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Letter from the Editors-in-Chief

As the editors-in-chief, we are honored to introduce the 30th edition of *Historia*. For months, the publishing crew from Dr. Edmund Wehrle's Historical Publishing class poured out considerable time and effort to produce this collection of student research. This year's Historia staff was one of the largest to date: we had two editors-in-chiefs, a book review editor, and eighteen undergraduate editors. This large group of editors help us move through the reviewing process, which required evaluating a pool of over fifty submissions. Our editors then worked closely with authors to revise and tighten their research. In the end, we were able to publish an expansive and diverse volume of *Historia*: our 16 articles cover a range of geographic locations in the interactive context of culture and conflict.

We would like to thank Dr. Wehrle for his guidance, support, and especially patience throughout the process. Without his contributions, the publication of this issue would not have been possible. Additionally, we would like to thank the faculty of EIU's History Department for encouraging students to submit their works to *Historia*. Without their support, the outstanding work written for this volume would not have been produced. Along with our talented faculty, we extend our thanks to all the authors for their dedication and patience in helping turn out this issue of *Historia*.

Finally, we would like to thank two more individuals. Richard Marrero worked alongside with co-editor-in-chief, Shelby Hummel, to create this year's cover. Mr. Marrero and Ms. Hummel's graphic design skills created a cover that showcased the interconnecting themes of culture and conflict on a global scale. We would also like to thank Audrey Hopper for serving as our Book Review Editor, and Michael Armah for editing help.

- Sergio Vlahovich and Shelby Hummel, co-editors-in-chief, *Historia,* Vol. 30

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Rome's Nubian Frontier: Cultural Change among the "Farthest of Men"
Jackson R. Melvin

Jackson Melvin is a senior history major from Christopher, Illinois. He wrote this paper for Dr. Lee Patterson's HIS 5710: Roman Frontiers. After graduation, he will be pursuing an MA in Social Sciences at the University of Chicago.

By most standards, Nubia, now the northern part of Sudan, seems a world away from Rome. This was even more true in the ancient world, where the difficulties of long-distance travel made the world a larger place. But for a substantial period, these two worlds were in very close contact. From the time of Augustus to Diocletian, Rome incorporated Nubia's northernmost portion, the Dodekaschoinos, into their empire. This fostered a dialogue between a bewildering array of cultural traditions – Roman, Greek, Egyptian, Nubian, even nomadic – instituting an era of profound cultural change in the region. However, scholars rarely consider this frontier as important or dynamic as the Rhine or Mesopotamia, particularly from a cultural standpoint. Otherwise, excellent students of Roman frontiers have neglected this southernmost extension of Roman power, dismissing it as a temporary distraction.[1] But through the diverse actions of the area's inhabitants, Rome's Nubian frontier became a facilitator of a unique cultural change that extended far beyond their political control, both temporally and geographically.

Several models can help historians understand these cultural changes. The oldest model is pure Romanization, which emphasizes a direct imposition of Roman culture by the imperial center.[2] We might also take what archeologist Jane Webster calls the "Nativist" counterapproach, which emphasizes the survival of local customs and downplays Roman elements as merely a fragile veneer.[3] Neither of these models, however, holds up to empirical evidence in Nubia. But Webster has proposed a newer model, drawn from modern history: creolization, an approach which focuses on the emergence of a new, blended culture adopting the cultural "artifacts" of a dominant culture according to indigenous patterns and "grammar."[4] As we shall see, this reading does not fully account for the diversity of the Nubian frontier's culture. However, the single most important aspect of creolization – its shift of agency from the colonizer to the colonized – is fundamental to any examination of cultural change. The indigenous perspective will thus be at the heart of this analysis.

To move beyond the *topoi* and prejudices of the Roman literary sources and get to the indigenous perspective, several methods might be employed. Epigraphy is perhaps the most important. Fortunately, there is a rich epigraphical tradition in the region, originating both from official and temple sources and more subaltern graffiti.[5] Unfortunately, the Meroitic language has not been fully translated, thus limiting interpretation. Still, many inscriptions in Greek and Demotic Egyptian can be reliably sourced from Nubians. Archaeology provides a second pillar for

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[1] See, for example, C.R. Whittaker, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire: A Social and Economic Study* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 144-45, who apparently does not understand the need to secure the "poor provinces of Lower Egypt [sic]," disregarding the presence of Meroë and other nomads as well as the wealth of the region, both materially and culturally.

[2] Jane Webster, "Creolizing the Roman Provinces," *American Journal of Archaeology* 105, no. 2 (2001): 209-11.

[3] Webster, "Creolizing," 212-13.

[4] Webster, "Creolizing," 217-19.

[5] These inscriptions, along with many written sources, are helpfully compiled in *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum*, eds. Tormod Eide et al. (Bergen: University of Bergen, Department of Classics, 1994).

reconstructing the indigenous perspective, although there are weaknesses in the record. Most substantially, the settled areas of the Dodekaschoinos are now largely submerged under Lake Nasser, and while there were certainly many efforts to preserve the archaeological record, the flooding has nevertheless destroyed or rendered much potentially useful material inaccessible, particularly the material goods of daily life.[6] Furthermore, with the landscape now submerged, it is impossible to pursue the kind of approach fruitfully followed by Susan Alcock in Roman Greece.[7] Archaeology proves more useful in analyzing the influence of Rome on the Meroitic Kingdom proper, where the record is fuller.

A full accounting of the political history of Rome's Nubian frontier is outside the bounds of the present survey, but a summary will be helpful for establishing the parameters of this cultural examination.[8] Augustus incorporated Egypt into the empire after his defeat of Cleopatra VII – thus inheriting a border with the Nubian kingdom of Meroë. According to the trilingual (Latin, Egyptian, and Greek) inscription of the new prefect, Gaius Cornelius Gallus, who found a *modus viendi* with these new neighbors, establishing a *tyrannos* – likely, a client king – to rule over the Triakontaschoinos (thirty *schoinoi* was the distance between the first and second cataract), which lay between the two states.[9] However, this new establishment was not to last. According to Strabo, Meroë, commanded by the Kandake,[10] invaded the Thebaid while the new prefect of Egypt, Aelius Gallus, was campaigning in Arabia. His replacement, Gaius Petronius, successfully repulsed the Meroites, who signed a formal peace with Augustus at Samos (Str. 17.1.54).

Evidently, this agreement ended the rule of the *tyrannos* over the Triakontaschoinos; it ceded the southern part to Meroë and the northern part, the Dodekaschoinos (i.e., twelve *schoinoi*), to Rome. Much ink has been spilt trying to find the proper border. The best interpretation, in light of the archaeological evidence, places it at Primis, now known as Qasr Ibrim.[11] For present purposes, it matters little – evidence will reveal the extreme porousness of the border. The same can be said about the equally heavily covered administration of this region, which has yet to be explained satisfactorily.[12] Regardless of these mysteries, the Romans had clearly taken control of the Dodekaschoinos, and three cohorts stationed at Syene, Elephantine, and Philae, served at outposts in the region.[13] From the peace at Samos until the third century, the region was largely peaceful and prosperous.[14] However, Roman control seems to have slipped away thereafter. The last mention of cohorts in the epigraphical evidence occurs in 217/18 CE,[15] and the Romans finally withdrew from

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[6] Hans Barnard, "Additional Remarks on the Blemmyes, Beja and Eastern Desert Warfare," *Ägypten und Levante* 17 (2008): 24.

[7] Susan E. Alcock, *Graecia Capta: The Landscapes of Roman Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 6-8.

[8] The best synthesis of the sources of Rome's expansion, despite its age, is provided in L.P. Kirwan, "Rome beyond the Nubian Frontier," *The Geographical Journal* 13 (1957): 13-19.

[9] *Fontes*, 689-700.

[10] A title for the king's sister, and thus future queen mother. Strabo's masculine, one-eyed Kandake is now identified as Amanirenas, see "(175): Queen Amanirenas, Evidence for Reign," in *Fontes,* 718-19.

[11] William Y. Adams, "Primis and the 'Aethiopian' Frontier," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt,* 20 (1983): 93-104.

[12] The best reconstructions suggest that the Dodekaschoinos was administered from within Egypt, from the pharaonic centers of Syene (Aswan) and Omboi (Kom Ombo), see Jitse H. F. Dijkstra and Klaas A. Worp, "The Administrative Position of Omboi and Syene in Late Antiquity," *Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie Und Epigraphik* 155 (2006): 183-87.

[13] "220: The Southernmost Milestone Yet Found in the Roman Empire," in *Fontes*, 923-24.

[14] László Török, *Between Two Worlds: The Frontier Region between Ancient Nubia and Egypt 3700 BC-AD 500* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 455.

[15] "239: A Late Mention of the Cohors I Flavia Cilicum Equitata at the Egyptian-Aithiopian Frontier," in *Fontes*, 958-59.

the area under Diocletian in 298 (Procop. *Bell.* 1.19.29). Still their cultural influence continued long after.

As with their territorial empire, the Romans inherited their cultural influence from the Ptolemies, whose ever-changing reign in the region had already coincided with the development of Meroitic literacy and a culture with decidedly Greco-Egyptian undertones.[16] It is thus difficult to fully distinguish between those changes which can be attributed to the Ptolemaic period and those which occur in the Roman. Many of the processes, such as Hellenization, can be found earlier, but they show a marked expansion under Roman authority. As a general rule, Roman rule of the region seems to have furthered preexistent processes of cultural blending and expanded them into new venues. Perhaps nowhere is that clearer than in the case of the god Mandulis, whose cult center was in the city of Kalabsha (known as Talmis in Greek).

Mandulis first appears in the historical record in reference to a small temple he had at the Philae complex during the Ptolemaic period.[17] His origins are highly obscure, owing to a lack of literacy among his earliest worshippers. The best interpretation views Mandulis as a deity of importance in the northern part of Lower Nubia and the Eastern Desert.[18] Even in this earlier stage, there were many aspects of Mandulis which would survive well into the Roman period. Most notable is his depiction as taking two separate forms. As a solar deity (far from the only one in the Egypto-Nubian context), he represented both the rising sun and the sun at its zenith – and was thus depicted both as "the child" and "the greater god," the latter being a young adult.[19] The latter form is specified in the aforementioned Ptolemaic Philae inscription.[20] Mandulis' position as a god at the important site of Philae, the center of the religious landscape of Southern Egypt and Lower Nubia, attests to a certain level of popularity in that region.[21]

Whatever importance he had in the Ptolemaic period expanded significantly during the Roman occupation. Nearly as soon as the Romans arrived in the Dodekaschoinos, there was a flurry of temple building, focused particularly on Kalabsha. The small chapel left half-constructed by the Ptolemies was finished and expanded into a monumental one, large enough to be considered almost a counterpart to the massive temple of Isis at Philae.[22] In addition to establishing clear continuity between the Romans and their Ptolemaic (and thereby Pharaonic) predecessors, this building program provided an excellent opportunity for imperial propaganda. And indeed, the walls of Kalabsha are covered in reliefs (begun under Augustus and finally completed under Trajan) which depict scenes of the Emperor as a pharaoh interacting with, showing devotion to, and being crowned by many deities, most especially Mandulis, Isis, and Osiris.[23] While Kalabsha fits into a

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[16] The best overview of this period (with relevant bibliography) is provided by Török, *Between*, 377-426.

[17] "140: Provisions Requested from Nubia at Philae," in *Fontes*, 631-35.

[18] Török, *Between*, 388.

[19] Gaelle Tallet, "Mandulis Apollo's Diplomacy Echoes of Greek Culture and Hellenism at Talmis (Nubia) in the Roman Period," in *Greco-Egyptian Interactions: Literature, Translation, and Culture, 500 BC–AD 300,* ed. Ian Rutherford, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 297.

[20] "140: Provisions," 632-33.

[21] Ian Rutherford, "The Island of the Extremity: Space, Language and Power in the Pilgrimage Traditions of Phila," in *Pilgrimage and Holy-Space in Late Antique Egypt*, ed. David Frankfurter (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 229-35.

[22] Török, *Between,* 450.

[23] Bertha Porter and Rosalind Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Statues, Reliefs and Paintings, Vol. 7, Nubia the Deserts and Outside Egypt* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951), 14-19.

broader pattern of temple expansion in the Augustan Dodekaschoinos, it is unique in scale, especially relative to its status before their arrival.[24] Often, this has been attributed to the presence of a Roman military establishment nearby, and that was indeed a likely factor.[25] However, there are deeper layers that emerges from a thorough investigation.

In order to understand the imperial motivation in building and expanding Kalabsha, one must understand Roman Nubia's equally unique status within the Romans' perceptions of their empire. While we cannot fully say how the Romans conceived of their empire's limits, it seems that they had some conception that Nubia, who they called Aethiopia, lay at the very edge of the world itself. Indeed, if there is one theme that most emerges from Greek and Roman sources' treatment of Aethiopia, it is the extreme distance from the

Figure 1: Lithograph of Kalabsha, lithographed by Louis Haghe and illustrated by David Roberts, published 1846-49.

Mediterranean center. That association of Aethiopia with distance goes all the way back to Homer, who described the Aethiopians as the "farthest of men" (Hom., *Od.*, 1.21-25). Furthermore, the southern border of Aethiopia was Oceanus itself (Hom. *Il.*, 1.423-4). That Homeric tradition served as the foundation of the Roman understanding of Aethiopia, as demonstrated by Strabo's lengthy treatment thereof, in which he cited several other writers who render Aethiopia as inherently distant. (Strab. 1.2.24-29, 31-35). This synonymy of Aethiopia with distance appears in official sources as well. For example, Augustus' *Res Gestae* positions the conquest of Aethiopia as among the most impressive of Augustus' expansion of boundaries, positioned alongside the coterminous attack on Arabia as the furthest extension of Roman power south (*RG,* 26.5). Even in late antiquity, the distance of Ethiopia could be invoked to give sages an air of mystery and foreignness.[26]

Notably, this ideology of distance manifests itself as a mythologizing impulse, that is, a prevalent tendency to give the peoples of the region preternatural characteristics. Well before the period surveyed here, Herodotus describes the Aethiopians as the longest lived and fairest of the races of men, easily living to be 120 years old (Hdt., 3.22.4-23). Herodotus' fanciful notions might be dismissed as relics of a time in which Aethiopia was indeed far beyond his civilization. However, these ideas persisted into the Roman imperial period, where contacts between Rome and Aethiopia were well established. Pliny the Elder, writing in the Flavian period, describes the "monstrous forms" present among the Aethiopians, including people without nose, tongues, or mouths (Plin. *Nat.* 6.35). Most enduringly, he describes the Blemmyes as *akephaloi* – men without heads (Plin. *Nat.* 5.8.). In fact, the Blemmyes were a real people,[27] ones whom the Romans knew well, and ones who

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[24] Török, *Between,* 446-53.

[25] Tallet, "Mandulis," 290.

[26] Gary Reeger, "Apollonios of Tyana and the Gymnoi of Ethiopia," In *Philosophy and the Ancient Novel*, eds. Marília P. Futre Pinheiro and Silvia Montiglio, (Eelde, NL: Barkhuis, 2015), 141-58.

[27] Or at least, the Romans perceived them to be such. As with many tribal groups, reconstructing their own identity is all but impossible. Anna Lucille Boozer, "Frontiers and Borderlands in Imperial Perspectives: Exploring Rome's Egyptian Frontier," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 177 (2013): 280, suggests that "Blemmyes" was a catch-all for nomadic groups, which is likely accurate; the best account of their early history is Barnard, "Additional Remarks," 23-29.

would eventually come to dominate the Dodekaschoinos in the final years of pre-Christian Nubia. And yet, the description he gives deliberately renders these nomads as alien, bestial outsiders.[28]

Pliny (as well as most Roman geographers) often trafficked in these exotic descriptions, but what is most remarkable about his treatment is the juxtaposition of his fantastical description with a solid geographical understanding of the region.[29] Pliny's description of the fantastical Blemmyes contrasted with that of Strabo, who more soberly stated that the Blemmyes were a people under the power of the Aethiopians, without any hint of preternaturalness (Str. 17.1.2). Incongruities like these have led Hungarian historian László Török to describe "the border between the 'really existing' and the fabulous Aithiopia" as "fluid."[30] However, by the Roman period, a finer point can be placed on this issue. It is not so much that the reality of Nubia blended with the mythic perceptions of Aethiopia, but rather that there were two separate conceptions which existed simultaneously, one ideological, rooted in ancient ideas like the Homeric tradition, and one practical, taking into account physical descriptions of the region.[31] Crucially, this allows the ideological sense to remain strong, even as the distance upon which it was predicated totally dissipated in the time of Augustus.

This ideological association of Aethiopia with distance and the limits of the empire parallels a similar description of Britain's marginality provided by Richard Hingley and Rich Hartis.[32] The Dodekaschoinos, like Northern England, was a "debatable land," an indistinct border area which served as a vector for dialogue between two political and intellectual entities, in this case, Rome and Meroë.[33] By that token, the Augustan expansion of the temples of Mandulis ought to be considered as, like Hadrian's wall, "build[ing] upon an increasingly hybrid variety of imperial identities, re-projecting these through the creation of a monumental statement of imperial order, stability, and might."[34] Kalabsha was not a military installation, but the fact that it was so heavily plastered with symbols of imperial ideology allowed it to serve a similar function. If anything, this made it more effective at "re-projecting the hybrid identities," which in the unique case of Roman Nubia, was a synthesis of Nubian, Egyptian, Greek, and now Roman elements. In using the temple walls, the Romans fully integrated themselves into the "archives of historical memory and identity,"[35] while establishing a new monument, more intrinsically tied to them than Philae.

With the imperial projection on the Nubian frontier established, its effect on the cult of Mandulis, and the culture of the Dodekaschoinos can be better understood. If the Romans' goal was to grow this syncretistic cult, then they succeeded. Kalabsha never replaced Philae as the religious center of Lower Nubia, but it did rise to a secondary position, aided by the fact that it lay within Nubia itself.[36] Mandulis provided, as Török heavily emphasized, the perfect deity for the new status quo of the Dodekaschoinos, having appeal to Egyptians, Nubians, nomads, and Romans.[37] That mass appeal only increased over time, as Mandulis became an increasingly syncretic deity, especially through the adoption of Hellenic attributes.

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[28] Boozer, "Frontiers," 280-81.

[29] As is made especially clear in Plin. *Nat.* 6.35, with its rather accurate accounting of Nile Valley geography.

[30] László Török, *The Kingdom of Kush: Handbook of the Napatan-Meroitic Civilization* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 376.

[31] A similar phenomenon can be viewed in the Roman frontiers more broadly, see Whittaker, *Frontiers*, 10-30.

[32] Richard Hingley and Rich Hartis, "Contextualizing Hadrian's Wall: The Wall as 'Debatable Lands,'" *Frontiers in the Roman World*, eds. Ted Kaizer and Olivier Hekster (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 84-86.

[33] Hingley and Hartis, "Contextualizing," 82-83.

[34] Hingley and Hartis, "Contextualizing," 83.

[35] Török, *Between*, 453.

[36] Török, *Between*, 450.

[37] Török, *Between*, 451.

The Hellenized elements of Mandulis are most evident in the Greek inscription on a statue of one Paccius Maximus, an auxiliary cavalry officer of apparent Nubian origin, at Kalabsha.[38] The inscription presents Mandulis in Greek forms – he "came down from Olympus… [and] charmed away the barbaric speech of the Aithiopians and urged me to sing in sweet Greek verse."[39] Paccius was not alone – there are five similar Greek *proskynema*, all of which share the Hellenism of Paccius' inscription. For example, they identify Mandulis with his solar equivalents in Hellenic religion, granting him the title of Helios and Apollonian epithets, and, more ambitiously, equating him with the divine Aion of philosophical and mystical tradition.[40] Sculptures of Mandulis exhibit clear signs of Hellenic influence, particularly in the adoption of the *akintobolos* halo.[41] Much of this language and iconography appears to be connected to the Greek magical papyri tradition, centered in Egypt, which connects the Mandulis cult to the broader world of Hellenism.[42]

But this *intrepretario graeca* does not tell the whole story of the Mandulis cult. Mandulis retained many of his former traits, including his doubling as the young and old sun represented by a boy and an adult. In addition, his identification within the Egyptian religion expanded, becoming partly synonymous with the avenging Horus (Harendotes), as well as with his fellow solar deity, Re.[43] Historian Gaëlle Tallet has gone as far as to suggest the deliberate construction of bilingual (or, perhaps more accurately, bicultural) rituals, which could be interpreted either as Greek or Egyptian depending on the audience.[44] Hellenism then, seems not to have overtaken the preexisting traditions, but rather to have been deliberately incorporated into them by the worshippers of Mandulis. As suggested in G.W. Bowersock's seminal *Hellenism in Late Antiquity,* Hellenism provided "a medium of both cultural and religious expression… provid[ing] a new and more eloquent way of giving voice to [indigenous traditions]."[45]

The cult of Mandulis was but one part of a developing sacred landscape of Lower Nubia. What had once been regional deities soon became family, often literally, as in the case of Mandulis and Isis. The gods (i.e., their images) often visited each other on their barques, evinced most strongly by the major pan-Lower Nubian processions of deities to Philae.[46] A new cultural milieu emerged, one which tended to use Greco-Egyptian elements to smooth over the differences that had once predominated in the region. At the same time, it provided a vector for interaction between the newer elements of society in the Dodekaschoinos, e.g., Hellenized soldiers like Paccius Maximus. This has led to Török's suggestion that the newly expanded and increasingly Hellenized religious landscape of the Dodekaschoinos developed into a new regional identity for its inhabitants, one in which they could identify themselves as a single unit, rather than a collection of people who happened to live near each other.[47]

As is implied by the centrality of the synthetic cults, this new identity contained mixtures of Nubian, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman elements, while at the same time standing outside of an allegiance to any one culture. A striking parallel can be found with the communities of the nearby oases of the Egyptian desert, who deliberately defined themselves as outsiders from the Nile Valley

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[38] Stanley M. Burnstein, 'When Greek Was and African Language: The Role of Greek Culture in Ancient and Medieval Nubia," *Journal of World History* 19 (2008), 51.

[39] "A Roman Soldier and His God in Nubia: The Mandulis Hymn of Paccius Maximus," in *Ancient African Civilizations: Kush and Axum*, ed. Stanley Burstein (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2009), 84-86.

[40] Tallet, "Mandulis," 303-04.

[41] Tallet, "Mandulis," 306.

[42] Tallet, "Mandulis," 303-08.

[43] Tallet, "Mandulis," 297.

[44] Tallet, "Mandulis," 301-03.

[45] G.W. Bowersock *Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 7.

[46] "170: The Visit of Aithiopian Deities to Philae," in *Fontes,* 711-13.

[47] Török, *Between*, 447.

Egyptians through archaic customs and the worship of the outsider god Seth.[48] Like the Dodekaschoinoi, the imperial center considered the Oasites a "marginal" people, existing in the "debatable land" between Rome and the desert, and, thus, order and chaos.[49] Given the similarity between the perception of the two peoples as outsiders by their Roman overlords, it is possible to speculate that these new outsider identities amounted to internalizations of that viewpoint. Or, in a more nuanced reading, they acknowledged and reappropriated a Roman viewpoint which attempted to denigrate them.

That last point is particularly vital: Török suggests that this new identity was essentially manufactured by the Romans, "a carefully designed program of acculturation extending over the whole of the mixed population living in the Dodekaschoinos."[50] However, this view does not consider the agency of the indigenous population in establishing this new identity. Rome may have ordered the temples' construction, but it was the people of the Dodekaschoinos, be they Nubians, Egyptian priests, or Greek-speaking Roman soldiers, who worshipped at them. Apparently, the priests at Kalabsha themselves created a deliberately bilingual, bicultural ritual system which could appeal to the people of the Dodekaschoinos more easily.[51] There was no imperial overseer dictating a cultural program. Rather the development of this new syncretistic identity connected to local, equally syncretistic gods was a reaction by the indigenous population, a means of reaching a *modus vivendi* between multitudes of cultural forces.

This is made most evident by the fact that, despite its likely origins as an extension of Augustan propaganda, this new regional religious identity totally outgrew its connection to imperial ideology, and eventually came to outlast Roman rule in the region. The expansion and maintenance of the new temples seems to cease in the third century (given the political situation in the Mediterranean, this should not be surprising). A particularly revealing example is found in a mid-third century inscription at Kalabsha, revealing that the *strategos* at Omboi and Elephantine ordered that *pigs* – an unclean animal in the Egyptian (and many Near Eastern) religious tradition – be expelled from the temple.[52] Clearly, this indicates a profound state of neglect of the temple infrastructure so heavily promoted in the earlier period. However, the new regional identity, and particularly the importance of Mandulis, persisted.

After the Roman withdrawal from the Dodekaschoinos, there was a brief period of Meroitic hegemony, followed hot on the heels by a piecemeal conquest by the Blemmyes. The new Blemmye overlords swiftly acculturated to the new regional identity, using it as a cornerstone of their governance in the region. This much is apparent in the written sources, where the worship of Isis at Philae is heavily emphasized (Procop. *Bell.* 1.19.32-36). It is lent further credence by the presence of a substantial number of inscriptions (written in a sort of "pidgin Greek") in Kalabsha, which emphasize the connection of the Blemmye Kings with Mandulis.[53] It has been suggested that the fifth century Philae inscription of one Esmêtakhom, which heavily praises Mandulis despite his being a priest of Isis, may have been a deliberate attempt to ingratiate himself to the Blemmyes.[54] The Blemmyes had little need for a mere Roman-imposed cult a century after their withdrawal. Rather, it seems that they were leveraging a persistent culture, which had its roots in an earlier period. In fact, Christian, Coptic Nubian culture, which arose mostly in this northern region (even at

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[48] Boozer, "Frontiers," 279-80.

[49] Boozer, "Frontiers," 279-80.

[50] Török, *Between*, 446.

[51] Tallet, "Mandulis," 306-10.

[52] "248: Pigs in the Temple of Talmis, Greek Decree of the Strategos of Omboi and Elephantine," in *Fontes*, 976-78.

[53] *Fontes*, 1128-38.

[54] "306: Philae, Hieroglyphic and Demotic Graffito of Esmêtakhom" in *Fontes,* 1121-23.

