact on Hayashi. He began to transform from a naïve young idealist boy, into a wise man who thought critically about the affairs of the world and his impact upon it. After the war, Hayashi and his wife visited Japan. He traveled to a *Shinto* shrine and participated in a ritual honoring his ancestors, he

⁶⁴ Gee, *Oral History*, 32, 41.

⁶⁵ Gee, *Oral History*, 37.

⁶⁶ Gee, *Oral History*, 75.

⁶⁷ Shuki Hayashi, Marian Hayashi, and Violet Hanae Hatano, *Oral History Interview with Shuki Hayashi: April 6, 1999, Davis, California / by Violet Hanae Hatano*, Sacramento, Calif: Florin Japanese American Citizens League, 1999, 18.

⁶⁸ Hayashi, *Oral History*, 24.

⁶⁹ Hayashi, *Oral History*, 25.

⁷⁰ Hayashi, *Oral History*, 49.

⁷¹ Hayashi, *Oral History*, 49.

⁷² Hayashi, *Oral History*, 46.

reflected that there was some pride in experiencing this appreciation of handmade beauty in a shrine and revering one's ancestors.⁷³ He may have been naïve and had let his passions guide him in his youth, but as Hayashi grew, he became reflective and thoughtful. He thought critically about the moral implication of how he conducted his life. His actions indicated he was both willing to work hard to help his nation yet was not acting out of loyalty to any nation.

To the media the question about *Nikkei* in America was simple: are they loyal or are they not? The answer from the incarcerated on the ground was an incredibly nuanced answer. Between worrying about their families, their social status, and how to make their lives bearable, all the incarcerated could not have been expected to also have a firm political stance supporting the USA while unjustly imprisoned. Some, obviously, did take firmer or weaker stances, but this did not mean that they would commit acts of espionage or sabotage. In fact, one of the smartest figures, Hayashi, technically sabotaged the Manhattan Project. However, he also fought valiantly on the front lines in Europe. Every individual was unique in their own way, and almost none of the interviewees expressly mentioned their loyalty to either nation. Some were sympathetic to different causes for the safety of their families, or business interests, but all chose to make their home in the United States. Even those that chose to move back to Japan after the war felt that they had left some part of themselves in the United States. While in camp, some had to rethink or adapt their religious beliefs. Most had to reevaluate their socioeconomic standing. Their status prior to the war influenced how they perceived their internment. For example, Yakeo Hatano whose family lost everything during incarceration and had to move back to Japan, or Chizu Imada and her husband who used their experiences in the camps to catapult their professional careers. It can be proved through the oral interviews that there was more nuance to the question of loyalty than the *Sacramento Bee*, or *San Francisco Examiner* described in their coverage of the news during WWII.

Biography: Spencer Bull received a Bachelor of Arts in History from University of California, Sacramento with a special interest in American history focusing on Japanese American Incarceration.

⁷³ Hayashi, *Oral History*, 31.

“Step Into the Breach”: White Citizens’ Councils & The Modern American Right

Robert Carter

Abstract: Historical scholarship on White Citizens Councils, largely understood as local grassroots cells that sought to maintain segregation through economic intimidation across the post-*Brown v. Board* South, has only told part of their story. Historians have written much on the group’s local activities in the 1950s but have mostly skirted their later and more insidious maneuvering at the national level. Rather than wither away in the vacuum for institutional white supremacy that civil rights legislation created in the mid-1960s, “The Council” fortified itself as a national lobby, moderated its plain-faced segregationist message into a race-blind one, and embedded itself in the nascent 1960s conservative movement. Using newspaper articles, Council-made media, and secondary sources, this paper seeks to show how those efforts helped the organization survive long enough to carve out a lasting space for white supremacy on the American right.

When the Supreme Court issued its decision to desegregate schools in 1954, the Mississippi judge Thomas P. Brady interpreted the court as a “sociological” one, predicting that “in lieu of laws we are now going to have theories, sociological and psychological concepts to guide us.”¹ Flowing from that, Brady argued, a government once grounded in law would be usurped by one grounded in liberal whim, ultimately setting it on a course to collapse.² In the white resistance movement to desegregation following *Brown v. Board of Education*, arguments like these were a backbone in terms of selling the cause to moderates and non-Southerners. With a racially charged core but mostly race-neutral in content, this rhetoric sought to nationalize the segregationist cause by couching it in terms non-Southerners might see on their own horizons. The argument usually went like this: If not forced integration, then surely the federal government’s mission to encroach on states’ rights and individualism would come for Americans in other ways, be it property, economic rights, or personal liberties. Therefore, the goal of the white American, all told, was to build a united white bloc against federal overreach, which so happened to include racial hierarchy.³

No group managed and wielded this message as artfully as the Citizens’ Council. First founded in Indianola, Mississippi in 1954, the Council began as a local grassroots organization composed of socially respectable, but hardline segregationists using their economic power to intimidate blacks and moderate whites.⁴ Local chapters quickly coalesced into a statewide organization, becoming a political fixture in Mississippi under the pro-Council

¹ Tom P. Brady, “A Review of Black Monday in an Address to the Indianola Citizens’ Council October 28th, 1954” (Winona: Association of Citizens’ Councils of Mississippi, 1954), 13.

² Brady, “A Review of Black Monday,” 13.

³ Stephanie R. Rolph, *Resisting Equality: The Citizens’ Council, 1954-1989* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2017), 22.

⁴ Rolph, 13.

governor Ross Barnett.⁵ As the movement spilled into other states, the Citizens' Councils of America (CCA) was established as a national lobbying organization almost entirely separate from state and local level.⁶ It ran public relations, courted national figures, built private schools, and made media, like its TV and radio talk show *Forum*, through which the Council made powerful allies who could help sell the segregationist position nationally.⁷ It was at that tier the Council did its most insidious work. Countless organizations shared their bedrock principle of "state's rights and racial integrity."⁸ But none managed to build the ideology, messaging, and alliances that helped them survive the Civil Rights Movement and well into an era when most Americans assumed racism was a Southern anachronism. With that, the Council built its legacy. By moderating their message and ingratiating themselves in the nascent conservative movement of the 1960s, the Citizens' Councils carved out a lasting space for white supremacists on the American right.

The Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts of the mid-1960s left the organization with few offensives to go on in hometowns and courts. But what happened afterwards is a story of survival and evolution that lasted until the Council's official collapse in 1989. With desegregation a foregone conclusion and local membership dwindling, the Council turned to the race-neutral causes it had long hedged on as a way to broaden their tent while maintaining their white supremacist beliefs.⁹ The mainstreaming of private schools, law and order, right-wing foreign policy, race-blind politics, and George Wallace all became ways for the Council to ride an evolving right wing.¹⁰ In so doing, the organization ensured their survival long enough to see the 1980s right wing, fiercely individualistic and skeptical of federal power, as a safe space for white supremacy. Even after the Council officially disbanded, its ideology and members found a home in a new organization, the Council of Conservative Citizens, whose advocacy for a new conservative path found an audience with major Republican Party figures in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, maintaining a discourse that eventually seeded the modern "alt-right."¹¹

Scholarship on the Council has mostly focused on the period between 1954 and 1965. The first major work came in 1971 with Neil McMillen's study of the Council and related Massive Resistance groups, *The Citizens' Council: Organized Resistance to the Second Reconstruction, 1954-1964*. Written at a time when the Council appeared reduced in membership and efficacy, the book compiled interviews with its founders and leaders, conceding on one hand that it "obstinately perseveres," but concluding on the other that its verve, membership, and agenda had all peaked.¹² Obstinately perseverant, a review in Council publication *The Citizen* raked McMillen over the coals, calling the book an "obituary" that

⁵ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 21-22.

⁶ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 17.

⁷ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 17.

⁸ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 15.

⁹ Rolph, 167-204.

¹⁰ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 167-242.

¹¹ Brent Nelson, "Third Party Alternatives for Conservatives," *C-Span*, July 10, 1999; "Council of Conservative Citizens Promotes White Primacy, and G.O.P. Ties," *New York Times (Online)*, June 22, 2015.

¹² George W. Shannon, "Editor Scores Book for Bias," *The Citizen*, January 1972, 18-22.

“would hardly become a best-seller at \$10.95 even if it were good literature, which it isn’t.”¹³ McMillen’s preface to the 1994 second edition, however, suggested an awareness that the Council had not dissipated as cleanly as it might have seemed in 1971, and that race persisted as the great American wedge issue.¹⁴ While contributory, early takes have limits, and McMillen’s was one.

Still, later historians continued to parse over the Council’s activities as they related to the Civil Rights Movement. In a 2004 article, Clive Webb explored the Louisiana Council’s organizing role in the “Reverse Freedom Rides,” a failed 1962 parody of the CORE Freedom Rides in which the Council used phony job prospects to recruit poor back Southerners for one-way trips north.¹⁵ In 2005, Webb edited an essay collection entitled *Massive Resistance: Southern Opposition to the Second Reconstruction* that explored topics like the Little Rock desegregation crisis, the movement’s rhetoric, and Southern womanhood within it, but none of the essays focused on the Council’s national work or activities after 1965.¹⁶ Both were no doubt important pieces of scholarship, but neither directly explored the Council after the Civil Rights Movement, or broke with the skepticism that there was anything to explore. Despite their importance, articles, and books like these contributed to a pattern of containing the Citizens’ Council in its supposed time and place.

Stephanie Rolph began to break that pattern in 2018 with *Resisting Equality: The Citizens’ Council 1954-1989*. Instead of dealing with local chapters and their temporary impact, Rolph’s book explored the Council as a national force with an enduring legacy. Working largely with *Forum* broadcasts, Rolph tracked the Council’s rhetorical development, media making, alliance building, and influence on political shifts outside the South. The work focused on the CCA as operating parallel to the grassroots bile of Massive Resistance, opting instead for a nationally digestible brand of racism. Because of that, Rolph found, the Council was able to maintain a different kind of relevance even as raw numbers pointed to its decline. By operating outside the Civil Rights timeframe and into the 1980s, *Resisting Equality* began the work of showing how the Council’s efforts in arenas like private schools, Sunbelt Conservatism, and George Wallace’s presidential campaigns helped its followers transition into the political mainstream without sacrificing their belief in white supremacy. It also showed how the mainstream came to welcome, even need, their membership.¹⁷

In May 1954, the Supreme Court overturned the *Plessy v. Ferguson* doctrine of “separate but equal” that had allowed Jim Crow laws to define the South since 1896. Judge Thomas P. Brady joined the backlash with his ninety-page polemic, *Black Monday*. Using his experience directing the Speakers Bureau for the Dixiecrat-affiliated States’ Rights Party

¹³ Shannon, “Editor Scores,” 20.

¹⁴ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 16.

¹⁵ Clive Webb, “‘A Cheap Trafficking in Human Misery’: The Reverse Freedom Rides of 1962,” *Journal of American Studies* 38, no. 2 (August 2004): 249-271.

¹⁶ Clive Webb, “Massive Resistance: Southern Opposition to the Second Reconstruction,” (New York Oxford University Press, 2005).

¹⁷ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*.

in the 1940s, Brady attacked the court using the language of federal overreach, third-party independence from a two-party system, and of course, states' rights.¹⁸ At its core, the book was racism incarnate with the entire argument built on a specious framing of history. According to Brady, the "amalgamation" of racial bloodlines was a fact of social collapse in history's great societies from Egypt to Rome, and that threat was now in the United States.¹⁹ It preached unvarnished racial hierarchy, but it also offered ways to preach beyond the Southern choir by placing the court's decision in the larger context of education policy, federal interlopers, and communism as an enemy within.²⁰

Making race a substrate in bigger problems was a crucial rhetorical tool in taking the Southern cause north. Brady would make arguments such as "in our educational field, we have men who are drugged with the lotus of Socialism...and when they go into our schools and teach our boys socialism, they are undermining our country. When they affiliate with the NAACP...they are helping Russia."²¹ The real problem was not necessarily racial difference or hierarchy: it was communism. *Brown* supposedly exacerbated this problem by bringing white Americans face to face with a communist menace, incidentally, backed by the NAACP and cloaked in the education system. Problems like these were not necessarily Southern. The Problems were *American*.

For white southerners like Brady, the logical, even legal response was resistance to the threat of African American supported communism. Brady claimed that besides being an alleged mortal and moral threat, *Brown* was based in the "carpetbagger-negro conspiracy" that was the Fourteenth Amendment. With that, Brady recommended an "economic cold war" on the local level against black activists and moderate whites who chose to see integration as anything less than doomsday.²² As with the Lost Cause Myth, *Black Monday's* function was to unite whites against progressive liberalism without regard to class or geography, and to sustain a war they had only legally lost. When Brady's book was discovered by Southerners looking to sell resistance to desegregation outside the South, the Council movement was born.

Agreeing that hometowns were the last garrison against desegregation, plantation owner and World War II veteran Robert Patterson founded the first Citizens' Council in Indianola, Mississippi in July 1954.²³ Among the first meeting's fourteen attendees were the town mayor and bank president, putting its mission to economically intimidate its enemies on track.²⁴ First popular in majority black counties where exploitative labor was an economic boon for whites, modest beginnings turned into sheer momentum.²⁵ Word of mouth spread among well-connected members and seventeen Citizens' Council chapters

¹⁸ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 45.

¹⁹ Tom P. Brady, *Black Monday*, (Winona: Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi, 1955), 1-10.

²⁰ Brady, *Black Monday*, Foreword.

²¹ Brady, "A Review of Black Monday," 14.

²² Brady, *Black Monday*, 84.

²³ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 50.

²⁴ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 50.

²⁵ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 57.

were established throughout Mississippi within six weeks of the inaugural meeting.²⁶ Faced with a growing need for political coordination and image control, the following October saw the chapters coalesce into the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi (ACCM) with Patterson as Executive Director.²⁷

What is known about the Council's local work is limited. They did not keep records on topics such as firings, blackbaling, or credit denial. The majority of the knowledge comes largely from NAACP workers stationed in places the Council operated, like Medgar Evers in Mississippi.²⁸ At first as shadowy associations of white busybodies surveilling black activism, the councils used their connections and anonymity to prevent racial progress. One black journal claimed the editor at a pro-integration newspaper was "asked" to remove his money from a local bank before having the windows at his home broken, acts the Council denied responsibility for despite the journal's claim of a "confidential communique" directing them.²⁹ Another case saw a black dentist and NAACP leader in Columbus, Mississippi receive notice from a local bank that he would be denied all future loans. Later, his mother received a string of anonymous phone calls claiming he was dead.³⁰ In the case of Yazoo City, Mississippi, economic pressure on the NAACP became so intense that it was forced to close its town chapter.³¹ Some members, allegedly acting outside official Council business, even committed murder. Medgar Evers became one such tragedy when he was assassinated outside his home in 1964 by Council member Byron de La Beckwith.³² Intimidation and not-verifiably-sanctioned violence were hallmarks of the early Council, but there was a less crude and more insidious side as well.

The Council always sought political legitimacy in American society. They first stepped into that realm in 1954 with the ACCM supporting successful initiatives to raise voting qualifications and close several Mississippi schools rather than integrate them.³³ Because support for the school proposal was fractured between segregationists, teachers' unions, and white economic groups with disparate access to private schools, it provided an excellent venue for the Council to gain experience building a united white front.³⁴ Seeing such steam gather so fast, then Governor J.P. Coleman sought to contain it. Following Emmett Till's 1955 murder in Mississippi, Coleman sought to establish a moderate version of the Council that could be controlled and accounted for by the state.³⁵ What followed was the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission (MSSC), formed to monitor black activism

²⁶ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 52.

²⁷ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 59.

²⁸ "Resisting Equality: The Citizens' Council in Three Movements" Lecture by Stephanie R. Rolph, History is Lunch, June 27, 2018, Video, 26:00.

²⁹ Waltraut Stein, "The White Citizens' Councils," *Negro History Bulletin* 20, no. 1 (October 1956), 22.

³⁰ Stein, "The White Citizens' Councils," 22.

³¹ Rolph, "Resisting Equality," 64.

³² Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 61.

³³ Robert B. Patterson, "Annual Report," *The Citizens' Council*, August 1955, 1.

³⁴ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 54-56.

³⁵ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 88.

and sell the segregationist position outside the South.³⁶ Because the MSSC crowded the Council's niche and received state funds the Council felt they rightly deserved, relations between the two would land anywhere between tenuous cooperation and outright acrimony, even after 1959 when Ross Barnett, a staunch Council ally, was elected governor and began channeling MSSC funds to the Council to cover *Forum* production costs.³⁷

Despite a few contours, the early Council was on an upward trajectory. In their Annual Report from 1955, Robert Patterson boasted that the above accomplishments coupled with an exponential growth in membership to show that national political legitimacy was within reach. In his words, "The Citizens' Councils of Mississippi, backed by 60,000 members, has received national publicity, and...is now corresponding regularly with interested Americans in forty-six states. Iceland, Alaska, South Africa, and Mexico."³⁸ By the end of its founding year, the organization was becoming a political fixture in Mississippi while courting interest elsewhere. Facing all that rampant growth, it was forced to decide what it wanted to be.

That crossroads came almost immediately. Per Stephanie Rolph, "the conflicting priorities that accompanied Council growth between 1955 and 1956 tested the compatibility of an elite white leadership dependent upon the allegiance of small farmers...and other working-class whites."³⁹ On the one hand, the movement was blooming in places like Florida, Virginia, and Louisiana with some success in closing National Urban League offices in their major cities.⁴⁰ But on the other, incidents like Florida Council members attempting to plant a cross in front of a black residence were undermining the Council's claim at having "anticipated and prevented racial tensions."⁴¹ Establishing the ACCM accommodated an entry into state politics and helped the Council bifurcate their work into the local and political. But with the Civil Rights Movement and racial violence reaching a fever pitch, the group needed further steps to distance itself from provincial, Klan-like tactics, even if it tacitly endorsed them. Managing that image at the local level usually meant denial. In Belzoni, Mississippi, when chapter members were suspected in the 1955 shooting of NAACP activist Gus Courts, the chapter's chairman signaled innocence and feigned repudiation with a \$250 reward for Courts' gunmen.⁴² However ingenuine, moves like these helped local councils hover above accountability. That helped their leadership focus on going national.

The Citizens' Councils of America (CCA) was the national springboard for the Council. Created in 1956 with errant growth calling for coordination between state associations, the CCA mainly focused on national lobbying and messaging. Pointing to the hypocrisy in federalizing a pro states' rights group, the CCA refused to micromanage indi-

³⁶ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 88.

³⁷ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 23, 80-90.

³⁸ Robert B. Patterson, "Annual Report."

³⁹ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 62.

⁴⁰ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 65.

⁴¹ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 65; Robert B. Patterson, "2nd Annual Report," *The Citizens' Council*, August 1956, 2.

⁴² New York Times, "Reward Posted in South: Accused Citizens' Council Offers \$250 in Shooting of Negro," *New York Times*, November 30, 1959.

vidual chapters' activities, allowing them to carry on with intimidation and (unofficially) violence, while also giving the CCA enough plausible deniability to maintain its reputation and win favor nationally. Their work was mostly carried out through broadcast and publishing, two crucial mediums for building alliances, consolidating their message, and managing their image. Through the CCA, the Council became a national force with little to no accountability for its local members.⁴³

William "Bill" Simmons' entry as CCA President and godfather of Council media was perhaps the most important development in its history. First as managing editor of *The Citizens' Council* newspaper, then as program director for *Forum*, Simmons shaped the Council's efforts to frame itself as "lawful, coherent, and proper" and segregation as "the freedom to choose one's associates, Americanism, State sovereignty, and the survival of the white race."⁴⁴ A look at *The Citizens' Council* headlines shows the early stages of the ideology Simmons helped cultivate. While there was no shortage of racist cartoons and Lost Cause tropes like the claim that "Southerners Were Kind to Slaves," most headlines placed race behind bigger issues.⁴⁵ "Ex-Red Brands NAACP as 'Vehicle For Communism'" framed black activism as international intrigue; "Los Angeles Police Chief Warns Of Dangers In 'Civil Rights' Laws" put rule of law at the fore; "Would Help Both Races" argued a mutual benefit to segregation; and "To Friends In The North" was an obvious reach across the Mason-Dixon line.⁴⁶ The message was by no means moderate, but it did frame segregation as a common-sense maintenance of the American way. Ultimately, it pitched their cause to Northern audiences while teaching Southern ones to do the same.

More importantly, Simmons was instrumental in moving *Forum* out of Mississippi in 1958 and into a new broadcast studio in Washington, D.C..⁴⁷ Positioning themselves in the nation's capital helped the Council access national politicians, lobbyists, and dignitaries, who in turn brought an array of not-necessarily-segregationist causes into the Council's dialogue. The first of those alliances was with the Mississippi Congressman John Bell Williams, who helped Simmons work around *Forum's* funding concerns by granting access to the congressional recording studios where it would stay until 1966.⁴⁸ Under an "American Viewpoint With a Southern Accent" tagline, host Dick Morphew spoke on a range of topics with Republicans, Democrats, foreign officials, even Chrysler CEO Bob Barry.⁴⁹ Illustrative of *Forum's* strategy was an interview with Major General Edwin Walker in 1962. Having been forced to resign over his controversial "Pro-Blue Program" compelling soldiers to read John Birch Society literature, Walker's appearance focused on the communist movement and his "muzzling" by an anti-individual federal government.⁵⁰ But underlying that

⁴³ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 82.

⁴⁴ Robert B. Patterson, "2nd Annual Report," 2.

⁴⁵ Citizens' Councils of America, "A Manual For Southerners," *The Citizens' Council*, April, 1957, 3.

⁴⁶ Citizens' Councils of America, *The Citizens' Council*, April 1957, 1-3.

⁴⁷ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 109.

⁴⁸ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 110.

⁴⁹ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 112; "Citizens' Council *Forum* Films Collection, 1955-1956," Mississippi Department of Archives & History.

⁵⁰ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 151.

talk on communism and federal overreach was Walker's segregationist background, namely his attempt to resign rather than lead federal troops in the Little Rock desegregation crisis of 1957.⁵¹ In that way, *Forum* topics often avoided race directly, opting to sublimate it into matters like riot legislation, property rights, or Vietnam Policy.⁵² Those topics were tangential enough to white supremacy that the uninitiated might miss it in the subtext, but not so tangential that they muddled the point. This signature rhetoric helped *Forum* become the Council's main vehicle for making friends and moderating its message without sacrificing white supremacist principles.

The 1950s were an important time for the Council as it spilled out of its home state and, if its claims are accurate, courted interest from forty-six others. It structured itself for maximum effect, letting local chapters do the dirty work in semi-secrecy while the CCA began to present itself nationally as a polished, rational defender of states' rights. They consolidated their message and began to build a coalition through *The Citizens' Council* and *Forum* with Bill Simmons at the helm. Even when relationships with state actors like the MSSC were fraught, alliances like the one with Governor Barnett helped make them a power player in Mississippi politics and a facilitator of conservative ideals beyond, but always including segregation. The 1960s would see declining interest in the Council. However, always adaptable, they found a way for that not to matter.

By all appearances, the Council in the early 1960s was a dying cause. Membership declined after 1962 when James Meredith, a black man, successfully enrolled at the University of Mississippi.⁵³ When the enrollment led to riots, and riots led to federal troops occupying the school, Mississippians looked at the Council's work consulting Governor Barnett on the crisis and began asking if their tactics were inviting the federal compulsion they claimed to repel.⁵⁴ The Louisiana State Council drew more public relations fire in 1962 when they attempted to impress moderate segregationists by parodying the CORE Freedom Rides with "Reverse Freedom Rides."⁵⁵ Given the gauche optics and low rider turnout, blowback from press and politicians in the North and South was swift.⁵⁶ What the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce called "neither the right nor popular answer" was more pointedly described by a New Orleans TV station as "bordering on the moronic."⁵⁷ Both comments highlighted the Council's main problem: a growing sense of moderation and a shrinking patience for theatrics in the South.

Next, the Council suffered two apparently mortal blows to its political viability. The first was President Kennedy's push for major civil rights legislation; legislation long-

⁵¹ *St. Petersburg Times*, "Edwin A. Walker, 83, General Fired by JFK Series: Obituaries," *St. Petersburg Times*, November 2, 1993, 5B.

⁵² "Citizens' Council *Forum* Films Collection."

⁵³ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 165.

⁵⁴ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 165.

⁵⁵ Webb, "A Cheap Trafficking," 251-252.

⁵⁶ Nan Robertson, "120 Negroes Took 'Free Ride' North," *New York Times*, June 13, 1962, 44.

⁵⁷ *New York Times*, "Reverse Rides Hit by Little Rock Unit," *New York Times*, May 24, 1962, 24.; Webb, "A Cheap Trafficking," 263.

time Council affiliate and former American Bar Association President John C. Satterfield called “the Trojan Horse of 1963” for its eroding effect on the individual right to exclude.⁵⁸ Sympathy for a such an act ballooned after Kennedy was assassinated in 1963 and Lyndon Johnson began pushing it as a way to memorialize the fallen president.⁵⁹ As the Council correctly assessed, a legal end to segregation was only a matter of time. Next, trouble began for *Forum* when MSSC director Earle Johnston grew suspicious of Simmons’ high claims about the show’s broadcast reach. Calling Simmons’ bluff that the show was carried by hundreds of stations nationally, Johnston commissioned an investigative report by *Jackson Daily News* reporter Bob Pittman, who after reaching out to more than three hundred stations, learned that only seven had ever heard of the show – and three were in Mississippi.⁶⁰ After nearly \$200,000 funneled to the Council over five years, the MSSC cut their funding entirely by 1964.⁶¹ So, with segregation increasingly tough to sell in PR and legal terms, moderation trending upwards in the South, and its vehicle for gladhanding in peril, the Council had to figure out how to survive.

Hitching their cause to rising conservatism became the Council’s strategy. Doing so helped the Council speak in code to new audiences while allying with key figures in a major political realignment. That began with presidential contender Barry Goldwater. In a 1964 *Life* editorial entitled “The Conservative Future at Stake,” the author pondered Goldwater’s rise as an Arizona senator with an anti-federal, anti-communist message, noting how Goldwater’s ascendancy signaled a harder right movement within the Republican Party as he sold his opposition to the Civil Rights Act and welfare programs as matters of free association, states’ rights, and economic fairness.⁶² His hawkish, individualistic, and racially coded rhetoric had been called a “‘weird parody’ of conservatism” by the Eisenhower establishment, but it was nevertheless potent enough to win the Republican nomination in 1964 and put that establishment in a scramble.⁶³ Goldwater’s supporters, the editorial said, were by and large fatigued by big government and wary of Communism. And while “some of them are crackpots,” most were “respectable citizens.”⁶⁴ This was the Council’s exact market, and it was going national.

The CCA did not miss the opportunity. The group began to establish itself in new places like California, Indiana, and Wisconsin, buying ad space in their major newspapers in 1964 after a strong showing by George Wallace, another rising star of conservatism, in

⁵⁸ John C. Satterfield, “Unlimited Federal Control of Individuals, Businesses, and the States: Analysis of ‘The Civil Rights Act of 1963,’” (Self Published, 1963), 1.

⁵⁹ Ian Haney Lopez, *Dog Whistle Politics: How Coded Racial Appeals Have Reinvented Racism and Wrecked the Middle Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 19.

⁶⁰ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 145.

⁶¹ Yasuhiro Katagiri, *Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission: Civil Rights and States’ Rights* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2001), 155.

⁶² Ian Haney Lopez, *Dog Whistle Politics: How Coded Racial Appeals Have Reinvented Racism and Wrecked the Middle Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 18-22.

⁶³ *Life*, “The Conservative Future at Stake,” *Life*, July 17, 1964, 4.

⁶⁴ *Life*, “The Conservative Future,” 4.

several primaries outside the South.⁶⁵ *The Citizen*, now the Council's monthly publication, began to reflect a less optically racist market as well. Out were the cartoons and weak attempts to shroud racism in anti-communism, in were cover photos of tropical sunsets and articles describing how to establish (implicitly) white private schools.⁶⁶ On the *Forum* radio show, Bill Simmons attacked the Civil Rights Act not as an affront to racial hierarchy, but as an economic poison pill that would "literally mean the difference between economic life and death for thousands of small businessmen." Always beyond reproach, Simmons was careful to include blacks in that assessment, noting they would "very likely to be the first to suffer."⁶⁷ While local chapters in places like New Orleans were seeing embarrassingly low turnout at a "massive rally" to oppose the Voting Rights Act, there were clear signs the CCA's attention was shifting to places and arguments less obviously driven by racial animus.⁶⁸

The Sunbelt, particularly California, became a major focus in the effort to reframe the CCA's outward stance on race in subtlety. Much of that was with the help of conservative journalist and multi-time *Forum* guest William K. Shearer. A San Diego resident and connoisseur of race-blind politics, Shearer enlisted the Council's help passing Proposition 14, an overwhelmingly successful 1964 initiative giving property owners the right to discriminate against prospective buyers and tenants. With clear racial motives obscured by facially race-neutral language, Prop. 14 offered a link between the professional racism of the Council and the self-styled "common sense conservatism" in new demographics out west. The measure's success pointed to the region's massive in-migration from the South since 1910, bringing millions of whites whose racially tense upbringings were close enough to linger in their political tastes but far enough geographically and temporally to claim they did not. What manifested then was an intense commitment to individual liberty, race-blindness, and resisting central government - all well-worn, or at least developing, Council themes. Seizing on that, the Council established chapters in San Francisco and Sacramento in 1964, both of which threw their weight behind Proposition 14 with Shearer as the state association chair. Highlighting all that rhetorical evolution, Shearer appeared on *Forum* in 1965 saying that despite the opposition's claims, race was not the engine that drove the initiative to pass, but rather a quiet majority who saw their personal liberties at stake. This was one way the Council, an intensely racist organization, started seeing dividends on the race-blind movement.⁶⁹

Forum went off the air in 1966, but that barely mattered.⁷⁰ As made clear by the Johnston-Pittman investigation, the show was never reaching many viewers in the first

⁶⁵ John Herbers, "Citizens' Councils Move North; Segregationist Groups Also Seek Members in West," *New York Times*, August 5, 1964, 36.

⁶⁶ Citizens' Councils of America, *The Citizen*, September 1964.

⁶⁷ William J. Simmons, interview by Dick Morpew, "1964 Fall Term of US Supreme Court," *Citizens' Council Forum*, Citizens' Councils of America, 1964, 05:02.

⁶⁸ *New York Times*, "White Citizens' Council Call for New Orleans Rally Fails," *New York Times*, August 24, 1965, 14.

⁶⁹ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 153, 219-221.

⁷⁰ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 213.

place. If it was an asset, which it was, it was in helping the Council ally with Goldwater-style conservatism and conservatives. It did that by entertaining a diversity of topics dear to both ideologies and blurring the lines between them, like communist infiltration in Vietnam protests, the education system, farm policy, and foreign aid.⁷¹ By 1966, *Forum* had built the Council a powerful coalition of conservatives and white supremacists speaking a mutually intelligible language. That happened through its guests, not the audience it never actually had.

The most powerful and beneficial of the Council's allies would be George Wallace. Another *Forum* regular, Wallace was gaining momentum in presidential campaigns by cloaking his once enunciated segregationist position in a rejection of Great Society welfare programs and other *Forum* tropes like economic rights and law and order.⁷² Wallace's rise and strategy were similar to the Council's. Having received an outpouring of national fan mail after his infamous "segregation now...segregation forever" speech in 1963, the Alabama governor ran with the realization that "the whole United States is Southern" by moderating his message with non-racial abstractions like states' rights.⁷³ That inspired the Council to break with its history of not endorsing politicians and support Wallace's presidential campaigns in '64, '68, and '72.⁷⁴ In Wallace, the Council saw an alternative to the two-party system, one that repudiated social movements like civil rights by framing them as lawless and hostile to the American vision. By seizing on the Goldwater strategy of *implying* that a vote for him was a vote for "the white man's party," Wallace captured nearly fourteen percent of the popular vote as a candidate for the newly minted American Independent Party in 1968 - and not without the Council's help.⁷⁵

The Council's support for Wallace was direct and absolute. Bill Simmons took leave from the CCA presidency in 1967 to work on the campaign.⁷⁶ *The Citizen* regularly ran Wallace ads, sold campaign merchandise, and ran a travel log from the campaign trail.⁷⁷ In a 1968 *Citizen* article entitled "The Big Issue in the 1968 Race," author John Synon unleashed a screed on the American social climate that mirrored much of Wallace's rhetoric. Synon was "dog-tired" of things like welfare "relievers...living on the product of my sweat, my taxes, and with being repaid for my largess with venom and hate."⁷⁸ He went on attacking unchecked criminality, media distortions of southern life, moderate, so-called "sociological," Christian ministers, and other non-overtly racial topics before concluding that "when George Wallace cries, 'Stand up for America,' stand I shall."⁷⁹

Wallace strenuously denied his own racism on the campaign trail, but where he

⁷¹ "Citizens' Council Radio Forum."

⁷² Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 230.

⁷³ Haney-Lopez, *Dog Whistle Politics*, 15-16.

⁷⁴ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 230.

⁷⁵ Haney-Lopez, *Dog Whistle Politics*, 25.

⁷⁶ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 231.

⁷⁷ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 232.

⁷⁸ John J. Synon, "The Big Issue in the 1968 Race," *The Citizen*, May 1967, 5.

⁷⁹ Synon, "The Big Issue," 5, 11.

did talk about race, it shared a playbook with the Council.⁸⁰ He attacked busing programs and fair housing laws as anti-individualistic overcorrections to racial inequity; He opposed the Civil Rights Act as something that would take away an employer's right to reject unqualified applicants; And he made the crude, but deniably racist appeal that under his presidency "you wouldn't get stabbed and raped in the shadow of the White House."⁸¹ Wallace was doing what the Council did on a supercharged scale, and per the electoral map, it worked.