Roman sites like Primis/Qasr Ibrim), utilized the temple infrastructure and organization created in this period.[55] It was this process of cultural change which resulted in the creation of a "Mediterranean civilization" in Christian Nubia.[56]

Having examined Nubian reactions to Roman culture within the bounds of "formal empire," at least to the degree to which they can be reconstructed, we might also consider what Whittaker has so rightly emphasized: borders never stopped Roman *imperium*.[57] In Nubia, as elsewhere, the Roman frontier serves as more of a porous, dialogic zone of interaction than as a defensive *cordon sanitaire*. Emblematic of this porousness is a famous inscription at Philae detailing the journey of one Sasan (formerly transliterated as Pasan) as the Meroitic "envoy to Rome" in 253 CE.[58] Interpretations of his lengthy inscription mostly concentrate on its diplomatic and administrative implications.[59] The Demotic inscription describes nothing less than Sasan's participation, on behalf of the king of Meroë, in a religious ceremony of the Greco-Egyptian Isis, essentially joining the religious culture of the Dodekaschoinos and patronizing the development of Philae.[60] Indeed, there is much to suggest that pilgrimages to Philae were common among Meroites in this period.[61] Despite the imposition of new borders, Roman Nubia remained connected with its southern neighbors. Priestly elites across Lower Nubia, on either side of the Roman border were especially important in facilitating this connection, and they seem to have comprised a largely indistinguishable whole. Emblematic of this schema is the Wayekiya family of the Dodekaschoinos, most likely of Nubian extraction, who fit firmly into the Greco-Egyptian system of administration, and yet clearly intermingled with elites south of Roman authority.[62]

The most immediately obvious Roman-inspired cultural change in Meroitic elites was the adoption of Greek language and culture. While Greek culture had been present in the Ptolemaic period, it rapidly expanded under the Romans, who had transferred the administrative language of the Dodekaschoinos from Egyptian to Greek.[63] This accelerated the proliferation of Greek into elite circles. Most notable is Paccius Maximus, who apparently received enough Greek education to write solidly in the Alexandrine style, composing an acrostic which reveals his identity. [64] But the influence of Greek culture was felt also much further south, in Meroë itself. The buildings of the Meroitic Kings show markedly Hellenistic features, including depictions of Greek deities such as Helios and Herakles.[65] But Greek is most often found in a less expected source: glass vessels. Mostly imported, these objects abound at Meroitic funerary sites, containing Greek inscriptions such as "Drink, you shall live."[66] As Burstein has noted, the degree to which Greek was a *lingua franca* in Meroë is unclear,

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[55] Giovanni Ruffini, *Medieval Nubia: A Social and Economic History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 1-21.

[56] Ruffini, *Medieval Nubia*, 21.

[57] Whittaker, *Frontiers,* 95-96.

[58] "260: Philae. Demotic Graffito of Pasan," in *Fontes,* 1000-10; also found in "Isis of Philae, Mistress of Nubia: The Graffito of Pasan, Son of Paese (April 10, 253 CE), 87-90.

[59] An overview of scholarship, as well as a convincing reinterpretation thereof can be found in Jeremy Pope, "Meroitic Diplomacy and the Festival of Entry," in *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond: Proceedings of the 12th International Conference for Nubian Studies*, eds. Julie R. Anderson and Derek A. Welsby (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 577-82.

[60] "260: Philae. Demotic Graffito of Pasan," in *Fontes,* 1001-08

[61] Solange Bumbaugh, "Meroitic Worship of Isis at Philae," in *Egypt in its African Context Proceedings of the Conference Held at The Manchester Museum, University of Manchester, 2-4 October 2009,* ed. Karen Exell (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2011), 66-69.

[62] Török, *Between,* 456-64.

[63] Tallet, "Mandulis," 291.

[64] Burstein, "When Greek," 51.

[65] Burstein, "When Greek," 52.

[66] Jean Leclant, "Glass from the Meroitic Necropolis of Sedeinga (Sudanese Nubia)," *Journal of Glass Studies* 15 (1973): 52-68.

owing to the dearth of evidence, although the continuation of its use in the Axumite period may indicate a substantial presence.[67]

Fortunately, there are more solid bodies of evidence which chart change in Meroë proper. As is often the case with cultural change, Roman influence is perhaps most visible in pottery. This reflects in part the type of trade relationships observed on other frontiers, such as Germania.[68] A few sites show the presence of Roman amphorae, even deep within the Meroitic hinterland.[69] At one particular site, imported amphorae (which judging from the style, likely contained wine) accounted for 6% of all storage vessels.[70] Even more common is Meroitic pottery which integrates Roman imagery. This may not be surprising, considering that the scholarly consensus places the center of Nubian ceramic production in Lower Nubia, in proximity of the frontier with Rome.[71] This includes domestic versions of the imported amphorae. However, these local amphorae expand upon their more utilitarian inspirations, adding characteristically Nubian bright colors in wide horizontal bands.[72] Another particularly evocative example of this phenomenon is found among the pottery of Napata, directly in the Meroitic heartland. Several vessels exhibit clear Greco-Roman imagery of vine wreaths, trefoils, and floral motifs, which are fully integrated into characteristically Meroitic friezes of double lines. [73] These shifts in pottery style seem to fit very neatly into Webster's creolization paradigm, as reinterpretations of Roman material culture through the preestablished "grammar" of Nubia.[74]

Figure 2: Nubian amphora found at Faras, 1st century BCE or CE, British Museum.

However, the question is: creolization for whom? Every piece of evidence presented here existed in a thoroughly elite context, with little evidence of creole penetration into the lower levels of Nubian society. In fact, there is strong evidence to the contrary. Greek culture was clearly the domain of the elite and highly exclusionary; as much is clear from Paccius Maximus' denigration of his own native ways, saying that Mandulis "charmed away the barbaric speech of the Aithiopians."[75] While present, amphorae are rare, much more so than in Roman Egypt, and are always associated with elite sites.[76] Furthermore, many low status sites show an uptick in the local production of explicitly Nubian ware, wholly different from anything found in the Roman Empire – suggesting with them

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[67] Burstein, "When Greek," 52-54.

[68] Whittaker, *Frontiers,* 125.

[69] Grażyna Bąkowska, "Some Remarks on Meroitic Pottery from Jebel Barkal/Napata," in *The Kushite World: Proceedings of the 11th International Conference for Meroitic Studies: Vienna 1-4 September 2008*, ed. Michael H. Zach (Vienna: Verein der Förderer der Sudanforschung, 2015), 456-8.

[70] Ross Thomas, "Changing Societies in the Fourth Cataract: Identity Displayed through Ceramic Use and Consumption Practices," in *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond: Proceedings of the 12th International Conference for Nubian Studies*, ed. Julie R. Anderson and Derek A. Welsby (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 1094.

[71] Robert Steven Bianchi, *Daily Life of the Nubians* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004), 246-47.

[72] Bianchi, *Daily Life,* 248.

[73] Bąkowska, "Some Remarks," 458.

[74] Webster, "Creolizing," 218.

[75] "A Roman Soldier," 85.

[76] Thomas, "Changing Societies," 1094.

an entirely different cuisine.[77] That last point is most fascinating. There is far too little evidence to say decisively, but this increase in local production could well represent a deliberate rejection of Roman goods, analogous to that observed in Galilee.[78]

Even the elites, ostensibly the most integrated into the Greco-Roman world, show fleeting, fascinating signs of resistance. In a marked break from their predecessors in the Hellenistic period, the kings of Meroë embraced the ancient titularies of the twenty-fifth dynasty over imported Ptolemaic or Roman ones.[79] And despite the peace at Samos, the visual propaganda of the Meroitic period abounds with images of Romans bound and trampled by Meroitic kings and queens.[80] Unfortunately, Meroitic texts remain untranslated precluding a full understanding of their ideology, but it certainly appears to have an anti-Roman flavor. Considering the well-demonstrated connection between elites in Meroë and the Dodekaschoinos, it should be unsurprising that resistance to Roman cultural encroachment can be seen there as well. In particular, the heavy emphasis on preexisting titles in *proskynema* and other inscriptions has been interpreted as a deliberate attempt to deemphasize the Roman-ness of the rulers.[81] Unfortunately, the destruction of the archaeology of the Dodekaschoinos prevents documenting the sort of bottom-up view of resistance suggested in Meroë proper – therefore any interpretation remains tentative. However, it was apparently the elite families of the Dodekaschoinos who fomented the switch to Meroitic rule.[82]

For that reason, it is important not to oversimplify the cultural changes that the Roman presence facilitated as merely a projection of the Roman *imperium*. At the end of the day, this cultural change was happening among individuals who made their own decisions, often motivated by individual contexts. It is perhaps easy to understand why someone closely affiliated with the independent kings and queens of Meroë would ostentatiously display their affinity with Meroitic society, and equally easy to understand why someone with close ties to Roman Egypt would choose to emphasize their Greco-Egyptian elements. An even further layer of complication can be added with the provision that those two hypothetical someones could in fact be the same person. Insofar context motivated cultural affiliation, it was also subject to change alongside them.

A tremendous example of this sort of cultural switching existed in Wayekiye (A), an eponymous member of the aforementioned priestly family. In his capacity as a priest of Isis-Sothis, he gained renown for his knowledge of the stars – perhaps even reintroducing accurate Egyptian time-reckoning to the region.[83] In his capacity as an Egyptian priest, he was a *wnwtj*, in his interactions with the Greek world, a *horologos* and *hierogrammat*, and, finally, when Meroë conquered his region, he became the official "chief wizard of the Kingdom of Kush."[84] These titles were not contradictory, nor were they integrated into some new creolized whole. Rather, they were separate but coexistent, merely emphasized and deemphasized as context dictated.

What then, should we make of the cultural changes on the Nubian frontier? Romanization is clearly inadequate as a model. For one thing, Roman penetration remained too limited to qualify Nubians as "Romanized" in any meaningful sense. Furthermore, while the imperial center certainly sought to promote culture in the Dodekaschoinos, that culture was incredibly hybridized, and the reactions by indigenous persons varied – a far cry from the imposed model "Romanization" implies.

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[77] Thomas, 'Changing Societies," 1092-93.

[78] Andrea M. Berlin, "Romanization and Anti-Romanization in Pre-Revolt Galilee," in *The First Jewish Revolt: Archaeology, History, and Ideology*, ed. Andrea M. Berlin and J. Andrew Overman (Philadelphia: Routledge, 2002), 67-69.

[79] Burstein, "When Greek," 51-52.

[80] Burstein, "When Greek," 51.

[81] Török, *Between*, 451-52.

[82] Török, *Between,* 466-67.

[83] Török, *Kingdom*, 472-73.

[84] Török, *Kingdom,* 472-73.

Creolization has more legs, but it too falls short of the mark. Its case is strongest in the Dodekaschoinos, where we do see the rise of a new culture of mixed symbology. However, creolization cannot properly account for the variety of responses, particularly the cultural changes in Meroë proper. Furthermore, lacks room for the cultural switching observed in the case of Wayekiye (A).

Perhaps the best approach recognizes Nubia's cultural change as an utterly unique case of mixtures and oppositions. Few other places in the Roman empire could claim the history that its Nubian frontier could, having served as an imperial frontier since the Old Kingdom of Egypt (starting c. 2800 BCE).[85] Therefore, it featured an unparalleled cultural mix before the Romans ever set foot past the First Cataract. In a common theme throughout the empire, the Romans adapted their imperial system to the realities on the ground, all the while maintaining a unique conception of their new "Aethiopia," with its resultant foibles. Nubians, old pros at these imperial games, found their own patterns of change, resistance and reinvigoration, ultimately surviving the Roman rule in the region as they had always done. As useful as wider, more schematic models are for enhancing understanding of cultural change, scholars should move away from them when the evidence simply does not fit. Such should be the case in Nubia.

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[85] Török, *Between,* 53-73.

Being Civil in East Berlin: Media Representation of the American Civil Rights Movement in the German Democratic Republic, 1963
Tanner Skym

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Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. weighed the problems African Americans faced in the United States in his famous "I Have a Dream" address on August 28th, 1963. Although King spoke primarily to an American audience, he attracted international attention from journalists worldwide who covered the civil rights marches. According to scholar Mary L. Dudziak, the march "had an international influence," inspiring additional solidarity marches throughout the world. She recalls how individuals all around the world "marched on US diplomatic offices" or sent telegrams and petitions in favor of the march.[1] Dudziak's examination of these global protests reveals the profound international influence of African Americans and their struggle to attain equal rights.

Global coverage of the African American freedom struggle at the height of the Cold War called into question the basic notion of American democracy. While Western allies of the United States and independent African countries expressed sympathy for African Americans, the Soviet Union and supporters in the Soviet bloc condemned white supremacy in the United States; they blamed America's capitalist ideology for racial discrimination and used segregation to illustrate the flaws of American democracy. Director of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research for the US State Department Thomas Hughes, highlighted for President John F. Kennedy in a 1963 memorandum how the Soviets believed "racism was inherent in the capitalist system." The Soviet propaganda maintained that if capitalism was banished from the American culture, racial inequality would be eliminated. Furthermore, Hughes argued that the Soviets claimed the US government encouraged racism because American officials failed to "antagonize Southern Democrats." The Soviets contended that the American idea of racism was "clearly reflective of its practices against colored peoples over the world." [2] Hughes stated that the Soviet Union's employment of white supremacist propaganda against the United States was successful; clearly the Kennedy Administration worried that this disinformation was harming the United States and its international reputation. Dudziak emphasizes that their concentration on American race issues served solely as "political ends desired by the Soviet Union," and accomplished "nothing whatever… to improve the Negro's position." Soviet insistence that racism was "America's 'Achilles heel'" undermining the "American profession" of "liberty and equality," in effect, aimed to deceive third world countries. Soviet propaganda highlighted racial discrimination as a strategy to highlight the failure of the American democracy.[3]

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[1] Mary L. Dudziak, "The 1963 March on Washington: At Home and Abroad," *Revue Française d'Études Américaines* 107 (2006), 66.

[2] Memorandum on Soviets and Civil Rights, June 14, 1963, Papers of John F. Kennedy, Presidential Papers, "Civil rights: General, June 1963: 11-14," John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, Boston, MA.

[3] Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War, Civil Rights Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 37-38.

The German Democratic Republic (GDR) emerged prominent among Soviet bloc nations in publicizing the trials of the American Civil Rights Movement. The East German Socialist Unity Party (SED) positioned itself as champion of human rights and harshly attacked America for denying African Americans their fundamental rights. According to historian Ned Richardson-Little, SED officials maintained that German socialism was the sole solution to human rights since it prohibited "man's exploitation by man." SED party doctrines held that by eliminating capitalist class strife inside GDR society, East Germans could achieve "a new true form of democracy." Furthermore, Richardson-Little notes that the SED regarded itself as the "steadfast champion of human rights" since it fought for oppressed people's rights around the world.[4] Because racial discrimination was a sign of the capitalist crisis, SED socialists pushed East Germans to struggle for the rights of black Americans. East German socialists presented a Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the American Civil Rights Movement; the SED saw protests in America as part of a class struggle and a clear illustration of the malignant hypocrisy inside American democracy.

East German publications applied a socialistic filter to their reporting, relying on Marxist-Leninist interpretations in almost all of their arguments. Scholars Anke Fiedler and Michael Meyen affirm this in their study of East German media. GDR reporters expressed their own views in global debate, but their reports were "monotonous to read" and lacked accurate facts. Because the SED aimed to build "an integrated, monopolized and monosemy public culture," its media system "had to provide a centralized organization for the broadcast of news" throughout East German cities. Fiedler and Meyen perceived in East German reporting a "triple formula of 'propagandist,' 'agitator,' and 'organizer' in East German reportage." "Propaganda and totalitarianism theories" were "often referenced" in GDR publications.[5] According to Fiedler and Meyen, "the dogmatic beliefs of Lenin" remained "sacrosanct" in East German media "right up until the collapse of the GDR." [6] As some GDR reporters predicted a social revolt for equal rights among African Americans, the Marxist-Leninist worldview affected debate and coverage of civil rights in the United States.

During the 1960s, various East German journalists portrayed the United States as villains and claimed that Americans democracy was on the verge of collapse and that American government officials supported white supremacy. Historians Maria Höhn and Martin Klimke demonstrate how GDR media propaganda portrayed Americans as "leaders of the reactionary forces," and as enemies of the GDR; they argue that East German leaders claimed American imperialism threatened "global revolutionary progress" and compared US democracy to fascism.[7] These charges from the SED and the East German media can be clearly seen in their coverage of the civil rights movement.

The next sections will examine socialist ideology in East German media and its impact on coverage of the African American movements in 1963. The three newspapers included for this analysis—*Berliner Zeitung*, *Neue Zeit*, and *Neues Deutschland*— were the principal periodicals disseminated across East Germany and feature a variety of reactions to the late spring and summer civil rights rallies, including the historic March on Washington. The newspapers, as state-approved publications, published articles that expressed socialist interpretations of civil rights and criticized the US government for failing to intervene on behalf of black Americans; they questioned the legitimacy of American democracy and condemned American racism for endangering African Americans and their human rights. This study sheds light on how the American Civil Rights

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[4] Ned Richardson-Little, *The Human Rights Dictatorship: Socialism, Global Solidarity and Revolution in East Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 200), 3.

[5] Anke Fiedler and Michael Meyen, "The Steering of the Press in the Socialist States of Eastern Europe: The German Democratic Republic (GDR) as a Case Study," *Cold War History* 15 (2015): 451.

[6] Anke Fiedler and Michael Meyen, "The Steering of the Press in the Socialist States of Eastern Europe," 453.

[7] Maria Höhn and Martin Klimke, *A Breath of Freedom: The Civil Rights Struggle, African American GIs, and Germany* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 103.

Movement became a worldwide concern, reaching the socialist Soviet bloc, by evaluating the East German media's perspective on the United States in 1963.

The Demonstrations

African American civil rights rallies across the United States in the late spring and summer of 1963 were momentous events in the history of civil rights. In 1963, Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. called these nonviolent direct-action protests a "Negro Revolution." In his book *Why We Can't Wait*, King highlighted how the success of the Birmingham rally inspired other African Americans around the country, prompting the Kennedy administration to propose a substantial civil-rights measure in response.[8] Demonstrations in the late spring and summer of 1963 have drawn the interest of historians. According to Roseann M. Mandziuk, strategists from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and activists from the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights (ACMHR) launched a very controversial tactic by using black children in Birmingham to join demonstrations; many were attacked by "high-pressure fire hoses and police dogs," or "arrested and incarcerated by the hundreds."[9] In his book, King emphasized that children demonstrated because they felt eager to belong, and he emphasized the importance of their involvement in "winning the fight."[10] Despite criticism from the black community and the national press, Mandziuk believes that this controversial tactic worked because it gained "sympathy for the movement's efforts and brought the white municipal officials to the negotiation table." She explains that historians view the 1963 demonstrations and victory in Birmingham "as the key turning point for the leadership of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr."[11] According to British journalist Gary Younge, between Kennedy's national address on civil rights in June and King's speech in August, 758 demonstrations occurred in 186 cities, resulting in 14,733 arrests. Younge posits that these circumstances "made the March on Washington possible."[12] By the late spring and summer, American civil rights rallies had captured the world's attention.

Media outlets in other countries, including the GDR, devoted significant coverage to the civil rights crisis in America. East German reportage was shaped by socialism; its media exploited the protests to attack the American democratic system. Richardson-Little observes a double standard in the socialist notion of human rights: the SED regime justified abuse on its own society while denouncing inadequacies in other countries' human rights laws. He argues that this approach was "politically convenient" in the socialist countries because the ideology convinced SED leaders that the GDR "crossed a threshold into a stage of historical progress that brought absolute human liberation."[13] The Marxist-Leninist perspective of the regime, in short, guided the East German media.

One theme echoed in various newspapers relied heavily on Marxist-Leninist ideology. Clandestine groups, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), and southern police forces were presented as fascists by GDR journalists. This contrast featured frequently in *Berliner Zeitung* stories. One journalist reported on a Klan meeting outside of Birmingham, Alabama, where Klansmen engaged in unlawful activities, including the burning of wooden crosses and bombing black residents' homes. In addition,

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[8] Martin Luther King Jr., *Why We Can't Wait* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1963), 143.
[9] Roseann M. Mandziuk, "Suffer the Little Children: Propriety and Piety in the 1963 Birmingham, Alabama, Youth Demonstrations for Civil Rights," in *Like Wildfire: The Rhetoric of the Civil Rights Sit-Ins*, eds., Lesli K. Pace and Sean Patrick O'Rourke (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2020), 167.
[10] Martin Luther King Jr., *Why We Can't Wait*, 115.
[11] Roseann M. Mandziuk, "Suffer the Little Children,"167.
[12] Gary Younge, *The Speech: The Story behind Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Dream* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2013), 15-54.
[13] Ned Richardson-Little, *The Human Rights Dictatorship*, 83.

articles maintained that American police took part in these meetings.[14] Two days later, another reporter described the Klan and police brutality in their commentary. Alabama was depicted as home to a "long, bloody struggle" undertaken "by the monopoly rulers of the US" and that these "rulers" were deploying "systematically blinded and agitated 'whites'" to pursue their fight against "20 million dark-skinned, disenfranchised US citizens."[15]

In a July edition of *Berliner Zeitung*, another journalist published their personal analysis of the Klan. The Klan's operations, according to the reporter, mirrored German fascism; its murder and bombing assaults were not focused solely on African Americans, but against the organized working class, violently demolishing trade union meetings and murdering workers' leaders. Even though the Klan was a secret organization with ghostly disguises, everyone in southern cities recognized the people concealed beneath the shrouds: the group comprised of rich southern delegates from the South's upper social strata.[16] In several of his pieces, *Berliner Zeitung* reporter Georg F. Alexan criticized the United States by portraying the Klan and law enforcement as a fascist and capitalist cult. In early May, one of his reports condemned Alabama law enforcement for "totalitarian" police techniques against the black populace in Birmingham, claiming that the American monopolized press underreported these alleged terrorist acts. He argued that American publications hid the truth of the terror regime in Birmingham and the horrific subjugation of twenty million black Americans.[17]

Anti-fascist vocabulary was used by *Neue Zeit* in describing the KKK as well: a journalist revealed that an unnamed caller in the South notified Birmingham police about Klan bombings in that city. However, instead of acting, the reporter said police disregarded these calls. The paper also mentioned the detention of three thousand black individuals, including women and children. They recounted state brutality against African Americans, including the deployment of "water cannons" and attack dogs; they branded these actions as unbelievable and unjust.[18] This description of American police procedures and Klan acts echoed East German society's anti-fascist philosophy. The GDR press encouraged East Germans to believe America was descending towards fascism, akin to Nazi Germany. The discussion of the Ku Klux Klan and police brutality in these GDR articles was essential for East Germans to comprehend the suppression of African Americans' rights and to demonstrate the flaws in American democracy.

In addition to the Ku Klux Klan, GDR reporters investigated southern politicians and their efforts to perpetuate segregation and restrain African-American rights. They linked these politicians' positions to class resistance, claiming that they utilized their authority to deny black people's rights throughout the South. Alexan researched and denounced Senator James Eastland's (D-MS) racist activities in the *Berliner Zeitung*. Alexan asserted that Eastland represented Mississippi for decades due to his riches and "electoral hegemony." Furthermore, Alexan mentioned multiple killings that transpired in Eastland's homebase. He labeled Eastland a "political gangster," a description Alexan also used to describe other southern representatives in Congress. Extortion and violence were used by these politicians to deter Black people from voting. In his conclusion, Alexan argued that the racial war was a type of class conflict, arguing that liberation might be gained by a determined combined effort against the upper class.[19] Alexan also covered Alabama Governor George Wallace and his physical barring of two African American students from entering the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa in a later session. Alexan described how West German newspaper *Tagesspiegel* labelled "poor whites" as "the bitterest enemies" of the black population and questioned if Wallace or

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[14] "Bomben gegen Negerführer," *Berliner Zeitung*, May 13, 1963.

[15] "Nicht nur Alabama," *Berliner Zeitung*, May 15, 1963.

[16] "Mörder in Kapuze," *Berliner Zeitung*, July 3, 1963.

[17] G.F. Alexan, "Alabama—Schande der USA," *Berliner Zeitung*, May 17, 1963.

[18] "Bürger zweiter Klasse in den USA," *Neue Zeit*, May 15, 1963.

[19] G.F. Alexan, "Der Rassenkrieg des Mr. Eastland," *Berliner Zeitung*, May 26, 1963.

members of the Ku Klux Klan fit into this group. Alexan denied that "poor whites" were the problem, claiming that affluent whites were to be blamed for the terror and bloody repression.[20]

Wallace was also condemned by *Neues Deutschland* for his racist behavior. According to one report, the governor supported the brutal police action and the terror that erupted in Birmingham.[21] *Neues* further revealed that Wallace physically prevented two black students, Vivan Malone and James Hood, from registering at University of Alabama, personally blocking them from even entering the building, thereby providing the students an object lesson in American democracy. [22] Despite the order of federal courts, Wallace reportedly stationed guards in front of the campus to stop students from enrolling. According to *Neues Deutschland,* racists intended to erect a wall around the University of Alabama and Wallace was a supporter of the Ku Klux Klan. The report nicknamed the governor the "People Representation of Alabama."[23] East German journalists depicted the American government as dominated by upper-class rich racists who controlled American democracy by displaying how Governor Wallace and southern politicians encouraged racial agitators.

By focusing on the racist governors and organizations that terrorized African Americans in the South, East German reporters were able to attack the Kennedy administration. According to Alexan in *Berliner Zeitung,* Kennedy only spoke out against racial discrimination because of rising tensions in the South. Alexan asserted that Kennedy lamented the "ugly situation" that damaged the reputation of Birmingham and the United States. Nonetheless, Alexan cited Gus Hall, head of the Communist Party of America, as the driving reason behind Kennedy's action: Hall asked Kennedy in a telegraph "to take all means to put a stop to the shameful violence of hazardous police gangs." The president allegedly never answered.[24]

Similarly, *Neues Deutschland* questioned Kennedy's sluggish response. Its coverage claimed that the president interrupted his holiday weekend to discuss the issue. Kennedy then urged Birmingham residents to keep peace and order so that the federal government would not have to interfere.[25] According to the newspaper, the so-called "freest and most democratic country in the world," mobilized troops in Alabama only after Gus Hall's telegram. The article criticized Kennedy's planned trip to Europe, suggesting that he instead go to Alabama, where his presence was desperately required.[26] A subsequent issue of *Neues Deutschland* chastised the president for failing to use federal soldiers to combat racist agitators.[27] According to *Neue Zeit,* black residents repeatedly criticized the Kennedy administration over the second-class citizen status of "negros."[28] A reporter claimed that the United States' reputation in the Western world, particularly among emerging African nation states, had been severely harmed. They also criticized Kennedy's trip to West Germany, claiming that he needed to take immediate action on civil rights issues at home.[29] Overall, *Neues Deutschland* branded as "slow" the American federal government's response to civil rights.

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[20] "Schande unserer Zeit," *Berliner Zeitung*, June 15, 1963.

[21] "Kennedy sollte nach Alabama reisen," *Neues Deutschland*, May 14, 1963.

[22] "Wo Bestien beten," *Neues Deutschland*, June 9, 1963.

[23] "Straßenschlachten Lexington," *Neues Deutschland*, June 11, 1963.

[24] G.F. Alexan, "Alabama, Schande der USA," *Berliner Zeitung*, May 17, 1963.

[25] "Rassisten wüten weiter," *Neues Deutschland*, May 14, 1963.

[26] "Kennedy sollte nach Alabama reisen," *Neues Deutschland*, May 14, 1963.

[27] "20 Millionen USA-Neger stehen auf," *Neues Deutschland*, June 11, 1963.

[28] "Bürger zweiter Klasse in den USA," *Neue Zeit*, May 15, 1963.

[29] "Schande unserer Zeit," *Neue Zeit*, May 15, 1963.

Journalists in the GDR linked racial terror in the American South to concerns in West Germany. Articles mentioned leaders of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and compared West German extreme conservatives to white supremacists in America. A correspondent for *Neues Deutschland* contrasted concerns in Tuscaloosa, Alabama to those in Cologne, West Germany. A photo of the Ku Klux Klan burning a crucifix in front of the University of Alabama emphasized the point. The article described the Klan as a fascist terrorist organization and stated that Kennedy stood by and did nothing. A second photograph came from Cologne, West Germany, and was said to be of conservatives who had come from the Silesian region. These conservatives demanded the hanging of West German television journalist Neven DuMont for calling these radicals "revanchists."

Neues Deutschland coverage of KKK rally

According to the reporter, both West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and SPD leader Willy Brandt were in Cologne, where they witnessed the mob antics without intervening.[30] *Neues Deutschland* argued that both American and FRG leaders failed to handle the violence in their own countries.

Furthermore, Nazism served as an important metaphor in several of these articles. In reality, the SED had undertaken a significant antifascist campaign against the FRG. Because many former Nazis maintained authority in West Germany, the campaign "portrayed the Federal Republic as reverting to Nazism." The reports included some truth: Richardson-Little has documented that socialists were suppressed by the West Germans.[31] This was certainly the GDR media's view. In an introduction to one of their articles about the civil rights struggle, *Neue Zeit* pointed out that newspapers all over the world published pictures of people depressed and dying, reminding the journalists of the fascists' rage against Germany's "fellow Jewish citizens." According to the article, these images were taken recently in the United States, not in the past. They also cited Bonn State Secretary Hans Globke, a West German official who was on symbolic trial before the Supreme Court of the GDR.[32] Globke had previously worked for the Nazis, facilitating anti-Jewish measures. After the war, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer appointed Globke to a high-level position in the FRG government. According to scholar Daniel E. Rogers, Globke worked on rules that discriminated against and humiliated Jews and provided legal analysis of the 1935 Nuremberg racial laws. According to Rogers, the SED released documents concerning Globke's work during the Nazi-Era,

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[30] "Wie sich die Bilder gleichen," *Neues Deutschland,* June 13, 1963. For more information on the Silesians in West Germany, read Andrew Demshuk, "What was the 'Right to the 'Heimat'? West German Expellees and the Many Meanings of 'Heimkehr,'" *Central European History* 45 (2012): 523-556.

[31] Ned Richardson-Little, *Human Rights Dictatorship*, 57.

[32] "Schande unserer Zeit," *Neue Zeit*, June 15, 1963.

but they "interpreted and contextualized them in a way to make the Bonn Federal Republic seem as unrepentantly Nazi as possible."[33] Following the SED's example, East German journalists used Globke and other West German politicians to criticize both West Germany and the United States.

In addition to associating racial terror with allegedly revanchist events in West Germany, the GDR press reported on worldwide criticism of US civil rights failures. The United States, according to *Neue Zeit* journalists, was evolving "more and more in line with South Africa" and its apartheid system. The reporter noted inconsistencies between the federal government's advocacy of anti-colonialism and the practices of the US ruling circles, which they alleged fostered internal colonialism. Additionally, the reporter mentioned that several African leaders vigorously condemned racial discrimination against black citizens in America and accused the Kennedy administration of tolerating racial fanatics. African leaders were cited as saying:

> The fascist actions of American racists, encouraged by the authorities, confirmed the well-known truth that the so-called free world, which the West is so famous for, does not exist. That is why we advise the US government first to create order in their own house before they stick their noses into the affairs of other people. [34]

Neues Deutschland also examined how Africans perceived the protests. Its correspondent mentioned multiple African diplomats who expressed concerns over the African Americans and their struggles.[35]

Historians have offered further insights into the forces driving the East German media. East Germany's narrative, according to scholars Heike Hartmann and Susann Lewrenz, is antiracist, antifascist, and anti-imperialist. In addition, Hartmann and Lewrenz argue that East Germany associated West Germany with the ideology of German fascism and colonialism to "distanced itself from the legacy of the shared national past."[36] According to historian Victor Grossman, political officials in the GDR encouraged antiracist sentiments since it "involved a critique of the 'imperialist USA' and hence fit within the GDR's broader political agenda."[37] According to scholar Maria Schubert, one of the reasons the GDR supported civil rights was that the SED regarded African Americans as an "oppressed working class" and that racism became "a tool of capitalism meant to drive a wedge between [black] and white workers." Communists could "help spread the seeds of socialism in the United States" by supporting the civil rights struggle. Schubert, like Hartmann and Lewrenz, asserts that East German officials "suffered under the Nazis, survived concentration camps, or lived in exile." As a result, they yearned for a "new beginning for a socialist Germany" that would eradicate "racial hate" while "fighting racism around the world."[38]

The Road to the March

In the weeks leading to the famous March on Washington, GDR journalists connected news of the protest with an uprising of the working class. The East German media increasingly embraced

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[33] Daniel E. Rogers, "Restoring a German Career, 1945-1950: The Ambiguity of Being Hans Globke," *German Studies Review* 31 (2008), 303-304.

[34] "Schande unserer Zeit," *Neue Zeit*, June 15, 1963.

[35] "300,000 Neger wollen nach Washington marschieren," *Neues Deutschland*, June 27, 1963.

[36] Heike Hartmann and Susann Lewerenz, "Campaigning against Apartheid in East and West Germany," *Radical History Review* 119 (Spring 2014), 192.

[37] Victor Grossman, "Prologue: African Americans in the GDR," in *Germans and African Americans: Two Centuries of Exchange*, edited by Larry A. Greene and Anke Ortlepp, (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2011), 14.

[38] Maria Schubert, "Allies Across Cold War Boundaries: The American Civil Rights Movement and the GDR," *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte* 33 (2020), 59.

the language of human rights in international affairs, according to Richardson-Little. This terminology arose from socialist ideology and led the East German press to "fight racial discrimination in the United States" as well as "Western imperialism worldwide." When word of the march reached East German publications, GDR journalists utilized African American protests as part of their socialist strategy to discredit US democracy for failing to enforce human rights.

The GDR press reported on the killings and incarceration of African Americans active in the civil rights struggle. Journalists emphasized the murder of Medgar Evers, field secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). East German journalists claimed Evers' murder provided inspiration for the march. In their June 13 piece headed "Mordterror [Murder terror] in Mississippi," *Neues Deutschland* condemned the "outrageous killing." The next day, the paper described how Evers's death sparked "enormous fury" among African Americans, prompting further sit-in strikes, marches, and rallies.[39] According to *Neue Zeit*, Evers' death "meant payback" for the defeat of white supremacists in Tuscaloosa, and the killings occurred just hours after Kennedy's radio and television address, which "called on whites and blacks to live together peacefully." The publication chastised Kennedy for neglecting to acknowledge in his infamous address that black Americans were still treated as "second-class citizens." Moreover, the publication proclaimed that Kennedy had the authority to correct this "injustice in America."[40] *Berliner Zeitung* linked Evers's murder to Nazism. According to reporter Anna Mudry, Evers advocated for democracy, freedom, and justice on American soil, yet racial zealots assassinated him in the so-called free world. Mudry questioned American democracy in the aftermath of Evers' death, comparing it to Hitler's Germany. Furthermore, Mudry believed that Evers's death was "an impetus for other Americans" fighting for "real democracy." In addition to Evers, another piece in *Berliner Zeitung* reported three additional African American homicides less than a month later. According to *US News and World Report*, the race problem in the United States was "mainly a social problem," and these fatalities were linked to economic disparity.[41] In short, East German journalists used Evers' assassination to brand American democracy as fictitious.

The GDR press instantly interpreted news of a March on Washington as a worker uprising. The assigned reporter indicated that the greatest demonstration in American history would emerge from Rev. George Lawrence's revelation in New York that African Americans planned a tremendous campaign of civil disobedience if members of Congress from the South sought to enact legislation thwarting civil rights.[42] The following day, a *Neues Deutschland* correspondent brought up King's remarks on "race-obsessed Congress members" reporting that King urged young Americans to fight for the abolition of racism, which he termed as "medieval barbarism." [43] Ten days later, the same reporter described a meeting between King and President Kennedy, during which the civil rights leader told the president African Americans could not function without large protests because their concerns had not been addressed. The journalist predicted that the southern politicians would sabotage the civil rights initiative. In response, King and other civil rights activists planned to march African Americans to Washington to lobby congress for equal rights. The publication anticipated that the number of prospective demonstrators would start at 100,000.[44]

A few days later, *Neues Deutschland* reported that 300,000 people from throughout the country were planning to go to Washington for the protest. Its correspondent added that six African ambassadors objected to a statement made by Senator Allen Ellender (D-LA), who insisted that

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[39] "Empörung über Mord an Evers Negerführer warnen Washington," *Neues Deutschland*, June 14, 1963.

[40] "Der Terror schont selbst Kinder nicht," *Neue Zeit*, June 15, 1963.

[41] "Weitere drei Neger ermordet," *Berliner Zeitung*, July 7, 1963.

[42] "Mordterror in Mississippi," *Neues Deutschland*, June 13, 1963.

[43] "Empörung über Mord an Evers Negerführer warnen Washington," *Neues Deutschland*, June 14, 1963.

[44] "Neger aktionsbereit," *Neues Deutschland*, June 24, 1963.

African Americans were incapable of defending themselves, which explained their request for government aids.[45] In a later discussion about the march's preparations, one *Neues Deutschland* journalist cited Malcolm X's as saying that the American government was concerned more with the Berlin Wall in Germany than the "wall of racial segregation" in Alabama and Mississippi, a wall that meant "20 million Negroes were unfree in their own country."[46] In *Neues Deutschland*, references to politicians such as Ellender fit the paper's aim of criticizing the American federal government. As the GDR's "mouthpiece," *Neues Deutschland* carried the "biggest sections on foreign politics" of any East German publication.[47] *Neues Deutschland* focused on the American government's anxiety over the march, as American authorities plainly feared the protest in Washington could damage their nation's reputation globally.
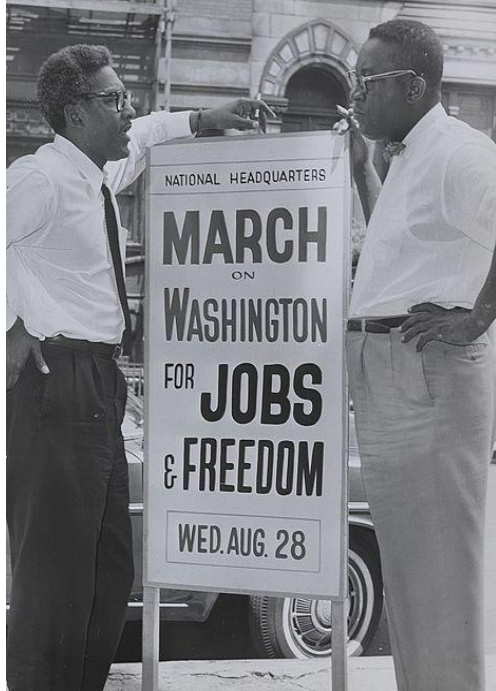
March on Washington organizers Bayard Rustin and Cleveland Robinson, 1963. Courtesy of the Library of Congress

In the two months before the march, *Neues Deutschland* continued to cover federal government officials and civil rights leaders, particularly representatives from the American South Congress. According to an article, black leaders criticized Kennedy's civil rights policy as wholly lacking during the NAACP annual conference. The NAACP also requested fines against right-wing union officials who favored racial segregation, and it intended to approach congressmen and senators to seek the removal of all racial barriers.[48] Several days later, another *Neues Deutschland* article cited *Pravda*, the primary Soviet Russian daily newspaper, as saying that racism was ingrained in the existing US system and that African Americans had been struggling for equal rights since the Civil War. The article concluded with the phrase "the decisive hour was now approaching," implying that the march would soon take place.[49] Governor Wallace's rejection of Kennedy's scheme in mid-July was also mentioned by *Neues Deutschland*. According to the tale, Wallace recently lambasted the president and asked that Kennedy be removed from office for drafting a robust civil rights measure.[50] Additionally, *Neues Deutschland* reporters cited Senator Ellender's statement that African Americans should use their "opportunities for development" in the workplace instead of demonstrating on the street.[51] By highlighting prominent politicians' criticism of the Civil Rights Movement, *Neues Deutschland* indirectly implicated the whole US government in abuses of its citizens' rights.

As the day of the march approached, *Neues Deutschland* correspondents focused on a variety of themes, including a report about rising Ku Klux Klan activities. The reporter recounted a gathering of Klan officials in Alabama. The report explained that the Klan leader spoke out against racial equality and accused Kennedy of backing up "colored people" in their effort to establish a

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[45] "300,000 Neger wollen nach Washington marschieren," *Neues Deutschland*, June 27, 1963.
[46] "Negerführer and Kennedy: Um Rassenmauer kümmern!" Neues Deutschland, July 2, 1963.
[47] Anke Fiedler and Michael Meyen, "The Steering of the Press in the Socialist States of Eastern Europe," 465.
[48] "Im August: 300,000 Neger marschieren auf Washington," *Neues Deutschland*, July 4, 1963.
[49] "Rassisten wüten in Baltimore," *Neues Deutschland*, July 9, 1963.
[50] "Rassenhetzer attackiert Kennedy," *Neues Deutschland*, July 16, 1963.
[51] "USA-Senator verhöhnt Neger," *Neues Deutschland*, August 7, 1963.

"global government that would mix all races."[52] A few days later, *Neues Deutschland* returned to the preparations for the March on Washington. Its correspondent revised the figures to 250,000 who planned to demonstrate in Washington. The march, according to the article, was designed to demonstrate to the world the United States' prejudice against African American citizens.[53] The following day, *Neues Deutschland* announced that black and white demonstrators would march together under the slogan "Work and Freedom." Marchers aimed to confront the United States as a nation in order to demand equality and work. According to the newspaper, this development had a tremendous impact on the entire nation, as a growing percentage of whites suddenly agreed with African Americans on equal rights. The article emphasized how the march would benefit both white and black unemployed people, as well as the role of American communists in organizing the march, alleging that the marchers were inspired by the communist slogan "Work and Freedom." When discussing the government's stance on march preparations, *Neues Deutschland* claimed that Kennedy was caught in a bind since racists in the South, including members of Kennedy's own party were fighting against the civil rights measure. According to *Neues Deutschland,* Kennedy sought to cancel or postpone the march, but organizers refused, forcing the government to endorse the march. The correspondent observed that the African American struggle promised to "restore and secure democratic freedoms in the United States." The enormous rally was seen by the publication as both a warning and a declaration of war on the United States and its policies based on Lincoln's legacy of "equality, humanism, and democracy."[54]

       Neue Zeit, like *Neues Deutschland*, addressed the march from a socialist perspective, although it "tended to avoid extreme positions," and its reporters "were reluctant to publish propaganda pieces." According to Fiedler and Meyen, the newspaper served as "the mouthpiece of the Christian Democratic Union Party," and it "reported more often about church ministers and Christians."[55] Journalists at *Neue Zeit* reported that King was organizing a demonstration of one hundred thousand, claiming that the march would be directed against the obstruction of southern congressmen who were determined to water down or overturn the civil rights bill.[56] A few days later, *Neue Zeit* increased predicted attendance to 300,000 people and announced that the
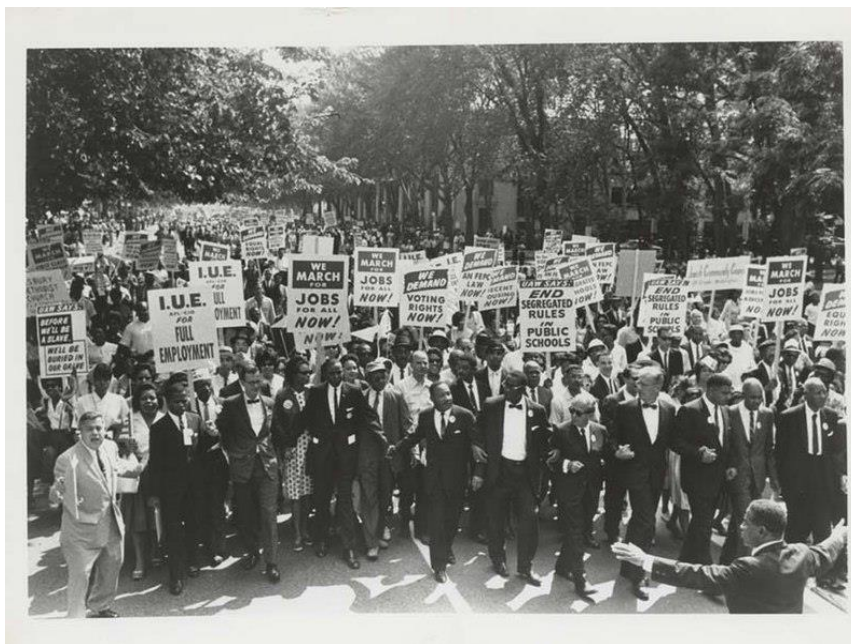
Martin Luther King, Jr. leading the March on Washington. Courtesy of the American Jewish Historical Society.

[52] "Der Ku-Klux-Klan hetzt," *Neues Deutschland*, August 20, 1963.

[53] "250,000 Amerikaner vor Marsch auf Washington," *Neues Deutschland*, August 24, 1963.

[54] "Der große Marsch auf Washington, "*Neues Deutschland*, August 25, 1963.

[55] Fiedler, Anke and Michael Meyen, „The Steering of the Press in the Socialist States of Eastern Europe," 466-467.

[56] "Vor Marsch der 100,000," *Neue Zeit*, July 2, 1963.

rally would focus on excessive black unemployment.[57] In some cases *Neue Zeit* connected religion to the march. One article claimed that the "National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice" planned on joining the march. An article described how the organization's executive director Mathew Ahman hoped many white Catholics would join the peaceful demonstration in Washington.[58] In mid-August, this discussion expanded to American Catholic bishops. One article claimed that American Catholic bishops urged the US Senate to enact legislation respecting the rights of all US citizens, regardless of skin color.[59] Days before the demonstration, a *Neue Zeit* article falsely named the march's organizers as the NAACP and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), adding that both organizations were led by King. The reporter, like *Neues Deutschland*, reported civil rights pioneer A. Phillip Randolph's 1941 attempt to organize a march on Washington.[60]

In comparison to the other newspapers, *Berliner Zeitung* approached the pending March on Washington from a Marxist-Leninist standpoint. In mid-June, one article claimed that numerous strikes would be organized around the world to boycott firms that had not abolished racial discrimination in their districts.[61] An East German correspondent mentioned final preparations among the civil rights leaders for the march in an early July edition of *Berliner Zeitung*, claiming that the objective of this protest march was to stop Congress from "watering down" civil rights bills and to fight racial barriers in restaurants, motels, and similar businesses. According to reports, President Kennedy and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy saw the civil rights measure as only a "trial balloon" for Congress. The proposal would almost certainly be filibustered by southern legislators.[62] The march was still being discussed in the *Berliner Zeitung* in mid-July. It reported on Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) director James Farmer's announcement of a post-march boycott of those businesses and cooperation "guilty of racial discrimination against their customers or when hiring personnel."[63] When a subsequent edition of *Berliner Zeitung* announced the arrest of George Rockwell, leader of the American Nazi Party, the topic of US fascism reappeared. According to the account, Rockwell traveled to Virginia to enlist white goons to disrupt the march. Rockwell's bond was set at $1500, as opposed to the $10,000 bail imposed for African American protestors in Charleston, South Carolina.[64] Furthermore, the publication referenced the "Great Imperial Wise," a Klu Klux Klan advisor, who stated the march was inspired by communism and had the purpose of assisting a "mixed race to rule the world."[65] The journalists of *Berliner Zeitung* continued to emphasize fascism or imperialism in the white supremacist movement and portrayed the federal government as doing little to aid the civil rights battle. Correspondents for *Berliner Zeitung* explained how the United States government allowed white supremacist organizations to flourish in American society in order to demonstrate the problems of American democracy.

In addition to condemning white racists for using fascist tactics, *Berliner Zeitung* commended civil rights leaders and the march, insisting that it would become a worldwide phenomenon. Alexan claimed the march would become a great historic event for the United States, and he praised the roles of famous activists, including W.E.B. Dubois and Paul Robeson, who played a crucial role in the decades of a "tough, bloody battle." Furthermore, Alexan complimented King for his wise leadership and nonviolent opposition technique. Alexan projected that King's writings will be

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[57] "300,000 Neger zum Marsch auf Washington," *Neue Zeit*, July 4, 1963.

[58] "Schüsse auf Negerführer," *Neue Zeit*, July 30, 1963.

[59] "Von Rassisten bestialisch gefoltert," *Neue Zeit*, August 15, 1963.

[60] "250,000 zum Marsch auf Washington bereit," *Neue Zeit*, August 24, 1963.

[61] "Negerbürger kampfen weiter," *Berliner Zeitung*, June 20, 1963.

[62] "100,000 rüsten zum Marsch," *Berliner Zeitung*, July 2, 1963.

[63] "Boykott angekündigt," *Berliner Zeitung*, July 16, 1963.

[64] "Nazi warb Schläger," *Berliner Zeitung*, July 21, 1963.

[65] "Ku-Klux-Klan im Sturmer-Stil," *Berliner Zeitung*, August 19, 1963.

included in future American schoolbooks alongside Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine, and Abraham Lincoln.[66] Alexan went on to laud the march in another article a few days later. According to the New York *Daily News*, the "eyes of the whole world will be on Washington" when this "small migration of people" paraded "into the metropolis of the 'free' world." Alexan described how activists identified themselves "as the legitimate representatives of an entire people" and argued that their struggle amounted to "a revolutionary socio-political movement whose explosive power increases the more one tries to suppress it." The leaders of the movement planned to demand "unreserved equality" from Kennedy. This march, Alexan continued, will remind Americans "that even in 1963" African Americans were "still forced to fight for their most basic human right." In addition, violence earlier that summer demonstrated "that this struggle" was a "revolutionary socio-political movement" that increased its "explosive power… the more one attempts to suppress it."[67] Alexan's preview of the march in *Berliner Zeitung* showed East Germans how these activists aimed to push their objectives in Washington D.C. On the other hand, the planned demonstration suggested that American democracy was failing.

When the March on Washington occurred, the East German press offered a variety of views. According to Alexan, the march grew "far beyond the wildest expectations," with hundreds of Americans arriving from across the country every hour. He emphasized that the big march in Washington D.C. was "very important." This "powerful fighting movement of the negroes" was enthusiastically welcomed by "wide circles of the working class." Further, many progressives viewed the huge protest as the "first steps towards a united front of the black and white working people."[68] The following day, news of the march continued. *Berliner Zeitung* highlighted the slogan "For Work and For Freedom."[69] Then, on August 30, one of its correspondents asserted that America remained under the spell of the largest demonstration in the history of the country. The article quoted King as saying that black people "still languish in the corners of American society," and it mentioned a pamphlet distributed by march participants demanding that all Americans have the right to vote as well as equal rights in the workplace and schools.[70] Another article in this edition claimed that the "march for the social, political and cultural emancipation of the twenty million outcasts of the US-Democracy," helped the world understand African Americans' demand for "freedom now." The author of this article celebrated the civil rights leaders "great advocates of human rights."[71]

Neue Zeit referred to King as "the most prominent Negro leader in the USA," whose address declared that African Americans would "no longer tolerate the neglect of their civil and human rights." Its correspondent recalled King's non-violent mass actions in Birmingham, Alabama which drew millions of his blacks and white Americans to join his cause.[72] On August 29 and 30, an item in *Neue Zeit* addressed Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth's proposal for a follow-up civil rights march across the South that would lead directly to the "black belt" of Alabama and Mississippi. Shuttlesworth believed that Americans should be inspired everywhere.[73]

Neues Deutschland also covered the march on August 29 and 30. It emphasized the huge number of participants and reviewed Dr. King's speech in a similar fashion as *Neue Zeit*, however, the article also examined responses from others, notably NAACP leader John Lewis, who criticized Kennedy's civil rights proposal as inadequate. Lewis stated that "nothing in this law will protect our

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[66] "Wir wollen nicht länger warten," *Berliner Zeitung*, August 22, 1963.

[67] "Der große Marsch auf Washington," *Berliner Zeitung*, August 27, 1963.

[68] "250,000 auf dem Marsch," *Berliner Zeitung*, August 28, 1963.

[69] "Marsch zu Lincoln," *Berliner Zeitung*, August 29, 1963.

[70] "Kampf geht weiter," *Berliner Zeitung*, August 30, 1963.

[71] "Propheten," *Berliner Zeitung*, August 30, 1963.

[72] "Amerikas Neger haben lange gewartet," *Neue Zeit*, August 28, 1963.