Some, however, saw Wallace for what he was. A 1968 report by the Southern Committee on Political Ethics broke down the inconsistencies between his rhetoric and resume and explored the racist credentials of those working behind his campaign. The report referred to a shadowy cohort of "anti" people, an "angry and resentful" bunch who saw Wallace as their ticket into the mainstream. Those "anti people" included, Klansmen, Minutemen, John Birch Society members, American Nazis, and of course, Bill Simmons and William Shearer. As Secretary-Treasurer of the California Citizens' Councils, Shearer was a "key organizer" in qualifying Wallace's American Independent Party for the state's November ballot. As for Bill Simmons, the report noted the obvious, that his mere involvement as Wallace's campaign chair in Mississippi meant that any claims to a non-racist campaign were impossibly false. As for the Citizens' Council overall, the report cited and agreed with the *New York Times*' observation that "the future of their organization... is closely tied to Mr. Wallace's political activities." That could not have been truer.⁸²

Wallace lost every attempt at the presidency, getting shot and paralyzed in the process, but the Council had nevertheless caught a comet. In *The Citizen* in 1972, Wallace's brother wrote that their campaign slogan, "Send Them a Message," had done just that.⁸³ By siphoning off five Southern states and forty-five electoral votes from both Republican Richard Nixon and Democrat Hubert Humphrey in 1968, Wallace's campaign was writing on the wall.⁸⁴ It said that the New Deal coalition had fractured, that the national Democrats' alignment with blacks had pushed Southern Democrats to the right, and that a suburban middle-class contingent in the South and West was through with things like forced busing, foreign aid, welfare, and urban rioting.⁸⁵ Republicans, the Council learned, were beginning to need the contingent it helped create in the places it helped create it.

The Council beat the odds in the 1960s by shifting its political efforts from preserving segregation to winning national elections. While they did not technically achieve either goal, they still captured enough attention to find a place on the right wing of a reconfiguring two-party system. By the end of the decade, the supposedly dead CCA built an

⁸⁰ Southern Committee on Political Ethics, "George C. Wallace: The Man and the Men Behind Him," (Washington D.C.: SCOPE, 1968), 5.

⁸¹ Southern Committee on Political Ethics, "George C. Wallace," 6,5,12.

⁸² Southern Committee on Political Ethics, "George C. Wallace," 13-21.

⁸³ Jack Wallace, "Wallace Brothers," *The Citizen*, November 1972, 5.

⁸⁴ "Statistics (1968)," University of California Santa Barbara, accessed December 1, 2023.

⁸⁵ Wallace, "Wallace Brothers," 8; Haney-Lopez, *Dog Whistle Politics*, 26.

“ultra-modern” headquarters in the Mississippi capital of Jackson that boasted office space, an IBM computer room, a research library, and other amenities. Costing \$162,000 and financed by long-term bank loans, the building signified a continued relevance and a plan to work new fields outside segregation. One of those fields was private education.⁸⁶

Council Schools, as they were known, began development in 1964 to solve “the tensions and problems created in the field of public education by militant integrationists.” By 1968, the Council boasted three private, fully accredited, all-white institutions in the Jackson area, offering K-12 curriculums, athletic programs, and a full breadth of extracurricular clubs and activities. Typical of Council media, ads for the schools avoided direct racial pronouncements, opting instead to describe “principles of selective admissions” and the absence of “social experimentation.” That infrastructure and messaging would become an important part of staying relevant once the Supreme Court officially enforced school desegregation in 1969.⁸⁷

The *Alexander v. Holmes* decision ended the court’s “all deliberate speed” order from 1955 that allowed Southern states to nominally desegregate while resisting *Brown* in substance. Once the decision came down, white students began emptying out of public schools.⁸⁸ By January 1970 when the order was fully implemented, 40 per cent of Jackson’s white students were enrolled in private schools and 60 percent of those students were enrolled in Council Schools specifically.⁸⁹ Faced with a five-hundred per cent increase in enrollment over one year, the schools were forced to accommodate it by undergoing new construction and teaching in day and night shifts.⁹⁰ Looking at private school trends in Mississippi as part of a national one, Bill Simmons saw white flight as a concession from racial moderates that the Council had been right about the dangers of integrated education all along.⁹¹ The Council had been toiling in education since its founding, from the school closure amendment in 1954, to hosting essay contests asking students to describe what “social separation of the races” meant to them, to educating readers on opening private schools in *The Citizen*.⁹² By 1968, those efforts were becoming yet another winning hedge for the Council. Rather than resist the *Alexander* decision as they had done with *Brown*, the Council was there to welcome supposed moderates into a de facto space for upholding segregation and white supremacy.

As for a Nixon presidency, the Council had some wins and some losses. While they never supported Nixon officially, the organization was keenly aware of the impact the

⁸⁶ The Clarion-Ledger, “Citizens’ Councils of America Will Dedicate Building Today at 3,” *The Clarion-Ledger*, August 11, 1968, C1.

⁸⁷ The Clarion-Ledger, “Activities and Honors at Council Schools Show Student Excellence,” *The Clarion-Ledger*, August 11, 1968, C1.

⁸⁸ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 208.

⁸⁹ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 209.

⁹⁰ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 209.

⁹¹ Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 209.

⁹² Association of Citizens’ Councils of Mississippi, “Statewide Cash Awards Essay Contest for Mississippi High School Students 1959-1960,” (Jackson: ACCM, 1959), 1.

“Southern Strategy” had in bringing Southern Democrats into a widening Republican tent - and they worked with it, if not begrudgingly. In light of George Wallace’s electoral pull, Nixon had stopped favoring ideas like a flat wealth transfer to the poor, instead choosing to emphasize law and order, oppose forced busing, and publicly state that the federal government would not insert itself in enforcing school desegregation.⁹³ In December 1970, Nixon reneged on his own promise to integrate the suburbs. After his Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, George Romney, saw suburban revolt against his proposal to cut federal funds to communities refusing to integrate, Nixon flipped his stance and assured suburbanites that he saw forced integration as violating the national interest.⁹⁴ Because of that waffling, the Council saw Nixon as a political chameleon who was working to “bury Wallace in a smokescreen of pseudo-conservative talk” while conditioning Southerners to accept integration slowly.⁹⁵ Still, there were signs the Council was willing to cooperate with Nixon and preserve the benefits of a political realignment.

Council member and Louisiana Congressman Joe D. Waggoner was one of those signs. A Nixon confidant first elected on the strength of his segregationist credentials in 1961, Waggoner brought the Council closer to the conservative movement by becoming a de facto leader of Southern conservatives in Congress by the early 1970s.⁹⁶ At a point when conservative Southern Democrats shared an agenda with Northern Republicans but were formally keeping their party surname, Waggoner became “more than any other, the man who [held] that coalition together.”⁹⁷ That was not lost on Nixon himself, who adopted Waggoner as a house ally amid the Watergate Scandal, during which Waggoner worked, and failed, to secure votes against the beleaguered president’s impeachment.⁹⁸ A 1975 *New York Times* piece on Waggoner wondered if his bridge building in Congress was a sign that “the South has rejoined the Union.”⁹⁹ The article argued that with Southern industry growing, racial tensions declining, and fewer Civil Rights bills coming through Congress, Waggoner and other Southern conservatives’ voting records were looking more like moderate national ones.¹⁰⁰ But given the Council’s history, it seems equally likely that Waggoner’s alliance building was less of a moderating force than a sign that Council ideology and mainstream conservatism were finally becoming compatible.

In the 1970s, articles of *The Citizen* began to suggest a thaw between the Council and the federal government it long despised. In the January 1972 issue, it applauded its oldest enemy, the Supreme Court, for the *Green v. Connolly* decision upholding the

⁹³ Haney-Lopez, *Dog Whistle Politics*, 26.

⁹⁴ Haney-Lopez, *Dog Whistle Politics*, 26.

⁹⁵ The South Louisiana Citizens’ Council Inc., “Agnew in New Orleans to Condition Southerners to Accept Mixing,” *The Citizens’ Report*, October 1970, 1.

⁹⁶ Roy Reed, “House Veterans Readjust to Liberal Trend in the South,” *New York Times*, February 25, 1975, 70.

⁹⁷ Reed, “House Veterans Readjust,” 70.

⁹⁸ Joe D. Waggoner Phone Call with Richard Nixon, “The White House Tapes: Conversation 166-004,” May 13, 1973, Richard Nixon Presidential Museum and Library.

⁹⁹ Reed, “House Veterans Readjust,” 37.

¹⁰⁰ Reed, “House Veterans Readjust,” 37.

constitutionality of white private schools.¹⁰¹ It also began platforming federal actors like J. Edgar Hoover, printing a speech in which “Mr. Law & Order” denounced the Warren Court’s expansions of defendants’ rights, calling them more concerned with “the plight of the criminal” than that of “innocent victims and society.”¹⁰² That optimism was detectable through the end of the decade. Assessing the 1978 midterms, longtime Council affiliate Medford Evans wrote that Senator Jesse Helms’ winning a second term proved grassroots conservative fundraising was an ardent force, that the liberal Senator Dick Clark’s loss to conservative businessman Roger Jepsen created an important vacancy on the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and that Minnesota conservatives flipping two senate seats and a Governor’s office meant that “heirs of Hubert Humphrey’s midcontinent socialism [were falling] like ripe grain before a combine.”¹⁰³ Together, these events suggested to Evans that “voters everywhere care less and less about parties... What they want is Americanism, morality, capability, and independence of spirit.”¹⁰⁴ Enter Ronald Reagan.

Until January 1981 the Council had never endorsed a sitting president. That changed when *The Citizen* ran a full issue on the incoming administration entitled “Ready for Action! Reagan and Bush.”¹⁰⁵ Inside, the articles fawned over Reagan’s election as “almost too good to be true.”¹⁰⁶ They celebrated campaign planks like welfare cuts for the able and immigrants, social security expansion for the supposedly more deserving, fewer government regulations, an end to forced busing, and a promise to fill the judiciary with decentralization-minded judges who would give autonomy back to the states.¹⁰⁷ In Reagan’s promises and connections to Moral Majority icons like Reverend Jerry Falwell, the Council saw a potential “rebirth of the American spirit of independence and rugged individualism.”¹⁰⁸ To put a finer point in it, they heard what Reagan was not saying directly.

Launched in their home state of Mississippi, Reagan’s 1980 campaign spoke in Council language. He denounced the “Chicago welfare queen” with a “Cadillac” and a “tax free income...over \$150,000” for whom hard-working, implicitly white, taxpayers paid the bill.¹⁰⁹ Highlighting Reagan’s internalized racism all the more was his political ascendancy in California in the 1960s, during which he supported Proposition 13, opposed welfare, and made a name for himself as a law-and-order governor.¹¹⁰ More damning still was the infamous 1981 Lee Atwater tape, in which Reagan’s own campaign operative described their strategy as such: “By 1968 you can’t say n****r – that hurts you. Backfires. So you say stuff like forced busing, states’ rights and all that stuff. You’re getting so abstract now, you’re talking about cutting taxes...totally economic things and a byproduct of them is, blacks get

¹⁰¹ Citizens’ Councils of America, “The Court Has Spoken,” *The Citizen*, January 1972, 2.

¹⁰² J. Edgar Hoover, “Mr. Law & Order Speaks His Mind,” *The Citizen*, January 1972, 5-11.

¹⁰³ Medford Evans, “Outlook for ’79 Brighter in Election’s Afterglow,” *The Citizen*, January 1979, 12-14.

¹⁰⁴ Evans, “Outlook for ’79,” 14.

¹⁰⁵ Citizens’ Councils of America, *The Citizen*, January 1981, Front Cover.

¹⁰⁶ George W. Shannon, “Platform Meaningless? Not to Ronald Reagan,” *The Citizen*, January 1981, 4.

¹⁰⁷ Shannon, “Platform Meaningless?,” 5-6.

¹⁰⁸ Shannon, “Platform Meaningless?,” 4.

¹⁰⁹ Ronald Reagan in Haney-Lopez, *Dog Whistle Politics*, 58.

¹¹⁰ Haney-Lopez, *Dog Whistle Politics*, 58.

hurt worse than whites.”¹¹¹ None of that was lost on the Council because they helped create it. In Reagan, they saw a reflection of the organization itself – individualistic, contrarian, a devolution fetishist, and more racist in deed than word. They had spent nearly three decades turning racism into a nationally palatable thing, and by their calculation, it landed one of their own in the White House.

The Council closed its headquarters in Jackson in 1989, effectively ending a thirty-five-year run. While information as to exactly why is scarce, it is reasonable to infer that they felt their work was either done or dated. Two landslide victories for Reagan and a buckling Soviet Union might have given them a sense that bigger forces than publishing were carrying the movement. Even the Supreme Court seemed to be coming around. Now with four Reagan appointees, the Court issued numerous rollbacks to affirmative action in 1989, including an allowance for reverse-discrimination lawsuits and some limits on racial quotas in the job market.¹¹² Decades after their founding, the Council had finally, in some roundabout way, contributed to turning its arch enemy into another ally. As for the American people, the Council saw them in their social trends as having validated its message. When asked in 1979 if Americans had accepted a new racial order, Council founder Robert Patterson responded:

I don't believe that. If they do, why do they all live in suburbs, and why do they move out of the neighborhood when Negroes move in? And why do they send their children to private school? And why do they manipulate and move out to an area that doesn't have many negroes in it so they can send their child to a virtually all-white school?...They haven't accepted integration. They've run from it.¹¹³

Despite ending in name, the Council's mission, and some of its personnel, carried on. The Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC) formed in 1985 when CCA field director Gordon Baum looked at the Council's decline and moved to preserve what he could.¹¹⁴ Baum cobbled together a meeting in Atlanta that, among its thirty attendees, included Robert Patterson, former Georgia Governor Lester Maddox and John Rarick, a future Louisiana Congressman.¹¹⁵ The CCC was a continuation of the Citizens' Council complete with local chapters, national leadership, a newspaper, and a less-than-direct racist message. Early literature shows a list of grievances and goals similar to the Council's. They opposed gun control, non-white immigration, busing, welfare, and communism while supporting race-neutral conservative standards like fiscal responsibility and “a parents right to choose how their children should be educated.”¹¹⁶ They affiliated with what local Councils were

¹¹¹ Lee Atwater in Haney-Lopez, *Dog Whistle Politics*, 57.

¹¹² Joe Davidson, “Civil Rights Groups Turn to Congress to Overcome Recent High Court Rulings,” *Wall Street Journal*, July 14, 1989, 1.

¹¹³ Robert B. Patterson in Rolph, *Resisting Equality*, 241.

¹¹⁴ “Council of Conservative Citizens,” Extremist Files, Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed December 3, 2023.

¹¹⁵ “Council of Conservative Citizens,” Southern Poverty Law Center; “Council of Conservative Citizens,” Extremism in America, Anti-Defamation League, last modified 2005.

¹¹⁶ Council of Conservative Citizens Inc., “Council of Conservative Citizens Inc. (and affiliated Citizens' Councils),” (St. Louis: Council of Conservative Citizens), 1986, 1.

still active, using their mailing lists to increase membership, and eventually established themselves in as many as twenty states.¹¹⁷

By the 1990s, the new Council began arguing for a new conservative path. A CCC conference broadcast on C-Span in 1999 was illustrative of that vision and, in retrospect, thoroughly prescient. At the “Third Party Alternatives for Conservatives” summit, host Brent Nelson argued that “the Republican Party as presently constituted cannot endure into the twenty-first century.” To Nelson, the right had lost its way in the Clinton-era by pandering to racial minorities and losing touch with the blue-collar constituency that made it a powerhouse under Reagan. By going back to the campaigning basics Reagan perfected and speaking to “middle American support for reform,” the party could broaden its appeal more effectively than trying to win over voters long since won over by Democrats. Rather than bridge political divisions, the CCC was recommending the right ensure its survival in the next century by owning and exploiting them.¹¹⁸

Another panelist, former California Representative John Schmitz, saw populist opportunism and a changing mediascape as other ways this movement could be effective. Schmitz fielded audience questions about the futility in bringing hard-right conservatism back to the mainstream. To those, he offered a lesson on persistence he gleaned as an American Party candidate in the 1972 presidential race: “four counties of Idaho, I beat George McGovern...things didn’t [ultimately] work out...but you never know when they *will*, so you’ve gotta sort of be ready in case you can step into the breach.” When asked whether evolving media forms like twenty-four-hour news and conservative radio brightened electoral prospects for third parties, Schmitz looked into the cameras and said, “this may be as big a breakthrough as anything, being on C-SPAN for this meeting here.” Years before social media and hard-partisan news turned political divisions into the American milieu, the CCC recognized their antecedents as an advantage.¹¹⁹

Just like the Council, the CCC made powerful friends. The Anti-Defamation League has connected dozens of political commentators and politicians at every level to the organization, including senators, U.S. representatives, governors, *National Review* staff, and State Supreme Court justices. In 1999, Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott fell into a controversy over his longstanding relationship with the CCC, including a keynote speech at the group’s annual meeting in 1992. Amid the ensuing media storm, a bipartisan resolution was introduced in Congress to condemn the CCC. The resolution never saw a vote because, per the ADL, Republicans were reluctant to “accept what amounted to an indirect censure of their leadership.”¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Council of Conservative Citizens Inc., “Council of Conservative Citizens,” 1; “Council of Conservative Citizens,” Southern Poverty Law Center.

¹¹⁸ Brent Nelson, “Third Party Alternatives for Conservatives,” *C-Span*, July 10, 1999, 03:22.

¹¹⁹ John Schmitz, “Third Party Alternatives for Conservatives,” *C-Span*, July 10, 1999.

¹²⁰ “Council of Conservative Citizens,” Anti-Defamation League, 4-8.

Senator Lott was not the only mainstream politician to cozy up with the CCC. Former Republican national chair Haley Barbour spoke to the group as a gubernatorial candidate in Mississippi. Arkansas Governor Mike Huckabee, a Presidential candidate and father to Trump Press Secretary Sarah Sanders, did the same. In 2015, when it was discovered that Charleston massacre gunman Dylann Roof had been radicalized by CCC website articles inflating black on white crime statistics, its president Earl Holt III's political donations came to light as well. When the story broke, politicians like Ted Cruz, Scott Walker, Rand Paul, and Rick Santorum all announced they would be returning donations from Holt. All this amounts to the fact that, as much as in 1968, establishment Republicans in the twenty-first century still need to court the white supremacist bloc.¹²¹

Six decades after Robert Patterson founded the first Citizens' Council, the CCC was carrying their banner to the same dangerous effect. They built alliances with the Republican establishment, and when that establishment did not move as far or as fast to the right as they wished, they advocated for a third way. As they went that way, the establishment followed. What resulted was a line between conservatism and white supremacy so dim they became almost interchangeable. The statistics Dylann Roof cited in his manifesto were compiled by Kyle Rogers, a CCC leader in South Carolina who, incidentally, worked as an organizer for the South Carolina branch of the Tea Party – a “third party alternative,” indeed.

The Citizens' Council movement survived itself. It did so by toning its message down just enough to appear common-sensical and presentable on the national scale. It highjacked seemingly non-racial causes like property rights, individual liberty, and law and order and used them to latch on to a conservative movement that was not inherently racist but saw the benefit in accommodating it. Even when an end to segregation seemed to spell an end for the Council, they shifted their attention from lunch counters to national elections and hedged their bets on private schools. The dividends they saw in those arenas helped them live long enough to see a president they felt was one of their kind. Even when they did not have an ally in the White House, they and their successors seemed to always make the right move. Watching establishment conservatism falter with *enough of* the American public in 1968, and again at the turn of the century, they stepped into “the breach.”

Today, the Council's legacy is as obvious as it is not. When red state governors ship migrants to blue states and cities on false employment promises, the homage to the “Reverse Freedom Rides” of 1962 is screaming. But less clumsy and more insidious is the Council's lasting ability to influence Republican messaging. In 2012, political scientists Kevin Arceneaux and Stephen P. Nicholson sought to understand the origins of the Tea Party and its members' political tastes. They found that, like the Council, its members were largely whites of above average incomes seeking to inflame blue-collar racial anxieties.¹²² Eerily, their brand of conservative populism was cited as “an outgrowth of a tactical decision by conservative elites in the 1960s,” the same one the Council helped nudge those elites

¹²¹ Wines and Alvarez, “Council of Conservative Citizens Promotes.”

¹²² Kevin Arceneaux and Stephen P. Nicholson, “Who Wants to Have a Tea Party?: The Who, What, and Why of the Tea Party Movement, *PS: Political Science and Politics* 45, no. 4 (October 2012): 702.

toward.¹²³ Another study tracking whether the movement had “radicalized” the Republican Party compared the language candidates used in the 2008 and 2012 primary debates, finding that the median “anti-Washington” sentiment among candidates had moved in both a “drastic and statistically significant” direction.¹²⁴ That is as close as this paper will get to current American politics, but suffice to say the Tea Party was no fluke. That was the Council’s main contribution. The Republican Party simply cannot dispense of the racist vote.

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¹²³ Arceneaux and Nicholson, “Who Wants to Have a Tea Party?,” 701.

¹²⁴ Turaj Medzihorsky, Levente Littvay, and Erin K. Jenne, “Has the Tea Party Era Radicalized the Republican Party?: Evidence From the Text Analysis of the 2008 and 2012 Republican Primary Debates,” *PS: Political Science and Politics* 47, no. 4 (October 2014): 808-810.

War Games: Weaponizing the Olympic Games

Maggie Broderick

Abstract: Although the initial goals of the modern Olympic Games were to generate international peace through athletic competition, the Olympics during the Cold War period were marked by tension, disaster, and nationalistic propaganda as the US and the USSR battled for political and cultural dominance. No Olympic Games demonstrate this weaponization and the changing nature of US nationalism, more effectively than the 1984 Los Angeles Games and the 1996 Atlanta Games. Through careful analysis of primary source documents, such as newspapers and Olympic charters, this article aims to prove that even though the 1984 Games were appropriated to a greater extent to purport American power during the Cold War, it is the 1996 Games in Atlanta that had a more successful impact.

The Cold War, a generation-defining conflict between the USSR and US, left an incredible mark on all areas of international cooperation and interaction, but especially on the Olympic Games. Since before World War II, with Berlin's Olympic Games in 1936, countries were appropriating the Games for political gain and national prestige. This tradition was exacerbated through the second half of the century as the Cold War intensified. Once the USSR began competing in 1952 and became the main "opponent" of the United States, the Games became an intense battleground for the two powers to fight for cultural and political dominance. When Robert Kennedy was Attorney General for the United States, he believed that "in this day of international stalemates, nations use the scoreboard of sports as a visible measuring stick to prove their superiority over the 'soft and decadent' democratic way of life. It is thus in our national interest that we regain our Olympic superiority."¹ This statement speaks to the appropriation of the Games as a stage for the Cold War, especially as an important strategy to the United States. No Olympic Games demonstrate this weaponization more effectively than the 1984 Los Angeles Games and the 1996 Atlanta Games. The changing nature of US nationalism before and after the end of the Cold War can be examined through the 1984 and 1996 Olympic Games, and even though the 1984 Games were appropriated to a greater extent to purport American power, it is the 1996 Games that had a more successful impact.

When Baron Pierre de Coubertin first conceived the modern Olympic Games in 1892, he intended them to be a solution to the political failures in the world. With the world developing and industrializing rapidly, he wanted to create a unifying organization that could connect nations from around the globe and promote goodwill and camaraderie.² The emphasis would be on athletic talent, but he was hoping the "democratic and inter-

¹ Robert Kennedy, "A Bold Proposal for American Sport," *Sports Illustrated*, July 27, 1964, Sports Illustrated Vault.

² Baron Pierre de Coubertin, "Olympic Manifesto," November 1892, LA 84 Foundation, transcript in the International Olympic Committee's "Restoring the Olympic Games," 44.

national” exhibitions would lend themselves to generating and maintaining peace between nations and boldly imagined that his games could balance between competition and cooperation to end war.³ While this idyllic goal has yet to be achieved, war and current political affairs certainly play a major role in the modern Olympic Games. In the Olympic Charter, first published in 1908 by de Coubertin, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) outlined their intent to keep the games apolitical.⁴ To modern members of the committee, the Games should exist above any international conflicts and should not be used as a stage for political commentary or protests. Rule 50, section 2 of the charter outlines that it is expressly illegal for any athlete or attendee to participate in any “kind of demonstration or political, religious or racial propaganda” in official Olympic venues.⁵ Regardless of the IOC’s best efforts and oversight, nations have been unable to detach the games from their inherent connection to politics. The games are an incredible opportunity for host cities to demonstrate or purport dominance in the international community. They have become, as George Orwell wrote in an opinion piece for *Tribune*, “war minus the shooting,” especially in relation to the Cold War.⁶

While exploitation of the Games came to a head during the 1984 Games, the strategy emerged in the early stages of the Cold War conflict. Support for this new frontier of the conflict went all the way to the Oval Office. Robert Kennedy, Attorney General and brother to President Kennedy, was a staunch supporter of the Olympic Games as a weapon for US ideals during the Cold War. In his opinion piece for a 1964 edition of *Sports Illustrated*, he argued that, “part of a nation’s prestige in the Cold War is won in the Olympic Games,” and conceded that though it was not the determinant factor of the conflict, “a nation’s standing in international athletics [...] affects the reputation of its society and culture.”⁷ This opinion grew out of prevailing fears of Soviet dominance in the 1950s and 1960s. Though appropriation was not a new tactic, it began growing to unprecedented levels once the Soviet Union began competing in 1952.

US officials were cognizant and fearful that the Soviet Union could weaponize the Games for communist purposes. *US News and World Report* addressed these concerns in a paranoid publication in 1956. Ignorant of the double standard they were upholding, the paper condemned the Soviet Union’s attempt to “turn their athletic victories into powerful propaganda” at the Olympic Games.⁸ The Soviets’ preparation and governmental support was likened to a war effort where training camps resembled military posts and athletes were awarded ranks like soldiers.⁹ Paying no mind to the intensive efforts by the United States to co-opt the Olympics, the Soviets were viewed by the publication as villainous for

³ De Coubertin, “Olympic Manifesto,” 44.

⁴ International Olympic Committee, *Olympic Charter*, August 8, 2021, 94.

⁵ Olympic Charter, 2021, 94.

⁶ George Orwell, “The Sporting Spirit,” *Tribune*, December 14, 1945, The Orwell Foundation.

⁷ Kennedy, “A Bold Proposal for American Sport.”

⁸ “If Russia Wins Olympic Games: Red Athletes Will Become Bigger Weapon in Cold War,” *US News and World Report* 40, no 6, (February 1956): 35.

⁹ “If Russia Wins Olympic Games,” 35.

their attempt to use the Games for their unintended purpose. In retaliation to this fear, the United States turned the petty rivalry into a new battlefield and began transforming the ever present and inescapable display of nationalism and propaganda at the Olympics into a “rapid display of national chauvinism.”¹⁰

This rivalry in a seemingly low stakes event began to dominate international relations discussions. The dichotomy of communism versus capitalism, east versus west, free versus unfree became a central storyline of Olympic matchups and hosting disputes, even overshadowing the athletic feats themselves. “Medal counts and issues such as which flags and anthems were used became fraught with political ramifications” and could pull independent competitors into the conflict’s spotlight.¹¹ Every time an American athlete won, especially against an athlete from a communist country, it was celebrated as a national achievement that signified the efficacy of American values and systems.¹² But if an American athlete lost, especially to (God forbid) a communist athlete, there was widespread agony “over the national flaws defeats were supposed to have revealed.”¹³ While this association and undertone of the Games had always existed, the contentious divisions between the superpowers of this period transformed the Games into something akin to the United Nations. It destroyed any conception that the Olympics were about individuals and the athletes. Although the IOC still tries to fight the politicization of the modern Games, “they are contests between national teams, chosen by their federations and sent to the Games by their National Olympic Committees [...] marching behind their national flags,” which is the purest exhibition of nationalism.¹⁴

The federal government, large-scale institutions, and organizations like the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee (LAOOC) had a vested interest in turning the Games into propaganda for the ideals and culture of the US. To continue Cold War efforts against communist countries and ideologies, the United States and the LAOOC had to refresh and renew the differences between the US and the USSR. More so, the Soviet Union had already begun its decline when the 1984 Olympic Games were held. Within the next year, Gorbachev would kickstart Perestroika and Glasnost, two dramatic reform systems that tried to revive the ailing state.¹⁵ While they did help, it opened the Soviet Union to ethnic and national divisions that further fractured the country and destroyed it.¹⁶ It did not help that at this point in the century the conflict had been ongoing for 40 years. This increased “chauvinistic” US nationalism because an end was in sight for the decades long

¹⁰ Mark Dyreson, “Prologue: Crafting Patriotism – America at the Olympic Games,” in *Crafting Patriotism for Global Dominance* (Routledge: Abingdon, 2009), 1.

¹¹ Barbara Keys, “The Early Cold War Olympics, 1952-1960: Political, Economic and Human Rights Dimensions,” in *The Palgrave Handbook of Olympic Studies*, ed. Helen Jefferson Lenskyj and Stephan Wagg (Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2012), 72.

¹² Keys, “The Early Cold War Olympics, 1952-1960,” 72.

¹³ Keys, “The Early Cold War Olympics, 1952-1960,” 72.

¹⁴ Christopher Hill, “The Olympics in the Third Millennium,” in *Olympic Politics: Athens to Atlanta, 1896-1996*, 2nd ed. (Manchester University Press: New York, 1996), 249.

¹⁵ Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism*, 2nd ed. (Polity Press: Cambridge, 2010), 130.

¹⁶ Smith, *Nationalism*, 130.

conflict, and it finally looked like the US was going to come out on top. Appropriation of the Olympics for national gain therefore reached a level unparalleled at the 1984 Games.

The 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games

When it came time for the IOC to choose the host city for the 1984 Games, there was almost no competition. In fact, the only other bid city at the start was Tehran, Iran, but they removed their bid when the Shah was deposed in 1979.¹⁷ That made Los Angeles the de facto host and gave them incredible bargaining power over the IOC because there was a fear that this would be the last Olympic Games.¹⁸ The Games leading up to 1984 had been marked by disaster and failure. Terrorists ruined the Munich 1972 Games, Montreal went into debt for 30 years after hosting in 1976, and 1980 was handicapped by widespread boycotts.¹⁹ Gone was de Coubertin's idealistic goal of the Games creating a utopia of inter-nationalism.²⁰ In order to continue the Games, the IOC gave the LAOOC carte blanche to guarantee the Games' success. The 1984 Games are remembered for a host of factors, but particularly because this lack of restraint let the LAOOC turn the Games into a masterclass of propaganda and appropriation for political gain; they were distinctly American, with a liberal-economic system, and profitable.

One of the defining features of the 1984 Games was the Soviet-bloc boycott. When the Soviet Union announced their decision on May 8th, 1984, the boycott was painted as a defensive measure for their athletes.²¹ The Soviet National Olympic Committee claimed that the "cavalier attitude of the US authorities to the Olympic charter" and "the gross flouting of the ideals and traditions of the Olympic movement" would destroy the modern Games and endanger the Soviet athletes.²² They expected their athletes to be victims of both harassment and indoctrination of western ideals.²³ This was political posturing by the Soviet leadership. While there are some grounds to their claim, the Soviet-bloc boycotted the 1984 Games out of petty retaliation for the US-led boycott in 1980 when Moscow was hosting. Before the 1984 Games were held, the boycott was seen as a major failure.

Since most US nationalism and propaganda was directed against the Soviet Union, having no direct target could have decreased American spirit. Not only were they political and ideological rivals, but they were the main competitor in medal counts.²⁴ Additionally, the Soviet Union accounted for a huge portion of the television viewership and losing

¹⁷ L. Jon Wertheim, "How the L.A. '84 Olympics Changed Everything," *Sports Illustrated*, June 3, 2021.

¹⁸ Wertheim, "How the L.A. '84 Olympics Changed Everything."

¹⁹ Wertheim, "How the L.A. '84 Olympics Changed Everything."

²⁰ Rick Gruneau and Robert Neubauer, "A Gold Medal for the Market: The 1984 Los Angeles Olympics, the Reagan Era, and the Politics of Neoliberalism," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Olympic Studies*, ed. Helen Jefferson Lenskyj and Stephan Wagg (Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2012), 139.

²¹ "Russians won't attend Games," *La Crosse Tribune*, May 8, 1984, LA84 Foundation.

²² "Russians won't attend Games," *La Crosse Tribune*.

²³ "Russians won't attend Games," *La Crosse Tribune*.

²⁴ Gruneau and Neubauer, "A Gold Medal for the Market," 148.

that audience could have sunk the LAAOC into debt.²⁵ In an interview with the LA84 Foundation, the track and field commissioner of the 1984 Games, H.D. Thoreau, spoke of the omni-present anxiety that the boycott caused. When “the Soviet Union and four of the other East Bloc countries didn’t show up, after telling us for a couple of years that they were coming [...] that was a disappointment.”²⁶ Despite how negative the US was about the boycott at the start, it ended up being a major success of the Games.

With the Soviet Union absent, the United States was given free rein on nationalism and pro-West sentiment. There was no opposition to complain about the rampant capitalism of the Games or the sheer number of US flags and paraphernalia. Plus, the Games ended up being a huge financial success. Even without the Soviet market, the US recouped and made *more* money. Without its main competitor, the US was now sweeping the medal counts and dominating many of the races and matches.²⁷ H.D. Thoreau celebrated the fact that “the number of athletes – individuals – was going to be the highest ever. And the ticket sales were going like crazy,” in spite of the missing Soviets.²⁸ When the final checks and bills came in, the LAAOC had not only completely covered the cost of the 1984 Games, but it managed to make a 220 million dollar profit.²⁹ In overcoming the Soviet boycott and doubling down on American spirit and economic ideals, the 1984 Games started to reinstate the power and prestige of the Olympic Games.

When Peter Ueberroth began planning the 1984 Games, he had a hefty budget of \$500 million, but he would have to support the Games in their entirety without government funding.³⁰ Reaganomics had destroyed California. The neoliberal economic policies that defined President Reagan’s political career as President and Governor of California sent Los Angeles into a deficit, and they were not willing to spend hundreds of millions of dollars on hosting the Olympics that many people believed to be doomed.³¹ In attempts to turn the 1984 Olympics into a political campaign for his reelection, President Reagan championed the “new patriotism spreading across our country. It’s an affection for our way of life [...] an attitude toward those things that are fundamental to America,” that he claimed to see in the capitalistic turn of the Games.³² He was taking credit for the Games’ monetary success when they survived *in spite of* his policies. Despite this ominous foundation for the Games, doomed to fail and fall into debt, Ueberroth grabbed onto the bargaining power over the IOC as the only bid-city and built the first privately funded Olympics which turned the LAAOC into a capitalistic entity.³³ The Games were built around private-public partner-

²⁵ Gruneau and Neubauer, “A Gold Medal for the Market,” 148.

²⁶ H.D. Thoreau, “An Oral History: H.D. Thoreau, Co-Commissioner: Track & Field 1984 Olympic Games Organizing Committee,” interview by Doctor Margaret Costa, *LA84 Foundation*, 1994, 29.

²⁷ Gruneau and Neubauer, “A Gold Medal for the Market,” 148.

²⁸ H.D. Thoreau, interview, 29.

²⁹ Gruneau and Neubauer, “A Gold Medal for the Market,” 148.

³⁰ Gruneau and Neubauer, “A Gold Medal for the Market,” 147.

³¹ Gruneau and Neubauer, “A Gold Medal for the Market,” 147.

³² Ronald Reagan, “Remarks to Athletes, Olympic Village” (speech, Los Angeles, July 28, 1984), National Archives.

³³ Gruneau and Neubauer, “A Gold Medal for the Market,” 134.

ships and corporate sponsorships for the first time in the history of the Olympics.³⁴ In coverage for the LA84 Games, a journalist at the *New York Times* noted that these Games “might have bewildered the Olympians of ancient Greece: an Olympiad produced by private enterprise,” which speaks to the ingenuity and departure from Olympic tradition.³⁵

To cut costs and make a profit, Peter Ueberroth and the LAOOC had to come up with creative, capitalistic solutions. One of which was to avoid the classic host city debt by relying on existing facilities and stadiums for Olympic events and competitions.³⁶ This was more successful in Los Angeles than other cities because it had been a hub of postwar investment and the home of many universities that provided vital housing and training facilities for the athletes.³⁷ It also contributed to the nationalistic patriotism that surrounded the Games because universities come with their own pride and competitive energy.

Competition between companies in the US for broadcasting rights from the IOC was another way that the LAOOC turned a profit for the Games.³⁸ In fact, this concept provided for most of the funding of the Games. Through supply and demand tactics, Ueberroth forced various sectors to compete against each other for a limited quantity of corporate sponsorships.³⁹ The number of corporate sponsors was dramatically reduced to thirty, but the bottom level donation was increased dramatically to at least \$4 million.⁴⁰ Not only was this change instrumental in making a profit and helping the Games succeed, but it also helped boost the weaponization of the Olympics to demonstrate US power. While fewer companies gained the rights to broadcast the competitions and opening ceremonies, the remaining companies were given more access and less restraint. Coverage of the Games “combined pageantry and excitement with powerful romantic images of universalism and [...] the prospect of athletic competition between the capitalist West and Communist countries” and advanced US ideals through pictures, music, and storylines.⁴¹ Ueberroth reported fielding hundreds of complaints that “the Games seemed too pro-American,” but he took it in stride.⁴² He refuted criticism by attributing the “focus on the home team by ABC” as an accidental impact due to the fact that the US had won more medals and therefore received justifiable dominating coverage.⁴³ By the end of the 16 days, some journalists were hailing it as possibly the, “most flawless Olympiad in modern times.”⁴⁴

Peter Ueberroth, for his efforts in orchestrating the successful capitalist takeover of

³⁴ Gruneau and Neubauer, “A Gold Medal for the Market,” 134.

³⁵ Robert Lindsay, “Private Funds Grow for ‘84 Olympics on Coast,” *New York Times*, December 11, 1982.

³⁶ Lindsay, “Private Funds Grow for ‘84 Olympics on Coast.”

³⁷ Lindsay, “Private Funds Grow for ‘84 Olympics on the Coast.”

³⁸ Gruneau and Neubauer, “A Gold Medal for the Market,” 138.

³⁹ Gruneau and Neubauer, “A Gold Medal for the Market,” 147.

⁴⁰ Gruneau and Neubauer, “A Gold Medal for the Market,” 147.

⁴¹ Gruneau and Neubauer, “A Gold Medal for the Market,” 137.

⁴² Lois Romano, “Grand Master of the Games: Peter Ueberroth, Taking Olympic Hurdles in Stride,” *Washington Post*, August 11, 1984.

⁴³ Romano, “Grand Master of the Games.”

⁴⁴ Romano, “Grand Master of the Games.”

the Games, was declared the TIME Magazine Man of the Year in 1984.⁴⁵ As corporate CEO and not a government bureaucrat, his underdog story represented the American dream and American ideals at the time.⁴⁶ LA84 defied the odds by continuing the Games and, in Ueberroth's own words, "rekindled patriotism."⁴⁷ US nationalism at the Games was palpable in overt and covert ways. Despite not having a strawman in the Soviet Union to direct attacks at, American ideals were perpetuated throughout the Games, especially through Ueberroth's leadership in the LAOOC. In overcoming Reaganomics to produce a contradictory neoliberal Games, the LA84 Olympics became one of the few Games to make a profit. As host at the end of the Cold War, "the Games were enveloped by an aura of unmistakable optimism, mixed with a powerful sense of pride in Yankee ingenuity" that helped push the US through the final decade of the conflict.⁴⁸

The Interim

The fact that the US hosted the Games twice within twelve years provides an excellent control variable for comparisons between the two, but that does not diminish the multitude of changes that occurred before the 1996 Games that affected both international affairs and the Olympic Games. On a global politics scale, the USSR collapsed in between the two US-hosted Games. In his farewell address Mikhail Gorbachev admitted to many of the shortcomings of the Soviet Union and communist ideology. He saw himself as "doomed to serve ideology" in a totalitarian government that "deprived the country of the opportunity to become prosperous and flourishing."⁴⁹ This concession of mistakes gave immense power to the United States. In not only dissolving the Soviet Union but admitting defeat and inferiority of ideology, this inflated the ego of the US. The United States viewed the end of the Cold War as a victory against the ideals they had been fighting against for decades which confirmed their superiority complex. With Russia on a shaky foundation and partitioned into 15 sovereign states, the US suddenly became not just the only superpower nation, but the only superpower in the Olympic Games. That was exacerbated by the decisions in 1991 to allow professionalism in the Games.

When de Coubertin originally drafted the modern Olympic Games, it was intended to be for amateur athletes and that expectation, both implicitly and explicitly, continued throughout the first 96 years. In the 1985 Olympic Charter, which was largely the same as the one during the LA84 Games, bylaw 26 stated that to be eligible for the Games, the athlete must "not have received any financial rewards or material benefit in connection with his or her sports participation."⁵⁰ Because of this clause, a lot of Olympic athletes were collegiate athletes or individuals who worked on the sport in their free time between

⁴⁵ Robert Ajemian, "Master of the Games: Peter Ueberroth," *TIME*, January 7, 1985.

⁴⁶ Romano, "Grand Master of the Games."

⁴⁷ Romano, "Grand Master of the Games."

⁴⁸ Gruneau and Neubauer, "A Gold Medal for the Market," 148.

⁴⁹ Mikhail Gorbachev, "Resignation" (speech, Broadcast on Central Television, December 25, 1991), Soviet History at Michigan State University.

⁵⁰ International Olympic Committee, *Olympic Charter*, 1985, 18.

jobs. Professionalism was ushered in gradually, but by 1991 it was the norm. The new and updated Olympic Charter of 1991 stated in bylaw 45 that “the entry or participation of a competitor in the Olympic Games shall not be conditional on any financial consideration.”⁵¹ Professional consideration was left up to the discretion of each sport’s International Federation, but it opened the door to the hundreds of professional athletes in the US.⁵² While every country competing in the Olympics after 1991 likely had at least one professional athlete who could now compete on behalf of the country, the US began to dominate medal counts at an even higher level than before. Famously, the 1992 Olympic Games saw the participation of the basketball “Dream Team” with Michael Jordan and Magic Johnson, among other NBA hall-of-famers, that won their debut game against Angola by 68 points.⁵³ This change led the American people to root more heartily for the athletes because they were now household legends instead of the previous college students. This transformation to the political landscape, and to the Olympics themselves, had a profound impact on the 1996 Atlanta Games.

The 1996 Atlanta Olympic Games

Before the Games were even held, they were controversial. They were marred by poor city organizing, little preparation, and political and financial debates.⁵⁴ More so, hosting the centennial Games was a major honor that was expected to go to Greece, the home country of the ancient Olympics, but the US outbid the country with support from Coca-Cola (whose headquarters were coincidentally in Atlanta).⁵⁵ Greece’s culture minister, Melina Mercouri, argued that “Coca-Cola won over the Parthenon” and mourned the loss of the modern Olympics to the whims of capitalism. That was only the start of the troubles at the Games which led them to be viewed unfavorably by contemporary scholars.

The Atlanta Games are remembered infamously for the terrorist bombing on July 27th that killed two individuals and injured over a hundred. In his address to the public, President Clinton called the bombing an “evil act of terror” and contrasted the “cowardice of the act to the courage of the Olympic athletes.”⁵⁶ The attack, which led to a five-year manhunt for the bomber, was further condemned by Clinton as “directed at the spirit of our democracy [...] We must not let these attacks stop us from going forward. We cannot let terror win. That is not the American way,” which is textbook nationalist rhetoric.⁵⁷ In relating the attack at the Olympics to anti-American and antidemocratic sentiment, Clinton reasserted US nationalism at the increasingly unpopular Games. While the attack was an

⁵¹ International Olympic Committee, *Olympic Charter*, 1991, 44.

⁵² International Olympic Committee, *Olympic Charter*, 1991, 44.

⁵³ Mark Heisler, “Barcelona ‘92 Olympics: Barkley Spoils His Best Shots by Taking the Worst One of All,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 27, 1992.

⁵⁴ Hill, “The Olympics in the Third Millennium,” 242.

⁵⁵ John Karamichas, “A Source of Crisis?: Assessing Athens 2004,” in *The Palgrave Handbook of Olympic Studies*, ed. Helen Jefferson Lenskyj and Stephan Wagg (Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2012), 165.

⁵⁶ John H. Cushman Jr., “Bomb at the Olympics: The Response,” *New York Times*, July 28, 1996.

⁵⁷ Cushman, “Bomb at the Olympics.”

obvious tragedy, it ended up transforming the Games and the public perception of them.

While the Games were universally hated before the bombing, it created a catalyst that changed opinions and public perception towards something more positive. In a piece for the *Washington Post*, one journalist declared that the “two deaths early Saturday morning only tightened the sense of solidarity among those who were here” and found that the street life was full of international camaraderie.⁵⁸ To the journalist, “it was almost impossible to figure out who was American and who was not,” and they all united in their grief and in the determination to turn the Games into something beyond the tragedy.⁵⁹ This act, while universal and a common reaction to catastrophes, is a distinctly American value, especially since it was a reaction against something aimed to incite fear in the American people and institution. The response by the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games (ACOG), the government, and the people were to commit to supporting the Games. However, this was hardly the only controversial aspect of the Atlanta Games.

While the level of corporatization and privatization at the LA84 Games had been tasteful and nuanced, it ran out of control at the 1996 Games in Atlanta. At the closing ceremony, it is customary for the IOC President to declare the Games as the “greatest in Olympic history,” and while that title is ceremonially given, it bears a lot of prestige and is a traditional show of respect.⁶⁰ IOC President Samaranch referred to the Games as “most exceptional,” a diplomatic insult that demonstrates the prevailing opinion of the Atlanta Games at the time.⁶¹ Journalists, athletes, and attendees all spoke on the gaudy level of commercialization in Atlanta. It was described as feeling like a “cheap carnival” by one attendee because of the overwhelming number of vendors and corporate sponsors.⁶² A reporter at SF Gate continued this imagery by commenting on the “corporate clutter and county-fair schlock” that marked the Games.⁶³ When the host city was chosen because of its sponsorship and ties to the Coca-Cola company, it set the Games down a commercialization path that only intensified.⁶⁴ One of the sports columnists for the *New York Times* described the scene as a “jumble of metal and stone [...] plastic and neon [...] and signs bearing the names of corporate sponsors, particularly Coca-Cola, the tooth-rotting dark sugar water.”⁶⁵ These comments cast an unfavorable lens on the Games as cheap and distanced from the Olympic traditions.

One of the worst examples of collateral damage from the Games’ commercialization is the erasure of lower-income neighborhoods to house the Games. When Los Angeles

⁵⁸ Thomas Boswell, “Beyond the Quest for Gold, Games have a Silver Lining,” *Washington Post*, August 5, 1996.

⁵⁹ Boswell, “Beyond the Quest for Gold.”

⁶⁰ S. Zebulon Baker, “Whatwuzit?: the 1996 Atlanta Summer Olympics Reconsidered,” *Southern Spaces*, March 21, 2006.

⁶¹ Baker, “Whatwuzit?”

⁶² Michelle Lacoss, “The Olympic Class: The Politics Behind the 1996 Atlanta Centennial Olympic Games,” (undergraduate diss., Georgia State University, 2010), 14.

⁶³ John Crumpacker, “At Last, Looking at Atlanta in the Rearview Mirror,” *SF Gate*, August 5, 1996.

⁶⁴ Karamichas, “A Source of Crisis?,” 165.

⁶⁵ George Vecsey, “Sports of the Times; Atlanta Sends Up the Balloons,” *New York Times*, July 14, 1996.

had hosted, it was easier to refurbish existing locations to suit the needs of the Games. The same was not true of Atlanta. The newly constructed Olympic village rested “on the former site of 114 low-income units of [...] the first public housing project in the nation.”⁶⁶ Theme parks for Coca-Cola, General Motors, and Anheuser Busch replaced a “low-income mixed-use area” that had been “three homeless shelters [...] one large single occupancy hotel, and day care centers” for the low-income neighborhood.⁶⁷ This had beyond detrimental effects to the community. The Atlanta residents who lived inside the “Olympic Circle” were predominantly black (35%) and already living in poverty.⁶⁸ After being forcefully relocated to areas further from the stadiums to create a facade that “Atlanta has no poor people,” many residents were arrested and jailed for being homeless.⁶⁹ Unfortunately, this campaign was successful and helped to paint the US as a prosperous superpower after the war, especially to outsider countries.

During the 1996 Games, a lot of the world was experiencing extreme difficulties. There were fourteen countries in Europe that were experiencing economic freedom from the Soviet Union for the first time in decades. Many countries in Africa were recovering from the decolonization movements that dominated the 1960s and 1970s. To those groups, and countless others, the extravagant excess of wealth and consumerism was enviable. After the Cold War, the United States, exhausted from the conflict, doubled down on American values and American spending. To the American people, this corporate waste was a continuation of the status quo. They were cheap, yes, but distinctly American. For outsiders, it was a representation of the benefits that liberalism, free-market trade, and democracy could bring to a population. And despite the negative impact on the urban population of Atlanta, the Games were successful in hiding the so-called “flaws” of poverty and homelessness in the Olympic Circle. Gentrification of those neighborhoods persists to this day, which perpetuates that misconception. To visiting tourists and athletes, it seemed like not only did America have excess money to spend on trivial things, but they did not have poor people. Despite the negative opinions during the Games, they can be viewed as success.

The appropriation of the Atlanta Olympics by the US was more successful than ever before, likely because the Games were imperfect. The bombing was a tragedy. The Los Angeles Games had inspired hope that a new era of Olympics could be hosted without any bombings or terrorism, but that was not the case. And while the bombing was devastating, it garnered sympathy for the Games and turned the tide of public opinion from negative to forgiving. Same goes for the commercialization. Journalists had a field day going after the “disposable Olympics,” but by the end, they were giving compliments to the Games, even if the compliments were begrudgingly given. Even though one reporter said he would “miss Atlanta like a boil on the butt,” he could not deny that “in a city with no charm, no grace

⁶⁶ Preston Quesenberry, “The Disposable Olympics Meets the City of Hope,” *Southern Changes* 18, no. 2 (1996), 7.

⁶⁷ Quesenberry, “The Disposable Olympics Meets the City of Hope,” 7.

⁶⁸ Hazel Blunden, “The Olympic Games and Housing,” in *The Palgrave Handbook of Olympic Studies*, ed. Helen Jefferson Lenskyj and Stephan Wagg (Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2012), 527.

⁶⁹ Blunden, “The Olympic Games and Housing,” 527.

and no ambiance, the Centennial Olympic Games were nevertheless marvelous.⁷⁰ Another journalist conceded that, “It’s almost impossible to ruin the Olympics. And Atlanta proved it,” and found that despite issues, it was, “an easy Olympics to forgive for its flaws.”⁷¹

Hindsight of the 1984 and 1996 Olympic Games

The 1984 Olympic Games were viewed as successful by contemporary and current scholars because of the fervent support and propaganda they received since they happened during “war time.” While not a war-time effort in the conventional sense, the widespread weaponization of the Games for leverage over the Soviet Union constitutes a war effort. What is noteworthy about the appropriation of the Games as a vehicle for US ideals in 1984, is that it was a forced nationalism from the top-down. President Reagan was campaigning for re-election on American values during the Games. In both his remarks to athletes on Opening Day and speeches made after the Games ended, Reagan tied the success of the Games to his presidency and the American beliefs of a liberal economy and strong democracy.⁷² LAOOC President Ueberroth also participated in this propaganda by having rampant corporatism at the Games and taking credit for “rekindling patriotism” through the Games.⁷³ Even lower ranking officials and employees like Track and Field Commissioner H.D. Thoreau knew the pressure behind these Games and upholding US ideals. He viewed these Olympics as the most important thing he had ever done.⁷⁴ While this top-down nationalism and forceful weaponization of the 1984 Olympics was effective, it is the lack of propaganda and nationalism from the bottom-up instead that made the 1996 Olympic Games a more successful appropriation of the Games.

Nationalism from below emphasizes the role of the ordinary people to produce and perpetuate national identity through flags, newspapers, talking about and supporting the country, and more.⁷⁵ While the government and Olympic Committees’ role is vital to nationalism at the Games, it is through the people that it really soars. When the bombing threatened to stop the Games and banish the modern iteration to history with the ancient Olympics, the attendees and athletes bonded together through the trauma and reinstated the power of the Games. Recovering from hardship and turning it into a positive is part of the American Dream. Even commercialization, initially viewed as a negative, “promoted the positive view of what can be achieved in a liberal economy” and was inspiring to recovering countries around the world.⁷⁶ When the 1984 Games promoted capitalism and corporatism, it fell on deaf ears. It was part of their propaganda and war-time rhetoric against the Soviet Union, and few countries were looking to accept a new market system. At the 1996 Games, however, many countries in the world were desperate to improve their

⁷⁰ John Crumpacker, “At Last, Looking at Atlanta in the Rearview Mirror,” *SF Gate*, August 5, 1996.

⁷¹ Thomas Boswell, “Beyond the Quest for Gold, Games have a Silver Lining,” *Washington Post*, August 5, 1996

⁷² Reagan, “Remarks to Athletes, Olympic Village.”

⁷³ Romano, “Grand Master of the Games.”

⁷⁴ Thoreau, interview, 29.

⁷⁵ Smith, *Nationalism*, 83.

⁷⁶ Ian Henry, “The Olympics: Why We Should Value Them,” in *The Palgrave Handbook of Olympic Studies*, ed. Helen Jefferson Lenskyj and Stephan Wagg (Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2012), 554.

postcommunist or postcolonization economy. Since the US was no longer fighting to prove capitalism against communism, the subdued propaganda for American ideals at the Atlanta Olympics was more palatable. When reporting on the international show of unity after the bombing, a journalist for the *Washington Post* noted that, “our cultural influence – for better and for worse – is so persuasive that, each day, the world becomes more like us,” which speaks to the efficacy of the US to appropriate the Olympic Games to spread their ideals and advance US goals.⁷⁷

Although the next Olympic Games will be held this summer in Paris, the US won the bid for the 2028 Games where Los Angeles will host for the third time. Already, these Games seem to be a continuation of the United States’ history of weaponizing the hosting ability for domestic and international gain. The Modern Games have solidly departed from de Coubertin’s founding goals of creating peace through friendly competition and cooperation. Instead, it seems as if they have exacerbated conflicts by putting countries in close contact with each other during times of war. When Los Angeles hosts in 2028, the traditional and largely symbolic truce will be called.⁷⁸

The “Olympic Truce” has already been called for the 2024 Paris Olympic Games and “optimistically calls for the cessation of violence worldwide during the weeks of the Olympic Games.”⁷⁹ The US has a history of ignoring the truce, as it did during the Afghanistan and Iraq wars, because it is non-binding. Other countries, namely Russia, do not abide by the truce either.⁸⁰ Since the truce is symbolic and cannot stop wars, countries will turn to propaganda and weaponizing the Games as a strategy to fight opposition. The United States is well-practiced at this tactic and will likely take the opportunity to continue the US tradition of Olympic Games appropriation. And even though the US is not hosting the 2024 Olympic Games, the coming Games present an interesting opportunity to study cooperation and competition between countries during wartime. As of now, the conflicts in Palestine and Ukraine will shape the 2024 Games. Despite IOC rules in the current iteration of the Olympic Charter, it is likely that athletes and spectators will demonstrate and protest in some way. Tensions between participating athletes are not at the levels of the Cold War (thankfully), but the Munich Massacre of Israeli athletes by Palestinian nationalists is a foreboding memory as we approach the 2024 and 2028 Games.

Few apolitical events can generate the level of nationalism and patriotism as the Olympic Games. Perhaps due to their inherent nature of international cooperation, their founding goal of solving war, or the role of host cities in appropriating the world stage to advance their own goals, the modern Olympics cannot divorce politicization. The Cold War Games were specifically fraught with tensions resulting from the superpower battle between the US and the Soviet Union. They became another arena for the two to compete

⁷⁷ Boswell, “Beyond the Quest for Gold.”

⁷⁸ Andrew Keh, “World Peace in 2024?” The Olympics Has a Plan but Not Much Hope,” *New York Times*, November 23, 2023.

⁷⁹ Keh, “World Peace in 2024?”

⁸⁰ Keh, “World Peace in 2024?”

and fight for dominance through “war minus the shooting.”⁸¹ Because of this ideological battle between capitalism and communism, the US weaponized their hosting capacity to use the Games as an efficacy test for American ideals and practices. During the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics, the LAOOC turned to private funding and capitalist principles to great commercial success. Despite the Soviet boycott, the 1984 Games were one of the few to make a profit. This was a key strategy and added artillery to the ideological war against the ailing USSR. By the time the next US Olympics came around, at the Atlanta 1996 Games, the Cold War had ended and America, with liberal economy and democratic ideals, was the de facto winner of the confrontation. Since these Games were not part of any war effort of purporting power, they were not appropriated to the same extent as the Los Angeles Games, which made it more effective. The identity that Atlanta displayed of America was authentic. The US was far from perfect, as it had claimed during the Cold War, but owned up to shortcomings and mistakes and grew from it. Though contentious among reporters, the Atlanta Games “celebrated our diversity and hospitality, our gaucherie and our generosity, our isolated lunatics and our general decency. The world saw our passion for excellence and our penchant for every excess” which was a genuine picture of American patriotism, not propaganda promoted during the 1984 Games.⁸²

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⁸¹ George Orwell, “The Sporting Spirit,” *Tribune*, December 14, 1945, The Orwell Foundation.

⁸² Boswell, *Beyond the Quest for Gold*.

Cold War Anti-Communism and the American Banana Business: Covert Action by the CIA in Guatemala, 1950-1954

Samuel Clark

Abstract: During the Truman and Eisenhower administrations, the CIA spearheaded covert operations which led to the ouster of the democratically elected president of Guatemala, Jacobo Árbenz, in the coup of 1954. Previous interpretations of the events have focused on just one reason or the other for the coup; the most recent analyses assert that the coup happened solely due to the lobbying of the American United Fruit Company or solely because of the United States' Cold War political strategy. However, based on the lengthy study of internal CIA documents themselves, I find that the intervention was pursued due to a complex, interrelated combination of American business interests abroad *and* Cold War politics. Further, this research assesses the effectiveness of the CIA's propaganda campaign against Árbenz, the American economic sanctions against Guatemala, and the paramilitary support for Árbenz's successor, Castillo de Armas.

The 1954 CIA-sponsored coup d'état in Guatemala, which ousted the democratically elected government of Jacobo Árbenz, was a defining moment in Guatemalan history. Not only did it mark the end of the Guatemalan Revolution, which began ten years prior in 1944, but it also ushered in an incredibly dark period of Guatemalan history. After the coup, Guatemala was marked by authoritarianism, military dictatorships, and a thirty-six-year-long civil war in which an estimated 200,000 Guatemalans either died or were forcibly "disappeared," and included a government-sponsored genocide of the indigenous Mayan peoples.¹ While the conflict ended in 1996 and Guatemala has transitioned back to representative democracy, the effects of the coup and the resulting conflict are still felt to this day.

Due to the strong reliance of Guatemala on the United States in the years following the coup (a situation that the CIA and White House anticipated and possibly even desired), the installed Guatemalan government ran up debts that remain outstanding and anti-American sentiment is tangible throughout the region. The coup most certainly would not have succeeded without the covert operation of the CIA which consisted of psychological (propaganda), economic, and paramilitary warfare campaigns against the Árbenz administration and its supporters. Reasons for the coup were twofold: first, United States industry sought to secure a more favorable, business friendly government to benefit the American-owned United Fruit Company; and second, the US government wanted to make it seem as though it was winning the ideological battle of the Cold War. Therefore, the United States was primarily responsible for the coup, which in turn impeded Guatemala's

¹ Roberto Garcia, "The CIA and Jacobo Arbenz: History of a Disinformation Campaign," *Journal of Third World Studies* 25, no. 2 (Fall 2008): 80.

political development and led to the immense loss of life that occurred during the civil war.

The questions of who was responsible for the coup, its ultimate success, and the reasons for CIA intervention are a matter of scholarly debate, which has resulted in an extensive historiography of the subject. The earliest historians, especially Americans of anticommunist persuasion, attributed both the cause of the coup and its eventual success to a largely organic and widely popular anticommunist movement, which they claim would have succeeded regardless of CIA intervention. However, this hypothesis has been debunked due to the declassification of CIA documents in 1997 that detailed the agency's primary role in the coup.

Later historians have debated the importance of the lobbying of the American-owned United Fruit Company, which operated banana plantations as well as key railroad lines, shipping and transportation, and communications infrastructure throughout Guatemala. To these historians, the coup occurred because the United Fruit Company had grown tired of the liberal policies of the Arévalo and Árbenz administrations (Arévalo was Árbenz's democratically elected predecessor). Such policies included collective bargaining rights and minimum wages for workers, stricter enforcement of tax laws, and most importantly Decree 900, which appropriated unused land to approximately half a million, mostly indigenous, impoverished Guatemalans. Of course, some of this reappropriated land was owned by the United Fruit Company, which would then be compensated with government bonds. While there is evidence that the United Fruit Company lobbied the Truman administration to intervene and install a more business friendly regime, there is rarely any mention of the company in the CIA documents themselves.

Thus, the coup, which was the result of a secret CIA campaign titled Operation PBSUCCESS, was launched as a proxy war of covert regime change in the larger context of the US-USSR Cold War. While the reasons for the CIA's intervention were not *entirely* due to the frustrations of the United Fruit Company, the company's frustrations initiated the agency's interest in a possible operation of intervention. And while the declassified CIA documents paint the picture of the coup being an attempt by the US to prevent the "domino theory" from causing Guatemala to become an epicenter of a communist Latin America, the interests of the United Fruit Company were undeniably intertwined with the anticommunist motive. In the planning and execution of Operation PBSUCCESS, the United States government sacrificed the supposedly cherished American ideals of democracy and self-determination in exchange for political points in the Cold War and a more business friendly Guatemalan government that would provide favorable conditions for American business interests. Reparations are certainly warranted, and until they are paid, anti-American sentiment in the region is entirely justified.

With nearly seventy years having passed since the completion of the coup, and nearly twenty-five since the long-delayed declassification of the CIA's Guatemala-related documents under the Freedom of Information Act, there has been a great deal of scholarly discourse regarding the subject. The coup's historiography is extensive, encompassing a

wide range of perspectives and theses regarding the reasons for the execution and ultimate success of PBSUCCESS. Generally, these theses can be divided into three basic camps, as defined by the historian Stephen Streeter.² First are the “realists,” the anticommunist authors who saw the coup as the result of a popular, widespread Guatemalan anticommunist movement. Next are “revisionists,” who saw the coup as primarily the result of lobbying by the United Fruit Company for a more business friendly Guatemalan government. Finally, there are the “post revisionists,” who calculate that United States mistook Árbenz’s populist, nationalistic policies for communist policies that would threaten American capitalist dominance in the Western Hemisphere.

Frederick Marks and the “realists” make several mistakes in their argument that the coup was primarily the result of a mass anticommunist movement in Guatemala and thus would have succeeded eventually with or without the help of the CIA. The first mistake has to do with his sources, although this is partially a product of the time in which the thesis was written, about ten years prior to the full release of the CIA’s Guatemala documents. With the benefit of the CIA’s interagency communications, it becomes clear that the anticommunists in Guatemala were not even close to being capable of executing a regime change; per the CIA’s own historian, Nick Cullather, “One of the Guatemalan announcers explained that the target audience was mixed. ‘Two percent are hardcore Marxists; 13 percent are officials and others in sympathy with the Arbenz regime [...] Two percent are militant anti-Communists, some of them in exile.’”³ In a country of around three million people, it is almost impossible to imagine such a small anticommunist minority being able to execute a full-scale regime change, especially with many of them being in exile.

But even without the benefit of the declassified CIA documents, Marks and the “realist” theses fall short in several other ways. Marks’ sources were questionable, and he failed to consider opposing perspectives. Specifically, Marks and his “realist” argument depended on CIA-funded reports, depictions of battle that came from the “Voice of the Liberation” radio station, and even a Guatemalan government source which claimed there was no U.S. funding or support whatsoever.⁴ Given that the “Voice of the Liberation” radio program (*Voz de La Liberación*) was a creation of the CIA in its propaganda campaign linked to Operation PBSUCCESS, it becomes hard to take Marks’s sources, and by extension his argument, seriously. To cast doubt upon Árbenz’s popularity within Guatemala, Marks also argues that Árbenz’s 1950 election, in which he won with around sixty percent of the vote, was rigged.⁵ Not only was there no evidence that this was true, but the post-coup “election” of 1954 saw the anticommunist, American-installed strongman Castillo

² Stephen Streeter, “Interpreting the 1954 U.S. Intervention in Guatemala: Realist, Revisionist, and Postrevisionist Perspectives,” *The History Teacher* 34, no. 1 (November 2000): 61-62.

³ Nick Cullather, *Secret History: The CIA’s Classified Account of Its Operations in Guatemala* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 76.

⁴ Stephen Rabe, “The Clues Didn’t Check Out: Commentary on ‘The CIA and Castillo Armas,’” *Diplomatic History* 14, no. 1 (Winter 1990): 90.

⁵ Frederick Marks, “The CIA and Castillo Armas, 1954: New Clues to an Old Puzzle,” *Diplomatic History* 14, no. 1 (Winter 1990): 74.

Armas win with ninety-nine percent of the vote.

Finally, Marks and the realists argue that Guatemalan anticommunists mobilized because the country was becoming a Soviet satellite state, but there is simply no evidence to support this claim, and in fact there is evidence to the contrary. Indeed, while Guatemalan communists did seek guidance and advice from the Soviets, the Soviets were completely uninterested in providing such guidance.⁶ So if the realists are correct and the coup was a reaction to the Sovietization of Guatemala, why does no evidence exist of Soviet-Guatemalan cooperation? In 1951, the Truman administration acknowledged that in United Nations matters, Guatemala “generally favors the US, not the Soviets. Per Rabe, “On 11 May 1954, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles told the Brazilian ambassador ‘that it will be impossible to produce evidence clearly tying the Guatemalan government to Moscow; that decision must be a political one and based on our deep conviction that such a tie must exist.’”⁷ Even John Dulles, the Secretary of State and brother of Allen Dulles (the CIA director at the time of the coup), admitted that finding Guatemala-Moscow would be impossible. Clearly any “popular” anticommunist movement would struggle to inspire a following, given that no clear evidence of communist infiltration of the Guatemalan government nor clear ties to the Soviets ever existed.

The “revisionists” and the “postrevisionists” are closer to hitting the mark, but neither camp sufficiently acknowledges the interconnectedness of each other’s perspectives. While there is some truth to Schlesinger’s revisionist argument that the coup was a case of economic imperialism by which United Fruit successfully lobbied the State Department and CIA to get into the business of Guatemalan regime change, Schlesinger fails to note that the declassified CIA documents rarely mention the United Fruit Company or that the documents repeatedly cite Cold War anticommunist ideology as justification for the coup.⁸ While Schlesinger is correct that United Fruit lobbied the Truman administration after the passage of Guatemalan labor laws that allegedly discriminated against the company, the Truman administration took years to authorize covert action and finally did so in part because it was influenced by the company’s ideological press campaign against the supposed threat of communism in Guatemala.

Meanwhile, “postrevisionists” like Richard Immerman, who argues the coup was the result of American Cold War ideology whereby American leaders confused Árbenz’s nationalist leanings for communism, fail to consider the way United Fruit’s lobbying of the Truman administration directed the attention of American politicians to the issue of communist influence in Guatemala.⁹ That is, the CIA would not have launched the operation if not for the difficulties of American companies like United Fruit under Arévalo and Árbenz. But conversely, United Fruit would not have taken such issue with Árbenz’s nationalistic,

⁶ Streeter, “Interpreting the 1954 U.S. Intervention in Guatemala,” 70.

⁷ Rabe, “The Clues Didn’t Check Out,” 89.

⁸ Stephen Schlesinger, *Bitter Fruit: The Story of an American Coup in Guatemala* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005): 42.

⁹ Richard Immerman, “Guatemala as Cold War History,” *Political Science Quarterly* 95, no. 4 (Winter 1981): 629-35.

populistic, liberal policies if not for the deeply entrenched American Cold War ideals of free market capitalism. One cannot exist without the other. United Fruit's oppositions to Árbenz's policies were magnified by Cold War ideology, and American Cold War ideology was used to justify the intervention, which undoubtedly benefited United Fruit's business operations in Guatemala.

Principally, the Guatemalan coup was motivated by US ideological interests in the region. While there was some evidence of direct lobbying of the Truman administration by the United Fruit Company, there is almost no direct mention of the company in the extensive collection of the CIA's Guatemala documents. Official reasons for intervention nearly always reflected an ideologically anticommunist leaning that sought to prevent the domino theory in Latin America. In a "project outline" document from July 1950, which outlined the reasons and tactics for a potential covert operation titled PBFORTUNE (this was the precursor to PBSUCCESS abandoned under Truman), an unknown author states, "In view of the rapid growth of Communist activity in Guatemala and the probability that Guatemala may become the central point for the dissemination of anti-US propaganda in Central America and the Caribbean islands, it is considered necessary and appropriate to commence counter-propaganda in the area."¹⁰ Interestingly, concrete examples of the growth or scope of Guatemalan communism are almost never provided in the CIA documents.