[73] "Im eigenen Land im Exil," *Neue Zeit*, August 30, 1963.

people from police brutality."[74] The following day, *Neues Deutschland* proclaimed the march a turning point for African Americans. A correspondent in this edition declared that African Americans were no longer "tormented and oppressed by the ruling class." They desired to "see success." African Americans were emerging from a defensive position to fight the battle and spread a "national liberation movement" to other parts of the world. Opinions were divided in Congress, the paper admitted, as racial extremists from the South advocated for the continuation of Jim Crow. The correspondent also mentioned the Kennedy administration's "uncertain, fluctuating posture" on civil rights." The president was torn between his campaign commitment to support the aspirations of African Americans and concerns for the racist politicians in his own party. This explains "the weak, hesitant, and more or less formal actions that the government has taken against white terror," an attitude that "obviously reflects the reality that significant elements of the ruling class are not truly interested in a solution to the essential concerns of the racial crisis." Gus Hall's commentary was sought once more by the reporter. For more than a century, Hall stated, residues of slavery poisoned life in the country, and racial inequality obstructed the "path to democracy and progress." According to Hall, the march by African Americans helped "purify the entire political and social atmosphere in the United States." Now the communist party in the United States was calling for a union of the working class to oppose the American government.[75]

Conclusion

The three GDR newspapers examined in this study portrayed the American civil rights movement as a socialist uprising. The coverage depicted the civil rights struggle as a working-class issue, and white supremacists as American bourgeoisie driven to preserve racial segregation in the United States. GDR media condemned the United States for perpetuating white supremacy and criticized American democracy for failing to recognize African Americans' right to freedom. This socialist perspective contained early signs of the discussion of human rights; Ned Richardson-Little argues that East Germany's human rights programs supported self-determination and racial equality. Richardson-Little is supported by civil rights-related articles in GDR newspapers.[76]

The "March on Washington" received significant coverage from the GDR press. According to one East German journalist, it was "the most powerful nonviolent protest of freedom the capital of the 'free' world has ever witnessed."[77] Nonetheless, racial violence persisted in the months following the march, prompting some to believe that it was ineffectual. Historian William P. Jones documented the violent acts taking place around Birmingham, noting that King and other march participants "were not so confident that their message had been heard."[78] As white supremacists continued to harass African Americans brutally, chaos returned to the South. In his essay published less than two weeks after the march, *Berliner Zeitung* journalist Klaus Wilczynski questioned the march's efficacy. "For a full 24 hours… in Washington… the Negroes were granted their democratic right to demonstrate equality unfettered." Since then, everyday life has returned to the freest land in the free world," he wrote.[79]

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[74] "Hunderttausende forderten Freiheit und gleiche Rechte," *Neues Deutschland*, August 29, 1963.

[75] "Freiheit jetzt – nicht in hundert Jahren," *Neues Deutschland*, August 30, 1963.

[76] Ned Richardson-Little, *The Human Rights Dictatorship*, 74.

[77] Georg. F. Alexan, "Es geschah in dieser Woche," *Berliner Zeitung*, September 1, 1963.

[78] William P. Jones, *The March on Washington: Jobs, Freedom, and the Forgotten History of Civil Rights* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2013), 202.

[79] Klaus Wilcynski, "Democracy und Alltag," *Berliner Zeitung*, September 11, 1963.

"The Meanest Slave on Earth": Chinese Exclusion and the Shift in American Immigration Policy in the Late 19ᵗʰ Century
Kevin Klemm

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Denis Kearney, president of the Workingmen's Party of California in 1878, gained fame across the nation for his speeches railing against the ruling class—addresses that drew massive crowds in major cities. In addition to his attacks on the rich, his speeches notably targeted a group on the opposite end of the class hierarchy: the Chinese. In a written address by Kearney and another leader of the party, H.L. Knight, the duo linked the sad plight of the white working class in California to Chinese immigration. "It [the American aristocracy] rakes the slums of Asia to find the meanest slave on earth—the Chinese coolie—and imports him here…to degrade white Labor. We are men, and propose to live like men in this free land, without the contamination of slave labor," Knight and Kearny sneered.[1] This dichotomy—American or Chinese—showed how sharply Americans differentiated the Chinese from other immigrants. Even Americans who opposed violence or blatant discrimination against the Chinese still saw them as incapable of ever integrating into American society. This had not always been the majority viewpoint, though. When the Chinese first arrived in the United States, their presence was welcomed by labor groups and employers alike. However, a series of factors contributed to a change regarding Chinese immigration. Economic difficulties, vigilante violence, and political control all combined to lead the United States on a path towards immigration restriction, one which would see the Chinese become the first racial or ethnic group excluded from immigrating to the country.

In the mid-19ᵗʰ century, particularly around the time of the Civil War, there was substantial demand for workers in the western United States. For many white workers, though, low-skilled labor jobs that existed were poor-paying, dangerous, and undignified. This placed a great deal of pressure on employers, most notably the Central Pacific Railroad in its race to complete a transcontinental railroad before its rival on the East Coast. The railroad turned to the Chinese as a suitable supplement to its labor force and as a replacement in some cases. Employers believed the Chinese had qualities that made them ideal workers: industrious, ready to learn, and cheap. Most importantly for the employers of the Central Pacific Railroad, the Chinese had few other options. Historian Alexander Saxton has highlighted the benefits of Chinese labor over white laborers (at least early on), concluding that their biggest benefit was taking on dangerous jobs. "No man who had any choice would have chosen to be a common laborer on the Central Pacific during the crossing of the High Sierra," wrote Saxton.[2]

Despite this view of the Chinese as desirable workers, there was a great deal of doubt regarding their suitability to be American citizens. In the wake of the passage of the Fourteenth

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[1] Denis Kearney and H. L. Knight, "Appeal from California. The Chinese Invasion. Workingmen's Address," *Indianapolis Times*, February 28, 1878.
[2] Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 63.

Amendment, debate over changes to the naturalization laws in the country became prevalent. In his book *Guarding the Golden Door*, Roger Daniels explains how the debate revolved around whether or not to remove the word "white" and formally amend those laws. In July 1870, Republican Senator Charles Sumner pushed for the removal of racial distinctions for naturalization, primarily for the benefit of African Americans but also, albeit indirectly, for the Chinese. While the bid for African naturalization passed narrowly, the same measure for the Chinese was soundly defeated, leading to a near century-long stain on American immigration history. "For the next seventy-three years Chinese and other Asians were the only persons genetically ineligible for American citizenship," wrote Daniels.[3] How, just years after a civil war over slavery, had those of African descent been deemed worthy of becoming citizens but not the Chinese?

Racism towards the Chinese and their supposed behaviors led to a growing anti-Chinese movement at a level not seen with other immigrant groups. As the number of Chinese continued to grow on the West Coast, especially in contentious employment sectors, their alleged habits drew increasing scrutiny. The House Committee on Education and Labor, which had formed just after the end of the Civil War, highlighted a number of these unseemly habits in an 1878 report: "Not only their personal habits but moral ideas, methods and institutions are directly antagonistic to our own. What we love they hate. What we admire they despise. What we regard as vice they regard as virtues or tolerate as necessities."[4] A growing number of politicians now labeled Chinese beliefs and behaviors as antithetical to those of American citizens. In the final section of the report, the committee recommended Congress alleviate the problems. In this recommendation, they placed the burden for why these changes were necessary on the Chinese. "[I] appears that the great majority of Chinese immigrants are unwilling to conform to our institutions, to become permanent residents of our country, and accept the rights and assume the responsibilities of citizenship," read the report.[5] While these conclusions hardly represented reality—the Chinese had, after all, been legally barred from becoming citizens years before this report—they demonstrated a growing movement to tie the Chinese to undesirable, un-American qualities.

The movement to label the Chinese as incompatible with American ideals was even pressed by immigrants who had previously been seen in the same regard. Historian David Roediger notes how other ostracized immigrant groups in the country quickly joined the anti-Chinese campaign in order to capitalize on this hatred. Roediger writes, "The Irish, whose own status as whites had only recently been won, were among the first to ask, 'What business has the likes of him over here?' Some Blacks even attempted to join the anti-Chinese movement and to change its emphasis from a defense of whiteness to a defense of Americanism."[6] Another unlikely anti-Chinese group, given their own treatment in the past by white laborers and politicians, were Native Americans. Viewing the Chinese, especially those illegally crossing the border from Canada, as a threat to their own labor prospects, some Native Americans became informants to customs officials in the Pacific Northwest.[7] While limited in their success, the actions of these Irish, Black, and Native Americans highlighted the general disdain for the Chinese that crossed racial lines.

Much like other non-white immigrants, discrimination towards the Chinese came about due to their physical appearance. As laws and restrictions began to be passed prior to the Chinese Exclusion Act, it became impossible for the Chinese to hide who they were, even if they were legally

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[3] Roger Daniels, *Guarding the Golden Door: American Immigration Policy and Immigrants Since 1882* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), 16.

[4] "The Chinese Question: Report of the Committee on Education and Labor," *Sacramento Daily Union*, February 26, 1878.

[5] "The Chinese Question: Report of the Committee on Education and Labor."

[6] David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (New York: Verso, 1991), 179.

[7] Beth Lew-Williams, *The Chinese Must Go: Violence, Exclusion, and the Making of the Alien in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018), 76.

allowed to be in the country. Historian Beth Lew-Williams focuses on the time period following the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act. Still, her observations demonstrate the difficulties the Chinese faced leading up to the initial restrictions on their immigration. "[A]ll Chinese, due to their appearance alone, could be suspected of fraudulent entry. Thanks to federal law, the Chinese wore their alienage on their bodies, and their bodies could serve as evidence of a crime," writes Lew-Williams.[8] Their status—legal or illegal, skilled or unskilled, peasant or elite—did not matter as more Americans opposed their entry and even their existence in the country. They could not hide who they were, and as Lew-Williams states, which could be held against them.

Newspapers on the West Coast also pushed the narrative of barbarian-like qualities that made the Chinese incompatible with American citizenship. Just a few months after the 1878 report from the Committee on Education and Labor, the *San Francisco Evening Bulletin* published an editorial condemning the living standards of the Chinese: "The Chinaman is an expert in cheap living. This has grown out of his environment. Either he must live cheaply or die....He has inherited a condition of endurance in this respect which has been educated out of the Anglo-Saxon. The latter was never trained to live in such a way."[9] These sentiments were common in California, especially as publications on the East Coast touted the many benefits that the Chinese had brought to American society. The *Los Angeles Daily Herald* was especially critical of what it saw as an East Coast perspective of an issue that had not made its way west. In an editorial entitled "John Chinaman," the newspaper criticized the habits of the Chinese that had shut out white immigrants and white laborers. "Fifty Chinamen will live comfortably in the space required by a white laborer and his family… and the common class subsist on food that the farmers' pigs would only eat when very hungry."[10] The dichotomy presented by the staff at the *Herald*—whites as civilized and the Chinese as animalistic—led to their conclusion: "As a whole the country is not benefitted by the Chinaman, and would be better off without him."[11]

As best they could, the Chinese attempted to defend their work ethic and behaviors, even if they could not always do so at the moment. In his 1903 autobiography, Lee Chew, a Chinese immigrant who had a successful career as a merchant, spoke of what he saw as the biggest reason for the hatred of the Chinese during his life: jealousy.

> There is no reason for the prejudice against the Chinese. The cheap labor cry was always a falsehood. Their labor was never cheap, and is not cheap now. It has always commanded the highest market price. But the trouble is that the Chinese are such excellent and faithful workers that bosses will have no others when they can get them. If you look at men working on the street you will find an overseer for every four or five of them. That watching is not necessary for Chinese. They work as well when left to themselves as they do when someone [sic] is looking at them.[12]

There were others outside of the Chinese realm who also viewed these same qualities as positive. Oliver Morton, a Radical Republican Senator from Indiana, penned a report regarding Chinese immigration prior to his death in 1877. The *Los Angeles Daily Herald* in January 1878, published highlights of his report, which it acknowledged was overall "pro-Chinese." After commenting on the benefits of Chinese immigration and labor that Morton outlined, the article concluded, "The Chinese are a sober, thrifty, frugal people, and, instead of setting example to white people, afford the

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[8] Lew-Williams, 87.

[9] "The New Chinese Immigration," *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, May 9, 1878.

[10] "John Chinaman," *Los Angeles Herald*, January 12, 1876.

[11] "John Chinaman."

[12] Lee Chew, "The Biography of a Chinaman," *The Independent*, February 19, 1903, 422.

latter an opportunity to advantageously imitate their habits."[13] The way it is written, it is difficult to determine whether that was simply a final summary of Morton's conclusion or if that was the newspaper's belief on the matter (though it would contradict their take on Chinese immigration from two years prior). Regardless, it demonstrated a defense of Chinese immigration from different viewpoints.

While West Coast newspapers were inclined to side with exclusion, a great number of newspapers along the East Coast did not hold back in expressing opposition for the legislation facing Congress. Just two months prior to President Chester A. Arthur signing the Chinese Exclusion Act into law, Philadelphia's *The North American* featured an editorial entitled "Why They Must Go." At first glance, the title appears to support exclusion. Instead, the editorial was full of scathing criticism, lambasting the political motivations of Congress in producing the exclusion bill. In addition, the newspaper defended the Chinese work ethic and the benefits it brought to the American economy:

> [T]he importance of standing well with the Pacific slope is the reason why Congress is considering and is ready to pass a bill which is in direct opposition to the traditions of our history and the spirit of our institutions—a bill which acknowledges that we are afraid of Chinese competition, and are apprehensive that our citizens cannot hold their own against a people whom we are accustomed to regard as semi-savages, which is radically false in its principle and oppressive in its purpose. It may become a law, but it cannot come to good.[14]

An important accusation is made here, and it is one that would certainly upset white laborers: American workers are afraid that they cannot compete with the Chinese, yet those same workers are the ones who mock them as barbarians and unfit for citizenship. While this sort of criticism did not prevent the bill from becoming law, it provides a sense of how some Americans viewed the legislation as going against the founding ideals of the country.

In another editorial from that same week, the editors at *The North American* pointed out the hypocrisy of claiming that the Chinese were inferior and unworthy of entry into the country while also allowing immigrants from other Asian nations to come. Most importantly, the newspaper criticized the American expectation of fair treatment of its citizens in China while not providing reciprocal treatment. "We propose to take but not to give. Is it because we feel quite able to play fast and loose with China, leaving that nation to suffer the losing game? Or is all this hubbub raised to respond to the rage of prejudice which is generally so much more powerful to influence legislation than principle?" demanded the editors.[15] The editorial board for the *Boston Daily Advertiser* concurrently highlighted statistics from a major West Coast city to make their point clear: "The Chinese, or the Christian civilization, which shall we choose, sooner or later, senators?" asked the paper. "In the house of correction in San Francisco, there were in 1880, 165 inmates, of whom only five were Chinese. In the almshouse 560 inmates of whom not one was Chinese…There were 8655 arrests…for drunkenness in 1880, of which not one was a Chinaman—which civilization shall we choose?"[16] The numbers showcased a glaring weakness in one of the key arguments made by the anti-Chinese movement—that the Chinese and their behaviors were incompatible with a white Christian society.

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13 "Morton's Report on the Chinese," *Los Angeles Herald*, January 20, 1878.
14 "Why They Must Go," *The North American* (Philadelphia, PA), March 7, 1882.
15 "The Chinese Immigration Bill," *The North American*, March 4, 1882.
16 "The Restriction Bill," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, March 7, 1882.

Newspapers also leaned on the positive experiences of those who had interacted with the Chinese in order to counter the anti-Chinese movement. In an 1881 review of a book by George Seward, the former United States ambassador to China, the *New York Times* weighed his experiences in China with what those on the west coast of the country had to say about the Chinese. His book praised the Chinese as a people, noting the benefits of their work ethic and their interactions with him. Concluding the book review, the editorial board stated, "It [Seward's book] will do good service in removing from the minds of people too busy to examine the affairs of a remote nation a mass of prejudices which have been skillfully played upon by ignorant or designing men."[17] This was a scathing critique of politicians and others who had used the Chinese as scapegoats for the problems facing the nation.[18] However, just like the other attempts by East Coast newspapers to change the opinions of the anti-Chinese coalition, it was too late.

The anti-Chinese movement had become too powerful throughout the country, and the major question that remained was not if Chinese immigration would be restricted but rather to what extent.

In a similar fashion to the anti-Irish and anti-German sentiments that had plagued the East Coast in the pre-Civil War era, the Chinese became more disliked as employers used them as pawns against their employees. Like European immigrants in the mid-nineteenth century, the Chinese were occasionally used by employers to break strikes. One example, just a few weeks prior to the congressional votes on naturalization laws in 1870, happened in North Adams, Massachusetts. Employers brought seventy-five Chinese workers from San Francisco to break a strike at a shoemaking factory. To that point, issues between American and Chinese workers had almost completely been a West Coast phenomenon. There were very few incidences like this one in the eastern United States, but the fear of more led to rapid change. The National Labor Union, the first national labor organization in the country, made a significant shift in its policies on immigration due to the North Adams incident. In August 1870, the organization went from arguing that Chinese immigrants should be legally protected to petitioning for legislation to prevent Chinese laborers from coming into the country. Roger Daniels highlights the importance of this shift, stating, "From then until the very end of the twentieth century its [the labor movement] basic stance was anti-immigrant, and although most of its leaders and its academic apologists claim that the opposition was based completely on economic grounds, racism was a major factor."[19] This labor movement's position demonstrates the difficulty in separating out the reasons for Chinese exclusion. Racism and economic factors played off of one another, though the economy would continue to have a greater role in the growing anti-Chinese movement as 1870s America experienced a significant economic downturn.

While the post-Civil War economy grew rapidly, the Panic of 1873 sent shockwaves through the entire system. Railroad companies faced bankruptcy at unprecedented levels, factory closings increased exponentially, and unemployment soared. These economic difficulties, and the ensuing competition for jobs, provided an opportunity for a new scapegoat to emerge: the Chinese laborer. In his classic book *Strangers in the Land*, John Higham notes how the shifting nature of the economy led to changing attitudes toward immigrants, though there was a notable difference between "white" immigrants and the Chinese. "Hard times contributed powerfully to an exclusionist movement

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[17] "Chinese Immigration," *New York Times*, February 6, 1881.

[18] Some of these pro-Chinese sentiments echo what historian Michael Hunt called the "special relationship" notion that some Americans, particularly the elites had about the Chinese. See Michael Hunt, *The Making of Special Relationship: the US and China to 1914* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1983).

[19] Daniels, 17.

against the Chinese but did not substantially affect the status of the European," explained Higham.[20] Particularly in the West, the effects of the worsening depression combined with racism to create a new target for white laborers. They feared that the Chinese would continue to arrive in droves, eventually overpowering the white working class.

The actual numbers did not support the claim of a Chinese takeover, however. According to the 1880 census, the Chinese made up a miniscule .002 percent of the population. In a country of 50,000,000 people, how could an ethnic group of 100,000 create this much hysteria? According to historians, the issues were far bigger than just the Chinese. In his book *Strangers from a Different Shore*, Ronald Takaki connects the Gilded Age economy and the passage of the exclusion act. "Behind the exclusion act were fears and forces that had little or no relationship to the Chinese. Congress was responding to…an era of economic crisis….[R]emoval of the Chinese was designed not only to defuse an issue agitating white workers but also to alleviate class tensions within white society," wrote Takaki.[21] These tensions had begun to manifest themselves in the increasing anti-Chinese violence in western states, and it was that violence that began to convince some of the holdouts on Chinese exclusion to resign themselves to its inevitability.

Due to their status as territories at the height of the anti-Chinese movement, Washington and Wyoming held little political sway in determining federal policies against the Chinese. Vigilantism became the way for citizens of these territories to get their voices heard. Lew-Williams hones in on this phenomenon in her book, especially as she makes the linkage between what she considers an ineffective Chinese Exclusion Act and the more robust legislation that was to come. She writes, "Lacking more traditional forms of influence, they discovered, in part by happenstance, that racial violence held a particular form of political power. Through terrorizing the Chinese in their own backyards, the vigilantes broadcast their demands for Chinese exclusion across the nation."[22] Possibly the most well-known incident of racial violence took place in September 1885, when 28 Chinese miners were killed in Rock Springs, Wyoming. The incident captured headlines across the nation, but more importantly, it led to a surge in less violent but more forceful expulsions of Chinese laborers in over 150 cities throughout the West. These removals were not random; in fact, they were preplanned and well-organized with the ultimate goal of demonstrating the collective power of white workers. Power eventually grew from the local level to the national stage, as it drew the attention of legislators throughout the nation who feared what could happen if the problems went unresolved. Lew-Williams summarizes the choice these legislators now faced. "Congress could end white violence by enacting Chinese exclusion, or it could expect a race war."[23]

Anti-Asian violence, in fact, had flared on the West Coast for over a decade before Rock Springs. On October 24, 1871, in Los Angeles, a Chinese man shot and killed a white man and wounded a police officer. The incident led to a mass revolt against the Chinese in the city, resulting in the lynching of nearly twenty Chinese men and women that day. The *San Francisco Evening Bulletin* offered updates every fifteen minutes on the bloodshed. "The sheriff and civil authorities have given up all attempts to restrain the mob, and no one can tell how far they may go…The cry is to clean the Chinese out of the city," warned the newspaper.[24] By 9:30 that night, authorities had quelled the violence, arresting the main perpetrators on both sides. Newspapers across the nation, reacted to what had happened in Los Angeles with disgust. In recounting the violence just two days later, the

[20] John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1988), 18.

[21] Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1989), 110-111.

[22] Lew-Williams, 133.

[23] Lew-Williams, 136.

[24] "Terrible Affair," *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, October 25, 1871.

Evening Bulletin summarized the feelings of the citizens of Los Angeles in moving forward: "Honest men have resolved that a like occurrence shall never disgrace our city again…our citizens, sickened with last night's horrors, are determined that no stigma of a like character shall ever rest upon us."[25] While an incident of that magnitude did not strike Los Angeles again, fear spread across the western United States as Chinese labor competition grew.

Home to the largest Chinese population in the United States, San Francisco also suffered episodes of anti-Chinese violence. In the midst of the economic depression that had begun in 1873, white laborers grew increasingly frustrated with the Chinese and those who employed them. On July 23, 1877, a two-day riot began, resulting in the deaths of four people and over $100,000 in property damage to Chinese businesses and homes. Much like the riot in Los Angeles six years prior, newspapers across the country condemned those involved in the violence. However, some mixed criticism of the rioting with a general disdain for the Chinese. An example of this was found in the *Arizona Miner*, a newspaper out of Prescott, which served as the capital of the territory. In a piece just days after the violence in San Francisco, editors conveyed mixed feelings about the incident. "Still almost any people, even the murderous Apache, are superior to the wharf-rats, rowdies and vagabonds that infest the great city of San Francisco. Nothing short of a good cleaning out of hoodlumism in that city will have the desired effect of checking the outrages that are being perpetrated on these lovers of rice and opium," opined the editors.[26] While they sought an end to white vigilantism as the answer to the problem of Chinese labor, the editors clearly saw the Chinese as unworthy of sympathy. Other publications went even further, openly advocating for violence as a necessary solution to the Chinese problem. Just two years prior to the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act, the editors of Denver's *Rocky Mountain News* announced their opposition to these "heathen lepers" while promoting any means necessary to rid the country of them. "The nation having refused to protect its laborers from the competition of Chinese labor, while taxing them with a protective tariff for the benefit of manufacturing capitalists, the only recourse is violence, and if every Chinaman in California is mobbed, the result will be a blessing to the white race," wrote the editors.[27] While methods for solving the issue of Chinese immigration were debatable, the desire for a solution had become practically unanimous.

With these riots and expulsions being organized by the white working class, the perspective of white elites in the West, especially as their power was challenged on a national platform. Lew-Williams profiles numerous white elites conflicted on the exclusion question, but arguably none was more conflicted than the first lady of Washington State in the mid-1880s, Ida Squire. In many of her writings, Squire expressed sympathy and compassion for the plight of the Chinese. She was particularly aghast at the violence of the vigilantes. At the same time, though, it was the harm that could be done to her own family that remained her paramount concern and that influenced her beliefs on Chinese exclusion. "It was her overwhelming fear of the lower classes, and the harm they could inflict on her family's reputation, station, and safety, that ultimately made her eager for the Chinese to depart," concludes Lew-Williams. "The vigilantes, her personal writings made clear, did more than terrorize the Chinese; they intimidated their social superiors."[28] There were numerous upper-class citizens, some of whom Lew-Williams also profiles in her book, who had come to this same conclusion about the Chinese. Many of them (including Squire) employed Chinese men and women or frequented Chinese businesses. They felt badly about what was happening to them, but they were concerned about being seen as sympathetic and having the vigilantes turn on them.

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[25] "The Los Angeles Outrage," *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, October 26, 1871.

[26] No author or title, *Arizona Miner*, July 27, 1877.

[27] [no author, no title] *Rocky Mountain News*, February 29, 1880.

[28] Lew-Williams, 146.

Therefore, it was in the best interest of everyone if the Chinese left. To this end, vigilantism and the local expulsion movement was a resounding success.

Historians consider politics, along with racism and violence, a leading cause for the growing support of the exclusion movement. The main reason for this is simple: anti-Chinese sentiment from politicians had tangible effects on elections. Daniels notes the quick shift in policy regarding Chinese immigrants that California Republicans adopted in the wake of political defeats. In 1867, the party was willing to accept voluntary immigration regardless of nationality. Following a double-digit loss in that year's gubernatorial race, in which the party had been labeled as pro-Chinese, Republicans pivoted toward anti-Chinese policies.[29] This transition was not just at the state level, as Republicans and Democrats competed in ever-tightening presidential and Congressional races across the country in the 1870s. The Panic of 1873 led to one of the largest shifts in power in the history of the House of Representatives, with Democrats taking a substantial majority in the chamber after the 1874 elections. This set the focus of both parties on a contentious 1876 presidential election. Andrew Gyory, whose book *Closing the Gate* focuses on the political motivations behind Chinese exclusion, emphasizes the importance of that election in changing Chinese exclusion from a local issue to a national one. "In the political vacuum caused by the fading of the [Civil] war, both parties would need to redefine themselves by identifying with new issues…Racial politics, which had proved effective in the past, would be resurrected," writes Gyory.[30] Western states—California and Oregon—helped Republican Rutherford B. Hayes win one of the closest elections in U.S. history: a victory by a single electoral vote, despite losing the popular vote. Because of the influence of those states on the election results, the regional issue of Chinese immigration and labor would soon become a national issue.