It is also revealing that in such an early document (about two years prior to the official launch of PBSUCCESS), the CIA was worried not only about communism in Latin America, but also the potential for Guatemala to become a hub of "anti-U.S. propaganda." So, in the CIA's view, PBSUCCESS and its propaganda element were a "reaction" to *potential* anti-American propaganda, should Guatemala turn fully communist and anti-US in the future. Such an attitude on the part of the CIA clearly demonstrates the influence of the ideological reasoning for intervention; not only did the US want for all its neighbors to be friendly, capitalist trading partners, but it also wanted to win the war of ideas, that American capitalism was both morally and ideologically on the right side, while Soviet-style communism was on the wrong.

Another justification for the coup that was influenced by the Cold War had to do with the potential fate of Guatemala's economy (and by extension the United States' economy) in the possible event of actual warfare between the US and the USSR. In a "situation report" from July 1950, an unnamed author stated:

Because Guatemala is incapable of defending itself against a strong enemy, denial of its facilities and resources to an enemy power is primarily a US responsibility. Because Guatemala's national welfare is dependent upon imports of non-strategic materials by the US, extreme dislocation of the economy might occur in the event of an East-West war, with resultant political instability. Effective guarantees of US economic aid in event of war therefore contribute materially to the maintenance

¹⁰ Central Intelligence Agency, *Project Outline [DELETED] Guatemala No. LA-3*, 1950.

of a friendly and stable government.¹¹

Interestingly, the CIA framed the American-Guatemalan trade relationship here in terms of the United States being the benevolent defenders of the Guatemalan economy. But the United States also knew it had leverage. If the U.S. were to stop importing Guatemalan products (which would become a key component of the economic warfare of PBSUCCESS), then the Guatemalan economy would crumble. But there also seems to be a manipulative aspect to this American attitude. Guatemala was dependent on American markets, so the United States could parlay that dependence into securing more favorable business conditions for American companies operating there. Which is exactly what eventually happened; once Árbenz redistributed United Fruit Company land and passed prolabor legislation, the CIA stepped in to install a pro-American, probusiness dictator, regardless of democracy. The coup then served the purpose not of anticommunist ideology but rather of practical economic benefits for the United States. However, one could not exist without the other, as United Fruit needed anticommunist ideology to justify the intervention, while the US needed the example of United Fruit to justify its anticommunist ideology in the context of the Cold War.

There is evidence that United Fruit tried to lobby the Truman administration to act in Guatemala as early as 1947, though such lobbying was unsuccessful at that time. The lobbying was a response to President Arévalo's passage of a labor code that classified estates employing more than 500 workers as industries and gave industrial workers the right to organize. While the law affected all larger country estates, ranches, and state farms, United Fruit charged that it specifically targeted them in a discriminatory manner. In response, the company took its case to the White House; per Cullather in *Secret History*:

When Embassy pressure proved insufficient, the company found lobbyists who could take its case to the Truman administration. Edward L. Bernays, the "father of modern public relations," directed a campaign to persuade Congress and administration officials that attacks on the company were proof of Communist complicity. "Whenever you read 'United Fruit' in Communist propaganda," United Fruit's public relations director told audiences, you may readily substitute 'United States.'" Thomas Corcoran was the company's main conduit to the sources of power. Described by *Fortune* as a "purveyor of concentrated influence," Corcoran had a network of well-placed friends in business and government.¹²

In May 1950, United Fruit sent Corcoran to meet with Thomas Mann, the head of the State Department's office on Central America, to discuss ways to secure the election of a centrist candidate in the upcoming elections in Guatemala. However, Mann considered special action to be unnecessary given that he and his colleagues viewed Jacobo Árbenz, the likely winner, to be a conservative who would steer a more middle course given Guatemala's economic and military dependence on the United States. Essentially, Mann

¹¹ Central Intelligence Agency, *CIA's Guatemala Situation Report SR-46*, 1950.

¹² Cullather, *Secret History*, 16.

told Corcoran that the Department of State would take a wait and see approach with the coming Árbenz regime. This did not satisfy United Fruit, so the company took matters into its own hands; per Cullather:

Even without official help, United Fruit could put Guatemala's feet to the fire. Bernays laid down a PR barrage that sent correspondents from *Time*, *Newsweek*, the *New York Times*, and *Chicago Tribune* to report on Communist activities in Guatemala. Company officials encouraged Castillo Armas with money and arms, and the rebel leader began seeking support from Central American leaders and the United States.¹³

The United Fruit Company played a crucial role in drawing the United States government's attention towards the issue of communism in Guatemala. While initial efforts by the company to secure official intervention were unsuccessful, United Fruit's media campaign against communism in Guatemala, led by Edward Bernays, more than likely influenced key government leaders in the United States to eventually overestimate the actual threat of communist and Soviet infiltration within the Árbenz administration. It is important to note that United Fruit never explicitly argued that regime change was necessary simply because Arévalo's and Árbenz's policies were hurting the company's bottom line. Rather, the company used the unfavorable policies as an example of apparent communist infiltration of Guatemala, a formerly business-friendly, staunchly capitalist country that was in the United States' own backyard. Framing the issue in this way made it more meaningful in the context of the Cold War; the argument was that if Guatemala's leaders were implementing communist policies, then they were likely being influenced by the Soviets, and eventually the country could become a Soviet satellite state. In time, these exact fears would be used to justify the intervention.

Nevertheless, the coup was undoubtedly a positive development for the United Fruit Company and its profitability, and the real root of their concern with Guatemala's leadership was practical, not ideological. Bernays and the company simply marketed the issue in a way they knew would appeal to American politicians in the anti-communist atmosphere of the Cold War, whereby successful intervention would score political points first for President Truman and later for President Eisenhower. Thus, United Fruit was a key player whose business interests were a reason for the coup. The company's initial concerns and lobbying of the Truman administration, though unsuccessful in the immediate, directed the United States government's attention towards communism in Guatemala, while their PR campaign against Guatemalan communism stoked the fears of the domino theory in Latin America, eventually providing a Cold War-based, ideological justification for the CIA's intervention.

Certainly, the most fascinating element of Operation PBSUCCESS, and perhaps the most influential, was the CIA's psychological warfare (propaganda) campaign against

¹³ Cullather, *Secret History*, 18.

the Árbenz administration and Guatemalan communists. Especially through the manipulation of the radio, an exciting and powerful new medium in the early 1950s, the CIA aspired to intimidate, discredit, and inspire disloyalty against Árbenz and his followers. The CIA estimate of Guatemalan political sentiment referenced earlier stated that roughly fifteen percent of Guatemalans were either sympathetic to Árbenz or were staunch Marxists, with around two percent being of anti-communist persuasion; if these numbers were accurate, then approximately eighty percent of the country was “neutral, apathetic, or frustrated.”¹⁴ Theoretically, then, an overwhelming majority of Guatemalans could be persuaded by the CIA to join the anticommunist, anti-Árbenz camp. Unsurprisingly, this demographic became a major target of the propaganda campaign. In a follow-up to the calculation of Guatemalan political sentiment, an unnamed CIA officer wrote: “The objective, the announcer continued, was to intimidate the Communists and their sympathizers and stimulate the apathetic majority to act. Initial broadcasts would establish the station’s credibility, setting the stage for an ‘Orson Welles style panic broadcast’ to coincide with Castillo Armas’s invasion.”¹⁵ Thus, the radio propaganda campaign (known secretly as Operation Sherwood) was born. Originally titled “Radio Liberation”, the program was recorded in Miami and transmitted in Honduras, though it claimed to be operating from deep within the Guatemalan jungle.

Other methods of psychological warfare included spreading rumors to inspire discontentment amongst the ranks of the Guatemalan military, to both enlisted men and officers, but also to special groups like lawyers and students. From an August 1953 “Suggested Plan for Psychological Warfare Operations”, an author whose name was redacted wrote, “Rumors and other propaganda materials will publicize any real or feasible threats to Guatemala which would tend to incite disloyalty to the Árbenz regime.” A specific example of these materials were letters mailed “from Central America on a periodic basis to Guatemalan army leaders telling them that they are not trusted and citing the fact that arms are being supplied by the Guatemalan government to Communist political and labor leaders throughout Guatemala.”¹⁶ However, these threats were largely falsified. Further, the example in which army officers were told that they were not trusted, was a clear attempt to inspire disunity, division, and confusion within the upper ranks of the army.

Further rumors included rather outlandish ideas that Soviet officers would be sent to Guatemala “to check the ideological proficiency of the Guatemalans”, that “the Communists were going to force all Catholic troops to leave the Church and join one which worships the memory of Stalin”, and that the sons of communist politicians would not serve in the Guatemalan army because they were “too busy going to the USSR and swearing allegiance to it rather than Guatemala.”¹⁷ The Catholic Church-Stalin worshipping rumor was especially ludicrous but may have carried some weight in a nation that was and still is

¹⁴ Cullather, *Secret History*, 76.

¹⁵ Cullather, *Secret History*, 77.

¹⁶ Central Intelligence Agency, *A Suggested Plan for Psychological Warfare Operations in Connection with Over-all Guatemalan Operations*, 1953.

¹⁷ CIA, *A Suggested Plan*.

heavily Christian. Certainly, the CIA knew its target and had a good idea of what would resonate.

Internal CIA documents outlined various detailed radio segments, each fifteen minutes long with a specific message tailored to a particular demographic. For example, certain segments were made for Guatemalan women; one, titled “Women and the Fatherland: Feminine Opinions on the Communist Problem” was described as “a segment targeted at women, and always featuring the same female announcer speaking in the first person. She addressed women in their roles of the period, as Catholic wives and mothers, through strong religious content, which was likely very effective.”¹⁸ Other segments, such as one called “Musical Miscellany of the Airwaves”, were aimed at Guatemalans of lower education; this segment was described as “music interspersed with lowbrow jokes; targeted at the less-educated sectors of Guatemalan society.”¹⁹ Still others, like “Our Radio Campaign”, targeted more well-educated Guatemalans, “featuring relatively sophisticated discussions of communism and its impact on religion, labor, agriculture, land reform, etc.”²⁰ Such great diversification of radio segments demonstrated great focus on stimulating the disengaged majority to action, to fight for the soul of Guatemala in the face of what was sold as an evil, communist attack.

Regardless of the segment, the overriding theme of the propaganda was to inspire discontentment towards the Árbenz regime by emphasizing his connection to the evil, atheist communist threat, which allegedly had its origins in the Soviet Union; per the same 1954 internal CIA document:

The themes employed in this propaganda operation are what might be expected. Communism is the great evil. It is anti-God, anti-religion, anti-fatherland. President Arbenz is depicted not as a communist, but as a writing instrument of the Kremlin who has sold the country out to international communism, and who will be betrayed and destroyed by the communists whenever he is no longer useful to them [...] Arbenz is regularly vilified throughout the broadcasts.

Again, it is important to note that the framing of communism as anti-religion would have likely stoked fears in a passionately Christian nation. It is also worth noting the over-exaggeration of actual communist influence in the country. By the CIA’s own estimate, only around two percent of Guatemalans were hardcore Marxists, and under the Arévalo administration the communist party was even banned. Arévalo was in power until 1950, three years after the United Fruit Company began lobbying the Truman administration and hired Edward Bernays to undertake the press campaign against Guatemalan communism. Further, after Árbenz was ousted, the CIA commenced an operation called PBHISTORY, the goal of which was to prove communist complicity and a connection between Árbenz and the Soviet Union. By digging through the documents left behind by the ousted regime,

¹⁸ Central Intelligence Agency, *The Sherwood Tapes*, 1954.

¹⁹ CIA, *The Sherwood Tapes*.

²⁰ CIA, *The Sherwood Tapes*.

the CIA hoped and expected to find evidence that would justify their reasons for intervention. However, the only communications between Guatemalans and the Soviets were brief negotiations for the Soviets to purchase Guatemalan bananas, along with insignificant amounts of Marxist literature in the homes and offices of some government officials.²¹

There is no question that the propaganda campaign was an integral part of PB-SUCCESS. Without it, more Guatemalans, especially in the military, may have resisted the American-backed Castillo Armas and his army, as confidence in Árbenz would not have been so badly damaged. The propaganda, however, had the effect of convincing the Guatemalan people that Armas, through the coup against Árbenz, was saving the country from becoming a Soviet satellite state and of the evils of communism. According to the CIA's conclusion in 1954:

The reviewer concludes, however, that this operation must have been highly effective. It may not have had the impact on military officers that the specter of an invasion by US Marines might have had, but it surely must have energized some military personnel to resist, and influenced important sectors of the Guatemalan society against communism, against the Arbenz regime, and in favor of the 'Army of Liberation' [...] This was a very confident-sounding station which continually raised credible doubts about the regime's durability, while at the same time lionizing Castillo Armas and the rebel army, and stressing the inevitability of the liberation.²²

Regardless of the reasons for the coup or the extent to which communism in Guatemala was a legitimate threat, the coup would not have succeeded without the propaganda campaign. In addition to weakening confidence and loyalty to Árbenz, it gave credibility to Armas as the country's savior, and it readied the Guatemalan people for what the CIA called the inevitability of the liberation; when Armas launched the coup, Guatemalans were not surprised, and they were unlikely to get in his way.

As another component of the PBSUCCESS campaign, the efficacy of economic warfare comes to light, especially in consideration of the dependency of Guatemala on American imports and access to American markets. Not only did American interests control much of Guatemala's shipping, transportation, and energy infrastructure, but the United States also supplied Guatemala with 65 to 75 percent of products "basic to the modern economy," including trucks, buses, and other manufactured products. Further, at that time the US took about 90 percent of Guatemalan exports.²³ Most important for the Guatemalan economy was the market for coffee, its biggest cash crop.

In March 1953, the CIA began to plan for possible economic warfare against Guatemala in order to weaken its economy and increase dissatisfaction with Árbenz. A

²¹ Cullather, *Secret History*, 110.

²² CIA, *The Sherwood Tapes*.

²³ CIA, *Situation Report SR-46*.

March 1953 agency memorandum states:

We now expect to be in a position to proceed with our phase of the project if desired. However, the chances of success would be greatly enhanced if there were a coordinated effort in the political field. The country in question is thoroughly dependent on its trade relations with us and has discounted the fact that we would do nothing. In effect they have flaunted us and consistently got away with it. It is time they were brought to realize this could not continue [...] Anything affecting coffee exportations to the U.S. would be nearly a knockout blow.²⁴

By July of 1953, the CIA began to discuss a more specific economic plan focused on depriving the Guatemalans of the money generated by their coffee industry, as seen in an excerpt from an inter-agency 1953 document outlining the potential economic program to weaken the Árbenz government:

We have determined the most vulnerable aspect of the Guatemalan economic structure to be its dependence on coffee as a main source of income [...] Clearance is being initiated on the governing official of one of the U.S.'s largest coffee distributors for purposes of consultation and possible operational use [...] A preliminary report of several possible approaches to depriving Guatemala of its coffee crop income was prepared.²⁵

In gauging the viability of a coffee boycott against Guatemala, the CIA consulted American coffee distributors to ensure that such an action would not greatly damage the American coffee business. Eventually, though, it was determined that the boycott was feasible, and American coffee distributors were incentivized to abstain from buying Guatemalan coffee. The boycott proved to be incredibly effective, as the Guatemalan economy was suffocated internally, and the Guatemalan populace lost faith in the Árbenz administration's ability to stimulate the national economy or provide a satisfactory standard of living for its people. Thus, the installed and unelected Castillo Armas regime was in part viewed as means of reviving the all-important Guatemalan coffee economy. Whether or not Armas actually accomplished this, the coffee boycott was the "knockout blow" that succeeded in creating discontentment among Guatemalans and inspiring anger and disloyalty towards Árbenz. It is hard to imagine that the coup could have succeeded without the weakening of the Guatemalan economy and the resentment towards Árbenz that it caused.

Integral to the success of PBSUCCESS was the preparation of Guatemalan rebel forces responsible for initiating the coup by the United States. The most significant aspect of the CIA's training of Castillo Armas's rebel army was the way that the United States cooperated with Guatemala's Central American neighbors and dictators, and using those countries as training grounds, especially Nicaragua under the rule of Anastasio Somoza. A ruthless dictator who prior to the coup was unequivocally shunned by the US and most of

²⁴ Central Intelligence Agency, *Memorandum RE P.B Fortune*, 1953.

²⁵ Central Intelligence Agency, *Economic Program to Weaken Pro-Communist Government of Guatemala*, 1953.

the civilized world, Somoza soon became a key ally of the CIA, which provided him with arms and military training. A 1975 CIA summary of its own operations in Guatemala outlined the agency's paramilitary actions:

Approximately 85 members of the Castillo Armas group received military training in Nicaragua. Thirty were trained in sabotage, six as shock troop leaders and 20 others as support-type personnel. Eighty-nine tons of equipment were prepared. The support of this operation was staged inside the borders of Honduras and Nicaragua [...] There were an estimated 260 men in Honduras and El Salvador for use as shock troops and specialists, outside of the training personnel that had been sent to Nicaragua.²⁶

Though rather small in terms of sheer numbers, the simple existence of Armas's army and its heavy fortification of American arms, plus its cooperation with nearby Central American strongmen, was enough to intimidate Árbenz and his supporters. Somoza even offered to "take care" of Árbenz himself, though the offer was never accepted.²⁷

Interestingly, the paramilitary campaign of Operation PBSUCCESS held a primarily psychological importance; per Cullather in *Secret History*, "As an Agency memo prepared for Eisenhower explained, the operation relied 'on psychological impact rather than actual military strength, although it is on the ability of Castillo Armas effort to create and maintain the *impression* of very substantial military strength, that the success of this particular effort primarily depends.'²⁸ Even if the paramilitary operation did not have great practical consequences and by the CIA's own admission was only important for its psychological impact and impression of strength, it is hard to imagine the coup being successful without it. In conjunction with the propaganda and economic campaigns, which fostered dissatisfaction with Árbenz and weakened the Guatemalan economy, the paramilitary operation was crucial because it intimidated Árbenz and scared the Guatemalan populace from resisting the coup. It was certainly a key element of PBSUCCESS, and likely led to the operation's eventual triumph.

Through the CIA's propaganda, economic, and paramilitary campaigns in Operation PBSUCCESS, the democratically elected administration of Jacobo Árbenz was toppled, asserting American ideological and economic interests in the country with a more favorable government. Guatemala's ten-year experiment in representative democracy was crushed, and the country and its people were forever changed. The CIA's framing of Árbenz as a sellout to the communist Soviets, the crushing blow to the Guatemalan coffee industry via the American boycott, or the intimidation provided by the perceived strength of the Armas army, resulted in the quick end to first term of the democratically elected Árbenz. Therefore, the United States was directly responsible for both the success of the coup and the resulting political instability that lasted, officially, until the mid-1990s. In the end,

²⁶ Central Intelligence Agency, *CIA's Role in the Overthrow of Arbenz*, 1975.

²⁷ Cullather, *Secret History*, 88.

²⁸ Cullather, *Secret History*, 74.

the United States sacrificed its supposedly most cherished ideals of representative democracy and self-determination in order to secure more favorable business conditions for the United Fruit Company and score political points in the pissing contest that was the Cold War. While President Bill Clinton offered an official apology to Guatemala in 1999 for the American role in the coup, anti-American sentiment in Guatemala and Latin America is still tangible. And until such hollow, diplomatic words of remorse are replaced by real monetary reparations (perhaps by forgiving the Guatemalan debts owed to the U.S.), such sentiment is entirely justified.

Biography: Samuel Clark is a graduate of California State University, Sacramento and current English language teacher to kindergarten students in Busan, South Korea. A history major, his research deals with the topic of American intervention in Latin America and its connection to Cold War politics. As we consider the current, polarized state of American political discourse, in which neoliberal interventionism is contrasted with Trump isolationism (as well as recently heightened tensions with Russia), his research on the 1954 CIA-led coup in Guatemala provides valuable insight into the history of American interventionism and the lasting effects on the region it involved.

National History Day

2024



National History Day is an event for K-12 students to display their passion for social studies in a competitive space at the county, state, and national level. Students create individual and group projects that demonstrate their ability to formulate and prove a historical argument and engage with primary and secondary sources, while operating within an annual theme for the competition. Student projects are presented as posters, exhibits, performances, documentaries, websites, podcasts, and historical essays.

This section begins with speech given by Dr. Sheree Meyer at the National History Day Awards Ceremony held at California State University, Sacramento. The essays that follow are the winners of the National History Day 2024 state competition. Considering this incredible accomplishment, these articles are presented as they were entered into the competition without further editing.

Clio
Editorial Staff

National History Day Speech

April 21, 2024

Sheree Meyer, Ph.D.

On behalf of Sacramento State and the College of Arts & Letters, it is an honor and a privilege to welcome students, teachers, families, and friends to the National History Day-California Awards Ceremony. As you entered the building, you may have noticed one of our new murals with the words, “No History, No Self; Know History, Know Self”—a perfect tagline for this event. The NHD-California partnership is our Anchor University initiative in action. Last year, when Professor Chloe Burke and History Department Chair Jeff Wilson came to me to talk about hosting this very special event, even as I considered the logistical complexities, I couldn’t have been happier because I truly believe that Sacramento State is the perfect home for this collaborative educational forum. The College of Arts & Letters at Sacramento State is dedicated to “preparing students for success in an inclusive society by empowering them to take responsibility for their educational growth, explore their own sense of purpose, and engage communities as critical and creative thinkers.” “Our students acquire diverse, intercultural competencies and a keen awareness of the past while they pursue the promise of the future.”

So, it makes sense that we should engage with and in the community to nurture and educate younger students in beginning their journeys in historical exploration. As many of you have discovered, the study of history is not a passive, one-sided view of particular people, events, and eras, and while dates and timelines are important, the rote memorization and regurgitation of dates is not the goal of today’s history classroom. That’s why it is essential that students like those who have participated in this competition are actively doing the scholarly research, in other words the critical examination of primary and secondary historical materials through which they draw their own conclusions and make meaning of the past. Although it may not always be true to say that those who fail to understand the past are doomed to repeat it, it is true that understanding the multi-dimensionality of the past as a map of how people have behaved under certain circumstances, whether domestic or global, can help us understand the complexities of the present. It may also help us empathize with those whose experiences diverge from our own. Recently, I read a historical novel that explored the impact of the Spanish flu on immigrants in Philadelphia—a topic that was represented in a number of posters. As one of the titles suggested relative to our own recent pandemic, the Spanish Flu which took the life of my great aunt when she was 15 was both “Destroyer and Teacher.” While science and medicine may have evolved in our understanding of disease, human responses to our recent pandemic were remarkably similar.

As I walked through the inspiring poster session yesterday, I was struck by how diverse the topics were, how creative the presentations, and how, while they were all to some degree representative of historical research, they also intersected with the arts and other

humanities. One poster examined the “Jaws” effect, the ways in which the movie, “Jaws,” “increased the fear of sharks,” while another showed how “Barbie marked a turning point in gender expectations.” The evolution of popular animation was explored in “Studio Ghibli’s Whimsical Journeys”; Dance had its moment in research on Maria Tallchief, as a turning point for Ballet and Native Americans; and “Hip Hop turned the tables on Music History.” Our architecture program would have been pleased to see “Frank Lloyd Wright, the Forefront of Modern Architecture.” The ways in which technologies have impacted literacy could be observed in the juxtaposition of “The World Wide Web Innovated Our Lives” and “How Gutenberg Turned the World Around.” Not only does the research itself reach across various disciplines, but the creative approaches to presenting the material required various skills as well: essays, posters, podcasts, performances, websites, etc.

Another aspect of the assignments that provides a tool kit for understating the complexities of the present moment and fosters civil discourse is the requirement to include multiple perspectives. As our future leaders in whatever fields you may pursue, the skills, confidence, and knowledge you have attained give us hope for a future in which the needs of all people and our earth will be addressed and a country in which we can conduct civil discourse even in the face of conflict and trauma.

So, my sincere congratulations to the students who are participating, their families who have made their children’s education a priority, and the teachers—many of whom have been Made at Sac State—who have coached their students. I also want to thank all the individuals who have made this event possible: Our Campus partners – ASI (Student Employment Grant), Academic Affairs (Bena Arao), UEI (Campus Grant) and the judges all of whom are volunteers – teachers, community members, University faculty, staff, students, and alumni.

Sheree Meyer, Ph.D.
Dean, College of Arts & Letters

“The Lady Who Started All of This”: Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring*, and the Creation of the Modern Environmental Movement

Katelyn Gan

How could intelligent beings seek to control a few unwanted species by a method that contaminated the entire environment and brought the threat of disease and death even to their own kind?¹

Rachel Carson, Silent Spring

In 1962, shortly after the pesticide DDT reached its peak usage, Rachel Carson released her pioneering work *Silent Spring*. In her book, Carson, a marine biologist and nature writer, utilizes a compelling narrative that blends scientific rigor with poignant prose to publicize the catastrophic environmental impacts following the rampant use of pesticides. Despite fierce opposition from chemical companies, Carson’s work ignited a public outcry that led to policy changes and a reevaluation of humanity’s relationship with nature. *Silent Spring* marked a central turning point in environmental history by initiating a significant shift in public and governmental attitudes towards environmental conservation – from widespread indifference to heightened awareness and a proactive stance on environmental protection. *Silent Spring*, therefore, sparked the modern environmentalist movement.

Safe DDT

Through World War II, DDT gained widespread admiration from the public. Prior to the usage of DDT in war, soldiers died of typhus, yellow fever, malaria, and other insect-borne diseases. By the end of 1942, malaria had killed five times as many troops as the Japanese.² To address the overwhelming number of deaths caused by disease, Congress allowed Army Surgeon General James C. Magee to disseminate teams of scientists and mosquito control units to research and combat the disease in overseas military bases.³

Educational videos endorsed by the US Public Health Service called the Anopheles mosquito “the most dangerous female in the world”⁴ and alarmed the public about malaria. Beyond igniting control efforts in the war, the propaganda drove citizens to kill insects on the home front. War propaganda took advantage of patriotism expressed through “victory gardens” by warning that gardeners “must be prepared to fight” the “insect ene-

¹ Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring* (Houghton Mifflin, 2002), 8.

² Judith A Bennett, *Natives and Exotics: World War II and Environment in the Southern Pacific* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2009), 50.

³ Oliver R. McCoy, “War Department Provisions for Malaria Control” (Washington D.C.: Medical Department, United States Army, 1963), Library of Congress (55-63522).

⁴ Public Health Service, “Criminal at Large,” 1943, United States Office of Malaria Control, 12:59.

mies”⁵ (often paralleled to the Japanese)⁶ of the victory gardens. This fervor for killing insects thus compelled people to buy and use pesticides.

Developed in the 1940s by Othmar Zeidler, a German chemist, the chemical pesticide DDT proved crucial in combating typhus, yellow fever, and malaria. After a typhus outbreak in Naples in 1943-44, the US military used DDT on troops and refugees, controlling the epidemic within three weeks,⁷ an unprecedented achievement.⁸ Soldiers and sailors carried small cans of DDT powder to protect themselves against bedbugs, lice, and mosquitoes. Millions of DDT aerosol bombs sprayed the interiors of tents, barracks, and mess halls with DDT.⁹ In the Nobel Speech honoring Paul Hermann Müller, the Swiss chemist who discovered DDT’s insecticidal action, the Nobel Committee claimed that DDT had saved “hundreds of thousands” in war.¹⁰

In the years following World War II, America witnessed an unprecedented surge in the use of synthetic pesticides, a cost-effective means of protecting crops. Compared to previous pesticides containing toxins like arsenic, DDT was not only much more effective, lasting for over six months compared to the previous rate of two weeks, but also seemed safer.¹¹ *TIME*’s article “Safe DDT” claimed that DDT was “practically harmless,”¹² while another source pictured model Kay Heffernon standing in a cloud of DDT while drinking to demonstrate that DDT would not contaminate her food (Appendix A).¹³

As a result, the public saw DDT as a “wonder insecticide”¹⁴ and started using it in everything, including wallpapers, nurseries, paint, and bed sprays. The National Academy of Sciences claimed that DDT prevented 500 million potential deaths due to malaria.¹⁵ Distinguished public figures and organizations, from Winston Churchill to the World Health Organization, endorsed DDT.¹⁶ Dubbed the “Era of Optimism”¹⁷ for pesticides, the period between WW2 and the publication of Rachel Carson’s *Silent Spring* represented the

⁵ “The Daily Telegram from Adrian, Michigan • Page 5,” *The Daily Telegram*, May 26, 1943.

⁶ Office for Emergency Management, *Enemies Both! It’s Your Job to Help Eliminate Them*, 1941-1945, Cartoon, Office for Emergency Management, Office of War Information, Domestic Operations Branch, Bureau of Special Services.

⁷ Roger Bate, “The Rise, Fall, Rise, and Imminent Fall of DDT,” *American Enterprise Institute*, (Nov 5, 2007).

⁸ G. Fischer, “The Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine 1948,” *Nobel Lectures, Physiology or Medicine 1942-1962*, Elsevier Publishing Company, Amsterdam, 1964.

⁹ Cristobal S. Berry-Caban, “DDT and Silent Spring: Fifty Years After - JMVH,” JMVH, May 26, 2023.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Gordon Harrison, *Mosquitoes, Malaria, and Man: A History of the Hostilities Since 1880*, 1978.

¹² “Science: Safe DDT,” *TIME.com*, April 24, 1950.

¹³ George Silk, “DDT sprayed from a TIFA (Todd Insecticidal Fog Applicator) around model Kay Heffernon to supposedly demonstrate it won’t contaminate her food (a hot dog and coke),” 1948, photograph, *Time Inc.*

¹⁴ “Science: DDT Paint,” *TIME.com*, December 25, 1944.

¹⁵ “The Life Sciences: Recent Progress and Application to Human Affairs, the World of Biological Research, Requirements for the Future” *Nap National Academies*.

¹⁶ Bate, “The Rise, Fall, Rise, and Imminent Fall of DDT,” 2.

¹⁷ Robert L. Metcalf, “Changing Role of Insecticides in Crop Protection,” *Annual Review of Entomology* 25, no. 1 (January 1, 1980): 219–56.

zenith of pesticides.

Building an Environmental Movement

Despite this near-universal acclaim, health scares set the stage for skepticism towards synthetic pesticides to take hold. The chemical thalidomide, initially marketed as a sedative and a treatment for morning sickness in pregnant women in the late 1950s and early 1960s,¹⁸ caused thousands of miscarriages and more than 10,000 children with congenital disabilities.¹⁹ The widespread media coverage and the heart-wrenching stories of affected families highlighted a lack of rigorous drug regulation and issues of chemical safety.

Similarly, in 1959, just before Thanksgiving, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare announced that a cancer-causing herbicide, aminotriazole, was found in cranberries, causing “a great furor throughout the U.S.”²⁰ and a dramatic decline in cranberry sales: a drop of 66% for manufactured cranberry products and 73% for fresh berries from the year prior.²¹ The public backlash raised concern over potentially harmful chemicals in food, contributing to a shifting public perception of the safety of commonplace chemicals.

The Atomic Age further compounded the growing concerns over chemical safety in food and medicine. Due to the pervasive nature of nuclear fallout from atomic testing, radioactive isotopes, such as Strontium-90, were found in baby teeth at significantly higher concentrations compared to those of children born before large-scale bomb testing.²² Strontium-90 also contaminated vegetables, meat, and milk through winds and rain. The dangers of nuclear fallout, particularly of Strontium-90, were extensively discussed in “an unending stream of speeches, pamphlets and books.”²³ As public unease grew, a voice emerged that capitalized on these fears, which helped her expose man-made perils.

A Pioneering Writer

Born May 27, 1907, in Springdale, Pennsylvania, Rachel Carson developed an early interest in nature and writing. Carson built her writing and nature foundations by taking biology at the Pennsylvania College for Women (now Chatham University) and getting a master’s degree in zoology in 1932 from Johns Hopkins University. Unfortunately, due to the Great Depression, her doctoral studies were cut short, so she began a part-time position with the US Bureau of Fisheries (now known as the US Fish and Wildlife Service)

¹⁸ Waqas Ur Rehman, Lisa Arfons, and Hillard M. Lazarus, “The Rise, Fall and Subsequent Triumph of Thalidomide: Lessons Learned in Drug Development,” *Therapeutic Advances in Hematology* 2, no. 5 (August 4, 2011): 291–308.

¹⁹ Neil Vargesson, “Thalidomide-induced Teratogenesis: History and Mechanisms,” *Birth Defects Research* 105, no. 2 (June 1, 2015): 140–56.

²⁰ *Cranberry Scare of 1959*, Digital collection, Eisenhower Library.

²¹ Michael Tortorello, “The Great Cranberry Scare of 1959,” *The New Yorker*, November 24, 2015.

²² Louise Zibold Reiss, “Strontium-90 Absorption by Deciduous Teeth,” *Science* 134, no. 3491 (November 24, 1961): 1669–73.

²³ “THE ATOM: The Peril of Strontium 90,” TIME.com, May 6, 1957.

in 1935. There, she created “Romance Under the Waters,”²⁴ a series of short programs focused on marine life and wrote essays in which she demanded that “regulations must be imposed” in fishing to combat the “forces of destruction.”²⁵

Then, as editor-in-chief of the US Bureau of Fisheries, she published the essay “Undersea” in 1937 in the *Atlantic Monthly*, a moving piece she later expanded into her first book, *Under the Sea Wind*, published in 1941. Despite its initial poor sales, Carson’s vivid portrayal of marine life laid the groundwork for her future success. Her second book, *The Sea Around Us*, released in 1951, catapulted her to fame, illustrating stunning depictions of the ocean’s mysteries. The book achieved a monumental success, placing on the *New York Times* bestseller list for an astonishing 86 weeks, selling 250,000 copies in its first year of publication, and winning both the 1952 National Book Award and the 1952 John Burroughs Medal.²⁶ Her third book, *The Edge of the Sea*, was also wildly successful. By the time *Silent Spring* was published in 1962, Carson had a vast readership anticipating its release.

Few people held doubts about DDT’s use when DDT became publicly available in 1945. When Carson first tried expressing her apprehension in 1945 by proposing an article to *Reader’s Digest*, it rejected her idea.²⁷ Frustrations with DDT stuck with her until, in 1957, she learned of the trial of Long Island residents against government spraying on gypsy moths. Driven to alert the public, she wrote to *New Yorker* journalist E. B. White to see if he would cover the story.²⁸ However, since White was not interested, Carson took the initiative. With the help of Marjorie Spock, the leader of the Committee Against Mass Poisoning and the Long Island trial, Carson planned an extensive 50,000-word article for *The New Yorker*.²⁹

The Long Island residents’ concerns represented a broader narrative of pesticide apprehension, as Carson received a letter often attributed as the catalyst for *Silent Spring* from one of her friends, Olga Huckins, where she reported the death of birds around her property because of DDT spraying and stated, “I must keep struggling against the Massachusetts sprays by air.”³⁰ Carson felt compelled to use her expertise and voice to inform the public about pesticides, saying, “Knowing what I do, there would be no future peace for me if I kept silent.”³¹ Carson’s subsequent collaborations with a network of scientists, organizations, and concerned individuals, including the Audubon Naturalist Society, govern-

²⁴ “Research Guides: Rachel Carson: A Resource Guide: U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service Publications.”

²⁵ Rachel Carson, “It’ll Be Shad-Time Soon,” *Baltimore Sun*, Yale University Library.

²⁶ National Book Foundation, “The Sea Around Us - National Book Foundation,” August 19, 2022.

²⁷ Rachel Carson, “Harold Lynch., 1945” July 15, 1945, Carson, Rachel, 1907-1964, Box 44, folder 821, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

²⁸ Rachel Carson, “White, E. B., 1958,” 1958, Carson, Rachel, 1907-1964, Box 44, folder 839, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

²⁹ Elena Conis, *How to sell a poison: The rise, fall, and toxic return of DDT*, (Bold Type Books, 2022), 121

³⁰ Olga Huckins, “Huckins, Olga Huckins, Stuart,” Jan 27, 1958, Carson, Rachel, 1907-1964, Box 84, folder 1473, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

³¹ Linda Lear, “Introduction by Linda Lear,” Foreword, In *Silent Spring*, Houghton Mifflin, 2002, xiv

ment scientists, and organic market gardeners, armed her with the anecdotes and scientific evidence needed to compile *Silent Spring* and transform it into a powerful and persuasive call to action.

Carson begins her book by painting a picture of a “Silent Spring.” By combining all of the known adverse effects of pesticides into one hypothetical town in America, she successfully draws the concerned audience in as they wonder what “evil spell”³² killed the birds, livestock, and people unexpectedly. In the following chapters, Carson plays on established health scares, especially drawing parallels between the health risks posed by chemicals and radiation. She explains that “chemicals are the sinister and little recognized partners of radiation,”³³ comparing Strontium-90 fallout to chemical spraying. Moving anecdotes and scientific statistics legitimize her claims and bridge the gap between complex ecological concepts and what the public understood.

Throughout the book, she questions the necessity of pesticides because of their overwhelming cost compared to their insignificant benefits. She portrays the only supporters of pesticides as the companies who want “to make a dollar at whatever cost.”³⁴ By criticizing the government and pesticide businesses, *Silent Spring* garnered a large audience through the ensuing controversy. As a result, her work not only sparked widespread public debate but also challenged industries and governments to reconsider their practices regarding chemical use.

A Great Public Service

In the immediate aftermath of the publication of *Silent Spring*, a significant shift occurred in public awareness and environmental consciousness of pesticide use and other environmental ills. In the months following the book’s publication, it received a variety of media coverage and discussion, like *The Boston Globe*,³⁵ *The Washington Post*,³⁶ and a CBS documentary,³⁷ explaining the ills of pesticides according to Carson and how Carson “has done a great public service” by “informing the public about the gravity of the problem posed by the widespread use of chemical insecticides.”³⁸ Speaking to its immediate popularity, *Silent Spring* stayed on the New York Times bestseller list for 31 weeks,³⁹ and thus, “suddenly out of the woodwork came thousands of people talking about ecology.”⁴⁰

Of course, Carson faced opposition from the industrial and agricultural sectors that heavily relied on the chemicals she criticized. Her opponents attacked her character,

³² Carson, *Silent Spring*, 2.

³³ *Ibid*, 6.

³⁴ *Ibid*, 13.

³⁵ Lucien Thayer, “Audubonists Vow: No Silent Springs,” *The Boston Globe*, Dec 24, 1967, 25.

³⁶ Phil Casey, “Biologist Warns Against Wide Use of Insecticides,” *The Washington Post*, May 29, 1962, A1.

³⁷ CBS, “The Silent Spring of Rachel Carson,” Apr 3, 1963.

³⁸ Lawrence Tepper, “Letters to the Editor: Equal Time for All,” *The Washington Post*, Jul 9, 1962, A14.

³⁹ Berry-Caban, “DDT and Silent Spring: Fifty Years After - JMVH.”

⁴⁰ Jack Lewis, “The Birth of EPA,” EPA Journal, Nov 1985.

writing that she was “probably a communist”⁴¹ and implying that because she was a woman, she would rely on her emotions over facts, writing an “unfair, one-sided, and hysterically overemphatic”⁴² account of pesticides. Monsanto, an agrochemical company, published a counter essay to Carson’s *Silent Spring* in 1963 titled “The Desolate Year,” which illustrated a hypothetical year without pesticides.⁴³ Likewise, Robert White-Stevens, a researcher at American Cyanamid, a fertilizer company, claimed that without pesticides, “we would return to the Dark Ages.”⁴⁴ To defend its image, Velsicol Corporation, a chemical company, threatened a libel suit, and the National Agricultural Chemical Association used \$25,000 to fund advertisements that promoted how safe and necessary chemicals were.⁴⁵

On the other hand, because of the public response, a prominent impact of *Silent Spring* was government and legislative action. On May 15, 1963, the President’s Science Advisory Committee, under the direction of President John F. Kennedy, released a 46-page report titled “Use of Pesticides” which recommended increasing education on pesticide health concerns. The report stated, “Until the publication of *Silent Spring* by Rachel Carson, people were generally unaware of the toxicity of pesticides,”⁴⁶ crediting her to the new environmental awareness in Congress. Congressional hearings began on May 16, 1963, and when Carson testified at the hearing, Senator Abraham Ribicoff welcomed her, saying, “You are the lady who started all this.”⁴⁷

Following *Silent Spring*, Congress made legislative changes to the regulation of pesticides. The amendment to the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide, and Rodenticide Act of 1947 in 1972 added regulation of the chemicals themselves and ceased DDT licensing from simply ensuring legitimate labeling and registration of pesticides. In 1976, the Toxic Substances Control Act mandated that the EPA identify and act if any chemicals posed an “unreasonable risk of injury to health or to the environment.”⁴⁸ Under this law, the EPA banned or significantly limited the use of DDT, chlordane, heptachlor, dieldrin, aldrin, and endrin, all chemicals criticized in *Silent Spring*. Due to growing public pressure, the National Environmental Policy Act, often called the “Magna Carta of Federal environmental laws,”⁴⁹ was passed, which set the stage for a comprehensive approach to the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), an independent agency to combat environmental issues with regulation. In an article published in the EPA’s journal about the birth of the EPA in 1985, the author, Jack Lewis, emphasized that the “EPA today may be said without exaggeration to be the extended shadow of Rachel Carson.”⁵⁰

However, there are still people today who oppose Carson’s work. Although Carson

⁴¹ Lear, *Rachel Carson*, 429.

⁴² “Biology: Pesticides: The Price for Progress,” TIME.com, September 28, 1962.

⁴³ Monsanto, “The Desolate Year,” *Monsanto Magazine*, Oct 1962.

⁴⁴ “Special Reports - Silent Spring Revisited | Fooling With Nature | FRONTLINE | PBS,” November 18, 2015.

⁴⁵ “Industrial and Agricultural Interests Fight Back,” Environment & Society Portal, February 4, 2024.

⁴⁶ President’s Science Advisory Committee (PSAC): Pesticides report, 15 May 1963.

⁴⁷ Al Gore, “Introduction by Al Gore,” Foreword, In *Silent Spring*, Houghton Mifflin, 1962.

⁴⁸ Toxic Substances and Control Act of 1976, Pub. L. No. 94-496, 90 Stat, 2003.

⁴⁹ NEPA | National Environmental Policy Act.”

⁵⁰ Lewis, “The Birth of EPA.”

never called for a ban on DDT entirely, especially not internationally, critics like entomologist J. Gordon Edwards claim that the publication of *Silent Spring* portrayed DDT negatively with extreme bias or “a great many untruths”⁵¹ that led to its disuse. As a result, journalist Tina Rosenberg of the *New York Times* states that *Silent Spring* “is now killing African children because of its persistence in the public mind.”⁵² The website RachelWasWrong.org, created by Competitive Enterprise Institute, a libertarian advocacy group, attacks Carson for the decline in DDT through a series of 39 blog posts.⁵³ In Michale Crichton’s 2004 bestseller *State of Fear*, a fictional plot about ecoterrorists, a character claims that “banning DDT killed more people than Hitler.”⁵⁴ Despite the controversy stirred by Carson’s portrayal of DDT in *Silent Spring*, her impact is best understood in her foundational role in modern environmentalism.

Many credit *Silent Spring* as the catalyst for the modern environmental movement. In *The New York Times*, Walter Sullivan called it “a 20th-century ‘Uncle Tom’s Cabin.’”⁵⁵ Several newspapers and libraries list *Silent Spring* within their top 100 best or most influential books, appearing on The Modern Library’s “Best 100 Non-Fiction Books of the Century,” New York Public Library’s “100 Books of the Century,” and Open Education Database’s “The 50 Most Influential Books of All Time.”⁵⁶ Additionally, because of her impact, Rachel Carson was named *TIME*’s Woman of the Year in 1963 and one of twenty “scientists and thinkers” in *TIME*’s 100 most influential persons of the 20th century.⁵⁷

Through her book *Silent Spring*, Rachel Carson brought together scientists, the government, and the public to stand with the environment. Her work not only led to significant legislative and regulatory changes but also a shift in public opinion about the environment, inspiring future generations to advocate for a sustainable future. She transformed the “little-known science of ecology” into “the science that has today become a household word”⁵⁸ and prompted participation in the modern environmentalist movement. Her legacy endures, urging humanity to “to demonstrate our mastery, not over nature but of ourselves.”⁵⁹

⁵¹ J. Gordon Edwards, “DDT: A Case Study in Scientific Fraud,” *Journal of American Physicians and Surgeons* 9, no. 3 (Fall 2004):83.

⁵² Tina Rosenberg, “What the World Needs Now is DDT,” *The New York Times*, April 11, 2004.

⁵³ Competitive Enterprise Institute, (2016, November 22), “Rachel Carson’s dangerous legacy”, *Safe Chemical Policy*.

⁵⁴ Michael Crichton, *State of Fear*, (Harper Collins, 2009), 487.

⁵⁵ Walter Sullivan, “Books of The Times,” *The New York Times*, September 27, 1962, 35.

⁵⁶ Staff Writers, “The 50 Most Influential Books of All Time,” OEDB.org, August 2, 2018.

⁵⁷ TIME.com, “1963: Rachel Carson,” *TIME*, March 5, 2020; “TIME 100 Persons of the Century,” TIME.com, June 6, 1999.

⁵⁸ William Dritschilo, “Rachel Carson and Mid-Twentieth Century Ecology,” *Bulletin of the Ecological Society of America* 87, no. 4 (October 2006): 357–67.

⁵⁹ “The Story of Silent Spring,” August 13, 2015.

Appendix A



Photograph of model Kay Heffernon standing in a cloud of DDT to illustrate its safety. George Silk, “DDT sprayed from a TIFA (Todd Insecticidal Fog Applicator) around model Kay Heffernon to supposedly demonstrate it won’t contaminate her food (a hot dog and coke),” 1948, photograph, Time Inc.

Black Service During the Korean War: A Turning Point in the Civil Rights Movement

Ishaan Kendale

I enjoy learning about military conflicts, but my interest extends beyond the battlefield to the social impact of war, such as the establishment of social hierarchies and new forms of government. While researching a topic, I sought examples of military conflicts which left lasting social impacts. I came across the “Red Ball Express,” a truck convoy that supplied U.S. troops during World War II, primarily operated by African American drivers. As many African American veterans from World War II went on to become civil rights activists, I decided that I would focus on African American veterans’ impact on the Civil Rights Movement. However, instead of the “Red Ball Express,” I chose the Korean War, as the start of the Civil Rights Movement coincided with the Korean War’s end. I also selected this topic because Korean War veterans’ impact on the Civil Rights Movement is often forgotten, due to the war’s proximity to World War II. African American veterans’ experiences during the Korean War connect to the annual theme of “Turning Points in History” because their service in a newly racially integrated military helped influence the Civil Rights Movement.

My research began with secondary sources from JSTOR and primary sources, including government documents and accounts from Black Korean War veterans. These primary accounts from Black veterans formed the basis of my thesis, as they directly showed the experiences of Black veterans. Furthermore, conducting interviews with Korean War veterans in my community provided an invaluable perspective on segregated life in the U.S. and integrated military life, as well as offering me a unique experience to honor the service of veterans. When drafting the paper, I first provided context for what life in the U.S. was like during the Korean War, as well as how and why the Army integrated. I then focused my main section on three individual Black veterans who fought for civil rights in their local communities because of their service in an integrated Army. I chose to cover these experiences because I wanted to show that Black veterans led movements across the U.S. I also focused a section on the forgotten service of African American women in the Korean War, as this itself was a turning point in gender equality in the armed forces.

My historical argument is that the leadership experiences and sense of solidarity of Black soldiers in a newly integrated military caused them to return to the U.S. and fight for civil rights in their local communities, which were still segregated. In this way, Black veterans of the Korean War helped influence the Civil Rights Movement with their leadership and activism. This topic offers a unique, underrepresented perspective on military service during the Korean War as an important driver for the Civil Rights Movement, arguing that integration of the armed forces catalyzed integration at home. While much attention is focused on Black veterans from World War II, the forgotten experiences of Black veterans

from a forgotten war deserve to be heralded as a turning point in civil rights.

Introduction

Bookended by World War II and Vietnam, the Korean War is often overshadowed by these conflicts, resulting in the nickname the “Forgotten War,” when it in fact played a pivotal role in the foundation of the Civil Rights Movement.¹ The Korean War was the first conflict in which American troops served in racially-integrated units, following Executive Order 9981 in 1948, which called for integration of the armed forces.² However, military integration stood in stark contrast to the prevailing conditions in the United States during this period, as African Americans continued to face inequality and discrimination in all aspects of their lives.³ After the conclusion of the Korean War in 1953, Black veterans fought for civil rights in their local communities, using their leadership roles, experience in an integrated environment, and sense of solidarity that they were exposed to in the military.⁴ These Black veterans sought the same rights at home as in the armed forces, marking a turning point in the Civil Rights Movement.⁵

Service with Distinction Despite Segregation

Since America’s founding, the service of Black soldiers was often forgotten in the many military conflicts in which they participated. Beginning in 1775 during the Revolutionary War, African-American soldiers served predominantly in segregated, non-combat units.⁶ One notable exception included the 1st Rhode Island Regiment, an all-Black unit which repelled enemy attacks during the Battle of Rhode Island, resulting in the retreat of British troops.⁷ Despite the passage of the Confiscation and Militia Acts of 1862 and the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, segregation prevailed through the Civil War.⁸ During the Spanish-American War in 1898, all-Black Buffalo soldiers scored a decisive victory for

¹ Priscilla Roberts, “New Light on a ‘Forgotten War’: The Diplomacy of the Korean Conflict,” *OAH Magazine of History* 14, no. 3 (2000): 10–14.

² Daniel Indacochea, “A Farewell to Army Segregation: The Effects of Racial Integration During the Korean War,” University of Toronto, 2019; Monroe Billington, “Freedom to Serve: The President’s Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Forces, 1949-1950,” *The Journal of Negro History* 51, no. 4 (1966): 262–74.

³ David Terry, “Dismantling Jim Crow: Challenges to Racial Segregation, 1935 – 1955,” *Black History Bulletin* 67, no. 1/4 (2004): 14–17.

⁴ Kevin M. Kruse and Stephen Tuck, “Fog of War: The Second World War and the Civil Rights Movement,” Oxford University Press, 2012.

⁵ Harry S. Truman, “Executive Order 9981 dated July 26, 1948 in which President Harry S. Truman bans the segregation of the Armed Forces,” U.S. Government, 1948.

⁶ Walt Napier, “A short history of integration in the US armed forces,” Air Force, July 1, 2021.

⁷ Adam Zielinski, “Fighting for Freedom: African Americans Choose Sides During the American Revolution,” American Battlefield Trust, August 24, 2021; “The Battle of Rhode Island,” Tiverton Historical Society, Accessed February 3, 2024.

⁸ “Chap. CCI - An act to amend the Act calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections, and repel Invasion, approved February twenty-eight, seventeen hundred and ninety-five, and the Acts amendatory thereof, and for other Purposes,” U.S. Congress, pp. 597-600, July 17, 1862.

the Army at the battle of San Juan Hill, ensuring triumph in the conflict.⁹ However, Teddy Roosevelt claimed much of the credit for this victory, despite his nominal role in the battle, minimizing the contributions of Black soldiers.¹⁰

Military segregation continued in World War II, with African American soldiers serving in non-combat roles.¹¹ Similarly forgotten, the “Red Ball Express,” was a convoy primarily operated by African American drivers, supplying the American Army in its liberation of France. With its support, the Army continued to push through France, helping win World War II.¹²

Yet racism persisted throughout the war, with African-American soldier James Pritchett noting, “Here the Negro is nothing [...] Prisoners are treated better than we are here.”¹³ Racial prejudice was witnessed at the highest levels of command, with General Thomas Holcomb saying, “If it were a question of having 5,000 whites or 25,000 Negroes, I would rather have the whites.”¹⁴ In 1946, Isaac Woodard, a Black veteran of World War II, became a victim of racial violence when he was blinded and assaulted by White police in South Carolina when returning home from service.¹⁵ Hearing of this incident, President Harry S. Truman declared, “We’ve got to do something.”¹⁶

Integration in the Korean War

Influenced by Woodard and pressured by foreign critics to support the racial policy the US advocated for in the United Nations, Truman signed Executive Order 9981 in 1948, calling for “equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color.”¹⁷ Manpower shortages during the Korean War in all-White units compelled the Army to integrate, albeit cautiously, as Black soldiers were needed for reinforcements.¹⁸ Though Army integration had been championed for decades by the Black community, it was only after all-White units were depleted that integration

⁹ Frank N. Schubert, “Buffalo Soldiers: Myths and Realities,” *Army History*, no. 52 (2001): 13–18.

¹⁰ Frank N. Schubert, “Buffalo Soldiers at San Juan Hill,” *Army History*, no. 45 (1998): 36–38.

¹¹ John Modell, Marc Goulden, and Sigurdur Magnusson, “World War II in the Lives of Black Americans: Some Findings and Interpretation,” *The Journal of American History* 76, no. 3 (1989): 838–48.

¹² “Keep ‘em Rolling’: 82 Days on the Red Ball Express,” *The National WWII Museum*, February 1, 2021.

¹³ Matthias Reiss, “SOLIDARITY AMONG ‘FELLOW SUFFERERS’: AFRICAN AMERICANS AND GERMAN PRISONERS OF WAR IN THE UNITED STATES DURING WORLD WAR II,” *The Journal of African American History* 98, no. 4 (2013): 531–61.

¹⁴ Matthew F. Delmont, “Half American: The Heroic Story of African Americans Fighting World War II At Home And Abroad.” Penguin Books, (2022): 29; Bernard C. Nalty, “THE RIGHT TO FIGHT: African American Marines in World War II,” National Park Service, Accessed February 4, 2024.

¹⁵ Alan Petigny, “Review of The Significance of Veterans in the Postwar South,” *Reviews in American History* 33, no. 3 (2005): 424–30.

¹⁶ Jennifer Dubina, “EXECUTIVE ORDER 9981,” National Museum of the United States Army, Accessed January 22, 2024.

¹⁷ Harry S. Truman, “Executive Order 9981 dated July 26, 1948 in which President Harry S. Truman bans the segregation of the Armed Forces.”; Thomas Borstelmann, “The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena,” Harvard University Press; 2001, Page 34.

¹⁸ Paul B. Foreman, “The Implications of Project Clear,” *Phylon* (1940-1956) 16, no. 3 (1955): 263–74.

commenced.¹⁹ "Project Clear," an Army program designed to assess the benefits and drawbacks of integration, concluded that integration would usher in increased efficiency.²⁰ Studies suggested a warm reception to integration. In seven divisions of the Army in which African Americans served, 64 percent of White and noncommissioned officers opposed intermixed racial units, but after serving with them during the war, 77 percent reported positive feelings on mixed units.²¹ However, soldiers only gradually mixed because of General MacArthur's racial bias. MacArthur's unwillingness to integrate was captured during a conversation with Thurgood Marshall when MacArthur said, "There's none qualified," referencing Black soldiers in his headquarters.²² It wasn't until MacArthur was replaced by General Ridgeway that desegregation was initiated in earnest.²³

Despite integration, racism persisted. Kirk P. Adkins, an African American soldier, was refused evacuation following a battlefield injury. Only after a White pilot was held at gunpoint by fellow servicemembers was Adkins granted evacuation.²⁴ In 1951, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) dispatched future Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall to Korea to investigate Absent Without Official Leave charges against African American soldiers. Marshall revealed an asymmetry in the treatment of Black and White soldiers, noting "There's gotta be prejudice. That's all it is."²⁵ Despite the blatant racism, African Americans still viewed an integrated military more favorably than a segregated one. John Jackson, an African American veteran of the Korean War said that he could "join the conversation, eat at each other's plate" while serving in an integrated environment, but noted that those serving in a segregated system "did not encounter what I encountered."²⁶ Though integration gradually commenced in the Army, the same could not be said of U.S. society.

Continued Segregation at Home

Back home, northern states experienced partial integration, but Jim Crow laws prevailed in the South, limiting the rights of African-Americans by providing separate and unequal treatment, with laws proclaiming that "all railroads carrying passengers in the state" should "separate accommodations for the white and coloured races..."²⁷ Joe Leather, a White Korean War veteran, recalled growing up in Michigan without witnessing racism, as his primary schools were fully integrated. However, upon moving to Florida, Leather

¹⁹ Patrick J. Charles, "The Long Fight to Achieving Military Integration," Air Force, Accessed January 21, 2024.

²⁰ Paul B. Foreman, "The Implications of Project Clear."

²¹ "Opinions About Negro Infantry Platoons in White Companies of 7 Divisions," July 3, 1945, Desegregation of the Armed Forces collection, Harry S. Truman Library.

²² Lu Sun, "BATTLING THE MILITARY JIM CROW: THURGOOD MARSHALL AND THE RACIAL POLITICS OF THE NAACP DURING THE KOREAN WAR," Vanderbilt University, 2014.

²³ "African Americans in the Korean War," Korean War Legacy Foundation, Accessed December 22, 2023.

²⁴ Kirk P. Adkins, Gemia Layne Taylor, and Sarah Cooper, "Kirk P. Adkins Collection," Library of Congress, 2003.

²⁵ Thurgood Marshall, "Draft on Report of Korea," March 12, 1951.

²⁶ David P. Cline, "Twice Forgotten: African Americans and the Korean War, an Oral History," pp. 99-100, University of North Carolina Press, 2021.

²⁷ David P. Cline, "Twice Forgotten: African Americans and the Korean War, an Oral History," pp. 99-100, University of North Carolina Press, 2021.

observed that “segregation was an accepted fact” in high school.²⁸ Although segregation was enforced on the home front, the situation in the military rapidly evolved, and Black service members experienced service in an integrated military.

Turning Point: Serving in an Integrated Military

African American experiences in the Korean War were crucial to the Civil Rights Movement because African American soldiers were able to serve in a newly-integrated environment for the first time, a stark contrast with segregation back home. Terry Averett, an African American Army Corporal who served during the Korean War, noted that the different races “got along well” in the military.²⁹ Compared to his segregated life in Illinois, Army life showed Averett another way.

Even White soldiers, initially concerned about integration, had positive experiences in an integrated military. Leather, who served in the Navy, said, “We had some African Americans in my squadron, but I never encountered any racial problems.” Another White Korean War veteran, Larry Kirschenbaum, noted that integration created lasting friendships with Black service members, saying, “I had a lot of friends from different [racial] backgrounds.”³⁰ Experiences like Leather’s and Kirschenbaum’s helped lower prejudice among White veterans when they returned to the U.S., setting the stage for Black veterans to push for civil rights.³¹ As a result of their service, Black soldiers were exposed to an integrated environment, leadership experiences, and a sense of solidarity with White soldiers. After the Korean War ended, African American soldiers utilized their skills and took inspiration from their experiences to become Civil Rights leaders and fight for integration at home, cementing the Korean War as an important turning point in the battle for civil rights reforms.³²

From War Veterans to Civil Rights Leaders

The budding Civil Rights Movement was infused with activism from African American soldiers.³³ While leaders like Medgar Evers and Martin Luther King Jr. spearheaded the national movement, forgotten Black Korean War veterans like Donald McCullum, Charles Rangel, and Reginald Hawkins, who had experienced integration and gained valuable leadership experience while serving, championed integration in their local

²⁸ Ishaan Kendale, “Questions About Your Service in Korea,” Received by Joe Leather, September 22, 2023.

²⁹ Terry E. Averett, Erin A McCarthy, and Ebonee Dawson, “Terry E. Averett Collection,” Library of Congress, 2007.

³⁰ Ishaan Kendale and Larry Kirschenbaum, “Interview with Larry Kirschenbaum,” September 27, 2023.

³¹ Daniel Indacochea, “A Farewell to Army Segregation: The Effects of Racial Integration During the Korean War.”

³² “An Agreement Between the Commander-in-Chief United Nations Command and the Supreme Commander of the Korean People’s Army and the Commander of the Chinese People’s Volunteers Concerning a Military Armistice in Korea,” United Nations, 1953.

³³ “Stories of War: Korean War,” African American Veterans Monument, Accessed October 22, 2023.

communities.³⁴

Donald McCullum, a Navy officer during the Korean War, demonstrated exceptional service, earning recognition with two battle stars, the National Defense Medal, and the United Nations Medal.³⁵ By serving in an integrated military, McCullum earned accolades he could not have in a segregated society. Upon his release from the Navy in 1955, McCullum was elected president of the Oakland branch of the NAACP, and civil rights reform would continue to define his life.³⁶ He launched demonstrations protesting the treatment of African-Americans in other parts of the country, using the NAACP as a platform to gather support.³⁷ McCullum also fought for Black representation in the Oakland City Council, saying, “at the times that those in power determine that it is good and proper that Negroes be placed on the City Council, such occurs.”³⁸ Additionally, McCullum led the National Urban Coalition in the late 1960s, which focused on providing job training and employment for minorities.³⁹ From 1977 to 1988, McCullum served on the Alameda County Superior Court, dedicating himself to ensuring equal access to the court system for all races.⁴⁰

McCullum’s experiences in an integrated Army served as a crucial foundation, shaping him into a local leader who spearheaded transformative programs within the Civil Rights Movement. After his death in 1988, the Oakland-based McCullum Youth Court was named after him. This court offers young offenders a second chance through the principles of restorative justice, in alignment with McCullum’s values.⁴¹ By recognizing McCullum, the city of Oakland acknowledged his effect on civil rights through his organizational leadership, galvanizing his community.

Charles Rangel served in the Korean War and was awarded both the Bronze Star and Purple Heart after leading forty U.S. soldiers to safety from behind enemy lines.⁴² After his service, Rangel joined Martin Luther King Jr. in the historic march from Selma to Montgomery, advocating for African-American voting rights.⁴³ Rangel ran for the position of City Council President of New York in 1969, marking a historic bid as the first Afri-

³⁴ Jacob U. Gordon, “Black Males in the Civil Rights Movement,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 569 (2000): 42–55.

³⁵ Martin Schiesl, “DONALD PITTS MCCULLUM (1928-1988),” *BlackPast*, September 23, 2016.

³⁶ “A Time to Listen...A Time to Act,” U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967; “Camera Pictures Events in the News,” *Oakland Tribune*, 1959.

³⁷ “Oakland Protest Rallies Set,” *Oakland Tribune*, 1963. Pg. 4.

³⁸ “A Time to Listen...A Time to Act,” U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

³⁹ David L. Kirp, “Race, Schooling, and Interest Politics: The Oakland Story,” *The School Review* 87, no. 4 (1979): 355–97.

⁴⁰ Ronald V. Dellums, “Tribute to Hon. Donald P. McCullum,” *Congressional Record* Volume 142, 1996; “Oakland Tribune from Oakland, California • 3,” *Oakland Tribune*, October 23, 1965.

⁴¹ “Federal Building,” *OurOakland*, Accessed January 13, 2024; “Donald P. McCullum Youth Court,” *Bay Area Volunteer Information Center*, Accessed January 17, 2024.

⁴² “Charles B. Rangel,” *Charles B. Rangel International Affairs Program*, Accessed January 12, 2024.

⁴³ Adam Roberts, “Martin Luther King and Non-Violent Resistance,” *The World Today* 24, no. 6 (1968): 226–36; CBS New York, “Rep. Charlie Rangel On Civil Rights Movement Then And Now,” *YouTube*, January 18, 2021.

can-American to do so, although he lost by a significant margin.⁴⁴ Undeterred, Rangel ran for and won the election for Congressional House Representative of New York in 1971.⁴⁵ In 1971, Rangel said about his time in the Army, “When I was exposed to a different life, even if that life was just the Army, I knew damn well I couldn’t get back to the same life I had left.”⁴⁶ The “different life” Rangel was exposed to was serving in an integrated Army, and when he returned to the segregated U.S., he was determined to fight for Civil Rights in his community. Rangel founded the Congressional Black Caucus in 1971, which was aimed at using Constitutional power to ensure that African Americans have equal rights under the law.⁴⁷ Rangel was able to impact the Civil Rights Movement by passing important legislation to ensure equal rights for all citizens.

Reginald Hawkins served in the Korean War in a non-combat role, providing dental services at Fort Bragg in North Carolina from 1951-1953.⁴⁸ From a young age, Hawkins fought injustice in his community, as he participated in boycotts throughout college.⁴⁹ During his service, Hawkins protested that his base was in violation of Executive Order 9981, and he successfully desegregated the base. Hawkins’ success fueled his determination to eradicate segregation in his local community. In 1954, Hawkins orchestrated a sit-in at Charlotte’s Douglas Airport, protesting segregated facilities.⁵⁰ Hawkins founded the Mecklenburg Organization on Political Affairs, which was focused on political mobilization and enfranchising voters.⁵¹ In 1961, frustrated by continued segregation in schools, Hawkins led protests during the North Carolina World Trade Fair.⁵² In 1962, he desegregated the Charlotte Memorial Hospital, where he had been prevented from practicing. Hawkins entered the North Carolina gubernatorial race in 1968, securing 18.5 percent of the vote, saying, “I have no intention of stopping my people’s fight for equal rights.”⁵³ Despite another unsuccessful gubernatorial campaign in 1972, Hawkins made history as the first African American to run for the position in the state.⁵⁴ Hawkins helped invigorate the Charlotte Civil Rights Movement by using his leadership skills to desegregate schools and hospitals,

⁴⁴ Thomas P. Ronan, “Rangel Added to Scheuer’s Slate as first Negro in Primary Race,” *New York Times*, 1969.

⁴⁵ “HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES - Thursday, February 4, 1971,” *Congressional Record - House*, 1971; PIX11 News. “Watch: Historic 1970 Footage of a Newly Elected Rep. Charles Rangel,” YouTube, June 24, 2014.

⁴⁶ Emile Milne, “Rangel interview,” *New York Post*, 3 April 1971.

⁴⁷ “Congressional Black Caucus (CBC),” National Archives, Accessed January 12, 2024; Lawrence Van Gelder, “New York Congressman on the Move,” *New York Times*, 1974.

⁴⁸ “Money Isn’t Only Obstacle Negro Businessman Face,” *Charlotte Observer*, 196.

⁴⁹ Sarah Carrier, “Hawkins, Reginald Armistice,” *NCpedia*, 2018; Reginald A. Hawkins, “Reginald A. Hawkins oral history interview 1, 2001 June 11,” J. Murrey Atkins Library, 2001.

⁵⁰ Sarah Carrier, “Hawkins, Reginald Armistice.”

⁵¹ “1961 - Reginald Hawkins leads protest,” *Charlotte Mecklenburg Library*, Accessed January 12, 2024.

⁵² Lauren Tess Bundy, “A Community Worth Fighting For: African American Educational Activism in Charlotte, North Carolina, 1961-1974,” *North Carolina State University*, 2008.

⁵³ Sarafina Wright, “On This MLK Day, Remembering A Charlotte Civil Rights Icon,” *WFAE 90.7*, January 21, 2019; “Reginald Hawkins (1923-2007),” *North Carolina History Project*, Accessed February 2, 2024.

⁵⁴ “Reginald A. Hawkins papers.” J. Murrey Atkins Library Special Collections and University Archives, Accessed January 12, 2024.

even gaining support for a gubernatorial campaign.⁵⁵

Rangel, McCullum, and Hawkins gained important leadership skills and exposure to an integrated military, using these experiences to play vital roles in the Civil Rights Movements in their own local communities. But although these men earned and were offered leadership opportunities, Black women were not.

The Forgotten: African American Women in the Korean War

Unlike African American men, Black women in the Korean War were relegated to non-combat positions, and only 600 were sent to Korea. When Congress passed the Women's Armed Services Integration Act of 1948, women could finally serve in the Navy, Air Force, and Army.⁵⁶ Kathaleen Harris, an African American woman who served in the Army, said, "I didn't know they [African American women] served in the Korean War. I never saw one."⁵⁷ Despite their forgotten service, the experiences of African American women during the Korean War marked a turning point in gender and racial equality by validating the Women's Armed Services Integration Act.⁵⁸ Ernestine Dave, an African American woman, volunteered for the Women's Army Corps in 1951. Like all women in the Korean War, Dave did not serve in combat, instead performing administrative duties relating to prisoners of war in Japan.⁵⁹ Despite experiencing segregation during basic training, Dave said, "Being in service taught me that I am an American. And I was proud to be an American." Dave valued the integrated environment she served in, noting, "...[The places I served in] were more integrated than any other place I've ever been."⁶⁰ Eleanor Yorke was a Black Army Nurse Captain who served in the Korean War. ⁶¹After serving in Japan and Korea, Yorke was honored for her service by Rep. Charles Rangel. African American women serving in Korea, like Captain Yorke, were able to work in an integrated setting, as they did not have the numbers to form a separate unit.⁶²

Both Dave's and Yorke's experiences are just two that demonstrate that African American women served with distinction during the Korean War. While African Ameri-

⁵⁵ Michael B. Richardson, "Not Gradually... But Now: Reginald Hawkins, Black Leadership, and Desegregation in Charlotte, North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review* 82, no. 3 (2005): 347–79.