The importance of California continued to grow in the years following the 1876 election, and Californians recognized their increasing political influence. On December 5, 1878, just weeks after that year's Congressional elections, the *Los Angeles Herald* featured a blunt analysis of California's standing within the national political sphere. Mentioning the increasing influence of the state on national politics, the newspaper offered advice to the leaders of both the Republican and Democratic Parties regarding the "Chinese question." "[N]o party can hope to carry this State that fails to put itself squarely on the record on this question so vital to us. It would be a sagacious move on the part of the Democracy to initiate at once legislation calculated to check the inroads of the Chinese to the Pacific Coast," warned the paper.[31] While it is impossible to know how much direct influence this recommendation had politically, the reality is that both parties made it a key issue for the 1880 presidential election. Amidst commentary on the economy and each party's relationship with the labor movement, the official platforms of each party stressed the problem of Chinese immigration. The Democratic platform stated, "We demand…no more Chinese immigration except for travel, education and foreign commerce…"[32] Republicans, who had originally been the party more hesitant to embrace anti-Chinese sentiments, were even more forceful in their platform: "The Republican party, regarding the unrestricted immigration of Chinese as an evil of great magnitude, invokes the exercise of those powers [of Congress to regulate immigration] to restrain and limit that immigration…"[33] Anti-Chinese legislation had long been reliant on members of the Republican Party, and its passage seemed more and more likely as the issue became a national one.

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[29] Daniels, 12.

[30] Andrew Gyory, *Closing the Gate: Race, Politics, and the Chinese Exclusion Act* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 75.

[31] "Let Congress Legislate Against Chinese Immigration," *Los Angeles Herald*, December 5, 1878.

[32] "The Democratic Platform," *Independent Statesman* (Concord, NH), July 1, 1880.

[33] "Platform of the Republican National Convention," *Independent Statesman*, June 10, 1880.

If the issue of Chinese exclusion had been left in the hands of a Democratic-controlled House and Senate, it would have become law several years earlier. The reality in 1878, when the Fifteen Passenger Bill came before Congress, was that Congress was split: the Democrats controlled the House, and the Republicans controlled the Senate. The bill before them, which would permit a maximum of fifteen Chinese passengers on any ship, was the most restrictive legislation that had been put forward up to that point. While it had easily passed in the House, it needed more Republican support in the Senate, especially from those whose constituency had thus far been unaffected by Chinese immigration. Maine Senator James Blaine, who sought the Republican nomination in the upcoming presidential election, capitalized on the issue as a way to win the limited but all-important support of the West. As he spoke on February 14, 1879, he advanced the Chinese question from a simple western problem to an issue for the American working class as a whole. According to Gyory, "Blaine's conversion to the exclusionist banner marked the key turning point in the anti-Chinese movement. As the most influential Republican in the country…Blaine elevated the Chinese issue nationally."[34] Blaine and the Republicans also had a more immediate motive: California was the only state to have its congressional election later that year. Winning California at a congressional level could put the 1880 election within reach if no candidate achieved a majority and had to rely on a vote in Congress to choose the next president. The bill would pass the Senate with a majority of Republicans voting in favor, but it was vetoed by President Hayes. Despite the veto, there had been an important shift on the topic when compared to the attitudes towards Chinese immigration in the 1860s. "Although the measure failed, the debate revealed that the days of unrestricted Chinese immigration…were numbered." wrote Gyory.[35] In fact, opposing Chinese immigration and even using demeaning language to describe them was no longer a political gamble; it had become a key strategy to win over voters in the West.

The rejection of the Fifteen Passenger Bill encouraged a rapid series of events that would lead to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. A difficult balance had to be struck: maintain diplomacy with China in order to stay in good economic favor, while also appeasing a growing coalition of anti-Chinese organizations in the United States. The Angell Treaty of 1880 achieved this balance, at least for the period of time when the federal government cared to maintain the balance. The treaty gave the American government authority to "reasonably" limit or suspend certain groups of Chinese immigrants (mainly unskilled laborers) when the best interests of the country were being negatively affected. Having bypassed the issue of diplomacy that had led Hayes to veto the Fifteen Passenger Bill, the treaty also accelerated the introduction of exclusion bills in Congress. While there was vocal opposition to the outright exclusion of the Chinese, it was a trivial minority. During the debates over an exclusion bill, a political battle ensued, but not over the merits of exclusion. Instead, as Gyory points out, it was an attempt to get the upper hand with a key constituency: "Politicians of both parties had reached consensus not just on Chinese exclusion but on the rationale for Chinese exclusion, and they scrambled to outdo each other in paying homage to the American worker."[36] The power of the all-important western states, just as the *Los Angeles Herald* had touted, led to a complete shift in support for exclusion in just a matter of a few years. The constituencies of those western states and territories had succeeded in getting politicians across the nation to hear their concerns, and those same politicians could now convince others that exclusion was in the best interest of the country's workers.

The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, and its subsequent renewals in the decades that followed, remains one of the most controversial pieces of legislation in the nation's history. What

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[34] Gyory, 145.
[35] Gyory, 167.
[36] Gyory, 238.

was a solely West Coast issue in the1850s and 1860s transformed into a bipartisan national issue by the 1880s. Racism played a major role in isolating the Chinese as the first immigrant group to be barred from entering the country. Certain behaviors, such as an ability to survive below what had become American standards of living, led to their ostracism. Also, unlike most European immigrants, they were unable to blend into white society; as Lew-Williams wrote, they "wore their alienage on their bodies."[37] In addition to racism, the changing economy of the 1870s led to a resentment of the Chinese no longer reserved for the western part of the country. With the Panic of 1873 leading to a contraction in the economy and employment, it was easier to scapegoat than to examine the actual causes of the depression. Vigilante violence and expulsion of the Chinese also brought a sense of autonomy to many of the white laborers who felt negatively affected by their presence. If the government was unable to solve the problem of Chinese immigration, then white vigilantes could take matters into their own hands. Arguably the most important influence on Chinese exclusion, however, was politics. To defuse violence in the West, local and national leaders began to examine ways to remove what they saw as the primary source of that violence, the Chinese. As elections grew tighter and the votes (and concerns) of those in the West became more pivotal, both Republicans and Democrats vied to become the party of exclusion. The United States, a nation founded on the basis of immigration seeking a better life with new freedoms, succeeded in barring the citizens of a nation from entering. This action, combined with future laws restricting people of other nationalities, would remain a stain on the founding ideals of the country for nearly a century.

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[37] Lew-Williams, 87.

Collegiate Journalism: The Kent State Shooting
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In May of 1970, one college campus captured the eyes of the nation. At Kent State University, the Ohio National Guard arrived with instructions to maintain order. Two days after the troops' arrival, the unimaginable happened. Guards shot into a crowd of students, killing four and injuring nine.[1] The nation erupted with anger and questions about accountability. Many narratives circulated in the media. Some sources blamed students, while others saw the guards as vicious killers.

Prior to the shootings, explosive movements detonated nationwide as U.S. soldiers tread the soils of Southeast Asia.[2] The highly divisive decision to have troops fighting in a foreign land birthed some of the most widespread protests in the nation's history. Mass protests in 1970 resulted from President Richard Nixon's decision to send American troops into Cambodia, despite his claim that the war was on the verge of ending.[3] Most Americans opposed the Vietnam War. Determined to bring their troops home, some openly voiced their frustrations. At the forefront of these protests were college students.

Following the tragic shooting at Kent State, President Nixon released a statement condemning violence and encouraging peaceful protests. The "tragic and unfortunate incident will strengthen the determination of all the nation's campuses, administrators, faculty, and students alike, to stand firmly for the right which exists in this country of peaceful dissent," Nixon vowed.[4] Taking a position of neutrality, the president proceeded to step onto the sidelines while the nation clarity about the horrors at Kent State.

As people across the country scramble for answers, an important voice emerged from university students via collegiate newsprint. Student editors were bound by the same rules and standards as professional journalists. While freedom of speech is important in American society, there are consequences if students incite violence or promote views that are deemed excessively radical in their newsprint.[5] However, in contrast to traditional journalists, student reporters were expected to be even more articulate and cautious in their wording. Since collegiate newsprint is produced by students and generally consumed by the same demographic, "every paragraph is important" as it could be quoted or analyzed by a fellow classmate.[6]

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[1] Lewis, Jerry M, and Thomas R Hensley. "The May 4 Shootings at Kent State University: The Search for Historical Accuracy," *The Ohio Council for the Social Studies Review*, 34, no. 1 (Summer, 1998): 9-21.

[2] "The Story That Has Stayed with Him, 50 Years Later: Robert Giles, NF '66, on the Kent State Shootings and the 'Public Hunger for Truth,'" *Nieman Reports* 74 no. 3 (2000): 47.

[3] Chester Pach, "'Our Worst Enemy Seems to Be the Press': TV News, the Nixon Administration, and U.S. Troop Withdrawal from Vietnam, 1969–1973." *Diplomatic History* 34 no. 3, (June 2010) 555.

[4] "MAY MADNESS," *Chicago Tribune*, 6 May 1970.

[5] Julius Duscha, Thomas C. Fischer, and Thomas C. Fischer, *The Campus Press: Freedom and Responsibility* (Washington: American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 1973), 51.

[6] Roberta Clay, *The College Newspaper*. [1st ed.] (New York: Pageant Press, 1965), 51.

Ideally one might examine Kent State University's own student reporting on the shooting, however, it is unfortunately unavailable. Three hours after the incident, the university shut down their campus for six weeks.[7] Although there is no coverage of the shooting from Kent State, other universities quickly filled in. This research project examines the coverage, inaccuracies, contradictions, and biases that were occasionally present within the collegiate newsprint. Exploration of the student media perspective reveals that regionalism in the United States and proximity to Kent State shaped student reportage. The newspapers under analysis come from five universities: Eastern Illinois University, University of Illinois, University of Georgia, Cornell University, and Ohio State University.[8]

The Daily Eastern News

Located in Charleston, IL, Eastern Illinois University is a compact, active campus. The university's newspaper, *Daily Eastern News*, published numerous reports on Kent State as details were unfolding. *The Daily Eastern News*, founded in 1915, provided good coverage of the incident through multiple issues. The newspaper that was ultimately examined for this study was printed on May 12th, little over a week post-tragedy. This issue ran twelve pages.
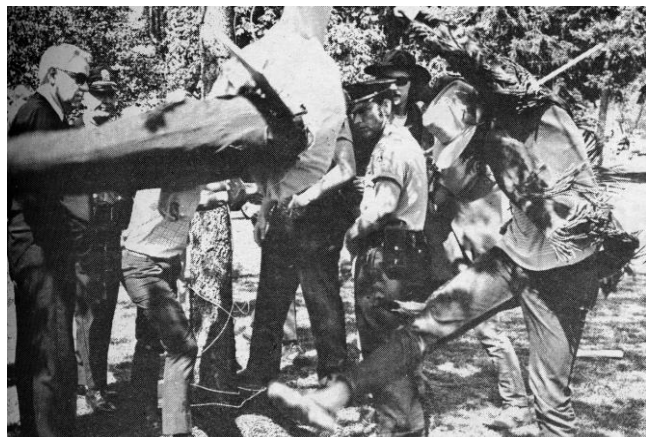

Figure 1: Students beat Nixon effigy, *DEN*, May 12, 1970. Photo by Ron Isbell, Courtesy of Eastern Illinois University Booth Library.

The edition's front page contained a startling image: EIU students beating an effigy of President Nixon (Figure 1). Next to the image, a bold headline reads: "University Will Vote on Flag Position." This section of the front page, written by Bill Warmoth, reported that the university was in the process of deciding whether to raise the flag at half or full mast to protest the events unfolding in Vietnam. A line from this article reads "Eastern Illinois University shall fly its United States Flag at (full-staff, half-staff) for the duration of American involvement in Southeast Asian."[9] Another segment from front page, titled "March for Slain at Kent," reported that "500 to 600 (EIU) students marched without incident."[10] It seems that during this time frame, students at Eastern actively mobilized on campus to protest the shootings.

Beyond the university students' actions regarding Kent State, the newspaper also warned readers of potential violence amidst the chaos. In a small section from the newspaper, simply titled as "Avoid Springfield," Eastern students were discouraged from attending a rally in Springfield, IL. The article also mentioned that EIU had seen less violence compared to other schools.[11] This is interesting as other colleges witnessed immense activity from their students that often resulted in riots.[12]

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[7] Lewis and Hensley, "The May 4 Shootings at Kent State University: The Search for Historical Accuracy,"

[8] The newspapers were selected from a limited pool of collegiate newsprint as full access was restricted for the public/non-students.

[9] Bill Warmoth, "University Will Vote on Flag Position," *The Daily Eastern News*, 12 May 1970.

[10] Jeff Nelson. "March for Slain at Kent," *The Daily Eastern News*, 12 May 1970.

[11] "Avoid Springfield," *The Daily Eastern News*, 12 May 1970, 6.

[12] Christopher Broadhurst, "'We Didn't Fire a Shot, We Didn't Burn a Building': The Student Reaction at North Carolina State University to the Kent State Shootings, May 1970," *North Carolina Historical Review* 87 (3): 283.

The final reference to Kent State in this issue came in the form of a written letter to *The Daily Eastern*. The letter criticized the school's Student Senate for their comments about the National Guard and President Nixon. The student writer was "angered" that the Student Senate had the audacity to judge the Ohio Guards from the distant vantage point of Charleston. She proceeds to reinforce her frustration by writing "a man in our country is considered innocent until proven guilty."[13]

Overall, *The Daily Eastern News* provided balanced coverage on Kent State but more so, the Vietnam War. The newspaper consistently reported on student movements happening on campus, all of which protest the shooting and the war. Upon initial analysis, the issue seemed to be biased against the president and the Kent State shooting. But to balance that, the college newspaper published a letter that directly opposed the Student Senate's position on the war. Although one can assume that most of the campus stood against the shooting, the war, and Nixon; no contradictions or false narratives were found in this newsprint.

The Daily Illini

An hour north of Eastern Illinois University, one finds the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign (UIUC).[14] The campus newspaper, serving students at UIUC for almost a century by 1970, is *The Daily Illini*. As with much larger universities, there are more students, and thus, more activity. Direct proof of this lies within the newspaper examined. The issue chosen for analysis was published a day after the shooting and contains twenty pages.

On the front page, the bold and huge words "4 Kent Protestors Dead" captures the eye immediately. Underneath that, a section titled "Guard Opens Fire on Crowd" appears. It is here where *The Daily Illini* reports on the Kent State shooting which took place one day prior. Reading through the report, the text swiftly covers statistical details regarding Kent State, then narrows in on statements released by President Nixon and Vice President Spiro Agnew. Seeming to attack the statements, the report comes off as rather aggressive. After covering Nixon and Agnew's statements, the text reverts back to information on Kent State. One should note that at this point in time, there were claims, published in *The Daily Illini*, circulating that the guards only "began firing semiautomatic rifles after a rooftop sniper had shot at them."[15] Other details in the story include the use of tear gas, students running from danger, and a Kent State student arguing how there was no sniper identified.

At the bottom of page one, another bold section reads "UI Strike Planned." The section tells of a potential strike to protest Kent State and the U.S. invasion of Cambodia.[16] More information and context on the strike can be found on page ten. As it turns out, the strike was planned for the entire university, not just the students. The main headline on this section is titled "The Time Has Come to STRIKE!" The text contains aggressive wording. Lines such as "the President has tragically miscalculated the mood of the country" reinforces the university's outlook on Nixon.[17]

This issue of *The Daily Illini* takes an unmistakable critical stand against Nixon and urges the whole campus to strike in retaliation for Kent State and the U.S. invasion of Cambodia. However, this newspaper contains a few contradictions and inaccuracies. On its front page, the newspaper reports that twelve students wounded at Kent State when there were only nine. As mentioned above, a claim by General Sylvester Del Corso, who oversaw the Ohio National Guard at Kent

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[13] Pamela Welch, "Get the Facts First," *The Daily Eastern News*, 12 May 1970.

[14] The University of Illinois will be identified as "UIUC" in this analysis because I am specifically referencing the institution located in Urbana-Champaign.

[15] "Guard Opens Fire on Crowd; Nixon: deaths 'a reminder'" *The Daily Illini*, 5 May 1970.

[16] Meg Gunkel, "UI Strike Planned," *The Daily Illini*, 5 May 1970.

[17] "The Time Has Come to STRIKE!" *The Daily Illini*, 5 May 1970.

State, suggests that a sniper fired at the guards, yet student accounts cast doubt upon any sniper activity (later investigates revealed no snipers). Granted, since this issue was published only one day after the shooting, there was room for error. In terms of biases, it is implied that no one supports Nixon or the National Guards at UIUC. Every time Nixon or the guards were mentioned, newsprint language grew increasingly hostile. In the end, this issue of *The Daily Illini* presented the reader with many details from Kent State. Although some information was inaccurate, the newspaper did a good job giving the reader a glimpse into events taking place at UIUC. Yet there is an incredibly strong bias against the Nixon Administration and the Ohio National Guards, but that could be due to the more liberal nature of this university.

The Red and Black

In contrast to *The Daily Eastern* and *Daily Illini*, both from the Midwest, *The Red and Black* is southern in origin. This collegiate newspaper comes from the University of Georgia, located in Athens, Georgia. Despite its claim of being "America's Pre-eminent College Newspaper," it provided little coverage of Kent State during the month of May. Outside of one edition, the shooting merited virtually no attention. *The Red and Black* issue chosen for analysis was published on May 14th, 1970. This newspaper only contains six pages, yet the issue features intriguing opinions on the tragedy. On the front page, there was little information on Kent State besides a miniscule section titled "Various Views Expressed Concerning Campus Protest." This portion of the page was written by student journalist Robbie Blanton. He reported that the students on his campus gathered to protest the shooting at Kent State, an event "said to be the largest demonstration ever held" on a university campus in Georgia.[18]

In addition to his report, Blanton interviewed local student activists and the university's administrators. There is a stark contrast between the students and the administrators. The student activists openly voiced their disappointment in University President Fred C. Davison. In particular, students expressed their frustration with Davison's refusal to sign a letter criticizing President Nixon. Alternatively, when interviewing the administrators, Blanton received a much different take on Kent State and the resulting protests. Dismissive of their students' views, the administrators had quite a lot to say. Regarding the student protests, the administrators criticized the explicit language, themes, and violence that were often part of the protests. They also expressed their vexation with the students' reluctance to listen.[19]

On page four of this newspaper, there is more to uncover. In its final reference to Kent State in this issue, the newspaper offered a much more conservative take. In a section titled, "Columnist Analyzes National Guard Criticisms," an editor named John Crown made the argument that blame should not be put on the guards. Instead "someone or some organization whipped up the violence at Kent State." There were going to be "martyrs sooner or later," he insisted.[20] Differing from the earlier takes on Kent State and protesting, Crown took a defensive position on the matter, siding with the National Guard.

With only two sections relating to Kent State, this issue wraps up its coverage quickly. Biased statements were present within the latter half of the newspaper. It seems like the more conservative take from Mr. Crown could be a result of the cultural geography. Compared to the other universities

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[18] Robbi Blanton, "Various Views Expressed Concerning Campus Protest," *The Red and Black*, 14 May 1970.
[19] Blanton, "Various Views Expressed Concerning Campus Protest.
[20] John Crown, "Columnist Analyzes National Guard Criticisms," *The Red and Black*. 14 May 1970.

and their respective newspapers, *The Red and Black* appears to represent a southern perspective while the other colleges are more northern in outlook.[21]

The Cornell Daily Sun

A private university located in Ithaca, NY, Cornell University is an elite Ivy League school. In contrast to the previously discussed universities, this school is one of the most prestigious in the country. The student newspaper at the university is *The Cornell Daily Sun*. The chosen issue for analysis was published two days after the shooting at Kent State. It contains sixteen pages.

Given Cornell's strong academic reputation and impressive resources, one would expect a stronger newspaper than others considered in this study. After examination, expectations were indeed fulfilled. *The Daily Sun* did a stellar job reporting on Kent State. The first page offers an abundance of information on the shooting. Two sections on the front-page covered Kent State related news. The first section was titled "Antiwar Protest Mark National Student Strike" (Figure 2.) Written by Peter Bartfeld, this segment described the reaction of other universities nationwide to the tragedy. Bartfeld reports that thousands of students evacuated Kent State's campus following the shooting. He then reports on protests taking place in Wisconsin, Missouri, New York, and even the state of Washington. His articulate wording produced a neutral and grounded report. Remaining unbiased, Bartfeld fully provides context for every scenario. From students hosting candlelight services, to "rocks and firebombs," the article is full of detail.[22] There were even reports of a

Antiwar Protests Mark National Student Strike

By PETER BARTFELD

Students across the nation reacted to the deaths of four Kent State University students and the Southeast Asian situation with candlelight services, marches, strikes, sit-ins, and, in several cases, with rocks and fire bombs.

Kent's campus was virtually deserted by late yesterday as tens of thousands left the University in the wake of Monday's killing of four students by national guardsmen stationed on the campus.

Fires were set in the Navy ROTC building and the education building on the University of Wisconsin's campus in Madison late last night. National Guardsmen were called out at about 11:15 p.m. EDT.

A fire was also set at Divine Towers, office building of what

one Wisconsin student described as "just about the worst landlord in Madison." Last night a grocery store which allegedly charged high prices was burned to the ground. In all, a total of eight firebombs were thrown on and around the Wisconsin campus last night.

About 1000 students attended a morning rally on the campus, and then marched to the Selective Service headquarters in downtown Madison. Police used tear gas to break up the demonstration. 28 were arrested and many hurt in the morning demonstration.

This evening's fire-setting took place following an antiwar rally of about 10,000 persons.

Much of the Air Force ROTC building at Washington
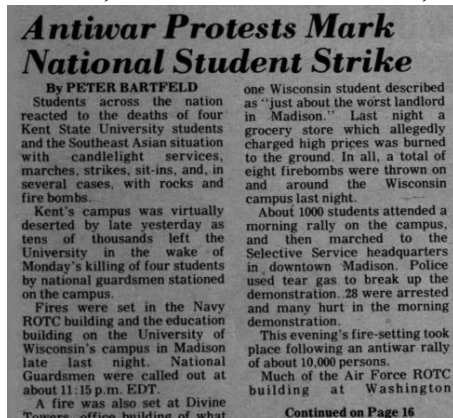
Figure 2: Front Page, *The Cornell Daily Sun*, May 6. 1970.

university in St. Louis being "gutted by flames after students had set fire to the building."[23] Unlike the other newspapers which rarely reported on student violence, *The Cornell Daily Sun* seems to detail all sides while remaining professional. The second section that covered Kent State was titled "Gen. Del Corso Calls Shooting Self-Defensive." Reporting on a claim made by the head of the Ohio National Guard at Kent State, the newspaper states that the general "had no evidence to support his earlier assertion that a sniper fired at the National Guardsmen."[24] Del Corso, in fact, later changed his story and claimed the shooting was triggered by the vicious protests from Kent State students.

Compared to the previously discussed newspapers, Cornell University has a special connection to the tragedy at Kent State. On page nine, a section of newsprint reports that some of the casualties consisted of New York residents. *The Cornell Daily Sun* reports that one New York resident was killed while the other two were wounded and in critical condition. This segment then goes on to profile the student victims in order to shed some light on their lives.[25]

The reporting done by *Cornell Daily Sun* was very impressive. In contrast to the other university newspapers, reporters focused on events and details outside of their immediate campus. Additionally, the wording and depictions of the events remain neutral as both the student activists and National Guards were examined. Its stories highlighted issues on both sides of the spectrum.

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[21] On U.S. regionalism and the Vietnam War see Joseph Fry, *The American South and the Vietnam War: Belligerence, Protest, and Agony in Dixie* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 2015).

[22] Bartfeld, Peter. "Antiwar Protest Mark National Student Strike." *The Cornell Daily Sun.* 6 May 1970. 1.

[23] Bartfeld, Peter. "Antiwar Protest Mark National Student Strike." *The Cornell Daily Sun.* 6 May 1970. 16.

[24] "Gen. Del Corso Calls Shooting Self-Defensive." *The Cornell Daily Sun.* 6 May 1970. 1.

[25] "New York Residents Among Kent Victims," *The Cornell Daily Sun*, 6 May 1970.

There was an absence of bias and contradiction in this collegiate newspaper. The stories reported seem to match up with events that took place two days prior.

The Ohio State Lantern

Located in Columbus only two hours from Kent State, Ohio State University therefore had a particular connection to the events of May 4th, 1970. Furthermore, National Guardsmen were present on Ohio State's campus as well, as they were at Kent State. The university's newspaper is called *The Ohio State Lantern*, and it understandably devoted much coverage to Kent State University. The newspaper chosen for dissection was printed two days after the shooting. This issue contains twelve pages.

Unlike previous newspapers, all reports involving Kent State were condensed onto the front page and not scattered throughout. *The Ohio State Lantern* clearly prioritized the shooting as its most important story. The very top of the front-page reads "Midwest Students React to Kent State." In this section, *The Lantern* reports on other the reactions of other Midwestern colleges. From student rallies, boycotts, marches, and class cancellations, a number of universities across the Midwest engaged in protest against the Kent State shootings.[26] Some of the schools include the University of Wisconsin, University of Iowa, Michigan State, and Purdue.

Figure 3: Menacing guardsmen at Kent State, *Ohio State Lantern*, May 5, 1970, photo by Ernst Wehausen.

At the center of *The Lantern's* front page, a darker narrative is presented. An image of a National Guardsman holding a rifle and yelling at Ohio State students is on display (Figure 3). The caption reads "Guard Clears Building Entrances." *The Lantern* reports that as a strike took place, students clashed with the guards. Ohio State students were reported to have been throwing stones at the National Guards and verbally harassing them.[27] The confrontation led to arrests. Other details suggest that strikers blocked entrance paths to certain buildings, preventing other students from attending their classes.

Beyond the two sections related to Kent State on page one, there are reports on Nixon and Cambodia throughout the rest of the newspaper. Given its proximity to the violence at Kent State and the student protests at Columbus, one might expect this newspaper to be heavily biased against the National Guards. It was surprising, however, to see a more neutral report, especially in the second segment covering the strikers. Typically, National Guardsmen were made out to be the aggressors in every scenario. But *The Lantern* reported that the university's students demonstrated a great deal of civil unrest. Overall, this newspaper did a good job reporting on Kent State, choosing to focus on reactions from various universities while also reporting on their own campus.

Conclusion

This study of the student media perspective on the Kent State shooting reveals a variety of journalistic approaches to horror of May 4, 1970. Going into the study, there were expectations that similar themes would be present by college journalists of roughly the same age. Although there was, indeed, similar information in each newspaper, there were also notable differences. Each of the five newspaper issues examined, at each university approached the shooting with different takes.