⁵⁶ "The Role of Women in the Korean War," Korean War Legacy Foundation, Accessed December 22, 2023; "PUBLIC LAW 625: THE WOMEN'S ARMED SERVICES INTEGRATION ACT OF 1948," U.S. Congress, June 12, 1948.

⁵⁷ "Telling Her Story: Black Women in Military Fill Gaps in History," National Association of Black Journalists, November 10, 2021.

⁵⁸ "History of Black Women in the Military," National Association of Black Military Women, Accessed December 22, 2023.

⁵⁹ Judith Bellafaire, "Called to Duty: Army Women during the Korean War Era," *Army History*, no. 52 (2001): 19–27.

⁶⁰ Ernestine Dave and Ann P. Smit, "Ernestine Dave Collection," Library of Congress, 2017.

⁶¹ "History of Black Women in the Military," National Association of Black Military Women.

⁶² Charles B. Rangel, "SALUTING AFRICAN AMERICAN SERVICEWOMEN OF THE KOREAN WAR ERA ON THE OCCASION OF THE 369TH HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S ANNUAL WOMEN'S HISTORY MONTH AWARDS CELEBRATION," Government Publishing Office, March 4, 2010.

can women didn't have opportunities for leadership roles like African American men, they validated the Women's Armed Services Integration Act, setting a precedent for their continued permanent service in the military. After the Korean War, increased numbers of Black women volunteered for service in the Vietnam War because of their previous service in the Korean War.⁶³ Although the Korean War didn't mark the same social turning point for gender equality as it did for racial equality, it was a positive step in creating a permanent place for African American women in the armed forces.

Impact

When the military integrated during the Korean War, African-American soldiers experienced an integrated life in a way that they could not have at home.⁶⁴ After they realized the impact of integration, including leadership opportunities and a sense of solidarity with White soldiers, they returned home, where many became Civil Rights activists, fighting for the same integrated conditions in their everyday lives.⁶⁵ Veterans like McCullum, Rangel, and Hawkins were trailblazers who helped galvanize civil rights efforts in their local areas long before the Civil Rights Movement swept the country, while Black women service members helped reinforce groundbreaking legislation for gender equality. The Korean War provided unique experiences and a taste of integration to Black veterans, inspiring them to become early activists who helped influence the Civil Rights Movement in force, leading to the end of segregation in the United States.

Appendix



An integrated unit serving during the Korean War.
 “Breaking the Color Barrier in the Trenches.”
 National Museum of African American History
 & Culture, 2023.

⁶³ “History of Black Women in the Military,” National Association of Black Military Women.

⁶⁴ Daniel Indacochea, “A Farewell to Army Segregation: The Effects of Racial Integration During the Korean War.”

⁶⁵ Ishaan Kendale, “Korean War + African American Civil Rights,” Received by Prof. Mitchell Lerner, November 6, 2023.

Turning Point for Life on Earth: ExxonMobil's Decision to Launch a Disinformation Campaign

René Miramontes

In 2021, my community leaders approved a logistics warehouse ten feet from a high school risking the lives and health of students. A warehouse on its own is nothing more than a building, it deposits thousands of tons of greenhouse gases caused by diesel truck emissions. As a result of the known health impacts of diesel particulates, the State Attorney General sued my city to force changes. My city is home to millions of square feet of warehouses and millions of tons of diesel particulates, but this act of justice by the Attorney General inspired a passion in me to learn more about the history of environmental justice as it relates to civil rights. In response to this lawsuit, a local organization launched an Environmental Justice Ambassador program to help the community learn about the impacts of diesel particulates on their health. Even though I was in eighth grade, I decided to attend to understand fossil fuel impacts on my health and future.

The Ambassador Program discussed energy solutions such as diversification and democratization. We reviewed the internal research and climate models created by ExxonMobil demonstrating their initial investment in stopping the negative impacts of fossil fuels on Earth. It was shocking to learn that an industry could obscure the truth about the anthropomorphic impact of fossil fuels to ensure their financial leverage geopolitically. This class inspired me to research the fossil fuel industry's decision to launch a disinformation campaign as a turning point for life on Earth.

I reviewed scientific journals, news outlets, and internal documents from ExxonMobil to understand the oil industry's impact on the scientific community's knowledge of climate change. I investigated opposing viewpoints to explain why such a large company would launch a disinformation campaign calling into question decades of their own conclusions showing the link between fossil fuels and climate change. I discovered the impact that the 1970s oil embargo had on America who was left to provide its own energy and oil that resulted in socio-economic turmoil and contributed to a successful disinformation campaign.

The CO₂ and Climate Task Force Meeting in 1980 ushered in the end of the oil industry's partnership for progressive energy solutions. When faced with devastating global impacts, these companies prioritized market shares rather than the viability of Earth. Their decision to trivialize global warming has turned into a topic of controversy and political divide. The Task Force Meeting marks the end of the acceptance of scientific research and

has turned science into politicized disinformation.

Fossil fuels are an invisible part of our daily lives. They power our cars, provide the electricity for our homes, and are the backbone of our everyday luxuries. Separating our world from fossil fuels is difficult even when we know that increased use hinders the planet's ability to sustain life. As a result of the 1980's Task Force Meeting, the oil industry has successfully managed a disinformation campaign for over fifty years, a turning point that I hope to elucidate in this National History Day submission.

On February 29, 1980, a meeting of the CO₂ and Climate Task Force was attended by the scientific and business leaders of the world's energy giants: SOHIO, Texaco, Exxon R&E, and the American Petroleum Institute (appendix A).¹ Exxon scientists presented over twenty-five years' of scientific research that conclusively linked the anthropogenic impacts of burning fossil fuels to increasing carbon emissions, resulting in climate change.² Despite the data presented, the industry's business leaders decided that turning away from fossil fuels would be financially devastating and a Turning Point to sever the link between the anthropogenic impacts of fossil fuels and human-induced climate change must be prioritized.³ The business decision to actively hunt for data that contradicted twenty-five years' worth of conclusive scientific evidence linking fossil fuels to climate change marked a Turning Point for life on Earth, as it was the start of a deliberate disinformation campaign headed by Exxon.⁴ All members of the Climate Task Force had decades of accurate anthropogenic data but what set Exxon apart was its deliberate efforts to use their climate scientists to find energy alternatives,⁵ while simultaneously creating shell organizations to discredit these very same scientists to limit their liability.⁶

In 1957, Scientists working at Humble Oil, now ExxonMobil, published research that linked fossil fuel burning and rising carbon dioxide (CO₂), or the greenhouse effect, as a climate risk with predictions more accurate than those of government scientists.⁷ The Earth's atmosphere relies on the "greenhouse effect," a process in which gases such as CO₂, methane, nitrous oxide, water vapor, etc., contribute to warming the planet to hospitable temperatures.⁸ Like a greenhouse, Earth's atmosphere retains the heat generated from greenhouse gases.⁹ While this process is natural, the process of releasing fossil fuels is not.

¹ Nelson, J J. *AQ-9 Task Force Meeting 1980*, America Petroleum Institute, 29 Feb. 1980.

² Hall, Shannon. "Exxon Knew about Climate Change Almost 40 Years Ago." *Scientific American*, 26 Feb. 2020; Black, James F. *James Black 1977 Presentation the Greenhouse Effect*, 6 June 1987.

³ Nelson, J J. *AQ-9 Task Force Meeting 1980*, America Petroleum Institute, 29 Feb. 1980.

⁴ Rich, Nathaniel, and Willi Winkler. *Losing Earth: The Decade We Could Have Stopped Climate Change*. Rowohlt Berlin, 2019; "Distribution of Electoral Democracy Index." *Our World in Data*, Accessed 15 Jan. 2024.

⁵ Industry documents library. (1978, March 7). [Memorandum from EJ Gornowski to HN Weinberg Regarding "CO₂"].

⁶ Grist. (2023, February 14). Here's how much Exxon really knew. YouTube; Climate-Admin. (2021, February 4). Exxon's oil industry peers knew about climate dangers in the 1970s, too. Inside Climate News.

⁷ Supran, G, et al. *Assessing ExxonMobil's Global Warming Projections | Science*, 13 Jan. 2023.

⁸ Randal Jackson. (n.d.). *FAQ: What is the greenhouse effect? - climate change: Vital signs of...* NASA.

⁹ *The greenhouse effect*. British Geological Survey. (2023, April 5).

The burning of fossil fuels emits a tremendous amount of greenhouse gases that naturally take centuries of decomposing.¹⁰ In the 1950's energy companies knew that burning fossil fuels released excessive greenhouse gases, causing the Earth's global temperature to rise and decreasing the amount of breathable air.¹¹ As a result of the George Callendar's work in 1949, which compiled all CO₂ measurements made over the previous 100 years,¹² and the Keeling Curve started in 1958,¹³ scientists understood that "until the late 1700s, atmospheric carbon dioxide was about 280 ppm (appendix B)."¹⁴

The planet's CO₂ levels had remained between 270-280 ppm for 2.5 million years until industrialization.¹⁵ When the fossil fuel industry started their research, it had been observed that CO₂ levels increased from 311 ppm in the 1950's to 339 ppm by 1980.¹⁶ The sudden increase in CO₂ levels caused alarm in the scientific community. A fact that Exxon's Scientific Advisor J.F. Black's highlighted in an internal June 6, 1978, memo to Vice President Turpin, "man can afford a 5–10-year window to establish the validity and significance of fossil fuels at the present [beyond] that their use should not be encouraged."¹⁷ This was emphasized at the Climate Task Force meeting where current fossil fuel levels and temperature data models predicted a 5°

Celsius, or 41° Fahrenheit, increase that would result in "Global Catastrophic Effects" (appendix C).¹⁸ Instead of inspiring a Turning Point for environmental preservation, business leaders launched a disinformation campaign to minimize liability and increase profitability.¹⁹ The business solution was to invent a narrative that severed the anthropogenic link between fossil fuels and climate change by discrediting science (appendix D).²⁰

In 1968, Stanford Research Institute (SRI) scientists Elmer Robinson and R.C. Robbins produced a Final Report to the American Petroleum Institute (API), which funded their research with the directive to find alternative reasons for the increasing CO₂ levels.²¹ The study stated that among the pollutants reviewed, CO₂ "is the only air pollutant which has been proven to be of global importance to man's environment based on a long period of

¹⁰ *Causes of climate change*. Climate Action; "The Carbon Cycle (Article) | Ecology." *Khan Academy*, Khan Academy, Accessed 10 Jan. 2024.

¹¹ *Understanding climate change*. DCCEEW. (n.d.-b). Admin. "1979 Exxon Memo on Potential Impact of Fossil Fuel Combustion." *Climate Files*, 19 Apr. 2016.

¹² Callendar, G. *Can Carbon Dioxide Influence Climate?*, Oct. 1949.

¹³ Monroe, Robert. "The Keeling Curve." *The Keeling Curve*, 10 Feb. 2024, keelingcurve.ucsd.edu/.

¹⁴ AHMED, Issam. "Current Carbon Dioxide Levels Last Seen 14 Million Years Ago." *Phys.Org*, Phys.org, 9 Dec. 2023.

¹⁵ Rice, Doyle. "New Climate Record Is a Reminder: Earth Used to Be Way Hotter, the Oceans Way Higher." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 11 Dec. 2023.

¹⁶ "Trends in Atmospheric Concentrations of CO₂ (PPM), CH₄ (Ppb) and N₂o (Ppb), between 1800 and 2017." *European Environment Agency*, 5 Dec. 2019.

¹⁷ Black, James F. *James Black 1977 Presentation the Greenhouse Effect*, 6 June 1987.

¹⁸ Nelson, J.J. *AQ-9 Task Force Meeting 1980*, America Petroleum Institute, 29 Feb. 1980.

¹⁹ Nelson, J.J. *AQ-9 Task Force Meeting 1980*, America Petroleum Institute, 29 Feb. 1980.

²⁰ Nelson, J.J. *AQ-9 Task Force Meeting 1980*, America Petroleum Institute, 29 Feb. 1980.

²¹ Brannon, H. R., Jr., A. C. Daughtry, D. Perry, W. W. Whitaker, and M. Williams (1957), *Radiocarbon evidence on the dilution of atmospheric and oceanic carbon by carbon from fossil fuels*.

scientific investigation.”²² CO₂ emissions were outstripping the natural removal processes,²³ early warnings that increasing CO₂ levels would result in elevated surface temperatures leading to melting ice caps, rising seas, and serious environmental damage worldwide.²⁴

In the 1970’s and the early 1980’s,²⁵ Exxon invested in diversifying energy production by creating the Exxon Research and Engineering Company to reduce the demand for fossil fuels and developing alternatives such as Exxon nuclear, solar, wind, battery storage, and geothermal power.²⁶ Exxon climate scientist Marty Hoffert stated:

We knew that this had the potential to impact the bottom line of Exxon and that it could affect geopolitics. But that was just an abstraction. We were more focused on alternative sources of energy that would, for example, practically speaking, allow a middle-class American lifestyle, North American lifestyle, to continue without burning fossil fuel.²⁷

ExxonMobil launched a campaign to hide the effect of carbon emissions, spent millions of dollars funding climate change deniers, and launched a strategic campaign to disinform the public and their investors.²⁸ The critical question is what current events were happening geopolitically that would be worth the risk of committing a criminal campaign to mislead and defraud investors, the public, and the Earth’s ability to support life? The answer lies in the aftermath of the 1970’s OPEC Oil Embargo.

The global impacts of the Oil Embargo of 1973-1974 clearly demonstrated that Arab members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) had the power to use their fossil fuels to destroy global economies and make immediate changes to their geopolitical positions.²⁹ As a result of the embargo, there were gas, heating, electric, chemical, and manufacturing shortages that crippled the American economy.³⁰ America lost its leverage in the world, and long-term impacts of climate change were ignored in order to prioritize America’s geopolitical power by increasing domestic oil production.³¹ The So-

²² Cavanagh, L. A. (1968). *Concentrations of Carbon Monoxide and Organic Gases in Arctic Atmospheres*. Stanford Research Inst. Menlo Park, CA.

²³ Cavanagh, L. A. (1968). *Concentrations of Carbon Monoxide and Organic Gases in Arctic Atmospheres*. Stanford Research Inst. Menlo Park, CA.

²⁴ Cavanagh, L. A. (1968). *Concentrations of Carbon Monoxide and Organic Gases in Arctic Atmospheres*. Stanford Research Inst. Menlo Park, CA.

²⁵ Farrell, John. “Energy Democracy in 4 Powerful Steps.” *Renewable Energy World*, 2 Sept. 2021.

²⁶ Rich, Nathaniel, and Willi Winkler. *Losing Earth: The Decade We Could Have Stopped Climate Change*. Rowohlt Berlin, 2019.

²⁷ Westervelt, Amy. “The Bell Labs of Energy.” *Drilled*. Podcast audio, August 2018.

²⁸ “Exxon Knew of Climate Change in 1981, Email Says – but It Funded Deniers for 27 More Years.” *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 8 July 2015; Gillis, Justin, and John Schwartz. “Exxon Mobil Accused of Misleading Public on Climate Change Risks.” *The New York Times*, The New York Times, 31 Oct. 2015.

²⁹ “Oil Embargo, 1973–1974.” *U.S. Department of State*, U.S. Department of State, Accessed 18 Jan. 2024; Sinha, R. P. “Japan and the Oil Crisis.” *The World Today*, vol. 30, no. 8, 1974, pp. 335–44. *JSTOR*, Accessed 21 Jan. 2024.

³⁰ “REWIND: Revisiting the 1973 Oil Crisis.” YouTube, WFAA, 23 Mar. 2022, Accessed 18 Jan. 2024.

³¹ Jimmy, Carter. “*National Energy Plan: Address to the Nation*.” National Energy Plan: Address to the Nation. | The American Presidency Project, 8 Nov. 1977.

viet Union, which was oil independent, began asserting its dominance in the Middle East causing further concern for potential nuclear war.³² This resulted in the US forces initiating DEFCON3.³³ The OPEC Oil Embargo changed the world in many ways, exposing the control fossil fuels had on the planet. ExxonMobil would leverage this to justify its decades of disinformation starting at the 1980 CO₂ and Climate Task Force Meeting.³⁴ A historical analysis of ExxonMobil's knowledge versus scientific gaps must be conducted to distinguish the intent of the strategic disinformation campaign that leveraged the panic and economic instability of the 1970's OPEC Oil Embargo.

Evidence of scientific knowledge and an intent to disinform is found in the internal and published works of ExxonMobil starting in 1977, a decade before it became a public issue.³⁵ Exxon outfitted an oil tanker to research fossil fuel induced climate change between 1979-1982, in hopes of finding a nonanthropogenic tie.³⁶ The Esso Atlantic Tanker ship was a supertanker that was fitted with a laboratory and sensors to measure the anthropogenic CO₂ oceanic absorption versus natural CO₂ emissions.³⁷ The research conducted internally on the Esso Atlantic Tanker strengthened the previous findings that fossil fuels were behind the increase in atmospheric CO₂ levels.³⁸

In the 1970's and 1980's ExxonMobil's internal division continued to predict that if fossil fuel combustion levels grew at a rate of 2% per year, then decrease after 2025, the CO₂ concentration would continue to peak at double the standard concentration into 2075.³⁹ Meaning the CO₂ levels of the 1980's could not be processed even if we reduced our fossil fuel consumption immediately.⁴⁰ The model created by ExxonMobil projected CO₂ levels to reach 470 ppm by 2025, 550 ppm by 2050, 700 ppm by 2075, and about 950 ppm by 2100.⁴¹ The last time earth's CO₂ levels had crossed 1,000 ppm was 56 million years ago, and took 150,000 years to dissipate.⁴² These internal models (appendix E), depended on factors such as maintaining the current global tree cover and could not account for the rates of deforestation already in motion in the 1980's where the tree canopy reduction was

³² Lee, Kyu. "The 1973 Oil Crisis: Three Crises in One-and the Lessons for Today - Center on Global Energy Policy at Columbia University Sipa: CGEP." Center on Global Energy Policy at Columbia University SIPA | CGEP, 16 Oct. 2023.

³³ Lee, Kyu. "The 1973 Oil Crisis: Three Crises in One-and the Lessons for Today - Center on Global Energy Policy at Columbia University Sipa: CGEP." Center on Global Energy Policy at Columbia University SIPA | CGEP, 16 Oct. 2023.

³⁴ Nelson, J.J. AQ-9 Task Force Meeting 1980, America Petroleum Institute, 29 Feb. 1980.

³⁵ Hall, Shannon. "Exxon Knew about Climate Change Almost 40 Years Ago." *Scientific American*, 26 Feb. 2020.

³⁶ Black, James F. *James Black 1977 Presentation the Greenhouse Effect*, 6 June 1987.

³⁷ Banerjee, Neela, et al. "Exxon's Own Research Confirmed Fossil Fuels' Role in Global Warming Decades Ago." *Inside Climate News*, 27 Apr. 2021.

³⁸ Black, James F. *James Black 1977 Presentation the Greenhouse Effect*, 6 June 1987.

³⁹ Black, James F. *James Black 1977 Presentation the Greenhouse Effect*, 6 June 1987.

⁴⁰ Black, James F. *James Black 1977 Presentation the Greenhouse Effect*, 6 June 1987.

⁴¹ Kiehl, Jeffrey. "Data from Earth's Past Holds a Warning for Our Future under Climate Change " Yale Climate Connections." *Yale Climate Connections*, 5 Apr. 2021; Supran, G, et al. *Assessing ExxonMobil's Global Warming Projections | Science*, 13 Jan. 2023.

⁴² AHMED, Issam. "Current Carbon Dioxide Levels Last Seen 14 Million Years Ago." *Phys.Org*, Phys.org, 9 Dec. 2023.

35% per year.⁴³ In a follow up internal memo written in 1979 Exxon predicted that the rate of environmental temperature change would come faster than expected, predicting the catastrophic temperature increase by 2050.⁴⁴ ExxonMobil assessed the observed dangers that fossil fuels imposed on the climate and suggested alternative energy fueling.⁴⁵ Despite years of research the fossil fuel industry launched a disinformation campaign at the highest levels of the corporation.⁴⁶

On October 13, 1997, the CEO of Exxon Corp., Lee R. Raymond, told the 15th World Petroleum Congress in Beijing three things: First, the world isn't warming. Second, even if it were, oil and gas wouldn't be the cause. Third, no one can predict the likely future temperature rise.⁴⁷

Exxon and Mobil as individual corporations had a plethora of human and natural climate change models, but after their 1999 merger the amount of disinformation propagated to the public exponentially increased.⁴⁸ Starting in the 1990's ExxonMobil published documents that contradicted the fundamental research of human caused climate change, despite years of working to find alternative energy solutions.⁴⁹ The joint powers ran a weekly advertorial in the opinion page of the New York Times to disinform the public regarding climate change.

Accounting for expressions of reasonable doubt, 83 percent of peer-reviewed papers and 80 percent of internal documents acknowledge that climate change is real and human-caused, yet only 12 percent of advertorials do so, with 81 percent instead expressing doubt. We conclude that ExxonMobil contributed to advancing climate science — by way of its scientists' academic publications — but promoted doubt about it in advertorials. Given this discrepancy, we conclude that ExxonMobil misled the public.⁵⁰

Not only did the new joint powers of ExxonMobil work to increase fossil fuel consumption and profits, but they did so after publishing their precise timeline of CO₂ levels and temperature change created in a 1982 model.⁵¹

On March 23, 2000, ExxonMobil aggressively launched climate disinformation through the "Unsettled Science" advertorial.⁵² This advertorial disregarded forty-five years of

⁴³ Follett, Chelsea. "What Do the Numbers Show about Global Deforestation?" *Human Progress*, 7 Mar. 2023.

⁴⁴ Admin. "1979 Exxon Memo on Potential Impact of Fossil Fuel Combustion." *Climate Files*, 19 Apr. 2016.

⁴⁵ Admin. "1979 Exxon Memo on Potential Impact of Fossil Fuel Combustion." *Climate Files*, 19 Apr. 2016.

⁴⁶ Raeburn, Paul. "Global Warming: Is There Still Room for Doubt?" *Bloomberg.Com*, Bloomberg, 3 Nov. 1997.

⁴⁷ Raeburn, Paul. "Global Warming: Is There Still Room for Doubt?" *Bloomberg.Com*, Bloomberg, 3 Nov. 1997.

⁴⁸ "Fossil Fuel Disinformation Case Study: Exxon · Digital Collections @ Union." *Digital Collections · Featured · Digital Collections* · Digital Collections @ Union, Accessed 20 Jan. 2024.

⁴⁹ Roberts, David. "Exxon Researched Climate Science. Understood It. and Misled the Public." *Vox, Vox*, 23 Aug. 2017.

⁵⁰ Gibson, Connor. "How Exxon Used the New York Times to Make You Question Climate Science." *Greenpeace USA - We Fight for a Greener, More Peaceful World.*, 28 Aug. 2017.

⁵¹ Supran, G, et al. *Assessing ExxonMobil's Global Warming Projections* | *Science*, 13 Jan. 2023.

⁵² "Unsettled Science by ExxonMobil." DocumentCloud, 23 Mar. 2000.

ExxonMobil's research conclusively illustrating that the Earth was getting hotter.⁵³ The advertorial falsely concluded "increased levels of carbon dioxide can promote crop and forest growth."⁵⁴ ExxonMobil campaigned that the science of global warming was too uncertain for any policies to be made, and governments should suspend action for further research.⁵⁵ ExxonMobil strategically launched propaganda from within the US government politicizing global warming, managing campaign contributions to control domestic and global politics, in favor of increasing the world's dependency on fossil fuels despite its impact on health and human life.⁵⁶

This disinformation campaign had a direct impact on American Democracy as the weekly advertorials and frequent lobbying influenced Congress, the American People, and the Bush Administration.⁵⁷ Exxon, under the guise of Global Climate Coalition, focused its efforts on pressuring the administration with advertorials that pressured the rejection of the Kyoto Protocol with arguments "Let's not rush to a decision at Kyoto ... We still don't know what role man-made greenhouse gases might play in warming the planet."⁵⁸ ExxonMobil's memos reveal that "Potus [president of the United States] rejected Kyoto in part based on input from you [the Global Climate Coalition]."⁵⁹

The 2019 House Oversight Committee, "Examining the Oil Industry's Efforts to Suppress the Truth About Climate Change", revealed ExxonMobil's complacent approach to managing their global impact.⁶⁰ Martin Hoffert, a former ExxonMobil consultant, gave a testimony during the congressional hearing that unveiled the industrial giant's conscious decision to discredit the global scientific consensus.⁶¹

I cannot see into Exxon management's heart. Whatever its intent--willful ignorance, stymieing an effective response to preserve quarterly profits, or simply an incomprehensible refusal to incorporate their own world class researchers'

⁵³ Brannon, H. R., Jr., A. C. Daughtry, D. Perry, W. W. Whitaker, and M. Williams (1957), *Radiocarbon evidence on the dilution of atmospheric and oceanic carbon by carbon from fossil fuels*, *Eos Trans. AGU*, 38(5), 643–650.

⁵⁴ "Unsettled Science by ExxonMobil." DocumentCloud, 23 Mar. 2000.

⁵⁵ "Unsettled Science by ExxonMobil." DocumentCloud, 23 Mar. 2000.

⁵⁶ Kirk, Karin. "Fossil Fuel Political Giving Outdistances Renewables 13 to One." *Yale Climate Connections*, 25 Oct. 2022; "Exxon Mobil Lobbying Profile 2000's," Accessed 10 Jan. 2024; "Climate Effects on Health." *Centers for Disease Control and Prevention*, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 25 Apr. 2022.

⁵⁷ "Distribution of Electoral Democracy Index." *Our World in Data*, Accessed 15 Jan. 2024; "Study Shows ExxonMobil Hiding Knowledge of the Threat of Climate Change since the 1970s | DW News."

YouTube, Dw News, 13 Jan. 2023, Accessed 18 Dec. 2023.

⁵⁸ "The Forgotten Oil Ads That Told Us Climate Change Was Nothing." *The Guardian*, *Guardian News and Media*, 18 Nov. 2021.

⁵⁹ "Revealed: How Oil Giant Influenced Bush." *The Guardian*, *Guardian News and Media*, 8 June 2005.

⁶⁰ "Exxon Sowed Doubt about Climate Crisis, House Democrats Hear in Testimony." *The Guardian*, *Guardian News and Media*, 23 Oct. 2019; 116th Congress. "Examining the Oil Industry's Efforts to Suppress the Truth About ..." *Congress.gov*, 23 Oct. 2019.

⁶¹ *Exxon's Early Climate Models Were Creepily Accurate, New Study Finds*, ExxonKnews, 12 Jan. 2023, [www.exxonknews.org/p/exxons-early-climate-models-were.](http://www.exxonknews.org/p/exxons-early-climate-models-were;); 116th Congress. "Examining the Oil Industry's Efforts to Suppress the Truth About ..."

results into their business plans, which is demonstrably counterproductive long-term--what they did was wrong. They spread doubt about the dangers of climate change when its researchers were confirming how serious a threat it was⁶²

ExxonMobil's climate projections were brought forth as evidence, in these hearings.⁶³ House Democrats presented the 1982 timeline graphs that revealed that Exxon was able to accurately predict the 2019 carbon concentration of 415 PPM, a drastic increase from the carbon concentration of 341 PPM in 1982.⁶⁴ It was clear in the 2019 House Democrat hearings, that ExxonMobil's data was 99% accurate.⁶⁵ Energy monopolies hold trial for life behind closed doors and sentence us to death by combating policies to reduce CO₂ emission such as the Green New Deal.⁶⁶

The discord within the American social and political climate has been at an all-time high, while the agreeable scientific foundation of this nation has continued to collapse.⁶⁷ Scientists such as Dr Patrick T Brown, have raised now debunked claims that the scientific community will only publish papers that support anthropogenic links to fossil fuels.⁶⁸ On August 30, 2023, Dr Brown et.al, published, *Climate Warming Increases Extreme Daily Wildfire Growth Risk in California*.⁶⁹ Six days later, Dr. Brown contradicted his research in an opinion piece written in The Free Press, *I Left Out the Full Truth to Get My Climate Change Paper Published*.⁷⁰ Brown claims the oversaturation of climate change-focused conclusions influenced his own decision not to consider other variables in his research.⁷¹ *Nature*, per protocol, published Brown's research with peer-reviewed comments that advised that consideration and further research was needed to evaluate the role of other factors. This peer review process allows the scientific community to review focused research while considering alternative variables; a fact omitted in Brown's opinion piece.

Today, fossil fuel combustion has increased while rising global temperatures are fifty- years ahead of modeling (appendix F).⁷² Energy diversification during the OPEC Oil Embargo demonstrated that less dependance on fossil fuels did not devastate economies.⁷³

⁶² 116th Congress. "Examining the Oil Industry's Efforts to Suppress the Truth About ..." *Congress.gov*, 23 Oct. 2019.

⁶³ "Exxon Sowed Doubt about Climate Crisis, House Democrats Hear in Testimony." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 23 Oct. 2019.

⁶⁴ "Archives Des 1982." *BORN IN...PPM*, Accessed 16 Jan. 2024.

⁶⁵ "Exxon Sowed Doubt about Climate Crisis, House Democrats Hear in Testimony." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 23 Oct. 2019.

⁶⁶ Nelson, J. J. *AQ-9 Task Force Meeting 1980*, America Petroleum Institute, 29 Feb. 1980.

⁶⁷ Easterbrook, Gregg, et al. "*The Challenging Politics of Climate Change*." *Brookings*, 20 July 2023.

⁶⁸ *Newspapers are using climate researcher's false claims about journal bias to mislead readers*. Grantham Research Institute on climate change and the environment. (2023, September 8).

⁶⁹ Brown, P. T., Hanley, H., Mahesh, A., Reed, C., Strenfel, S. J., Davis, S. J., Kochanski, A. K., & Clements, C. B. (2023, August 30). Climate warming increases extreme daily wildfire growth risk in California. *Nature News*.

⁷⁰ Brown, P. (2023, September 5). I left out the full truth to get my climate change paper published.

⁷¹ Brown, P. (2023, September 5). I left out the full truth to get my climate change paper published.

⁷² Lindsey, R., & Dahlman, L. (2023, January 18). *Climate change: Global temperature*. NOAA Climate.gov.

⁷³ Sinha, R. P. "Japan and the Oil Crisis." *The World Today*, vol. 30, no. 8, 1974, pp. 335-44. *JSTOR*, Accessed 21 Jan. 2024.

After Japan was hit with losing oil imports during the OPEC Oil Embargo; Japan invested in government programs for nuclear power, longer lasting batteries, and mass transit that advanced their energy market past the instability of fossil fuels.⁷⁴ Japan put the financial stability and long-term health of their people first.

We should not ask for oil prostrating the dignity of Japan as a nation. We should not ask for oil by prostrating ourselves on the ground. We have to examine what is most important.⁷⁵

Japan's diversified energy sources enhanced their energy sustainability and boosted their economy.⁷⁶ Japan's Turning Point was when they implemented Exxon funded research into alternative energy sources.⁷⁷ Conversely, America's dependency on fossil fuels was artificially enforced by a disinformation campaign adversely impacting the Earth.⁷⁸

February 29, 1980, became Earth's Turning Point as it determined the world's geopolitical direction and global polices, and viability of life.⁷⁹ ExxonMobil's disinformation campaign altered global politics to increase their profits.⁸⁰ A new Turning Point presents itself, we can take steps to force regulatory changes for energy companies like ExxonMobil to disclose their role in the link between CO2 emissions and fossil fuels.⁸¹ If we remove the manipulated false narrative, there is a chance to achieve the energy alternatives suggested in the Kyoto Treaty and The Green New Deal.⁸² America can implement the energy diversification discovered in the 1950's and redefine the future.⁸³ Afterall, in the words of Mobil, "we live in a greenhouse too."⁸⁴

⁷⁴ "Japan Energy Report." *Enerdata*, 1 Dec. 2023.

⁷⁵ Yamakoshi, Atsushi. *A Study on Japan's Reaction to the 1973 Oil Crisis*, June 1986.

⁷⁶ Yago K. *Before the 'locomotive' runs: the impact of the 1973–1974 oil shock on Japan and the international financial system*. *Financial History Review*. 2020;27(3):418-435.

⁷⁷ Admin. "1979 Exxon Memo on Potential Impact of Fossil Fuel Combustion." *Climate Files*, 19 Apr. 2016.

⁷⁸ "Fossil Fuel Disinformation Case Study: Exxon · Digital Collections @ Union." *Digital Collections · Featured · Digital Collections · Digital Collections @ Union*, Accessed 20 Jan. 2024.

⁷⁹ Rich, Nathaniel, and Willi Winkler. *Losing Earth: The Decade We Could Have Stopped Climate Change*. Rowohlt Berlin, 2019.

⁸⁰ Rich, Nathaniel, and Willi Winkler. *Losing Earth: The Decade We Could Have Stopped Climate Change*. Rowohlt Berlin, 2019; "Distribution of Electoral Democracy Index." *Our World in Data*, Accessed 15 Jan. 2024.

⁸¹ 2017-04-18T19:48:00+01:00. "Climate Disclosure – What Does This Year's ExxonMobil Resolution Tell Us?" *PRJ*, 18 Apr. 2017.

⁸² "Distribution of Electoral Democracy Index." *Our World in Data*, Accessed 15 Jan. 2024; 116th Congress. H. Res. 109 *Recognizing the Duty of the Federal Government to Create a Green New Deal*, 7 Feb. 2019.

⁸³ Admin. "1979 Exxon Memo on Potential Impact of Fossil Fuel Combustion." *Climate Files*, 19 Apr. 2016; 116th Congress. H. Res. 109 *Recognizing the Duty of the Federal Government to Create a Green New Deal*, 7 Feb. 2019.

⁸⁴ Mobil Corp. (1989, July 6). *People Who Live in Greenhouses*.

Appendix A

CO₂ AND CLIMATE TASK FORCE (AQ-9)

Minutes of Meeting

9:15 a.m.
Friday, February 29, 1980

Manhattan Room
LaGuardia Airport
New York City, New York

MEMBERS PRESENT

K. Blower, Chairman	SOHIO
B. Bailey	Texaco
H. Shaw	Exxon B&E

OTHERS PRESENT

J. Laurman	Consultant
J. Nelson	API/E&D
C. Showers	SOHIO

OPENING REMARKS

K. Blower, Chairman, opened the meeting by listing the following goals of this meeting:

1. Increase industry's understanding of the CO₂ and climate problem.
2. Determine if there are feasible and valuable research projects that could be accomplished by API.
3. Establish a mechanism to prepare any needed issue papers.

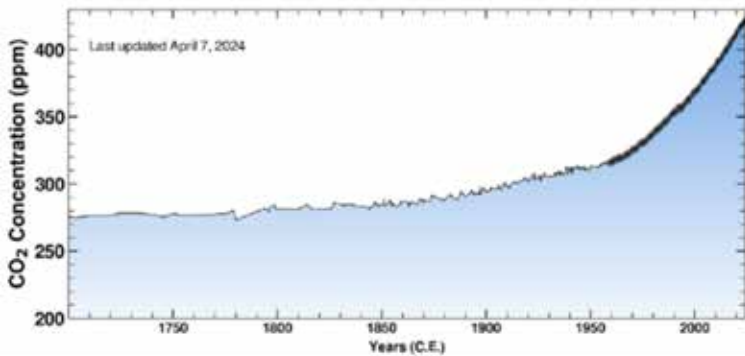
B. Bailey added the following items for consideration:

1. This Task Force should be the focal point and establish a basis for providing API comments on CO₂ and climate matters.
2. An overall goal of the Task Force should be to help develop ground rules for energy release of fuels and the cleanup of fuels as they relate to CO₂ creation.

The Meeting Agenda.

Nelson, J.J. AQ-9 Task Force Meeting 1980, America Petroleum Institute, 29 Feb. 1980.

Appendix B



Carbon Dioxide levels from 1700-Present. April 7, 2024, Monroe, Robert. "The Keeling Curve."

Appendix C

CLIMATE MODELING - CONCLUSIONS

- GLOBAL AVERAGED 2.5°C RISE EXPECTED BY 2038 AT A 3% p.a. GROWTH RATE OF ATMOSPHERIC CO₂ CONCENTRATION
- LARGE ERROR IN THIS ESTIMATE - 1 IN 10 CHANCE OF THIS CHANGE BY 2005
- NO REGIONAL CLIMATE CHANGE ESTIMATES YET POSSIBLE
- LIKELY IMPACTS:
 - 1°C RISE (2005): BARELY NOTICEABLE
 - 2.5°C RISE (2038): MAJOR ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES, STRONG REGIONAL DEPENDENCE
 - 5°C RISE (2067): GLOBALLY CATASTROPHIC EFFECTS

Scientific Conclusions of the Meeting.

Nelson, J J. AQ-9 Task Force Meeting 1980, America Petroleum Institute, 29 Feb. 1980.

Appendix D

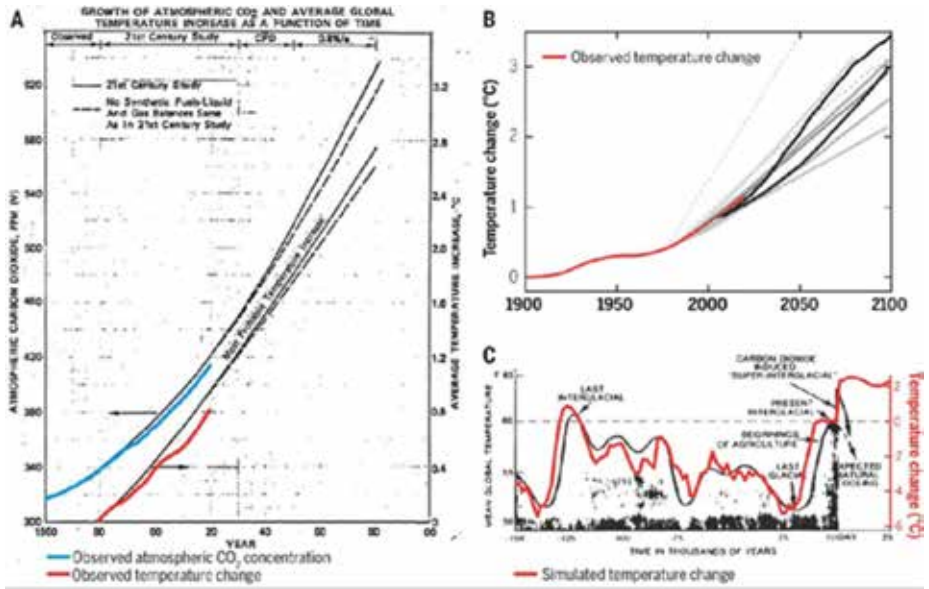
CONCLUSIONS

- AT A 3% PER ANNUM GROWTH RATE OF CO₂, A 2.5°C RISE BRINGS WORLD ECONOMIC GROWTH TO A HALT IN ABOUT 2025.
Even if this estimate is grossly wrong it is still probable that
- WHETHER THERE ARE GROUNDS FOR IMMEDIATE RESPONSE TO THE THREAT DEPENDS ON THE VALIDITY OF THE LONG MARKET PENETRATION TIME CONCEPT.
- EVEN IF THE LATTER IS APPLICABLE, PRESENT DAY SIGNIFICANCE OF THE IMPACT DEPENDS STRONGLY ON CHOICE OF A FUTURE DISCOUNTING FACTOR.
- NEED FOR IMMEDIATE POLICY ACTION HINGES ON THESE LAST TWO FEATURES.

Task Force Concludes the Need for Immediate Action.

Nelson, J J. AQ-9 Task Force Meeting 1980, America Petroleum Institute, 29 Feb. 1980.

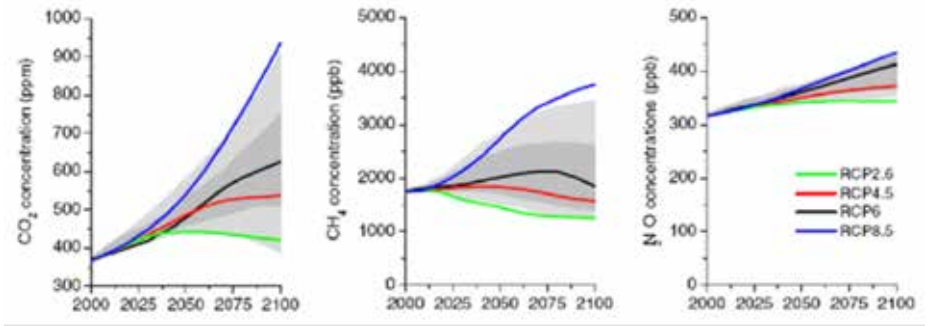
Appendix E



ExxonMobil's Climate Change Predictions 1982-2003

Supran, G, et al. Assessing ExxonMobil's Global Warming Projections | Science, 13 Jan. 2023.

Appendix F



Predictions for Future Carbon Concentration Levels

Wayne, G. P. (2013, August 23). Climate science glossary. Skeptical Science.

The Golden Age of Buddhism: How Imperial Patronage in the Early Tang Dynasty Fueled Buddhism's Ascendancy in China

Aaron Widjaja

Growing up in Asia, I frequently encountered references to the Ming Dynasty novel *Journey to the West*, one of the greatest Chinese literary classics, in songs, films, and TV shows. In the epic tale, a monk and his disciples traverse treacherous terrain to retrieve sacred Buddhist texts from India for the Tang emperor. When I returned to the US, I was surprised to find similar stories of the monk and his Monkey King disciple featured on streaming platforms, like Disney and Netflix. Soon, I discovered that the original sixteenth century tale had been loosely based on the life and travels of a real Buddhist monk, Xuanzang, who had lived in the seventh century during the Tang Dynasty. Remarkably, Xuanzang was not only a venerated figure, even deified by some, but also instrumental in shaping religion and culture in China and East Asia. In fact, it was the monk's efforts and favorable relations with Emperor Taizong, the second ruler of the Tang Dynasty, that catalyzed a pivotal turning point in Chinese history: state-sanctioned Buddhism during one of the most powerful reigns in Chinese imperial history.

To begin my research, I first perused secondary sources for general context on Buddhism and Tang China, as well as Xuanzang's life and overall impact. Despite my initial apprehension about delving into events that occurred almost fourteen centuries ago, I quickly discovered from well-researched academic papers that a number of primary source biographies, memorials, sutras, and stele inscriptions have been preserved and cataloged in the Chinese Buddhist Canon. However, these documents were in Classical Chinese. Fortunately, with my knowledge of Chinese and some help from Chinese teachers and online Classical Chinese translators, I was able to confirm or decipher important facts and quotes. Before I knew it, I was digging into an array of primary sources using digitized versions of the Chinese Buddhist canon and ancient, secular Chinese texts available online at CBETA and CTEXT, both well-established databases containing Classical Chinese literature. In particular, my captivation with Xuanzang's multifaceted relationship with Emperor Taizong led me to uncover how that moment served as a monumental turning point for China and Buddhism. When I began framing my paper, I categorized the effects of imperial patronage based on historical significance, especially in terms of continuity/change, as well as short and long-term effects. Eventually, I decided on dividing my paper into how the turning point affected the religious, diplomatic, literary, and artistic landscapes of Chinese society. Specifically, the emperor's public endorsement of Buddhism had profound effects in reshaping the country's religious landscape, enhancing its trade and diplomatic relations with India, and bolstering the sovereign's legitimacy among his subjects by diffusing Buddhism through literature and the arts. Today, Buddhism is one of the largest religions in the world,

with up to one third of the Chinese population claiming to be practitioners. This serves as a testament not only to the Tang patronage of Buddhism, but also to its resonance through millennia.

Greeted by exuberant crowds with elaborate banners spanning five kilometers, Xuanzang's trove of rare artifacts, including 150 of the Buddha's relics and 657 scrolls, arrived on the back of twenty horses in a glorious procession in Chang'an, the capital of Tang China, in 645 CE.¹ The day before, government officials welcomed Xuanzang (600-664), a Buddhist monk, who had spent seventeen years traveling throughout India and Central Asia to study and return authentic Buddhist texts to his homeland.² Xuanzang's accomplishments not only catalyzed the development of East Asian Buddhism but yielded detailed travelogs that historians have used to rediscover forgotten towns, societies, and cultures along the Silk Road. Moreover, Xuanzang's journey, coupled with his personal rapport with Emperor Taizong, the second ruler of the Tang Dynasty, led to a crucial turning point in Chinese history: state-sanctioned Buddhism. The emperor's patronage of Buddhism had profound effects in reshaping the country's religious landscape, enhancing its trade and diplomatic relations with India, and bolstering the sovereign's legitimacy among his subjects by diffusing Buddhism through literature and the arts.

Buddhism's Spread to China

Siddhartha Gautama, also known as the Buddha, founded Buddhism, one of the world's largest and oldest religions, in the sixth and fifth centuries BCE.³ He preached that humanity could end suffering and attain spiritual liberation by recognizing the impermanent and "empty" nature of all phenomena.⁴ Buddhism first spread from the trade routes of the Silk Road between the Indo-Iranian and Serindian kingdoms of Central Asia to China during the Han Dynasty,⁵ but did not firmly take root until the sixth century CE.⁶ Over time, Buddhism garnered a wide following among both cultured elites, who were drawn to the religion's interpretation of reality, as well as the peasantry, who embraced its rich pantheon.⁷ While early missionaries, mostly from Central Asia, arrived in increasing numbers to disseminate the foreign religion by translating Buddhist ideas from Sanskrit

¹ Huili and Yancong, *Datang-Da-Ci'en-Si-Sanzang-Fashi-Zhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳, T50, no. 2053, 252b22-c12, accessed February 2, 2024, <https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T2053>.

² Liu He, *Datang-Sanzang-Dabianjue-Fashi-Taming* 大唐三藏大遍覺法師塔銘, X88, no. 1651, 376a20-23, accessed February 2, 2024, <https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/X1651>.

³ Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1973), 3.

⁴ Kumarajiva, *Jingang-Bore-Boluomi-Jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經, T08, no. 235, 752b28-29, accessed February 2, 2024, <https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T08n0235>.

⁵ Arthur F Wright, *Buddhism in Chinese History* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1959), 32.

⁶ JeeLoo Liu, *An Introduction to Chinese Philosophy: From Ancient Philosophy to Chinese Buddhism* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 210.

⁷ Wright, *Buddhism in Chinese History*, 52-53.

into Chinese, translation inconsistencies were common.

Xuanzang

Born to an elite, scholarly family, Xuanzang displayed precocious intelligence as a child. Following his father's death, Xuanzang began immersing himself in the study of Buddhist texts at the monastery where his brother, Changjie, was a Buddhist monk. Inspired by its ideologies, Xuanzang officially became ordained at the age of twenty. As he began exploring scriptures, he grappled with many contradictions and discrepancies but received no satisfactory answers from his Chinese mentors, prompting him to embark on a pilgrimage to India to resolve them.⁸ There, he explored sacred stupa ruins, venerated Buddhist monuments, and studied the Dharma, or the Buddha's teachings, under the revered Master Silabhadra at the prestigious Nalanda Monastery for five years.⁹ When Xuanzang returned to China in 645 CE, he had become fluent in Sanskrit, trained in Indian logic, and deeply versed in the nuances of Buddhist doctrine.

The Cosmopolitan Golden Age

The Tang Dynasty (618-907), regarded as a cosmopolitan golden age of imperial China, flourished under Emperor Taizong (r. 626-649). The period was culturally progressive, most epitomized by the many foreign faces, such as Arabs, Persians, and Indians, in Chang'an's Western Market.¹⁰ Instrumental in helping his father establish the Tang, Emperor Taizong had laid a solid foundation for enduring economic prosperity and cultural flourishing with successful military campaigns and administrative reforms. Accordingly, his rule is often called the most successful reign in what is considered to be the most culturally formative dynasty in Chinese history.¹¹

Upon Xuanzang's return, the emperor greeted the monk warmly, captivated by the monk's detailed accounts of the West, which were likened to "unveiling a map on his palm."¹² He was equally impressed by the monk's piety and personal charisma. Since ascending the throne, the emperor had been fixated on pacifying the Western Turks to secure trade routes and extend influence, but due to the area's instability, his government had lacked consistent information.¹³ Consequently, he tasked Xuanzang with documenting his knowledge in a travelog, the *Datang-Siyu-Ji*, which provided the ethnogeographic data he desperately needed along with meticulous observations about militaries, products, and resources. Such was the beginning of a complex relationship between Xuanzang and Emperor

⁸ Mingxiang, *Datang-Gu-Sanzang-Xuanzang-Fashi-Xingzhuang* 大唐故三藏玄奘法師行狀, T50, no.

⁹ Benjamin Brose, *Xuanzang: China's Legendary Pilgrim and Translator* (Boulder, CO: Shambhala Publications, 2021), 138.

¹⁰ Mark Edward Lewis, *China's Cosmopolitan Empire: The Tang Dynasty* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012), 170.

¹¹ Lewis, *China's Cosmopolitan Empire*, 34.

¹² Liu He, *Datang-Sanzang-Dabianjue-Fashi-Taming*, X88, no. 1651, 376b3-4.

¹³ Ran Yunhua, "Xuanzang Dashi yu Tang Taizong ji qi zhengzhi lixiang tanwei" 玄奘大師與唐太宗及其政治理想探微, *Huagang Foxue Xuebao* 華崗佛學學報, no. 8 (1985): 140.

Taizong in which they both mutually benefited. The emperor recognized the pervasive influence of the religion across all facets of Chinese society, and sought to solidify his authority over a populace enthralled by Xuanzang's journey, while the monk began cultivating favorable relations with the emperor to secure backing for his faith. These efforts proved fruitful for the monk, when in 648 CE,¹⁴ the emperor finally granted an imperial preface to Xuanzang's sutra translations that extolled the Dharma, hoping that the scriptures would endure "as endlessly as the cycles of the sun and moon."¹⁵ Although there had been spurts of imperial sponsorship of Buddhism in previous dynasties, Emperor Taizong's memorialization of state support represented a monumental turning point for the development of Buddhism in China, particularly when the empire was at its peak culturally, economically, and politically. Within two decades, this foreign religion would become the dominant faith in China.

Reshaping China's Religious Landscape

Emperor Taizong's sanctioning of Buddhism effectively reshaped the religious landscape, triggering a series of developments that catapulted Buddhism to the forefront. Immediately, his signal energized a flurry of public and private sponsorship for the construction of stupas and temples. Even the Crown Prince, the future Emperor Gaozong (r. 650-683), followed suit and built the Ci'en Monastery, with a separate structure for the sole purpose of translating Xuanzang's scriptures; he went so far as to issue an edict ordaining hundreds of monks to assist with translation.¹⁶ With imperial patronage, Xuanzang and his team eventually translated a total of 75 Sanskrit works into 1341 fascicles,¹⁷ amounting to "more than one quarter of the entire Chinese Buddhist Canon."¹⁸ These scriptures included an immense compilation of the 600-scroll *Mahaprajnaparamita Sutra*¹⁹ and the renowned *Heart Sutra*, a summary of the most fundamental Buddhist concept of "emptiness,"²⁰ which has the distinction of being the most widely recited sutra in Buddhist temples across the world today.²¹ The translation of the Heart Sutra, completed merely one year after Emperor Taizong penned his preface,²² coincided with the ordination of over 18,500 monks and nuns throughout the empire.²³ Educated monastics, inspired to flock to these great monasteries

¹⁴ Dorothy Wong, "The Making of a Saint: Images of Xuanzang in East Asia." *Early Medieval China* 2002, no. 1 (2002): 47.

¹⁵ Tang Taizong, "Sanzang-Shengjiao-Xu" 三藏聖教序, in *Guanghong Mingji* 廣弘明集, ed. Daoxuan, T52, no. 2103, 258c15, accessed February 2, 2024.

¹⁶ Huili and Yancong, *Datang-Da-Ci'en-Si-Sanzang-Fashi-Zhuan*, T50, no. 2053, 259b6-7.

¹⁷ Mingxiang, *Datang-Gu-Sanzang-Xuanzang-Fashi-Xingzhuang*, T50, no. 2052, 220b11-12.

¹⁸ Brose, *Xuanzang*, 240.

¹⁹ *Fragment of Vol. 157 of Sutra of the Perfection of Wisdom (Mahaprajnaparamita sutra; Daihannyaharamittakyō)* 大般若波羅蜜多經卷第一百五十七, 1383 CE, woodblock printed book (orihon, accordion-style); ink on paper, 10 1/4 × 3 3/4 in. (26 × 9.5 cm), The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, accessed February 2, 2024.

²⁰ Xuanzang, *Bore-Boluo-Miduo-Xinjing* 般若波羅蜜多心經, T08, no. 251, 858c9, accessed February 2, 2024.

²¹ Robert Buswell and Donald Lopez, *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), 657.

²² Zhisheng, *Kaiyuan-Shijiao-Lu* 開元釋教錄, T55, no. 2154, 555c3-4, accessed February 2, 2024.

²³ Huili and Yancong, *A Biography of the Tripitaka Master of the Great Ci'en Monastery of the Great Tang Dynasty*, trans. Li Rongxi (Berkeley, CA: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 1995), 215.

for spiritual advancement, eventually fanned out as far as Japan and Korea, spreading their learnings and reconfiguring China as the center of East Asian Buddhism.

Aside from catalyzing Buddhist activities, the emperor's endorsement instantly elevated the foreign religion to equal footing with the indigenous ideologies of Daoism and Confucianism. Until then, Daoism had been promoted by the Tang ruler, who claimed to be a descendent of Laozi, the founder of Daoism.²⁴ Moreover, when the dynasty was established, the country reverted to Confucianism, which was pushed by the state via imperial examinations for government positions.²⁵ Now, the court openly supported grandiose religious debates between Daoism and Buddhism, during which monks regularly deployed Indian logic to defeat Daoist opponents.²⁶ For instance, when Lü Cai, a fervent Daoist and Imperial Medical Bureau Chief, engaged in a court debate against Xuanzang's disciples, Emperor Gaozong publicly acknowledged the Daoist's loss in favor of the Buddhists.²⁷ Gaozong went even further in 674 CE when he declared Buddhism a state religion, indicating a long-term shift in imperial attitudes that allowed Buddhism to overshadow native faiths.²⁸ In fact, the first female ruler of China, Emperor Gaozong's wife, Empress Wu Zetian (604-725), proclaimed that Buddhist monks and nuns deserved higher status than Daoist priests.²⁹

Debate rages as to why Taizong, despite his supposed Daoist roots, underwent such a change of heart regarding Daoism. Some historians speculate his concern about life's impermanence and growing interest in the Dharma through interactions with Xuanzang were leading factors. After all, in one of his memorials to Xuanzang, Taizong expresses his "hope for an extended lifespan, where [his] years stretch far beyond the ordinary."³⁰ Others, however, contend that his endorsement was purely political expediency, especially since he needed foreign intelligence from the monk.³¹ Regardless, the sovereign had now redrawn the religious boundaries of the empire, molding the balance of power between ideologies in Buddhism's favor.

Diplomatic Relations and Trade

Emperor Taizong's public endorsement also played a pivotal role in intensifying diplomatic relations and trade with India and the Western Regions. By signaling to India

²⁴ Huili and Yancong, *Datang-Da-Ci'en-Si-Sanzang-Fashi-Zhuan*, T50, no. 2053, 270a15-16.

²⁵ Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, 203.

²⁶ Friederike Assandri, "Inter-religious Debate at the Court of the Early Tang: An Introduction to Daoxuan's Ji gujin Fo Dao lunheng," in *From Early Tang Court Debates to China's Peaceful Rise*, ed. Friederike Assandri and Dora Martins (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009): 17, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt46n0hp.5>.

²⁷ Huili and Yancong, *Datang-Da-Ci'en-Si-Sanzang-Fashi-Zhuan*, T50, no. 2053, 266a4-6.

²⁸ Tansen Sen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade: The Realignment of Sino-Indian Relations, 600-1400* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2003), 95.

²⁹ Liu Xu, *Jiu-Tang-Shu* 舊唐書, accessed February 2, 2024.

³⁰ Xuanzang, *Si-Shamen-Xuanzang-Shangbiao-Ji* 寺沙門玄奘上表記, T52, no. 2119, 819c25-820a1, accessed February 2, 2024.

³¹ Jeffrey Koryk, "Chinese State and Buddhist Historical Sources on Xuanzang: Historicity and the Da Ci'en Si Sanzang Fashi Zhuan 大慈恩寺三藏法師傳," *T'oung Pao* 105, no. 5/6 (2019): 539.

that China shared their Buddhist values, the emperor formed the basis for potential alliances, as well as further cultural and commercial exchanges in ideas and goods. In particular, he had interest in a partnership with India's King Kumara given his intention to expand the limits of the Tang's western territories. An alliance would have fortified his army with the Indian monarch's "abundance of war elephants."³² He also offered Indian counterparts a translation of Laozi's *Daodejing*, which he had Xuanzang translate into Sanskrit, as a form of goodwill and cultural exchange.³³

Following Emperor Taizong's imperial preface, the state experienced a surge in religious and cultural pilgrimages, which had been restricted in the past. For example, Daoxuan (596-667), an eminent Buddhist patriarch and biographer of Xuanzang, claims that the monk was only able to leave the country because a grain shortage had temporarily opened the borders.³⁴ In a separate biography of Xuanzang, composed by his disciple Huili (615-677), strict imperial control over the country's borders is one of the reasons why the monk left China covertly.³⁵ Such travel restrictions disappeared as attitudes towards the West shifted once Buddhism became

state-sanctioned, as evidenced by the rising flow of eminent monks and foreign diplomats who brought back novel texts, rituals, knowledge, and exotic objects that attracted further interest. Notably, visits peaked in the seventh and eighth centuries, with nearly forty commercial Indian tributary missions.³⁶ For instance, Wang Xuance, a Chinese diplomat and military general, conducted multiple expeditions and was even responsible for introducing sugar-refining techniques from India.³⁷ Sugar not only revolutionized Chinese cuisine, but also received attention for its medicinal properties, piquing the interest of the emperor who subsequently launched missions to procure foreign drugs.³⁸

Xuanzang's travelog, with its rich detail on commodities and resources, such as gold and silver coins, cowries, and small pearls used as trading goods thereby amplified trade and knowledge-sharing between China and India,³⁹ increasingly positioning the Tang as a linchpin in the broader medieval world.

Imperial Legitimacy through Buddhist Art and Literature

By memorializing his support for Buddhism, Emperor Taizong further boosted his imperial legitimacy among the Chinese people who warmly embraced the religion.

³² Max Deeg, "Show Me the Land Where the Buddha Dwelled...? Xuanzang's 玄奘 'Record of the Western Regions' (Xiyu ji 西域記): A Misunderstood Text?," *China Report* 48, no. 1&2 (2012): 109.

³³ Daoxuan, *Xu-Gaoseng-Zhuan* 續高僧傳, T50, no. 2060, 455b15-16, accessed February 4, 2024.

³⁴ Daoxuan, *Xu-Gaoseng-Zhuan*, T50, no. 2060, 447b25-26.

³⁵ Huili and Yancong, *A Biography*, 20.

³⁶ Tansen Sen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade*, 44.

³⁷ Daoxuan, *Xu-Gaoseng-Zhuan*, T50, no. 2060, 454c28-29.

³⁸ John Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 259.

³⁹ Xuanzang, *Datang-Xiyu-Ji* 大唐西域記, T51, no. 2087, 878b11-12, accessed February 2, 2024.

Then to solidify this support, Taizong actively promoted Buddhist art and literature. After a grand ceremony unveiled his father's preface, the Crown Prince composed an essay that commended the event to advance the religion.⁴⁰ Within twelve days of its completion, news spread throughout the empire, galvanizing others to also demonstrate their religious piety through writing.⁴¹ Monasteries immediately enlisted the help of master calligraphers to incise both imperial texts on stone steles.⁴²

Drawn to Buddhism's metaphysical ideals, the cultured elite now enjoyed full freedom to explore such motifs, often seeking "refuge in the serenity and tranquility of a Buddhist monastery."⁴³ Celebrated poets, like Meng Haoran and Wang Wei, also known as "the Buddha of the Poets," crafted some of China's most trailblazing poetry on concepts like "emptiness" during this time.⁴⁴ Because poetic verse had become so embedded in the fabric of Tang social life, the lasting impact of the empire's most revered authors disseminating the Dharma was profound; it influenced cultural norms and public discourse at all levels of society during the dynasty and, because of the Tang's endurance as a "golden age," the remainder of imperial Chinese history.

The emperor's advocacy of Buddhism also accelerated the development of new genres, like the sacred biography. Modeled after accounts in secular court histories, Chinese Buddhists had started compiling biographies of exemplary monks beginning in the sixth century.⁴⁵ However, an explosion of literary expressions like commentaries, prefaces, and stupa inscriptions ignited after Emperor Taizong's proclamation allowed authors to draw from an increasingly wide variety of sources, with the genre eventually reaching its apex in the tenth century.⁴⁶ For instance, contemporaries of Xuanzang, like Daoxuan and Huili, started producing sacred biographies of the eminent monk, though inconsistencies arose depending on the biographer's agendas. In fact, some scholars have challenged Huili's assertion that Emperor Taizong once declared, "Confucianism, Daoism, and other schools are mere ponds compared to the vast ocean of Buddhism."⁴⁷ As Daoxuan's account was more measured and in line with secular court histories, these same scholars claim that Huili's version was disproportionately influenced by Wu Zetian, who was at the height of her power when the biography was completed in 688 CE.⁴⁸ Of course, the empress would have been

⁴⁰ Li Zhi, "Huang-Taizi-Chen-zhi-shu" 皇太子臣治述, in *Guanghong Mingji* 廣弘明集, ed. Daoxuan, T52, no. 2103, 259a12-b17, accessed February 2, 2024.

⁴¹ Huili and Yancong, *A Biography*, 207.

⁴² Tang Taizong, *Sanzang-Shengjiao-Xu* 三藏聖教序, 672 CE, stone stele, calligraphy by Wang Xizhi, engraved by Zhu Jing, Forest of Steles, Xi'an, accessed February 4, 2024.

⁴³ Kenneth Ch'en, "The Role of Buddhist Monasteries in T'ang Society," *History of Religions* 15, no. 3 (1976): 214.

⁴⁴ Ena Alvarado, "Wang Wei, Poet of Buddhist Emptiness," *JSTOR Daily*, last modified October 17, 2021, accessed January 18, 2024.

⁴⁵ Wong, "The Making of a Saint," 51.

⁴⁶ John Kieschnick, *The Eminent Monk: Buddhist Ideals in Medieval Chinese Hagiography* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 6.

⁴⁷ Huili and Yancong, *Datang-Da-Ci'en-Si-Sanzang-Fashi-Zhuan*, T50, no. 2053, 256a9-10.

⁴⁸ Kotyk, "Chinese State and Buddhist Historical Sources on Xuanzang," 298.

encouraged to promote the supremacy of Buddhism to legitimize her own rule. Previously, she had sponsored the translation of the *Mahamegha Sutra*,⁴⁹ which contained a prophecy regarding the emergence of a divine ruler in female form.⁵⁰ She may have felt some desperation to fortify her throne as Confucianism, which disallowed women from occupying positions of power, directly contradicted her authority.

Buddhism thereby served as a legitimating ideology for China's first female emperor.

Another way Tang rulers validated their rule was through championing Buddhist architecture and sculpture across reigns. One example is the grand Vairocana Buddha in the Longmen Grottoes in Henan province built by Wu Zetian, often considered to be one of the finest examples of Chinese Buddhist art in the world.⁵¹ They also built thousands of monasteries, from 3,716 establishments during Taizong's era to 6,030 in total by 955 CE.⁵² Temples became de facto community centers where regular services and vegetarian feasts would be entirely state sponsored.⁵³ By the early ninth century, Emperor Taizong's original preface had propelled Buddhism's influence to its pinnacle. Unfortunately, this prompted backlash and a shocking persecution of Buddhists under the Daoist Emperor Wuzong (815-846). In 845 CE, a swift oppression resulted in the destruction of 4,600 monasteries and 40,000 shrines, with the defrocking of 260,500 monks and nuns.⁵⁴ Despite the setback, Buddhism remained resilient, a testament to the enduring impact of its Tang patronage. It did so through ritual practices and continued translations by reputable monks, while new cultural and literary expressions such as *Journey to the West*, one of the four Chinese literary classics in which a fictionalized Xuanzang was a central character, gained popularity across generations.⁵⁵

Conclusion

When Emperor Taizong said to Xuanzang, "from today onwards, I shall also assist you in propagating the Dharma," subsequently granting him an imperial preface, he initiated a cascade of events that would transform the religious, diplomatic, literary, and artistic landscapes of the most powerful empire in the medieval world.⁵⁶ His action not only reinforced his own authority among the masses who were captivated by the exotic faith but also established the legitimacy of the Dharma, paving the way for Buddhism's journey to the forefront in Chinese society. Regrettably, Emperor Wuzong's persecution interrupted this dominance that had been unchallenged for two centuries. Nevertheless, Buddhism remains a firm fixture in China today with up to one third of Chinese citizens claiming to

⁴⁹ Elisabetta Colla, "When the Emperor Is a Woman: The Case of Wu Zetian 武則天 (624–705), the "Emulator of Heaven," in *A Companion to Global Queenship*, ed. Elena Woodacre (Leeds: ARC Humanities Press, 2018), 19.

⁵⁰ Dharmakṣema, *Dafangdeng-Wuxiangjing* 大方等無想經, T12, no. 387, 1098a3-6, accessed February 2, 2024.

⁵¹ "Oriental Capital of Museums: Luoyang the Magnificent (2)," People's Daily Online, last modified March 15, 2023.

⁵² Puay-Peng Ho, "Building on Hope: Monastic Sponsors and Merit in Sixth- to Tenth-Century China," *Asia Major* 17, no. 1.

⁵³ Ennin, *Rutang-Qiufo-Xunli-Xingji* 入唐求法巡禮行記, B18, no. 95, 87a17, accessed February 2, 2024.

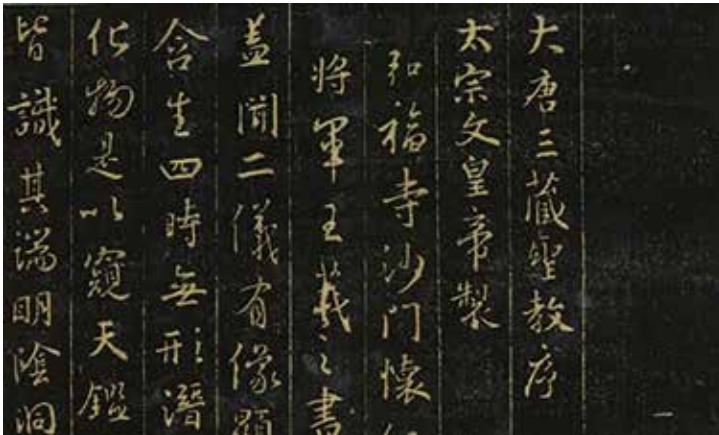
⁵⁴ Sima Guang, *Zizhi-Tongjian* 資治通鑑, accessed February 2, 2024.

⁵⁵ "Journey to the West," Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia, Encyclopedia Britannica, last modified June 30, 2023.

⁵⁶ Huili and Yancong, *Datang-Da-Ci'en-Si-Sanzang-Fashi-Zhuan*, T50, no. 2053, 255c14.

be practitioners⁵⁷ – an undeniable legacy of its former Tang glory.

Appendix A1



Sections of a stone stele featuring the imperial preface composed by Emperor Taizong in 648 CE (Sanzang-Shengjiao-Xu 三藏聖教序)

Appendix A



⁵⁷ “Measuring Religion in China: 3. Buddhism,” Pew Research Center, last modified August 30, 2023.