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[26] Roger Mezger, "Midwest Students React to Kent Slayings," *The Ohio State Lantern*, 6 May 1970.

[27] Bonnie Schwartz, "Guard Clears Building Entrances," *The Ohio State Lantern*. 6 May 1970.

Some papers reported the incident with extreme bias and negative portrayals of either the National Guards or the students. By contrast, other universities took a more neutral and professionally objective approach. These newspapers reported on both the students and the guards, detailing actions and measures taken by both parties. The more biased accounts came from *The Daily Illini* and *The Red and Black*. The wording and portrayals from both newspapers' coverage were typically one-sided. The University of Illinois, a more liberal school, maligned President Nixon at every opportunity. *The Daily Illini* relentlessly reinforced the narrative of the National Guards as out for blood. One should note that out of all the university newspapers, *The Daily Illini* reported the most protesting on their campus. On the opposing end was *The Red and Black*, which took the alternative approach and supported the National Guards. The perspective taken by student journalist John Crown highlights the bias of *The Red and Black*. Although Crown attempted to sound neutral, his wording and statements suggested otherwise. In contrast to UIUC, it should also be noted that the protests on this campus were met with a lot of conflict between the students and faculty. While the entirety of UIUC seem to unite, administrators and faculty at the University of Georgia criticized their own students for protesting. It is interesting that the two most biased newspapers came from a well-known liberal university and a southern university.

Eastern Illinois University, Cornell, and Ohio State produced the most straightforward newspapers. *The Daily Eastern News* reported extensively on protests, marches, and general anger directed at Nixon. Although biased against Nixon, EIU's newspaper balanced its coverage with a disgruntled letter aimed at the Student Senate. If one assumed that the entire university stood against the National Guards, the letter suggested otherwise. *The Cornell Daily Sun* and *The Ohio State Lantern* were highly neutral. The universities reported details on both sides of the spectrum. From the students rioting and being openly violent, to the claims about snipers from General Del Corso, each respective newsprint provided the full context regarding Kent State coverage.

Reporting on Kent State, all the university newspapers equally focused on Nixon. As a controversial president, he was tied indelibly to the Kent State shooting since he had made the fateful decision to invade Cambodia. Each university prioritized the Kent State shooting while still mentioning Nixon and his administration.

All in all, this research project revealed many unexpected details. The initial expectation was that all university newspapers would be similar as college students generally opposed the Vietnam War. But upon analysis, the student newspapers reveal a messy web of alternating perspectives. Like the oft-debated trigger that made the Ohio National Guards fire into a crowd, the results of this research show that many angles exist and that college students hardly spoke with one voice.

The Powerful News of the Civil War
John P. Panelli

John Panelli is a graduate of Eastern Illinois University with a Bachelor of Arts in history and a minor in creative writing. He currently lives in Homer Glen, Illinois. John wrote this paper for Professor David K. Smith's HIS 4375 Capstone in History.

Information is a crucial weapon during times of conflict. Not only can it win wars, but it can inform the public and build confidence among civilians. News reporting of Civil War battles was of monumental importance to the North, South, and the general public. After two years of fighting with limited success for either side, by 1863, the country was exhausted from warfare. Two of the most significant battles during the war, occurring simultaneously that year, were important turning points: the North's victory at the Battle of Gettysburg and the surrender of the Confederates in Vicksburg, Mississippi. Coverage of these events spread nationwide, bolstering the North and discouraging the South. Both Union and Confederate news agencies crafted articles about these battles in very different ways. These differences in reporting between the North and the South could hardly be missed: the Confederacy prioritized chivalry, valor, and confidence in its ultimate success, while the Union emphasized timeliness, accuracy and detailed information.

By later standards, newspapers of the Civil War era remained plain and small, often limited to only four pages. Advertisements were on the exterior pages, while editorials and news were on the interior. While coverage would be local, news stories were mailed all over the country to other publishers. As a result, local editors could take articles from other journals to report events outside of the community - often without acknowledgement and checking for factual accuracy. Due to railway line construction, and the development of telegraph and morse code, news began to travel faster and farther. Regardless of these quantum changes in transmission, newspapers still gave expression to, and often formed public opinion.[1]

By the eve of the Civil War, over 37,000 newspapers were published in the North and only 847 newspapers in the South.[2] Northern newspapers had circulations of 824,910,112 subscribers which was approximately eight times more than the South.[3] Additionally, the North had more newspaper agencies, with the *New York Herald* being the largest daily newspaper in 1860. Once the war began, northern papers had very little circulation in the South. In April of 1861, the *New York Tribune* circulation had 35 subscribers in Texas, 52 in North Carolina, 42 in Alabama, 35 in Georgia, 23 in South Carolina, 21 in Mississippi, and 10 in Florida.[4]

As the war progressed, papers critical of the South's succession lost subscribers and closed. Newspapers branded as "union sympathizers" also shut down. No Confederate newspaper sold as many as ten thousand copies daily.[5] With fewer subscribers, southern publishers had fewer resources. Many of their editors utilized soldiers serving in units or volunteers as correspondents. Debra Reddin Van Tuyll, one of the authors of *Knights of the Quill*, explained that regarding southern reporting, "much Civil War correspondence was little more than bombastic bravado, unrealistically

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[1] Donald E. Reynolds, *Editors Make War* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 1970), viii.
[2] Andrew S. Coopersmith, *Fighting Words: An Illustrated History of Newspaper Accounts of the Civil War* (New Press, 2006), XV.
[3] Reynolds, *Editors Make War*, 3.
[4] Ibid, 6.
[5] Ibid, 5.

optimistic and downright wrong. However, those inaccurate reports were often based on what correspondents had learned from the officers in charge of the units... It took days or weeks for more accurate reports to become clear."[6] These soldiers often had great "optimism and enthusiasm about their exploits."[7]

At the beginning of the war, there were more than 350 war correspondents for the North and 150 for the South.[8] These men were called "Specials" and would sometimes travel with the troops while reporting on army life and the various generals.[9] Most of these correspondents were white men. While some were teenagers, most were middle aged or older. A very small portion of correspondents were women, and only one was African American. These journalists had to balance many different pressures. Readers were interested in facts and events of the day—especially concerning the Civil War battles. When covering the battles, correspondents ran the danger of being arrested for spying or publishing military information that could hurt the troops. They were often in harm's way and were sometimes injured or killed. Most reporters sought to give accurate and factual accounts. At the same time, they hoped to give news that would improve public morale and represent the perspective of their papers.[10]

Since information was very crucial to the war, many newspapers were censored in both the North and the South. Historian Andrew Coopersmith notes in his book *Fighting Words*: "Victory was not simply a matter of military might. It depended on the will of the people doing the fighting."[11] Censorship became an absolute necessity in the North because there were many Southern pro-slavery sympathizers and newspapers catered to the demographic. One should note that enlistment at the beginning of the war was voluntary, and soldiers thus both armies needed motivated, patriotic men to enlist.[12] Therefore, anything printed in the press contrary to the cause of reuniting the states was considered dangerous.

The pro-slavery wing of Democrats in the North was initially supportive of the war to save the union, but not necessarily to end slavery. They were called "Peace Democrats" or "Copperheads" by their opponents because of their infectious influence.[13] In early 1862, the Union government began to censor the press when Secretary of War Edward Stanton barred newspapers from publishing unauthorized information and took control of all telegraph lines.[14]

In the 1860 census of the South, only 25% of families owned slaves, but 41% percent of editors and 51% of correspondents owned at least one slave.[15] Almost half of the editors/correspondents in the South therefore were of the elite slave holding population, and not surprisingly all southern papers were pro-slavery. The South was strongly in favor of freedom of the press, as was Confederate President Jefferson Davis. Even though newspapers criticized Davis and his administration, Davis never shut down "even one" newspaper.[16] Southern newspapers did however express resentment of their government, stating that journalists are excluded "from the lines of our armies, in the East and in the West."[17] The *Charleston Mercury,* when reporting on the

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[6] Patricia G. McNeely, Debra Redden Van Tuyll, and Henry H. Schulte, *Knights of the Quill, Confederate Correspondents and their Civil War reporting* (West Lafayette, IN: Perdue University Press 2010), 20.

[7] McNeely, Van Tuyll, and Schulte, *Knights of the Quill*, 10.

[8] Brayton Harris, *Blue and Gray in Black and White: Newspapers in the Civil War* (Washington: Brassey's, 2000), X.

[9] Hazel Dicken-Garcia, Giovanna Dell 'Orto, *Hated Ideas and the American Civil War Press* (Spokane, WA: Marquette Books, 2008), 35.

[10] David B. Sachsman, *A Press Divided: Newspaper Coverage of the Civil War* (Oxfordshire, UK Routledge, 2017), XXIV.

[11] Coopersmith, *Fighting Words*, XVIII.

[12] Coopersmith, *Fighting Words*, 12.

[13] Ibid, XIX.

[14] Garcia and Dell 'Orto, *Hated Ideas*, 204.

[15] McNeely, Van Tuyll, and Schulte, *Knights of the Quill*, 2.

[16] Garcia and Dell 'Orto, *Hated Ideas*, 176.

[17] Ibid, 185

great battle of Richmond, stated, "Days have elapsed since the fighting has begun, and we are still in the dark."[18] Both the Union and Confederate governments feared strategic information could be divulged in news reports. Such intel could give away details about troop location, movement, and military supplies. Since news traveled faster than troops, any leaked information could be obtained by opposing generals and affect the success of their campaigns.

The governments of the North and the South handled correspondents and their news reports differently. While both allowed newsmen to travel with the army, most of the northern generals were more open to correspondents traveling with the troops. Confederate President Jefferson Davis personally had a hands-off policy with the press. He rarely spoke to journalists and preferred to "surround himself with a palace guard."[19] He hoped that the press would regulate itself. Even though Davis did not specifically censor the news or dispatches, some southern military officials did.[20] Others outright banned correspondents from their armies. For example, in 1861, General Albert S. Johnston banned a correspondent because of an article that identified various confederate bridges around their troops. General P.G. T. Beauregard expelled all reporters due to an indiscreet dispatch that gave away military information. In 1862, General Robert E. Lee complained about an article in the Richmond *Dispatch* that disclosed troop locations.[21] Due to this incident, army correspondents had to wait for official dispatches which took weeks to months.

Secession confirmed what the North and South already understood about each other: that they were separate and distinct cultures. Northern papers represented the diverse opinions of their citizens. In the North, some papers stood with the abolitionists, some with the Copperheads, and others for the Republican cause. However, they all wanted one thing: for the Confederate states to be reunited with the Union. In contrast to the South, the North had larger news agencies and better circulation. The region had more monetary resources, more paid correspondents, and better access to telegraph lines. Its military officers were more available to the northern correspondents, which helped them transmit more information to the public.

Southern news agencies had fewer newspapers in circulation, lower paid correspondents, and had less access to the military officials and telegraph lines. In addition, because most of the fighting of the Civil War was in the South, as cities were overcome and occupied by northern troops, including the city of Jackson in the siege of Vicksburg, most southern papers were eventually cut off or closed and no longer able to transmit news to the southern public.

 Most important to our discussion of the South was the fact that southern culture, which was based on labor intensive agriculture, anti-industrial and anti-urban sentiments, depended on the large plantation system. An 1861 article in the *Charleston Mercury* explained: "We are socially and politically as distinct a people from the North, as from France or England…The people of the South belong to the brave, impulsive, hospitable, and generous Celtic race: the people of the North to the cold, phlegmatic Teutonic race."[22] The South believed Northerners to be Puritans who could not "fraternize with the extravagant, profligate and courtly planter of the 'old Dominion.'" [23] They believed their culture existed since Europeans first immigrated to the South at the founding of the country and was rooted in the tradition of the European landowners of their homelands. Southern reporters celebrated a notion of the feudalistic medieval honor code of knighthood. In the patriarchal South, where land, families and freedom were under threat, the focus was on public virtue, the importance of home and hospitality, military prowess, courage, valor and protection of

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[18] Ibid.

[19] Sachsman, *A Press Divided: Newspaper Coverage of the Civil War,*308.

[20] McNeely, Van Tuyll, and Schulte, *Knights of the Quill*, 373.

[21] Ibid, 15.

[22] Brayton Harris, *Blue and Gray in Black and White*, 52.

[23] Ibid.

property. Southern newspapers represented proslavery views and the values of their populace, not only of the elite editors and correspondents, but the small land-owning farmers who feared that the northern abolitionists not only wanted to exterminate slavery, but the southern people and their way of life.[24] These correspondents believed that their way of life and cause were just and noble, and that they had the power through their reporting to unify the hearts of the country. A Georgia weekly stated, "next to our organized armies, newspapers are the most powerful engines for the attainment of independence."[25] The whole way of southern life depended on obtaining that independence, and so newspapers constantly encouraged their armies and the public, especially when they seemed to be losing. Southern newspapers often spoke about heroics and valor, appearing overly optimistic, assuming impending victory, sometimes overlooking hard facts, and focusing on reported northern losses or barbarity (lack of chivalry); at the same time southern reports were hampered by lack of access to telegraph lines and hearsay from nonmilitary sources.

To discuss how each side reported the battles, this study will present them in somewhat of a chronological order, and present northern and southern reporting separately. Reporting on Vicksburg was different than that of Gettysburg. Vicksburg was a two-month siege while Gettysburg was a short three-day battle. By June of 1863, the northern public was losing their enthusiasm. It was at this key moment that General Lee took his first offensive move and marched his armies into enemy territory. Lee wanted to use a victory to undermine the North and force it to negotiate a peace agreement. Victory required Lee to avoid General George Meade's army, which had more men. General Lee sought to concentrate his troops before he engaged any Union forces, but General A.P Hill agreed to let a new officer go into Gettysburg to seek supplies—not knowing that some of the Union forces were there. The Battle of Gettysburg thus commenced on July 1 and ended on July 3, 1863, with the retreat of Confederate troops and a victory for Union forces. Gettysburg was not a strategic town, but it was close to Washington and Philadelphia. The frightening specter of a possible surrender to the South hung over the battle for people of the North. The victory at Gettysburg was an important win because it finally gave the North confidence the South would not be able to overcome them.

Vicksburg proved a critical battle because it was the last southern-held fortification on the Mississippi River. By taking Vicksburg, the North would have control over the entire Mississippi, allowing them to transport and trade their goods from the Midwest. The South would be geographically divided, cutting off Texas, Arkansas, and Louisiana from the rest of the Confederacy. If the North could win at Vicksburg and take total control of the Mississippi, the loss would physically and psychologically cripple the South. Coopersmith in *Fighting Words* stated that southerners regarded Vicksburg as their "last Gibraltar…that would save… the entire confederacy, from completely falling into Union hands."[26] Southern reporters and people knew that Vicksburg was "the key to the confederacy."[27] After General Ulysses S. Grant failed to capture Vicksburg twice, he tried again on May 18, 1863, and succeeded after a siege that lasted 47 days. General John C. Pemberton surrendered on July 4, 1863, after running out of supplies at the garrison. As southern correspondents wrote about the siege, they knew its strategic importance. Gettysburg was a key battle as well because the South had put so much on the line. Southern news reports from both battles emphasized the themes of valor and courage, confidence in confederate abilities and in their cause, as well as northern losses and barbarity. At the same time, reports did not hesitate to question the reliability of information and stress the limitations of their news sources.

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[24] Harris, *Blue and Gray in Black and White*, 56.
[25] McNeely, Van Tuyll, and Schulte, *Knights of the Quill*, 23.
[26] Coopersmith, *Fighting Words*, 175.
[27] Ibid, 176.

At the beginning of the siege of Vicksburg in May of 1863, the *Charleston Mercury* published an article acknowledging that the country was fixed upon this campaign:

> "General Pemberton is represented to express the fullest confidence in his ability to check Grant and capture the detachments which have been sent inland… Jackson may be visited at any time by a raid of calvary… but the Bluebellies hardly contemplate permanent occupation of the place…the people are determined to resist to the last and…there is no doubt we can successfully hold our own… everything goes to show that the determination of the Mississippians to defend their soil is cheerful, enthusiastic and universal… The feeling of our military men is sanguine and buoyant, and no fear, beyond a few temporary inconveniences."[28]

The quote is an example of the South's optimistic, unrealistic confidence that it could resist the Union barrage, one considering it a mere "inconvenience." In speaking of the feelings of the people of Mississippi, their enthusiasm, confidence in their military and lack of fear, the correspondent again focused on the theme of valor and courage. He reported that southern reinforcements for General Johnston's troops were arriving in Jackson. He wrote a colorful description, bordering on mockery, of Grant: "if the Yankees procrastinate in a contemplated movement on this town, they will meet with an infant brother…of rugged Vicksburg, and find a newborn Hercules, who, from his cradle, will strangle the serpents sent by granny Grant to destroy it."[29] In regards to the anticipated battle at Big Black River between Vicksburg and Jackson, the same correspondent invoked the courage of the South, asserting "the two armies are now facing each other on the opposite banks of the Big Black River, the one eager for the impending battle, confident and self-reliant…the other hesitating and fearful to advance, in spite of…the boasting and blustering of its commanders."[30] The third theme of southern reporting relates to reliability of their sources/news. In the rest of his article, the correspondent corrected a complaint and explained the limited news appearing in southern newspapers: "The papers to the eastward complain very generally of the meagerness of military news furnished by telegraph from Jackson. A little reflection will show how unjust and unfounded is this complaint. Vicksburg is now the center of operations … and the silence of the telegraph there is compulsory."[31]

The *Charleston Mercury* of May 25 brought the highly important news of heavy firing in the direction of Vicksburg. After reporting Grant's number of troops, it announced that the Yankees "committed the greatest excesses for two days, burning churches and private houses, tearing jewelry from the persons of citizens and gutting residences, and fled towards Vicksburg."[32] Compared to southern valor and integrity, these atrocities confirmed northern barbarity, and their desire to destroy the South. The reporter confidently noted that confederate losses during the recent assaults were "slight" and that they were confident of holding the city. "The enemy failed in all of his efforts; his dead strew the ground in front of our works. One estimate fixes his losses at 10,000 men."[33] The correspondent emphasized northern losses and the confidence of sufficient supplies for the southern troops in holding the city.

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[28] "From the Charleston Mercury on-News from the Enemy's Advance into Mississippi- Interesting Details," *Charleston Mercury*, May 16, 1863.

[29] Ibid.

[30] "From the Charleston Mercury on-News from the Enemy's Advance into Mississippi- Interesting Details," *Charleston Mercury*, May 16, 1863.

[31] Ibid.

[32] "Highly Important News from Vicksburg," *Charleston Mercury*, May 25, 1863.

[33] Ibid.

The *Charleston Mercury* of June 25 reported the reestablishment of a western telegraph line again; clearly communication lines remained an issue. At this point in the siege, by the end of June, Vicksburg itself was being bombarded by northern ships on the Mississippi, day and night. For safety, many moved into caves on the hills. Yet an article entitled "Latest from the West" states "that the utmost feeling of confidence exists in their ability to resist any assault…Even the ladies come out at night to witness the bombardment, which is represented as being perfectly grand. All concur in the statement the garrison is bountifully supplied with provisions."[34] Overly confident and optimistic about the siege, the correspondent focused on the courage of the people of the town, with very little news of the actual fighting. Instead, the explosions in the distances were a "grand" sight and bountiful provisions at the garrison would allow its survival.

On the actual day of the surrender of Vicksburg to Grant, the *Charleston Mercury* report suggested that the southern correspondent did not know of the capitulation. Instead, the paper continued to insist that valor and honor were at stake in the battle:

"Grant has not retired as we hoped he would, nor has General Johnston struck his blow yet…and we believe he will strike. If Vicksburg falls without a blow from him, his reputation would not survive it."[35]

Now southern reporting turned to Gettysburg. A *Charleston Mercury* article on July 7th reported that Longstreet and Hill were still at Gettysburg and they:

 "met and repulsed the enemy attacking columns with slaughter and … we trust complete a victory which Yankee accounts call a battle…If Lee succeeds in crushing Meade's army, Philadelphia will be at his mercy, or he may come down upon Washington on its rear. In either case, something brilliant and effective will have been accomplished… but nothing except complete victory can make Lee master of the situation. So far, the Yankee accounts we publish are very encouraging. Concealment of the extent of their distress, we regard as a matter of course; and, therefore from what they admit, feel confident that they are badly hurt."[36]

Surprisingly, the date of this article is three days after the battle ended, again showing how information in the South moved slowly. After Lee crossed over the Potomac into the North, southern correspondents were cut off from the confederate commanders. The South was gleaning information from northern papers which they did not necessarily trust, so they tended to focus on successes. The quote above seems to confirm that every news report from the North as a "matter of course" was concealing distress and other information. This article was typical Southern propaganda in promising success.

Five days after the surrender of Vicksburg, the very first full southern report about the battle was published in the *Charleston Mercury* on July 9. Confederate Secretary of State Seddon received word of the surrender on the 8th; four days after the battle "Vicksburg capitulated on the 4th… This intelligence was brought by officers who left on Sunday the 5th . . .Vicksburg has fallen. It was surrendered on the morning of the 4th," the newspaper solemnly announced.[37] The correspondent also acknowledged the regrettable delay in getting the important new out.

 The last paragraph of the article speaks of Gettysburg: "There has been four days fighting in Pennsylvania beginning on the 1st and lasting on the 4th… Our loss is estimated at 10,000 … The

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[34] "Telegraphic News from Richmond- Interesting Details," *Charleston Mercury,* June 25, 1863.

[35] "The Administration of Johnston," *Charleston Mercury,* July 4 ,1863.

[36] "Telegraphic News The Battle of Gettysburg," *Charleston Mercury*, July 7, 1863.

[37] "Telegraphic News Surrender of Vicksburg," *Charleston Mercury*, July 9, 1863.

hills around Gettysburg are covered with the killed and wounded of the Yankee army."[38] Here there is no celebration of valor, but the focus is on northern losses - emphasizing the Yankee troops killed and wounded, as if no confederate soldiers also lay dead. Inaccurate facts were reported as well because the article states southern forces fought in Gettysburg until the 4th, which was after the Confederates began their retreat.

Five days later, on July 18, the *Charleston Mercury* reported a correction of previous northern defeat rumors, but the newspaper implied the battle ended in a tie and did not admit to the southern retreat:

> "The story of the battle of Gettysburg…somewhat different from what was expected to come out of the brilliant cloud of early rumor. The Confederates did not gain a victory, neither did the enemy … The confederate army did not leave the enemy until it had tried every link of armor, shaken every bar and gate of his fortress; not until it was satisfied by three full days' experiment … But it did not slink off in the night across a river. There are no mobs of demoralized disorganized regiments; there were no scattered arms and routed corps. It withdrew on its own time and pleasure, in broad daylight, over the open country, carrying all its prisoners, with every troop and company marching in place. It withdrew as a disappointed lion withdraws from a sheepfold too well fenced and locked; slowly, with many a lowering look backward, and many an angry growl. The shepherd of that fold was too wise a man to interrupt or interfere with him. He was only too glad to see him going away. Meade was well content to watch the marching columns through a spyglass from the heights which he was happy to keep."[39]

The story described the extreme discipline, organization and valor of confederate troops in their withdrawal. That they did not leave until they had "shaken every gate of the Northern fortress" is a flowery exaggeration. Describing the battle as an "experiment" and the South as a "disappointed lion," the report claimed that Meade and his troops were "too wise to pursue" their still-strong enemy. The story went on to assert, "everything that bravery and science could do, seems to have been done."[40] The last line stated, "It was a splendid battle, in which the Confederate commanders and troops have inflicted a terrible punishment on the enemy and gained much glory, but very little else."[41] Lee's offensive invasion, the North's terrible losses, the use of the word "experiment," and the southern retreat referred to as a leisurely withdrawal, as well as a summation of a "splendid battle" with glory gained is a grandiose and pompous depiction of the conflict at Gettysburg.

The northern perspective on the two battles differed from the South's view. Regarding the siege of Vicksburg, the *New York Herald* on May 16 explained that its information came directly from Grant's dispatches, and a key article began by contradicting rumors that the Union had beaten the Rebels. The article provided numerous facts, namely that Port Hudson, an important garrison south of Vicksburg was evacuated, that reinforcements were coming from Memphis, and that Grant planned to cut the railroad between Jackson and Vicksburg. It also conjectured that there might be a battle at Big Black Bridge. The report ended with information on various confirmed raids, captures, and troop movements.[42] The fact that this came from Grant's dispatches is an example of northern reports emphasizing facts over rumors—accuracy that resulted from the correspondent's close contact with the military leaders.

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[38] "Telegraphic News Surrender of Vicksburg," *Charleston Mercury*, July 7, 1863.
[39] "The Battle of Gettysburg," *Charleston Mercury*, July 18, 1863.
[40] "The Battle of Gettysburg," *Charleston Mercury*, July 18, 1863.
[41] Ibid.
[42] "The Situation," *New York Herald,* May 16, 1863.

Approximately one month later, the *New York Herald* once again reported on Vicksburg. A correspondent wrote about the battle of Milliken's Bend on the 6th and 7th of June, a key skirmish in the siege, confirming that information came "just from an officer… just [back] from the scene of action."[43] The battle was significant in the Vicksburg campaign because it was the first time that the free "negro" volunteer union forces fought with firearms. Prior to this, black troops had been used for heavy labor; but at Milliken Bend, because the Rebels outnumbered the Union forces, African-Americans entered the battle. Specific details of the fighting reveal the Union was losing the first day, but as the battle raged on, the Yanks gained an advantage and the black regiment aggressively attacked the Rebel line like a "mighty, destructive hurricane. Rebel nerve could never withstand all of this… after an ineffectual attempt to drive back the negro assailants…[were] compelled to sound the retreat and withdraw."[44] Tragically, as black soldiers went forward in pursuit of the fleeing foe, they were hit by friendly fire, and many were instantly killed. They lost 100 men but won the battle. The article explained at the end: "A signal stopped the firing as quickly as possible but not until dreadful havoc has been made. Had it not been for the unfortunate occurrence… our loss would have been very small indeed."[45] Important news then followed that the Rebels in Vicksburg were surrendering themselves to the Union and reporting that their garrison was short on supplies. This northern correspondent in his detailed reporting of the tragic loss of the lives that had turned the battle at Milliken Bend, remained accurate to the fact even down to reporting this devastating friendly fire.

On June 14th, as Lee invaded Union territory, northern correspondents were beginning to head to southern Pennsylvania to try and determine what Lee might be attempting to do. A July 1st *New York Herald* report provided many details regarding southern troops, artillery numbers, the evacuation of York, and the abduction of money, supplies, and prisoners by the Rebels. A northern correspondent reported that deserters from the Rebel army said that the South was preparing for a "great battle with Meade" and warned that "the danger to Pennsylvania is still imminent… If our army should be defeated, we have no hope except in large armies to be raised in the North."[46]

Some northern correspondents acted as "spies" to gain information to report to the public as well as the state department. *The New York Herald* featured a lengthily report on July 2nd from a reporter who purposely "went behind rebel lines" with a view to ascertain "the object of the rebel invasion, their numerical force, what they were about and the probable point of their first ground attack."[47] He detailed his trip from Harrisburg by carriage to Gettysburg. As he arrived in Gettysburg, locals were fleeing, rebel cavalry had taken over a local commissary store, and he was captured and questioned for two hours because he was believed to be a confederate recruit. He was released and left Gettysburg, but then was mistakenly arrested by the citizens in a nearby town as a rebel spy who wanted to hang him without a judge or jury. They finally let him return to Harrisburg, accompanied by the two citizens who later released him when they found out he was a reporter. He accomplished his goal of ascertaining facts and numerical force, reporting cavalry, troop numbers and movements and artillery. By July 3rd, the *New York Herald* started to report on the first day of fighting at Gettysburg; it mentioned wounded officers and the excellent fighting of Yankee forces. There were two other *Herald* correspondents sent to Gettysburg that day who submitted dispatches as well. One correspondent stated that we "fell back to a position south of the town cemetery… The battle of today was well fought. We had 22,000 against 50 thousand… General Howard

[43] "News From Vicksburg," *New York Herald,* June 19, 1863.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.
[46] "The Invasion. Withdrawal of the Rebels from the Susquehanna, *"New York Herald,* July 1, 1863.
[47] "The Invasion. The Army of the Potomac. Visit inside the Rebel lines.," *New York Herald,* July 2, 1863.

distinguished himself for bravery and composure while directing the details of the battle. The eleventh corps did more than all others… It lost 3,000 men."[48]

On July 8th, the *Herald* informed the northern public of the victory at Vicksburg and the terms of surrender:

> "The Surrender of Vicksburg is the most important feature of the war today. It was consummated on Saturday the 4th of July – an auspicious time for the realization of another triumph of the Union and the flag. Gen. Pemberton offered on that morning to surrender if his troops were permitted to march out. Gen. Grant refused to accept any conditions: an absolute surrender of the garrison as prisoners of war was demanded. After a brief consultation with his officer, Gen. Pemberton surrendered unconditionally, and Vicksburg was ours, after a long and tedious siege."[49]

With this announcement coming later than one should expect given the nature of the victory, one wonders if all the news of Gettysburg was a priority at that time or if the delay was due to other geographical or dispatch delays. Five days earlier on July 3rd, there was only mention of the discontent of the rebel forces in Vicksburg, so this news of surrender, although delayed to the North was incredibly exciting. The text went on to describe the late operations of the battle from "our army correspondents on the spot" and to provide two maps of Vicksburg. "The voices of the people as well as the bells and cannon testified to the delight experienced by the fall of the Western rebel Gibraltar," proclaimed the *Herald*.[50] In Washington a celebratory demonstration occurred and the president, Secretary of State William Seward, Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, and General Henry Halleck addressed the people. The article ends with details of post Gettysburg conflicts with the Confederate forces now waiting to cross the flooded Potomac.

As the preceding Union reports reveal, the North most often received news directly from the military officers and Secretary Stanton, correspondents at the battles, and/or those acting as spies, or from officers at the scene; they strove to report details and facts and to authenticate information and correct rumors. Southern reporters were challenged by continuing losses in the Vicksburg siege, including the fall of Jackson to the North with the loss of Jackson's newspaper office and telegraph lines, as well as reliance on Confederate soldiers and a lack of access to military leaders and distrust of northern news reports. They thus focused their reporting on sustaining southern morale. With great reluctance to admit any defeat, they focused on their limited successes despite lost battles; southern newspapers fanned optimism, always appealing to valor in their citizens and commanders. In expressing confidence in their full success and impending victory, they created propaganda to inspire the South in the face of growing losses.

The battles of Gettysburg and Vicksburg were key conflicts in the war between the North and South, both of which were important for different reasons. The previously cited news reports and analysis demonstrate very meaningful differences between northern and southern media. Southern news reports were delayed at times due to reasons unique to the South. These reports tended to be more optimistic despite their losses. The South placed greater focus on their chivalry, the valor of their men, and the cause of the Sou: a battle to "save" their culture. They were overly optimistic and emphasized their limited successes, union losses, and the North's barbarity.

In contrast to the South, northern papers and their correspondents were better equipped to wire the news. They were focused specifically on details and facts. Numerous variables may have

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[48] "The Invasion. The Battle of Gettysburg. Despatch of J.H. Vosburg. From Gettysburg.," *New York Herald,* July 3, 1863.
[49] "The Situation," *New York Herald,* July 8, 1863.
[50] Ibid.

also contributed to the North's military intelligence advantage. There were more instances in which northern reporters were in close proximity to the battles. These reporters also had a more congenial relationship with military leaders. As a result of these factors, news circulated quickly and accurately in Union territory. Overall, northern news reporting had a more realistic and cautious outlook on the war effort. These unique differences in reporting the battles, particularly Vicksburg and Gettysburg, may very well have reflected and confirmed the different and distinct social and economic cultures of the North and the South during the Civil War.

The Political Causes of the Korean War
Noah Ferren

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You will never find another time filled with such jubilee and celebration than the end of World War II. The Allied powers soundly defeated the Axis powers. The world was finally at peace. Unfortunately, it only lasted for about five years, thanks to rising tensions in Asia. Prior to World War II, the Korean Peninsula had chaffed under the rule of the Japanese. For 35 years, Japan worked to annihilate Korean culture. Japan forbade the speaking and teaching of Korean in all schools; manual labor was fiercely imposed and fealty to the emperor was expected. The Japanese also outlawed the Korean flag in an attempt to wipe out Korean culture. Korea suffered until the Soviet Union declared war on Japan and forced them out of Korea. This development concerned the United States, which feared communist Russia would corrupt Korea. In response, America set up a friendly government in the southern portion of Korea whilst Russia claimed the north. The Korean War was caused by rising political tension not only between the North and South, but also between the United States and Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union had just liberated North Korea from the unendurable rule of the Japanese. In 1945, many Japanese troops fled south past the 38th parallel, seeking safety from the extremely large Soviet army. Finally free, elated Koreans in the north soon learned why the Japanese were so afraid of the Soviet army. "Although the Soviet troops' behavior did not reach same scale of violence that it did in Manchuria, the Twenty-fifth Army conducted its fair share of rapes, beatings, murders, and looting that marked the advance of Soviet armies into enemy territory"[1] wrote historian Allan Millett. "The Soviet army moved through Korea acting as if the land had become theirs by right, which had some credence from a certain point of view. Even so, up to 80,000 Korean and Japanese were killed, with 400,000 shipped off to Siberia to work in labor camps from which 95,000 survivors eventually returned."[2] While the Soviet commanders had managed to take control of their troops, similar atrocities, such as the rapes, beatings, murders, and looting, were still being committed. A great feeling of disdain marked the rest of Soviet rule of the North Korean people. The Soviets even went so far as to lie to the Joint American-Soviet Commission on Korea, claiming "[t]he Soviet Union has a keen interest in Korea being a true democracy and an independent country friendly to the Soviet Union so that in the future it will not become a base for an attack on the Soviet Union."[3] Based on how the Soviets treated the Koreans and their own citizens, this response can be taken as a half-truth by the representative of the Joint American-Soviet Commission on Korea. The blatant manner in which the Russians manipulated the Korean economy for their own purposes is just one more factor in the anti-Soviet feeling. The Russians would "remove" many Korean resources, such as iron and grains, whilst giving no compensation in return, hurting an already damaged, struggling economy. All this was authorized by the man Soviet Russia put in power, Kim Il Sung.

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[1] Allan R. Millett, *The War for Korea: 1945-1950: a House Burning* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2005), 49.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Robert R. Simmons, *The Strained Alliance: Peking, Pyongyang, Moscow, and the Politics of the Korean Civil War* (New York, NY: Free Press, 1975), 21.

When Korea split almost in half in 1945, it was the 38th parallel that marked that division. The North would belong to the Soviet sphere, while the South would be occupied by the United States. The parallel was meant to be just a temporary dividing line, useful only until a stronger agreement could be made. However, it was not the only reason the boundary line was established. "Korea would provide an interesting and important test of Soviet willingness to cooperate and to abide by agreements – which was, after all, the fundamental issue that was precipitating the Cold War," claims T.I. Han, a Korean War veteran and former POW.[4] Thankfully, the Soviet army did stop at the 38th parallel, thereby proving how cooperative they were willing to be in their pursuit of land and resources.

An important character to this tale would be that of the South Korean President Syngman Rhee. The reign of President Rhee saw suppression of political enemies, autocratic leadership and the severe treatment of anything viewed as remotely communist. This is best seen in the Jeju Island incident of 1948, where he brutally put down an uprising of socialists. At the end of the day there were an estimated 14,373 casualties, with both sides suffering but none more than the Workers' Party of South Korea. Rhee's leadership was perilous for South Korea, as best seen in the Korean War armistice dealings. He was strongly against any sort of end to the conflict and truly showed it in his criticism of Britain, which he held responsible for the removal of General MacArthur. Rhee wanted the country reunited at all costs under his rule.

In the years 1948 and 1949, there were two insurgencies which arose in South Korea, backed by the ever-antagonistic North. The first was due to the direct action of North Korea, which also engaged, at that time, with the South in an undeclared border war. However, the South Korean Army was well prepared in counterinsurgency tactics and was also aided by a few hundred American military advisors. With these factors, the insurgency was put down swiftly. Unfortunately, 8,000 South Korean police and military units died halting the insurgency and dealing with clashes at the border. The insurgency would come back in 1949 when guerilla fighters in the mountains, directly supported by North Korean commandos, would increase attacks on the ROKA (Republic of Korea Army). The ROKA proved greater fighters and denied any sort of safety to the People's Guerilla Units, prompting the North to send in even more troops to lend aid. This brought the number of KPA (Korean People's Army) within South Korea, up to an even 3,000 in the beginning of 1950. Even so, the ROKA forces proved more than a match and would put down the insurgency. Despite the obvious loss, Kim Il Sung saw this as a perfect time to attack, perceiving the South as weakened by the multiple insurgencies.

The question of who began initial hostilities is not an easy one to answer. "Transmit all this to Kim Il Sung and tell him that I am ready to help him in this matter," Stalin telegrammed in late January 1950, to Terenty Shtykov, a Soviet politician and ambassador to Korea.[5] While the Soviet Union did not take an active role in the conflict, Korea did acquire their blessing and support to forcefully reunite North Korea with South Korea under Kim Il Sung's regime. "To inform about their intentions about unifying the country by military means and to report about the results of the discussions on this question in Moscow," is how Ambassador Shtykov described the purpose of a May 1950 meeting with Kim Il Sung.[6] Obviously, Kim Il Sung had nothing but bad intentions towards the Republic of Korea (South Korea). In order to act on these intentions, he needed two of the most powerful countries on their side. With aid from China and the Soviet Union there was no way the Democratic Republic of Korea (North Korea) could fail in a forcible reunification of Korea

[4] T.I. Han, *The Lonesome Hero: A Memoir of a Korea War POW* (Bloomington, IN: Author's House, 2011), 132.

[5] Stalin to Shtykov, January 31, 1950, Wilson Center Digital Archive, "TELEGRAM FROM STALIN TO SHTYKOV," 1950Wilson Center Digital Archive, accessed December 12, 2020, https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/112136.

[6] "CIPHERED TELEGRAM, SHTYKOV TO VYSHINSKY," nd, Wilson Center Digital Archive, accessed December 12, 2020, https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/112980.

as a whole. "Kim Il Sung welcomed the Year of the Tiger by asking the Soviets for more guns and the Chinese for more men," explained Allen R. Millett.[7] Clearly, the North Koreans were raring to go to war.

At the time of the Korean War, communism appeared on the rise. Chinese revolutionaries had recently emerged triumphant, and America was afraid that communism could and would spread to more countries. "In these circumstances the occupation of Formosa by Communist forces would be a direct threat to the security of the Pacific area and to the United States forces performing their lawful and necessary functions in that area" said President Harry S. Truman in a statement issued on June 27, 1950.[8] So, in an effort to stem the spread of communism, Truman decided to protect South Korean interests by fighting against the forces from the north. The president even went so far as to convince the United Nations to also intervene on the behalf of the South Koreans, which they soon did. The ruling majority of the United Nations agreed with Truman on this matter and committed to doing whatever needed to be done so save South Korea. The reason for all this was due to the Truman administration's stance on communism. The White House felt that the best policy toward communism, especially concerning the Soviet Union, was to contain it and stop its spread. Truly, the United States was not extremely concerned with South Korea at all, attempting to distance themselves from the South Korean government. "In a still controversial speech delivered to the National Press Club on 12 January, Secretary of State Dean Acheson seemed to exclude the ROK from the American defense perimeter in Asia," historian John Merrill writes.[9] This quote shows that the U.S. was far less concerned with South Korea itself, and far more interested in stopping communism. The administration at the time seemed to favor their own policies toward communism, and their reputation above the needs of the South Koreans. Acheson's reasoning "had little to do with Korea's strategic value, and everything to do with American prestige and political economy: 'prestige is the shadow cast by power,' he [Acheson] once said, and the North Koreans had challenged it; American credibility was therefore at stake," explained historian Bruce Cumings.[10] Either way you slice it, the United States had little immediate stake in Korea, other than enforcing their policies and keeping their reputation as a superpower.

Mao Zedong, the Chinese leader, felt very favorably toward the North Korean plight and even provided them with aid in their reunification attempt. "Mao Zedong connected the proposed meeting with the question of the unification of Korea, indicating in this regard that if there is a concrete plan for the unification of Korea, then the meeting should be organized secretly [not openly], but if there is not yet such a plan for unification of Korea, then the meeting with Kim Il Sung can be conducted officially," reported a Pyongyang official on a meeting attended by Mao.[11] The Chinese appeared ready for a secret meeting to explore movement against South Korea.

This relationship between North Korea and China was one of the largest contributing factors to the Korean War. Originally, the Chinese government had no plans to enter the war even though they were aware of said war. They did not foresee the United States involving themselves in it either. That all changed when word reached them of American aid to the South Koreans. Mao swiftly made up his mind and decided that Washington's true goal was to threaten China. China had no idea that the reason for U.S. involvement was more about posterity and less about a future offensive on China.

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[7] Allan R. Millett, *The War for Korea: 1945-1950: a House Burning* (Univ. Press of Kansas, 2005), 243

[8] Wilson Center Digital Archive, "STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT, TRUMAN ON KOREA," Wilson Center Digital Archive, accessed December 12, 2020, https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/116192.

[9] John Merrill, *Korea; the Peninsular Origins of the War* (London: Associated Univ. Pr., 1989), 166.

[10] Bruce Cumings, *The Korean War: A History* (New York, USA: Random House Publishing Group, 2011), 12.

[11] "CIPHERED TELEGRAM, SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE ALEKSEI IGNATIEFF IN PYONGYANG TO VYSHINSKY," nd, Wilson Center Digital Archive, accessed December 13, 2020, https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/110684.

The Korean war was a selfish war that happened mainly because of Kim Il Song's wish to reunite the two sides of Korea through force. With the blessing of the Soviet Union and the support of China, North Korea could have very well succeeded with their goals, if not for the intervention of the Truman Administration, which saw themselves as the white knight of the situation. Washington feared the spread of communism could one day make it to U.S. shores and threaten the freedoms and rights that we enjoy to this day. America's involvement was also to answer North Korea's perceived challenge to the reputation of America. If America could not defend a country as small and somewhat inconsequential as South Korea, then how could they be trusted to protect other allies or their own borders when called on? For Russia, the Korean war was nothing but advantageous. North Korea was already a satellite country used for resources. If Kim Il Sung succeeded in uniting the two halves of Korea, then that only meant more resources for the Soviet Union. If the North failed, then there is no great loss, as the Soviet Union would still go on. China's involvement was a bit more complicated as the People's Republic only entered for fear of invasion from the United States. Otherwise, while they supported Kim's decision to unify Korea through military force, they were content to let North Korea handle their own business. All in all, the Korean War resulted from the rising tension between the Northern and Southern sides of Korea in the larger context of deep animosity between America and the Soviet Union.

Popular Music vs. Parents of the 1980's: The PMRC's Crusade for Decency
Brandon Alcozer

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Among a sea of suits and serious politicians, a man sat at a Capitol Hill hearing dressed in a black tank top and denim, sporting a generous head of long hair. The outsider was none other than Dee Snider, front man of the rock band Twisted Sister. The Senate Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation gathered that day to examine the content and lyrics of the then-unregulated music industry.[1] Concerned parents, such as activist Tipper Gore, wife of a US senator, demanded a rating system to protect children and teens from the violent, depraved, sexual, and even occult content in pop, heavy metal, and rock music.

Parents of the 1980s faced a decision that every generation of parents must make: At what form of youth entertainment should they clutch their pearls? In the past, novels, comic books, television, and movies acted as the controversial content which allegedly aimed to corrupt entire generations. The reason that popular music became a parental punching bag is that 1980s America saw a resurgence of conservative values, as economic neoliberalism and Ronald Reagan stood firm in Washington D.C. for almost a decade. This ideal America celebrated a nuclear family who went to church, played football, and paid taxes while giving Uncle Sam a thumbs up. The lyrics of popular music hardly promoted those values. In fact, according to some parents, it promoted the complete opposite.

As outrage amongst parents became widespread, the wives of Washington politicians forged the Parents Music Resource Center (PMRC).[2] An integral member of the PMRC, Tipper Gore, just so happened to be the spouse all of Senator (and later vice president) Albert Gore, Jr. (D-TN), who sat on the Senate Subcommittee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation— the very committee that oversaw the congressional hearing. This conflict of interest led to questions of bias that plagued the legitimacy of the hearing and provided the music industry with a convenient villain in Tipper Gore.

The PMRC decided to build a strong and damning mixtape that contained what they deemed the worst of the worst music. The organization dubbed the sick and twisted set list "The Filthy Fifteen"; it featured tunes spanning the genres of hard rock, metal, and pop.[3] Lyrics to these songs referenced alcohol use, drug use, sex, violence, or occult material. The PMRC then used their own proprietary rating system to exemplify how the music should be labeled. The rating system created by the PMRC was very broad and did not differentiate between mere allusion and blatant reference in lyrics to topics such as sex, drugs, and alcohol. For example, a Cyndi Lauper song titled "She Bop*"* drew criticism for the lyric, "They say I should stop or I'll go blind," loosely referencing the

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[1] *Record Labeling: Hearing before the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation, United States Senate, Ninety-Ninth Congress, First Session, on Contents of Music and the Lyrics of Records.* Washington: 19 September 1985. http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.b5178636.

[2] Jay Cocks, Richard Stengel, and Denise Worrell, "Rock is a Four-Letter Word: A Senate Committee Asks: Have the Lyrics Gone Too Far?" *TIME Magazine* 126, no. 13 (September 30, 1985): 70.

[3] Eric Nuzum, *Parental Advisory: Music Censorship in America* (New York: HarperCollins, 2001), 20-21.

old wives' tale that masturbation leads to blindness.[4] The sexual content of many suspect songs was so veiled in innuendo that children and young teens may not have understood them. On the opposite end of the spectrum from "She Bop," Prince's "Darling Nikki," was flagged for the lyrics: "I guess you could say she was a sex fiend/I met her in a hotel lobby/Masturbating with a magazine." Obviously, this content was much more forward than that in "She Bop."[5] Yet both songs earned the same label for sexual content even though the degrees of their "violation" were completely different.

During congressional hearing artists pointed out similar flaws in the PMRC's argument. Snider objected to the inclusion of the song "We're Not Gonna Take It" on the "Filthy Fifteen" list since the lyrics make no reference to violence. The only content that could be misconstrued as violent related to the rejection of authority. Snider asserted that his inclusion on the list related to the cartoon violence portrayed in the song's music video, which drew inspiration from classic Looney Tunes cartoons.[6] This then raised the issue of whether the PMRC should weigh music videos in rating the audio content of albums. Snider drove a hole straight through claims that contents of audio recordings were being scrutinized by the PMRC and the senate committee. As Snider clearly stated in his testimony, he was asked to appear at the hearing to discuss, "the subject of the content of certain sound recordings and suggestions that recording packages be labeled to provide a warning to prospective purchasers," not music videos.[7]

Artists who testified, including Snider, John Denver, and Frank Zappa, issued an overarching objection to implementing a rating system for music on the basis of protection of free speech. Zappa went as far as reading aloud the First Amendment in his testimony to support his claims that government-imposed regulations would qualify as unconstitutional censorship.[8] The PMRC initially pushed for self-regulation by the music industry, but after the Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA) refused to regulate albums, the PMRC pushed for government regulation. The idea of government involvement in music's ratings inspired fear in artists and others who worked in the music industry. Zappa included a slippery-slope argument. "The establishment of a rating system, voluntary or otherwise, opens the door to an endless parade of moral quality control programs based on things certain Christians don't like," he claimed.[9]

Obscenity laws exist in the United States, but they are very difficult to enforce. Asked to define pornography, Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart responded, "I know it when I see it."[10] This vagueness could be dangerous for artists. Were metaphors allowed? Could a song be misinterpreted? Denver spoke about his song "Rocky Mountain High" being misunderstood by listeners as a narrative about getting high on illegal drugs.[11] In a somewhat odd way Record Industry of Association of America (RIAA) President Stanly Gortikov partially stood with artists on the grounds that, "standards, precise standards, cannot be developed for language."[12] Artist intention and listener interpretation can be completely different, so what interpretation was to be rated? It is not hard to imagine that music labeled as "explicit" would become more difficult to obtain like other age-restricted materials. This could potentially hurt the pocketbook of recording artists and companies.

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[4] Cyndi Lauper, "She Bop," Track 5 on *She's So Unusual*, Sony Music Entertainment, 1983, vinyl.

[5] Prince and the Revolution, "Darling Nikki," Track 5 on *Purple Rain*, NPG Records Inc., 1984, vinyl.

[6] U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation. *Contents of Music and the Lyrics of Record*. 99th Congress. First Session. September 19, 1985. 74.

[7] Congressional Hearing, 73-74.

[8] Congressional Hearing, 52.

[9] Congressional Hearing, 54.

[10] Jacobellis v. Ohio, 378 U.S., 184 (1964)

[11] Congressional Hearing, 65.

[12] Congressional Hearing, 111.

Between 1985 and 1986 with the rise of the PMRC and the more general "Satanic Panic" of the late 1970s to early 1990s, American parents worried about a number of changes in popular culture. Many of these concerns reflected what the PMRC was flagging and wanting to regulate: drug and alcohol use, sexual content, occult material, and language. Music had changed over time. If a hypothetical parent were in their 40s when their child was a teenager, this would place the parent in their teenage years during the 1950s or 1960s. This was undoubtably a time period where music thrived and evolved. Elvis was controversial for how he danced on stage. "The King" was outrageous at the time, but later would be considered tame. Senator Paula Hawkins (R-FL) complained in the 1980s that "[s]ubtleties, suggestions, and innuendo have given way to overt expressions and descriptions."[13] Part of the reason artists such as Elvis were controversial in the 1950s was because they introduced "subtleties, suggestions and innuendo" about topics that were not widely discussed in music. It sounds as if Hawkins had no issue with controversial artists when they were preaching to her in her younger years. Because there had been a generational shift, and parents had to confront the natural evolution of what their teenage music started.

An argument could be made that even prior to the PMRC, parental concerns about the occult in music existed. New forms of music are usually met with backlash by older individuals. Rock music was sometimes labeled "devil music" at one point. Interestingly, a music legend linking the occult to the blues predated rock and roll. Legendary musician Robert Johnson was so skilled with his guitar that people believe that he sold his soul to the devil for mastery of the instrument.[14] Decades before pentagrams and goat heads adorned album covers, it was thought the devil enjoyed influencing our music. The PMRC's concern about the occult might not have been new, but rather renewed.

For the movie industry, the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA) created a system in 1968 under which films were given ratings that prescribed what age audience should view a film. Initially, G, PG, and R were the three common ratings and they stood for general audience, parental guidance, and restricted.[15] General audience meant anyone could watch, and parental guidance suggested that children should be accompanied by parents. Lastly, restricted meant that only individuals who are 17 or older were recommended to watch the film. By the 1980s, it was apparent that that system had become obsolete and needed to be amended to adhere to the conservative wave that fell on America. A new rating, PG-13, was designed specifically for teenagers. The new rating acknowledged that teenagers are more mature than children and could handle mild amounts of blood, violence, swearing, and suggestive content. While recommending federal censorship of music to protect children and teens, the PMRC neglected to mention the fact that the movie rating system they so commonly referenced already had acknowledged teenagers' higher level of maturity than children.

The rating system used by the MPAA had critics similar to the PMRC. Despite the lack of a single organized pressure group, parents objected to the MPAA's rating system not being subjective enough. Over time it became apparent that the lines between the ratings had "crept" forward, allowing more mature material in lower rated films.[16] G rated films, which previously did not allow any violence whatsoever, had begun to incorporate small amounts. A popular critic of film and film rating was columnist Roger Ebert, who pointed to the fact that cultural bias unfairly skewed the rating of films.[17] He believed that in America there existed "an undue sensitivity to sexual content

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[13] Congressional Hearing, 6.

[14] Bruce Conforth and Gayle Wardlow, *Up Jumped the Devil: The Real Life of Robert Johnson* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2019).

[15] Jason K. Albosta, "Dr. Strange-Rating or: How I Learned That the Motion Picture Association of America's Film Rating System Constitutes False Advertising," *Vanderbilt Journal of Entertainment & Technology Law* 12, no. 1 (Fall 2009): 126.

[16] Ibid, 129.