Appendix B



A Japanese portrait of Xuanzang, Kamakura Period, fourteenth century

Appendix C



A fragment of the immense 600-scroll Mahaprajnaparamita Sutra, 1383 CE

Appendix D



The Grand Vairocana Buddha, commissioned by Empress Wu Zetian, 624-705 CE

Special Features

&

Book Reviews

Camp Tule Lake

Located approximately thirteen miles from Tule Lake Relocation Center (the concentration and later segregation camp that housed nearly 20,000 Japanese American incarcerated), rests the secluded and abandoned Camp Tule Lake. This campsite, a former Civilian Conservation Corp (CCC) work camp, was used to house over 100 Japanese American men who refused to answer the loyalty questionnaire administered by US government agency the War Relocation Authority (WRA) in 1943. These men were isolated in this makeshift prison, cut off from their friends and families, because they dared to protest the mistreatment they endured by their government. Today, what remains of Camp Tule Lake sits behind a wire gate, inaccessible and unattended to the point of neglect.



Welcome sign for Camp Tule Lake, adding to the illusion of choice and free labor that signs around the camp allude to.



Currently the grounds of Tule Lake are in dispute between the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA), the Modoc Nation, and the Tule Lake Committee on the rights to the land that once housed thousands of forcibly segregated Japanese Americans.



The mess hall and kitchen.



The mess hall is currently inhabited by a local owl who has made the ceilings its home and the floors its personal facilities.



Former barracks used to house Japanese American prisoners.



Representation of the current state of the barracks.



Signage throughout the camp is littered with misrepresentation of Japanese incarcerated as free workers, instead of prisoners coerced into labor.

Ashlynn Deu Pree
Clio Editor-in-Chief

A Selection of Songs from Sacramento in the 1990s Featuring:

All Go Down – Far

Be Quiet and Drive – Deftones

Life Jacket – Simon Says

No Good Rudie – Filibuster

Matter – Kai Kln

Shut The Door – Mother Hips

Jet, Jackie, and J.C. – Little Guilt Shrine

Rock and Roll Lifestyle – Cake

What Do You See – Cause and Effect

Sooner or Later – 7 Seconds

Heather Song – Anton Barbeau

Devo – Groovie Ghoulies

Super Crush – Tiger Trap

Cheap Trick – The Brodys

Snap the QR code to listen to the full playlist on Spotify:



2024 Phi Alpha Theta Conference



The 2024 Phi Alpha Theta conference was held at the University of California, East Bay in Hayward California. The conference brought together students and professionals from the field of history to enjoy each other's work. Each panel presented a focus, with topics including *Slavery, Resistance, and Identity in Native America* and *New Approaches in the History of Medicine*. The panelists who presented their research were students from schools all over California. The delivery of their presentations demonstrated the hard work they had put into their research. As a first timer for a conference like this, I was pleased with the amount of interaction from the audience, who asked questions to the panelists after the presentations were complete. I was equally elated to see the knowledge and passion of the panelists in their answers to the audience. Seeing such discourse in an academic setting encourages me to study and focus on my own topics to present in the future. And I also must mention that the lunch was great.

Sean Duncan
***Clio* Editorial Staff**

2024 Festival of the Arts, U-Create

The Clio team had a successful showing at the U-Create for the 2024 Festival of the Arts. History students, professors, and friends enjoyed pizza and networked before the event. Then during the event, we experienced a fabulous turnout from both faculty and fellow students. Clio editors hosted history trivia and gave away prizes to winners. We also displayed posters based on the soon-to-be published papers with authors in attendance. Eager attendees embraced the opportunity to donate money to support the publishing of our 2024 issue. The night ended with a bang! Clio and Phi Alpha Theta advisor Dr. Aaron J. Cohen received a pie to the face by an editor-in-chief. And I also must mention that the food was great.

Sean Duncan
Clio Editorial Staff



Book Reviews

***The Imperial Gridiron: Manhood, Civilization, and Football at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School.* By Matthew Bentley and John Bloom. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2022. 242 pp. Photographs. Appendixes. Index. Statistical Graphs. Hard Bound, \$21.47.**

The Imperial Gridiron: Manhood, Civilization, and Football at the Carlisle Indian School is an in-depth study in the influence of Victorian era concepts of masculinity on the athletics program at the Carlisle Industrial Indian School. Focused on the famed athletic program of the Carlisle school and completed posthumously by John Bloom, Matthew Bentley's work is a one-of-a-kind investigation into the much-maligned school and its attempt to assimilate Native children in Western society. Bloom and Bentley take the reader through the implementation of an expensive athletics program at the financially strapped institution and demonstrate how the program took on a life of its own under the influence of larger-than-life coach, Glen "Pop" Warner.

Students and scholars of Progressive Era attitudes toward Indigenous people will benefit from Bentley's analysis of prevailing Western concepts of manliness and their place in racial tensions of the era. Bloom and Bentley describe how the program began as a method to prove that "wild" Native sons could be assimilated into polite western society, even in the most violent of athletic pursuits. The authors provide a solid foundation of football's beginnings at the college level to help the reader understand how the concept of the game changed in the early twentieth century and how this change had a detrimental effect on the student athletes of Carlisle. The authors follow the ensuing cultural shifts that took place at the turn of the century, including the association of athletic prowess with racial superiority and its influence on the student body of the Carlisle school.

Sports historians will be particularly interested in how Bloom and Bentley change the historical narrative of the athletic program as the school's single success story, and instead give an often-ignored account of the tenure of Glen "Pop" Warner as athletic director of the school and his manipulation of the school for financial and social gain. The authors reveal that Warner understood the changing social landscape and recognized the opportunity in presenting the Carlisle students as wild fighting men rather than students and scholars seeking to find a place in a foreign society. Rather than holding Warner as a legendary figure in the early days of the game, the authors describe how Warner took credit for the prowess of the students and used every opportunity to exploit his athletes for personal gain.

No story of the Carlisle football program would compete without mention of its most famous athlete, Jim Thorpe, and Bloom and Bentley deliver a full investigation into the scandal that rocked the school. Instead of presenting the traditional view of Warner as a guiding mentor to Thorpe, the authors use firsthand accounts, student reports, and journalism of the time to reveal a more nuanced view regarding accusations of profession-

alism that stripped Thorpe of Olympic medals. Using these sources, the authors succeed in arguing that it was *because* of Warner's undue influence on the young Thorpe, not *despite* his guidance, that Thorpe fell from grace.

Bloom and Bently solidify their argument with their exhaustive analysis of the Congressional hearings spurred by student rebellion against Warner and his role in Thorpe's disgrace. Not only do the authors highlight the overlooked student testimony on a coach who would use every opportunity to exploit his students for personal gain, but they also emphasize Warner's stranglehold on the cultural tone of the school. The testimonies reveal a shocking level of racialized misogyny and masculinity that was woven in with the original Victorian principles of the school. The effects of Warner and the prevailing attitudes of masculinity are present in the testimonies of various students and show the greater impact of these concepts on the entire student body, not just the athletic program.

The authors of *The Imperial Gridiron* make excellent use of source material to reveal the detrimental effect of assimilation policies toward native peoples in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They make use of the sports program as a cautionary example of imposing Western concepts of gender on indigenous people, and how even the most successful program at the Carlisle school was in fact a failure as well.

Amy Davey

***The Unknown Great: Stories of Japanese Americans at the Margins of History.* By Greg Robinson with Jonathan Van Harmelen. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2023. xviii, 254 pp. Notes. Selected Bibliography. Credits. Index. Paper, \$30.00.**

Insightfully written and groundbreaking in its themes, *The Unknown Great* sheds light on unrepresented and marginalized Japanese American history. By compiling over forty essays and articles on an array of topics ranging from artistic geniuses and mixed-race super stars to racism and homophobia within the Japanese American community, this book demonstrates that it is not afraid to broach controversial topics. The point of this book, as Greg Robinson makes clear in his introduction, is not to make an argument, but to plant the seeds for future fields of study. Robinson and his fellow authors introduce interdisciplinary topics in Japanese American history, in turn creating opportunities for further enriching and inclusive studies.

The themes explored in this anthology range between interculturalism, queer representation, religious affiliation, multiraciality, and the arts, with the chapters of the anthology organized to fit each theme. The first three chapters tackle the relationships that Japanese Americans have had with other racial and ethnics groups on the margins of American society and the cooperation (or at times discordance) between them. Particularly,

these first three chapters focus on the connections between Japanese and African Americans in the discourse of civil rights. Robinson dedicates multiple articles to the role of both Japanese Americans and African Americans in activism advocating for the other's civil rights. Some examples include Mari Sabusawa who advocated for antiracist studies and research; Erna P. Harris, an African American journalist who spoke against the injustices of Japanese American incarceration during World War II; and Paul Takagi, a UC Berkeley professor who publicly condemned police brutality and supported civil rights groups such as the Black Panther Party.

The majority of the compiled essays that make up this anthology center on the stories of individuals within or associated with the Japanese American community. Randy Kikukawa championed the inclusion of minority gay men in predominantly white gay spaces in the 1980s. Bernard Spencer Miyaguchi was a half-Japanese, half-white figure skater who, after moving to Ohio, went on to be a founder of the widely known restaurant Buffalo Wild Wings. Ruby Hideko Yoshino quickly gained fame as an opera singer in the 1930s and used her voice and career to promote racial unity by singing in multiracial groups and campaigning for Japanese naturalization rights with the JACL. These few examples barely scratch the surface of the stories Robinson and his co-authors reveal. However, while exciting and unique, the hardships, or even the simplicities, of the majority may get lost in the fantastical elements of the lives of these individuals.

Many in academia have begun to question the validity of recently produced Japanese American history, asking, "What more can be said?" Robinson answers this question with *The Unknow Great*, proving that there is still so much more. Though sources can seem scarce when investigating marginalized histories, as Robinson insists through his unrelenting work, stories and truths will be revealed if you are willing to look for them.

Ashlynn Deu Pree

***The Listeners: A History of Wiretapping in the United States.* By Brian Hochman. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2022. 368 pp. Notes. Acknowledgments. Index. Figures. Hard Bound, \$36.00.**

The Listeners: A History of Wiretapping in the United States by Brian Hochman gives an in depth look at the normalization of the United States government's use of wiretapping starting with the United States Civil War to the present. The process of this "normalization" is shown through examples using many Supreme Court cases and laws that caused changes within our government system. *The Listeners* is broken down in chronological order which gives detail on new laws such as Title III, the Communications Assistance for Law Enforcement Act (CALEA), and to the present US Patriot Act after the 9/11 attacks in 2001. Each chapter gives a different story to help push this timeline, starting with the telegram to now tapping the internet.

In Chapter One, the introduction of the telegram gives the first cases of wiretapping with sending wrong data in the US Civil War. Wiretapping of the telegram was also introduced in a hometown case in Placerville, CA during 1864 of a man who taps the telegram system to get insider information on stock trading. Each chapter after the first shows how law enforcement used wiretapping on phones and other devices to get one step up on criminals. Taps were not just for a small-town, local law enforcement using the wire but most of the cases focuses on the federal government using wiretaps to catch larger scale criminals. These bigger cases could be the full syndicate of a bootlegging gang during prohibition to a large drug organization closer to present times. Law enforcement agencies were not the only people using wiretapping to find out certain details. Chapter Four demonstrates that, during the 40s and 50s, many jealous husbands would bug their own phones to catch their wives cheating to make a divorce easier.

Two of the main topics of *The Listeners* were the wording within the laws and the ups and downs of how people within a 150-year span felt about wiretapping in general. Analysis on the wording within the laws includes how the word “and” in a certain clause opened doors to interpretation. The Federal Communication Act (FCA), passed in 1934, included an “and” in Section 605: “No person not being authorized by the sender shall intercept any communication and divulge or publish the existence, contents, substance, purport, effect, or meaning of such intercepted communication to any person” (77). The “and” that is placed between “intercept any communication” and “divulged” caused many problems down the road as one could argue that “and” says both issues must happen to be against the law. How people looked at wiretapping changed as certain situations came forward. For example, wiretapping was looked down upon through most of the early twentieth century as a “dirty business” in both the public and private sector. Once events such as the 1965 Watts riots and the civil rights movement happened, politicians of the time swayed the public with scare tactics to white voters saying more wiretapping was needed. This way of thinking kept up through the decades, giving power to the federal government to use wiretapping in places such as “high crime areas” which were mainly urban areas and communities with people of color.

The Listeners is not only an academic history book, but also an easy read for anyone interested in wiretapping. Hochman clearly tracked each era of wiretapping by using different Supreme Court cases to demonstrate how and when laws were put into play. Hochman does say that he did not listen to many tapes as it would be too much effort. Another thing that distanced *The Listeners* from an academic work was that in multiple spots Hochman interjected to talk about interviewing someone or a personal memory. Overall, this book was knowledgeable on the subject of wiretapping and enjoyable for those who might want to learn something new.

Sean Duncan

***Traveling Black: A Story of Race and Resistance.* By Mia Bay. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2021. 44 pp. \$29.95.**

Traveling Black: A Story of Race and Resistance is about the struggle for equality of transportation and travel amenities for African Americans in the United States. Bay's history centers on racial segregation throughout the United States in terms of transportation and amenities. Rather than solely emphasizing the Jim Crow laws limiting civil rights for African Americans, *Traveling Back* also focuses on how Black travelers resisted and fought back against oppression.

Bay begins by telling the story of travel segregation present on public transportation before the Civil War, emphasizing that it was Northern policies that required freed African Americans had to travel in separate sections from whites. Yet, no such requirements were placed on the enslaved Black population in the South. It was not until emancipation that the South began to enforce segregation via travel. Bay's book tells the story of segregation as a Southern attribute and a part of Northern sentiment. Bay covers the landmark case, *Plessy v. Ferguson* and its mandate of separate but equal facilities, which would codify racial inequality in travel and transportation. Bay recounts that spaces reserved for African Americans were always separate and far from equal as African American travelers who paid the same for their tickets were relegated to smoking sections and dilapidated sections of buses and trains. Bay uses primary accounts of people who experienced travel segregation as evidence for the various forms of discrimination that they experienced. She highlights the gendered aspects of segregation as it created a specific dilemma for African American women who were neither allowed in the white women's section nor the men's sections.

Bay describes the significance of automobiles on Black travel. Automobiles offered freedom from discrimination and Jim Crow segregation for African Americans that they were not afforded via rail. These travelers faced an issue with travel amenities, as some service stations, hotels, restaurants, and rest stops refused service to travelers of color. This made travel difficult and dangerous as African American travelers had to plan their routes as detailed as possible, finding out ahead of time where they could fill up their cars or get food or sleep. Bay discusses how guidebooks such as the *Jim Crow Guide to the USA* helped African Americans to navigate journeys and to know laws of the road that were specific to certain places, such as in Mississippi with the racial right-of-way laws. As Bay argues, automobiles offered African Americans more mobility. However, the constraints of segregation were still felt.

Bay discusses the issue of bus segregation through the lens of resistance and boycotts as early as 1905. When states began to pass segregation laws on streetcars, African American residents formed autobuses that enabled Black travelers to circumvent streetcar travel altogether. African Americans began taking their grievances to the NAACP and to the justice system to fight the segregation laws taking root across the South. This is the main stage of the modern Civil Rights Movement. The long Civil Rights Movement culminated in the desegregation of transportation in which violence followed. Bay details the

events that occurred and their relevance and goes beyond focusing on the Montgomery bus boycotts and instead highlights the many instances of resistance that occurred to force desegregation to happen. Bay's argument adds to the scholarly argument that the Civil Rights Movement spans more time than the famous struggles and successes of the 1950s and 1960s.

In the epilogue, the author goes beyond travel segregation and its effects on the Civil Rights Movement by discussing the inequalities of travel today for African Americans, further justifying the relevance of the *Traveling Black*. Bay argues that the popularity of the hashtag on social media, "#drivingwhileblack," indicates that there are still significant inequalities that people of color face while driving and traveling, as evidenced by police brutality, racial profiling, and racist discrimination policies in modern travel. The point to take away from *Traveling Black* is that Black mobility is as relevant as ever and that the struggle for equality continues.

Haley Friegang

***Our Time Is Now: Race and Modernity in Postcolonial Guatemala.* By Julie Gibbings. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020. xiv, 412 pp. Maps, Figures, and Tables. Glossary. Index. Digital.**

In *Our Time Is Now*, Julie Gibbings considers how indigenous Q'eqchi's navigated changing political and economic circumstances in Alta Verapaz, Guatemala throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The state, whether Conservative or Liberal, and the ladinos and foreign investors which the state backed, sought to limit Maya liberties via perceptions of civilization, modernity, and time. According to Gibbings, elites attempted to control Mayas through a "liberal-democratic metanarrative" that endorsed capitalism and democracy as the way of progress and a "civilizing metanarrative" that upheld Western civilization and regarded indigenous life as backward (13). These metanarratives contributed to a "politics of postponement," which held that Q'eqchi's and other Mayas were unequipped for "full participation as citizens in the nation" and justified various systems of coerced labor across more than a century (5). Despite these restrictions, Q'eqchi' patriarchs, revolutionaries, and commoners carved out spaces for themselves by "blend[ing] liberal ideas of virtue, autonomy, and self-determination with Q'eqchi' principles of solidarity, reciprocity, and subsistence production" (6). Although Q'eqchi's embraced "modern" strategies to resist oppression, including land conflicts and labor coercion, Gibbings argues that Q'eqchi's cannot be defined or confined by the Western definition of "modernity," as Q'eqchi' perceptions of time and space are not linear.

While Gibbings builds on a dense historiography of both Guatemalan history and subaltern, colonial, and modernity theory, she also contributes new ideas to the field. Firstly, Gibbings focuses on the department of Alta Verapaz, in which unique demographics,

geography, and economy resulted in distinct indigenous experiences. For example, Q'eqchi's adopted certain political systems, such as the Spanish colonial *ayuntamiento*, more readily than their indigenous neighbors (45). Gibbings also addresses the impacts of race and immigration in Alta Verapaz, highlighting the impacts of World War II in the nationalization of German properties. Her most novel contribution to the historiography, however, is her acknowledgement of spiritual actors in Q'eqchi' history, such as the Tzuulaq'a spirit Xucaneb whose frost of revenge destroyed the coffee crop and prompted Maya laborers to flee (111). While many historians hesitate to address spiritual actors in political histories, Gibbings tells the full story through the Q'eqchi' perspective.

Gibbings covers these concepts and arguments in two parts, with Part I centering on the growth of coffee plantations, coerced labor systems, and racial capitalism, and Part II covering the "consequences" of "postponed modernity" in the early twentieth century. *Our Time Is Now* is roughly chronological, though Gibbings jumps around within each chapter in order to contextualize her main ideas. For example, while the first chapter is focused on a revolt in the 1860s, Gibbings actually covers the bulk of the nineteenth century in order to explain the motivations of the revolt's leader, Jorge Yat, and the Q'eqchi' patriarchs he rebelled against. Throughout the book, Gibbings emphasizes the push and pull of Q'eqchi' tradition and modernity through extensive archival research, newspapers and novels, and even modern-day interviews. These sources cover a wide breadth of topics that could support a reader in locating their own research interests.

Our Time Is Now is built on strong research and source analysis combined with interesting theoretical arguments on racial conceptions of modernity. The book is clearly intended for historians of related fields and not for the general public. Even with consideration to this narrow "expert" audience, the book has its shortcomings. Most notably, Gibbings attempts to cover over a century of Altaverapacense history while also making several arguments about Q'eqchi's as agents and their engagement with conceptualizations of modernity. Within the chronological organization of the book, Gibbings often strays from her core argument, leaving readers informed about the topic at hand but not necessarily swayed towards Gibbings' ideas. Therefore, *Our Time Is Now* is most useful for providing background knowledge on a particular place and era within Guatemalan history and for introducing new concepts for examining indigenous histories.

Siena Geach

***A Legal History of the Civil War and Reconstruction: A Nation of Rights.* By Laura F. Edwards. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015. 212 pp. Paper, \$29.99.**

A Legal History of the Civil War and Reconstruction: A Nation of Rights is a monograph written by Laura F. Edwards, a legal historian and professor at Duke University. Published in 2015, the work argues that the Civil War changed the legal order of the United

States. Edwards argues that the war turned the country away from a conservative and hierarchical society as it turned into a state with a willingness to enact more progressive ideals. In this process, the relationship between the government and its people was fundamentally altered. Following the Civil War and during the Reconstruction and Post-Reconstruction periods, previously underclass populations attempted to bring their own meanings and interpretations to the Reconstruction Amendments for a new vision of American society. An American society much more open to those visions than the society that preceded it.

Edwards divides her work into a short introduction, six main chapters, and a rounded conclusion. She includes a bibliographic essay and a fourteen-page bibliography of primary and secondary sources. The book follows a chronological framework, where the first three chapters focus on the Civil War and the latter three are on Reconstruction. The first two chapters compare the Union and Confederacy prior to and during the war. The Union is shown to be an economic powerhouse, where it can effectively utilize its material power and people to wage the war effectively, bringing the two into a symbiotic relationship of sorts. The Confederacy, by contrast, failed to manifest its economy, resorting to authoritarianism as the only means to keep its government afloat. This disillusioned many southerners who gradually began to turn away from the government they once cheered for in the early war years. The third chapter follows African Americans in their struggle for emancipation, with Edwards arguing that the slaves forced the hand of the Union to intervene in their liberation, which led to the Emancipation Proclamation and later abolition of slavery.

The last three chapters explore the postbellum years, where African Americans, women and the working class formed unions and collectives to advocate in a country where the government was being increasingly viewed as needing to be involved in matters of social justice. Similarly, southern whites formed their own collective of sorts, attempting to influence this new socially active government to restore the more conservative hierarchical society that had been in place during the antebellum years. Fundamentally, the Civil War changed the way the American people viewed their government, and it changed the way that government viewed itself and its role in the lives of its citizens.

Laura Edwards expertly captures this period of history through her writing. Despite its short length of about 200 pages, *A Legal History of the Civil War and Reconstruction* is concise and accessible. Edwards paints a fascinating picture of the antebellum United States as hierarchical, order-focused, and elitist and how that antebellum America was remade into a more egalitarian and socially active state in the bellum and postbellum years. Overall, *A Legal History of the Civil War and Reconstruction* is an excellent read for laypeople and historians who are interested in this period of history, wish to know more about it and want to know how the nation was altered by the events of that period.

Gianluca Gianni

***Venizelos: The Making of a Greek Statesman, 1864-1914.* By Michael Llewellyn-Smith. London: Hurst & Company, 2021. 516 pp. Photographs. Maps. Bibliography. Index. Notes. Hard Bound.**

In this first volume of what is to be a two-part series, Michael Llewellyn-Smith brings to life one of the most enigmatic politicians in modern European history, from his birth until his role in the events preceding the outbreak of the First World War. This book will be of interest to a wide variety of readers: students, researchers, teachers, historians, and any Philhellenic reader interested in knowing more about Eleftherios Venizelos: one of the most successful and controversial politicians in modern European history. Each page is rich with detail, and each chapter leaves you wanting to read the next one.

Eloquently written and well-organized, the book is composed of three different sections. The first one focuses on Venizelos' family, his birth, and his formative years as he became in succession a student, chieftain, minister, diplomat and revolutionary on his home island of Crete. The second focuses on his arrival in Athens and his participation in the political scene following the Goudi Coup and how he consolidated and exercised his power; first as a representative of Crete, then an official, and finally as the Prime Minister of Greece. The last section focuses on his role in Greece's expansionist ventures, and his relationship with the prince who he shall see become King, and an ally become enemy.

The book incorporates a great deal of research in both internal and external records pertaining to Greece, a mix of research that helps contextualize the history from different perspectives. It is invaluable insight that sets the work apart from other biographies of Venizelos that for one reason or another lack nuance. This work could serve as a guide not just of Venizelos' politics, but of Greece's diplomatic history, the fomenting of 19th century Cretan politics, and the history of the Goudi Coup. There is in addition to the body a section to the back dedicated entirely to brief biographies of important characters in Venizelos' story. Among them, many of the major players in Greek politics over the course of Venizelos' lifetime. To the reader who is not versed in the complicated web of politicians that characterized this period and how they are interconnected, this is an excellent resource.

This book is written by a previous Ambassador to Greece from England, and it may be for this that the ability of the author to analyze Venizelos' diplomatic motives is unparalleled in any other work. Venizelos was accomplished in many ways, but this book shows just how skilled a diplomat he was: carefully balancing the needs of the "Protecting" powers, the desires of his compatriots, and the ambitions of the Greek people. An extraordinary feat: one he managed to perform on multiple occasions, but at a great cost to himself and to others around him. However heavily the book focuses on the political world, the man who moved through it peaks through every chapter. Llewellyn-Smith includes anecdotes from Venizelos and the perspectives of others (especially that of Ioannis Metaxas) on his character and close relationships. While the author admires the nominal subject, his inclusion of criticism from people close to Venizelos and his respect for those critics helps show Venizelos in a more nuanced and complex fashion, exposing not just his strengths

but also his flaws. The author pays due attention to the growing cultural phenomenon of Venizelism, and through this helps preface the events that will doubtless be explored in the second volume of this series. The first volume is one of the most comprehensive, balanced, and well researched tomes about Venizelos, and I do not doubt that the second will be just as authoritative.

N. F. K.

The Chinese Must Go: Violence, Exclusion, and the Making of the Alien in America.
By Beth Lew-Williams. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press,
2018. 349 pp. Notes. Index. Photographs. Maps. Soft Bound, \$30.00.

In *The Chinese Must Go: Violence, Exclusion, and the Making of the Alien in America*, author Beth Lew-Williams explores the frequently overlooked history of Chinese exclusion in America's West. In this work, Lew-Williams seeks to "break [previous narrative strands] down into their constituent fibers and to begin again. Only in starting afresh is it possible to see how lines of causation cross traditional scales of analysis." (10) The author argues that "during a period known for the invention of the modern American citizen, the forces of local expulsion, national exclusion, and overseas imperialism produced the modern American alien and an illegal counterpart." (10) Lew-Williams' multilayered interpretation of Chinese experience on individual, national, and global scales illustrate the origins of America's exclusionary border policies that resonate deeply in an age of politicized borders and deep-seated biases surrounding immigrants. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1888 had deep roots in popular anti-Chinese sentiment that reached as far back as the California gold rush, which is where Lew-Williams begins her history. Focusing on Chinese experiences and firsthand accounts, Lew-Williams details how local violence was able to jump scales and effect national and international politics.

The monograph is divided into three parts: Restriction, Violence, and Exclusion. Lew-Williams specifically separates and details the differences between the eras under the Chinese Restriction Act, passed in 1882, and the Chinese Exclusion Act, passed in 1888, to show the progression of both local-level violence and national-level politics. Using sources including diaries, correspondence, contemporary newspaper articles, and government reports, Lew-Williams constructs a compelling argument about the influence of anti-Chinese violence on American policy in the late 1800s. Part one sets the stage for the Chinese Exclusion Act by exploring events that led up to the Chinese Restriction Act in 1882. Increasing conflict rose in Washington Territory with concerning levels of racial violence against Chinese migrants. News of this conflict reached Washington, D.C., where lawmakers and expansionists worried about the sanctity of treaties they had made with the Chinese government. Eventually, the violence and political pressure increased until congress passed the Chinese Restriction Act. Unfortunately, this solution was not, in fact, much of a solution at all. Loopholes in the law and ineffective attempts to enforce it led to what may well

have been *increased* levels of migration. “If non-immigrant Chinese [those who said they were passing through America to other ports of call] are included for the years from 1883 to 1889, the mean annual number of arrivals during restriction was 12,165, or 15 percent higher than during the period of free migration.” (60-61)

Part two of the book details the vigilantism of anti-Chinese activists contrasted with efforts of those loyal to the Chinese to protect them. Lew-Williams argues that the loyal were able to be so because of their higher class, and they feared the ruffian vigilantes much more than the Chinese who they employed. The violence against the Chinese increased, and Washington, D.C. found itself convinced that Chinese exclusion was necessary. Even the Chinese government was in favor of stopping the violence through exclusionary migration laws at first. Restriction, the third part of the book, explores how the United States would go on to unilaterally implement border controls. While there were still those who would defy the law, the Chinese Exclusion Act made the Chinese significantly more vulnerable throughout the United States.

Lew-Williams’ prose is clear, compelling, and ultimately difficult to put down. Her observations about the experiences of immigrants prompt readers to see how the origins of today’s politicized immigration debate reach far into the past.

Meg Masterson

***Hollywood in San Francisco: Location Shooting and the Aesthetics of Urban Decline.* By Joshua Gleich. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018. viii, 349 pp. Contents. Acknowledgements. Introduction. Pictures. Conclusion. Appendix. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Paper, \$34.95.**

This book highlights changes in Hollywood production techniques within the context of films shot in San Francisco between 1945 and 1975 and how Hollywood films shaped public perception of American cities. Author Joshua Gleich argues that “San Francisco’s three postwar decades as a film location offer a unique perspective on how extensively the growth of location shooting altered Hollywood production strategies, shooting methods, and in the end, popular conceptions of the city” (54).

Chapter one concerns the immediate postwar years of San Francisco production, small scale location shooting, and the advent of the semi-documentary genre. Chapter two highlights the broadening of scope through widescreen productions, the prominence of technicolor, and the increasing prominence of cityscapes as “picturesque locations increasingly intrude upon the filmic narrative” (54). Chapter three marks a shift in tone in film narrative, as the loosening of production restrictions, and decentralization of film studios allows filmmakers to create grittier stories, particularly in the early sixties. Chapter four highlights San Francisco as the capital of counterculture in the late sixties, giving way to a

boom of youth exploitation films, while also providing a backdrop for box office hits such as *The Graduate* and *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*. Chapter five centers around the turmoil of the late sixties, particularly race riots, and how they facilitated the creation of films that promoted San Francisco as a location in crisis. Chapter six postulates that increasingly negative publicity of the city, and how the advent of blockbusters utilizing special effects that necessitate shooting on backlots, largely ended location shooting in San Francisco.

Gleich's narrative is of interest to those concerned with film history, and greater history of the city of San Francisco. Gleich does an admirable job of uniting conversation about film technique to declining public perception of American cities in the late sixties/early seventies. This is perhaps best demonstrated in conversation about the Clint Eastwood classic *Dirty Harry* which Gleich describes as having "epitomized the confluence of location shooting and the aesthetic of urban decay" (186). In his discussion of complicated film techniques and the changing production landscape, Gleich highlights several films in each chapter that serve to contextualize each section's discussed period. This not only provides sufficient examples to demonstrate technique, but also provides helpful visuals to the reader who may not be privy to terms related to filmmaking. Examples of films also serve well to paint perceptions of urban spaces that Hollywood fed the public during each cinematic period. In 1958, *The Lineup* and *Vertigo* "exploited San Francisco's famous sites as tourist fantasies, masking real threats to urban citizens," while in the early 1970s, titles like *Dirty Harry* and *The Streets of San Francisco* caught fire from some locals as "the city's deteriorating screen image was seen as inaccurate and destructive to its reputation" (211). Gleich demonstrates the power of cinema to influence common citizens, even when the perception does not quite match reality.

While the narrative is accessible to the common reader, a glossary of terms may have been of use to readers unfamiliar with the intricacies of filmmaking. Given that the monograph covers a thirty-year period as well, an illustrative chart or timeline could have been beneficial to illustrate filmmaking trends, box office numbers, genres of films made in San Francisco throughout the eras covered etc. Despite these critiques, Gleich's work is a worthwhile read for film historians, those interested in San Francisco history, and common lovers of cinema.

Matt Mitchell

***The Kingdom of Rye: A Brief History of Russian Food.* By Darra Goldstein. Oakland: University of California Press, 2022. 171 pp. Index. Illustrations. Hard Bound.**

The Kingdom of Rye: A Brief History of Russian Food by Darra Goldstein is an extensive, yet brief, foray into the history of Russian culinary culture. The book spans pre-Christian origins, the Eastern Orthodox Russian Empire, the communist Soviet Union,

to the present. Darra Goldstein is the founding editor of *Gastronomica*, a peer-reviewed, interdisciplinary journal specializing in food, and professor emerita at Williams College. As illustrated in the preface, her expanding body of work draws from her time spent in researching over Russian culinary traditions.

Goldstein analyzes how the cultural and environmental contexts of Russia informed the development of its culinary culture, given its distinct location between Europe and Asia and generally cold climate. The book is split into five short chapters: introduction, three main sections, and a coda reflecting on present-day Russia, touching on key points central to understanding the idiosyncrasies of Russian cuisine through its historical and cultural contexts. Though not necessarily set in chronological order, the organization of chapters lends itself well to a logical progression through Russian culinary history, with each chapter building upon each other.

Starting with geographical factors, Goldstein stresses the influence of Russia's location on its culinary development in "The Land and Its Flavors," with its harsh, frigid climes encouraging the adoption of hardy crops (such as potato and rye), consumption of arctic seafood and forest foodstuff, and instilling a cultural sensibility of hardship. Contrary to conceptions of its geographic isolation, Russia was exposed to a wide variety of foodstuffs because of its status as a trading waypoint between the countries of Europe and Asia, leading it to develop culinary practices and inclinations from its distinct position. The following chapters, "Hardship and Hunger" and "Hospitality and Excess," deal with the overarching central character of food in Russian culture, respectively in its absence and presence as parcel within Russian society. Famine and absence of food plays a prominent role in Russian society throughout the ages due to difficulty of agriculture for medieval and imperial Russia and the failures of socialism under USSR, with adaptability to hardship being integral to the culinary history of Russia. On the other hand, display of abundance under hospitality served as a central facet of Russian culture, coming into its apex during the excesses of the Russian Empire amongst its nobility and gentry and collapsing into decline from the collectivization of the Soviet Union.

However, the book has its limitations, given it attempts to cover a sizeable topic in a relatively short book and its more general intended audience. Notably, the book lacks any sort of footnotes or endnotes, with only a selected bibliography provided as a jumping point for further study and direct references to specific books or people as citations. Yet as an introductory text to Russian culinary history, the book does an effective job traversing through the breadth of Russian history in detailing the specific qualities that make Russian cuisine distinct in the short space that it was given, illuminating the historical contexts that contributed to its development. In particular, the book provides a series of photographs and illustrations to capture the qualities of Russian cuisine and its path through Russian culture more accurately, with each image contemporary to the time period it reflects. Though it does not necessarily add new novel perspectives into Russian culinary history, *The Kingdom of Rye* provides a comprehensive outlook for those unfamiliar with Russian food, with its engaging language and easy-to-understand progression through the eras of Russia.

Adiran Enrique C. Reyes

A special thank you to, The *Clio* Editorial Staff of 2024

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