[17] Albosta, "Dr. Strange- Rating," 129.

and complacency with violence," seeing that strong violence could be in a PG-13 film but any nudity earned an R rating.[18]

Comic book regulations are a bit different than film regulations. The 1954 implementation of the Comics Code Authority (CCA), a board that censored comics for American youths, had a negative impact on the industry.[19] Before the code was implemented, some of the most popular comic book series were noir-style detective comics (the genre, not the publisher) and horror comics. The subject matter of said comics is what triggered the entire medium of comics to be closely monitored and scrutinized by parents and regulating bodies. Censorship initially focused on removing bloody and grotesque imagery within horror comics. A few years later, bombastic superhero comics had their powers depleted with rules against killing any characters. Supervillains, who were allowed to kill in the past, were defanged and made annoying pranksters or bullies.

Comic publishers went along with the regulation because retailers would only sell comics with a stamp of approval from the CCA.[20] The fear that musical artists held about music with mature ratings being unfairly blocked from sale was justified. The PMRC did not mention this because the CCA had achieved their goal of scrubbing the comic industry into a squeaky-clean product. As a result of this cleaning, the noir and horror comic genres "died" for nearly a decade and the comics market crashed.[21]

Another point that helps the music industry's case was the rollback of the CCA. This started in the late 1970s but became widely accepted in the 1980s. Retailers sold if books without a CCA stamp of approval in an attempt to meet consumer demand. Slowly, mainstream publishers released non-CCA-approved series with darker and more mature themes to great success. If the rating systems of other media made a better case for the music industry than the PMRC, a different rationale needed to be used to validate the position of the PMRC.

The artists testifying before Congress blamed poor parenting, not the music industry. While testifying, Dee Snider took a question from committee members about how he, as a parent, would monitor music his child listened to. In a very calm tone, Snider answered that it was quite easy to monitor. He suggested checking an album's cover art and track list, then listening to the music before giving it to the child in question.[22] His answer to a "crisis" that necessitated a congressional hearing was stunningly simple: music did not require formal regulation. Parents needed to be more involved and to put in more effort. A laissez-faire mindset of the era was incompatible with good parenting. Promoting that style of parenting while demanding the youth maintain conservative values only bred a paradox.

Every point that Snider made was valid. PIG parents complained that they had the right to raise their children as they saw fit, but they could not effectively do that because it would require too much effort for parents. The popular metal/rock band Iron Maiden best represents Snider's album art test. Iron Maiden's mascot, Eddie, has appeared on most of their album covers. Eddie typically appears as a long haired, zombified, humanoid monster brandishing a weapon or engaging in violent behavior. On the cover of the *Number of the Beast* album, Eddie is shown puppeteering a devil. If parents paid any attention to their child's record collection, an image like that should have raised red flags: it amounted to a warning label in and of itself.

The names of songs might have proven more difficult for parents to judge. In Eric Nuzum's book *Parental Advisory: Music Censorship in America,* a semi-valid argument is made about the Prince

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[18] Ibid, 129.

[19] Shawna Kidman, "Self-Regulation Through Distribution," *Velvet Light Trap: A Critical Journal of Film & Television*, no. 75 (Spring 2015): 21.

[20] Kidman, "Self-Regulation Through Distribution", 25.

[21] Ibid, 21.

[22] Congressional Hearing, 75-76.

song "Darling Nikki" that appeared on the "Filthy Fifteen." The song is on the soundtrack to *Purple Rain*, Prince's R-rated feature length film.[23] If the rating system that governed movies was the standard, why ignore the film's rating when purchasing a record including a song on its soundtrack? Granted, parents might not be familiar with Prince. The album art only suggests that he was a man who enjoyed motorcycles and purple suits. Still PMRC already had hopelessly tangled together music with film in the case of "We're Not Gonna Take It," which was rated for violence when only the music video contained violence, not the actual song. Little wonder parents were confused.

The type of content the PMRC wanted to label and potentially censor must be taken into account in order to assess their intentions. Popular music was under attack, not all of music. To go even broader, only music, not all of art was being curated for the sake of children. According to Nuzum, the PMRC "wanted to curb only the sex and violence that could be encountered by suburban white teenagers" and leave everything else alone.[24] Nuzum points out that opera, for example, would not be subject to ratings if new legislation or PMRC standards were adopted.[25] Opera is full of mature themes, including but not limited to sex and violence. To extend this argument even further, classical paintings of nude subjects hang in galleries around the globe. Children and teens may see that art or even be purposefully shown it by teachers or parents due to its cultural value.

Shortly after the congressional hearing, in early 1986, members of the punk-rock band The Dead Kennedys were arrested for violating a California obscenity law through "distribution of harmful material to minors." A poster that resembled genitalia had been packaged with the group's new album.[26] Interestingly, the poster was the work of famous and well-respected Swiss artist H.R. Giger, known in the world of high art for his provocative, sexual, and mechanical designs. Outside of the art world, Giger was better known for designing the xenomorph alien from the 1979 film *Alien*. The phallic and vaginal imagery present in the film and gallery collections were categorized as art and displayed as such. Put on the cover of a Dead Kennedys album, suddenly Giger's "art" was enough for band members to be arrested for distributing pornography to children. This of course raises the question of why parents and lawmakers were so upset with the artists when parents were apparently failing to stop their children from buying the content. The name of the band references the assassinations of a U.S. president and a presidential candidate, the title of the album is *Frankenchrist*, and a warning about the poster existed on the outside of the packaging. Again, these might have sufficed as warning labels. Apparently, however, these combined factors were still not enough.[27]

Another example of artistic favoritism is Shakespeare's ubiquitous presence in American high school curriculum. Shakespearian plays contain violence and occult material, just like the hard rock and heavy metal music that the PMRC attempted to censor. *Macbeth* best exemplifies the hypocrisy. In the play, the titular character is helped by three witches who foresaw his death through the practice of magic. In music, that would be grounds to earn the occult rating from the PMRC, but in a classroom, teens often were required to write an essay about the witches. At the end of the play Macbeth is killed by Macduff, despite the fact that the witches said "the power of man, for none of woman born" could kill Macbeth.[28] Macduff then reveals that he was cut out of his mother's womb rather than birthed; quite a violent ending and plot twist. Again, because *Macbeth* is a literary classic,

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[23] Nuzum, *Parental Advisory,* 14.

[24] Nuzum, *Parental Advisory*, 19.

[25] Ibid, 19.

[26] David Kennedy, "Frankenchrist versus the State: The New Right, Rock Music and the Case of Jello Biafra," *Journal of Popular Culture* 24, no. 1 (Summer 1990): 131.

[27] Ibid, 135.

[28] William Shakespeare, 1992. *Macbeth*. Wordsworth Classics. Ware, England: Wordsworth Editions.4.1. 91

its violence is applauded and considered a commentary of the human condition. If that violence took the form of song lyrics, however, sweeping censorship might have taken place. The PMRC never really addressed these glaring contradictions.

With the Senate congressional hearings and the PMRC gaining attention, despite presenting an argument that had more holes in it than Swiss cheese, the music industry did the logical thing: in 1990, it slapped warning stickers on albums with controversial content. That's right, the industry folded of their own accord.[29] The federal government did not get involved because of the decision to self-regulate, but artists were still concerned. They were uncertain if the warning stickers would bring on social sanctions and stigmatize their work without government oversight. Over the course of the next several years, the warning label evolved into the black and white "Parental Advisory" symbol that exists to this very day.[30] Songs were not individually flagged for specific types of content as proposed by the PMRC if that, but rather given the broad label of "explicit."

After the label was well established, retail powerhouse Wal-Mart decided to do something bolder. In order to maintain a clean, family-friendly reputation, Wal-Mart decided to not sell any records branded with the modern music equivalent to the scarlet letter right after the concept was adopted.[31] This decision did not kill off entire genres as when the Comics Code Authority devastated noir and horror comics, but there was definitely a shift in the market. Popular artists started to sanitize their product so that it could be released in Wal-Mart stores across the country.[32]

The real question at hand is why the music industry bent its knee rather than standing and fighting. The answer is obvious to anyone who studies money and politics. Throughout the 1980s, various governmental agencies such as the Federal Communication Commission (FCC) were cautious and weary of cable television's increasing popularity. The more popular cable television became, the more popular MTV became. The ties between MTV and popular music put the music industry on the government's short list of potential corporate targets. After the parental advisory label became the standard, the Audio Home Recording Act of 1992 placed a tax on home recording equipment, which would in turn discourage music piracy.[33] The act passed in 1992 but had been in development since the congressional hearings were taking place back in 1985. One could only speculate that the decision to self-regulate was an attempt to ingratiate the music industry with the federal government in order to protect its intellectual property.

At the end of the day, the introduction of the parental advisory label did not have the catastrophic consequences that artists of the mid 1980s feared. Music was not purged of its undesirable characters and acts for the sake of the safety of America's youth. If anything, an argument could be made that the PMRC ultimately failed even though the music industry forfeited the battle. Compared to popular music of 2022 the "explicit" content found in the songs from the "Filthy Fifteen" appear quite tame. The line between high art and low art continues to blur in regard to popular music. American rapper Kendrick Lamar released his *DAMN* album in 2017 to critical acclaim. The album won a Pulitzer Prize despite having a Parental Advisory sticker on the cover. This is certainly a far cry from Wal-Mart refusing to sell albums with parental advisory labels because the music was "dirty."

In the years that followed the PMRC's attempt to censor popular music, media attention shifted to a new enemy of common decency and family values: video games. Unfortunately, that

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[29] "Topic of the Times: A Sufficient Warning," *New York Times*, 7 April 1990.

[30] Ian Christe, *Sound of the Beast: The Complete Headbanging History of Heavy Metal* (New York: Harper Entertainment, 2003), 124.

[31] Ibid, 124.

[32] "Wal-Mart: Pop Culture Gatekeeper?" PBS NewsHour, August 20, 2004, https://www.pbs.org/newshour/economy/business-july-dec04-wal-mart_08-20.

[33] Christe, *Sound of the Beast*, 124-126.

situation prompted its own history and congressional hearing. Another congressional hearing against a new form of entertainment has yet to emerge, but it will come. Looking back at the record of history informs that statement. The only thing to do is wait until America is presented with another controversial source of entertainment.

Indigenous Resistance to Cultural Erasure: Powwows and Dance
Mason Grimes

Mason Grimes is a senior undergraduate history major from Champaign, IL. He wrote this paper for Edmund Wehrle's HIS 2500: Historical Research and Writing course. He thanks to his friends and his parents for supporting him through long nights of research and work.

It is no secret that the Indigenous Peoples of North America have faced generations of oppression under colonialism and its legacy. Indigenous populations and their cultures have survived residential schools, forced relocation onto reservations, cruel government policies, and a plethora of other tactics designed to oppress and erase them. In this struggle, powwows provided an essential tool of resistance through which Native Americans turned proactive preservation of culture into celebration of culture.

No universally accepted, "correct" term can be applied to an entire population. Historically, "Indian" is a legal term, but it has fallen out of favor as time passes. The safest approach is simply calling people what they call themselves, though, and "Indigenous" is a broad term used to refer to many groups and cultures. Indigenous is also capitalized in this study, for the same reason that words like Spanish and American are capitalized— a sign of respect. The term Peoples is also pluralized and capitalized because it is meant to recognize that there are a number of cultural groups of people comprising Indigenous America, and these groups are not a monolith. Because sources vary, many scholars of Indigenous Peoples begin their works with small disclaimers, and so I have decided to follow their examples.

Essential to understanding practices like powwows and various dances, which seek to preserve culture, is recognizing the oppression and erasure that made such preservation efforts necessary. This earlier chapter of history provides the backdrop upon which powwows and dances were contextualized and constructed— the foundation of the metaphorical house.

In the mid-late 19th century, the United States government ran residential/boarding schools intended to reform Indigenous children, forcing them to assimilate into white American culture. Authorities removed children from their homes and families by force and subjected them to abuse, "substandard living conditions, and poor medical care" at these schools.[1] Schools forbade "students" from speaking their native languages, forced them to cut their braids off and go by "white" names, and forced them to convert to Christianity. The list of atrocities goes on— girls locked in dorms overnight, corporal punishment, sexual abuse, and so on and so forth. Colonel Richard Henry Pratt founded the best-known of these schools, the Carlisle Indian School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Here, the infamous term, "kill the Indian, save the man" was coined.[2] The very last schools did not close until the late twentieth century, after an estimated 180,000 children were

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[1] "Native American Boarding Schools," *The Library of Congress,* accessed December 10, 2020, https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/native-american-boarding-schools/.

[2] "Boarding Schools," *Northern Plains Reservation Aid,* American Indian Relief Council, accessed December 10th, 2020, http://www.nativepartnership.org/site/PageServer?pagename=airc_hist_boardingschools.

subjected to them.[3] Children who survived these residential schools and other members of their generation would eventually grow up to help invent a new tool of resistance— the powwow.

Cheyenne dancers performing the Omaha dance at a Montana powwow in 1891. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

The term "powwow" refers to events held by Indigenous communities to celebrate their cultures, activities generally including traditional dancing, singing, socializing, the exchange of goods, et cetera. These events are, for the most part, not exclusive to any tribe— meaning, the majority of powwows are open to many different tribes, as well as non-Indigenous attendees. This application of a "wider Indian identity, as opposed to one based on local, tribal affiliations" is sometimes called "pan-Indianism."[4]

Interestingly, the term originally referred to something completely different. While the consensus among scholars is not complete, it is generally believed that the term "powwow" or "pow-wow" comes from Narragansett, a member of "the Algonquian language family of the northeastern United States and Canada."[5] In Narragansett, *"pau wau"* roughly means "he/she dreams," and the term was picked up by German immigrants in the mid-1600s who came across tribes who spoke Algonquian languages.[6] Folk-healers from European societies gravitated toward Indian healing practices. They adopted the term *pau wau* as a reference to the use of herbal remedies. White proponents of folk medicine were often called "pow-wow doctors" or "Indian healers," and they marketed concoctions famously made up of alcohol and narcotics.[7]

So-called medicine shows following the Civil War traveled across the United States with "bands of 'real-live Indians,'" and so "the use of dancing in tandem with pow-wow doctors resulted in the term pow-wow being associated with the concept of 'Indians dancing.'"[8]

As for the specific origins of the powwow itself, historians and Indigenous Peoples alike are unable to agree.[9] Digging up and presenting every possibility would be an astronomical undertaking, and even then, it would simply be impossible to hunt down every single one. This is due in part to the slight differences between northern style and southern style powwows and their gradual evolution. The powwow did not simply spring into existence overnight— rather, it evolved slowly from other public dances and celebrations. These changes were largely prompted by the United

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[3] Gretchen Millich, "Survivors of Indian Boarding Schools Tell Their Stories," *WKAR Public Media,* Michigan State University Broadcasting Services, accessed December 10, 2020, https://www.wkar.org/post/survivors-indian-boarding-schools-tell-their-stories.

[4] Charlotte Heth, *Native American Dance: Ceremonies and Social Traditions,* (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of the American Indian Smithsonian Institution, 1993): 115.

[5] Tara Browner, *Heartbeat of the People: Music and Dance of the Northern Pow-Wow* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2002): 19.

[6] Browner, 27.

[7] Browner, 27-28.

[8] Browner, 28.

[9] Browner, 19.

States government's efforts to destroy Indigenous celebrations as they existed previously by making them illegal.

With the Religious Crimes Code of 1883, Congress banned Indigenous dances and ceremonies with any perceived religious or spiritual significance. Authorities could "use force, imprisonment, and the withholding of rations to stop any cultural practices they deem immoral or subversive to… assimilation policies. Courts of Indian Offenses [were] created as well as Indian police forces… to replace Native governance."[10] This was only the beginning. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) continued to create oppressive "anti-dance" laws. Charles Burke, commissioner of the BIA from 1921-1929, issued the infamous 1921 Circular 1665 document against traditional Indigenous dances. He condemned dances for their supposed "acts of self-torture, immoral relations between the sexes, the sacrificial destruction of clothing or other useful articles, the reckless giving away of property, the use of injurious drugs or intoxicants, and frequent or prolonged periods of celebrations which bring the Indians together from remote points to the neglect of their crops, livestock, and home interest."[11] Burke demanded superintendents in 1923 "limit the duration of Indian dances and put a halt to certain 'degrading ceremonials'…"[12] Dancing could continue only clandestinely, hidden from the BIA's prying eyes or in a sanitized version performed largely for white audiences. Interestingly, in 1926, Commissioner Burke attended "the first large, intertribal, off-reservation pow-wow organized by Indians… The message he sent by this action was clear: Dancing for the entertainment of a white audience was acceptable, dancing for the purpose of religion on the reservation was not."[13]

Despite the suppression of powwows, not *all* dances went that way, as the government and BIA could not place equal pressure on all tribes. The Cherokee, Creek, and Seminole of Oklahoma for example were among tribes that experienced little dance-related opposition from the government. Meanwhile, the government cracked down so hard on some tribes, however, such as the Lakota, that members were unable to so much as leave the reservation without a pass from an "Indian agent."[14]

The harm Burke caused cannot be waived off as the product of ignorance or as an accident— he knew very well what he was doing. In 1924, the All Pueblo Council responded to Burke's "recent order denying them the right to instruct their children in their own religion," including dance as a part of that religion.[15] The religious importance of dance to Indigenous Peoples was no secret— in fact, in 1923, John Collier (a 1923 founder of the Indian Defense Association) wrote that "substantially all of the Indian dance-drama ceremonials are religious."[16] In the All Pueblo Council's response to Burke, the council directly stated, "there is no future for the Indian race if its religion is killed."[17] The council spelled out to Burke the possible repercussions of his oppressive approach, and yet the government's policies continued.

Commissioner Burke was absolutely not the only man responsible for legal oppression of Indigenous groups. Superintendent Ernest Stecker of the Kiowa Agency "threatened to withhold annuities" (money) from members of the Kiowa tribe who participated in "dances he deemed

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[10] "Religious Crimes Code of 1883 Bans Native Dances, Ceremonies," *Investing in Native Communities*, Native Americans in Philanthropy and Candid, accessed December 9, 2020, https://nativephilanthropy.candid.org/events/religious-crimes-code-of-1883-bans-native-dances-ceremonies/.

[11] Clyde Ellis, "'There Is No Doubt…the Dances Should Be Curtailed': Indian Dances and Federal Policy on the Southern Plains, 1880-1930," *Pacific Historical Review* 70, no. 4 (2001): 554.

[12] Browner, 29.

[13] Browner, 30.

[14] Browner, 29.

[15] Cash Asher, "Pueblo Indians Fear for Their Religion," *New York Times,* July 13, 1924.

[16] John Collier, letter to the editor, *New York Times,* December 16, 1923.

[17] Asher.

detrimental to their well-being."[18] Unfortunately, Stecker's successor, C. V. Stinchecum, actually did receive approval to go through with this withholding. He even telegrammed the BIA, causing it to "enforce its policy forbidding the Ghost Dance and the Gift Dance."[19] Ultimately, this caused the Kiowa "Ghost Dance ceremony to die out."[20] This was not the only dance to die as a result of oppression— another example is the Kiowa Sun Dance, which was "lost forever."[21] This created a degree of pressure for the formation of new dances, which would be realized later with the fancy dance.

It is disappointing, but not surprising, that the men like Stecker and Stinchecum, who were creating these policies for the supposed "good" of Indigenous Peoples, did so by their own personal and prejudiced standards. Instead of listening to the people their agencies were supposed to manage and learning about real problems that deserved attention, they invented problems that did not exist solely so that they could attempt to assimilate Indigenous Peoples into white American culture. Making decisions supposedly on the behalf of a marginalized group as if they did not know what is good for themselves is condescendingly racist at best. A particularly insulting statement along these lines came from United States Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work in 1924, in response to complaints from the public about Burke's policies. Work attempted to justify the policies by saying that certain Indigenous practices "appeal to lower animal emotions only" and "are against the laws of nature, or moral laws, and all who wish to perpetuate the integrity of their race must refrain from them."[22] Making statements that compare Indigenous Peoples to animals is completely inexcusable, especially for a government official, who should be expected at the very least to maintain a level of professionalism.

As a result of the cruel policies which held tight control over Plains tribes such as the Lakota, many Plains people had no source of income other than to dance for white audiences at Wild West shows (like Buffalo Bill's or Pawnee Bill's popular show) and county fairs.[23] Public dances not only offered Indigenous Peoples a source of income, but they created another point of communication for the fostering of understanding and support. Jonathan Buffalo, Meskwaki tribal historian, explains that "public events gave his people the chance 'to show the public that we were good Indians.'"[24] Furthermore, "the Meskwaki used the powwow to cultivate support for the Meskwaki community even as it shielded its most sacred rituals… from public view."[25] By increasing visibility and placing themselves in the public eye, dancers made their struggle harder to ignore.

Wild West shows were also the birthplace of fancy dancing, a dance style that powwows are known for today. The most popular show was Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, which toured from 1883 to 1913.[26] William F. Cody, better known as Buffalo Bill, himself insisted that he wanted his exhibitions to be educational, but he also encouraged Indigenous performers to invent new dances that did not traditionally exist. Audiences always loved to watch, and these new, especially flashy and athletic dances grabbed their attention in new ways. Cody asked dancers to "fancy it up," and thus, the fancy dance was born for entertainment.[27] These dancers probably developed the dance from a

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[18] Kracht, Benjamin R, "'It Would Break Our Hearts Not to Have Our Kiowas': War Dancing, Tourism, and the Rise of Powwows in the Early Twentieth Century," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 90, no. 3 (Fall 2012): 289.

[19] Kracht, "It would break our hearts," 290.

[20] Kracht, "Kiowa Powwows: Continuity in Ritual Practice." American Indian Quarterly 18, no. 3 (Summer 1994), 331.

[21] Kracht, "Kiowa Powwows."

[22] Clyde Ellis, *A Dancing People: Powwow Culture on the Southern Plains*, (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2003): 15.

[23] Browner, 29.

[24] Stephen Warren, "'To Show the Public That We Were Good Indians': Origins and Meanings of the Meskwaki Powwow," *American Indian Culture & Research Journal* 33, no. 4 (December 2009): 3.

[25] Warren, 9.

[26] Susan Leigh Foster, *Valuing Dance: Commodities and Gifts in Motion,* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2019): 125, 128.

[27] Michael John Simpson, "Powwow Dances," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (Historica Canada, March 31, 2016).

foundation of pre-reservation Omaha/Grass Dance styles.[28] Originally the fancy dance was only performed by men, but during the 1940s, women's fancy dancing or the Fancy Shawl Dance evolved as an offshoot of the men's dance.[29] Audiences "flocked" to the showing of Indigenous dances and customs, and "enthusiastically attended presentations by museum and exhibition directors who wanted to feature Native dances for the purpose of documentation and preservations," despite the BIA's disapproval of this preservation of history.[30]

Slowly, as the public gained more exposure to Indigenous culture, hope arose that positive change would come— and to some degree, it did. In 1924, the passage of the Indian Citizenship Act meant all Indigenous Peoples born in the United States were granted citizenship. Though this should have meant that they would also receive first amendment freedom of religion protections,

unfortunately, government policy on dances and ceremonies did not change until 1933. At that time, John Collier became commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs which marked a turning point in government policy.

Collier made religious dancing legal again, and "encouraged the revival of ancient dances that had previously been frowned upon as heathenism."[31] January 3rd, 1934, Collier issued Circular 2970, which called for "the fullest constitutional liberty" and "required the Indian Office to show an affirmative, appreciative attitude towards Indian cultural values," stating that "no interference with Indian religious life or ceremonial expression will hereafter be tolerated. The cultural identity of Indians is in all respects to be considered equal to that of any non-Indian group."[32] The purpose of powwows shifted, then. "No longer a spectacle for white entertainment, after World War II intertribal pow-wows grew out of community-serving veterans' homecoming celebrations."[33]

A Fancy Shawl dancer at the 2005 National Powwow. Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian.

The overall progress of Indigenous Peoples' rights to express their culture and spirituality through dance has been incredibly positive. Collier did not "fix" the issue of Indigenous oppression by passing a couple of laws, but the turning point in BIA policy that he helped to establish marked the difference between freedom and prison for many Indigenous dancers. Of course, there is still much work to be done for the equality and rights of the Indigenous Peoples of North America, but the creation and survival of the powwow over the past century is a wonderful representation of the gradual shift towards the appreciation and preservation of Indigenous cultures.

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[28] Browner, 19.
[29] Simpson.
[30] Foster, 124-125.
[31] Browner, 31.
[32] Ellis, 18.
[33] Browner, 31.

British Imperialism and the Rowlatt Acts: How Protests Shaped the Government in India from 1919-1920
By Audrey Hopper

Audrey Hopper is a junior and a first-year graduate student at Eastern Illinois University with majors in History. British Imperialism and the Rowlatt Acts received the first-place Social Sciences Writing Award at EIU in spring 2022. This was written for Professor Elder's research and writing class at EIU.

The subjects of India backed the United Kingdom in the great conflagration that was World War I. Most pragmatically saw their support as a route to political independence. After the war however, the British government imposed the Rowlatt Acts to keep British India under control. This legislation declared Indians charged with certain political offenses could be sentenced without a trial. Declaring martial law against the people of India, even though World War I had ended, sparked massive action against the imperial government. The subjects of India, from all different backgrounds and social standings, protested the acts and angrily deemed them unfair.

The perspectives of the individuals involved in this moment of history are crucial to understanding larger developments. They allow us to see how modern society has evolved. Rather than providing people the freedom they desired, British rule in India left its colonial subjects with few options other than protest. This led to many deaths.

The Rowlatt Acts severely compromised the civil rights of the people of India. Mass protests were the response—they represented millions of acts of individual resistance. Indians demanded civil liberties after World War I, but instead Imperial Britain imposed a new set of laws that restricted individual freedom. The Rowlatt Acts hardly served the best interest of the subjects of India, rather they aimed to serve the British Empire. The subjects of India, when faced with a law considered unfair, chose to band together and protest the Rowlatt Acts. By restricting rights, the British government sought to preserve the prized territory under its control, which had been under formal and informal rule for a long period of time at that point. India was a key center of trade for British trade since spices and other agricultural products could be produced in the region. Key Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council opposed the act. But instead of listening to opposition voices and not implementing the laws, the British government chose not to listen. Thus, further protests took place and led to a massacre. The most well-known of these massacres would later be called the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre or the Amritsar Massacre.

In reality, the United Kingdom could ill afford to lose Indian support. If the British were to lose India, then there would be dramatic financial and political losses. It was a known, but unstated reality that if the subjects of India were to act against the British, then imperial troops would invade, and a very strict martial law would be put into place. To act against the United Kingdom carried risks since the British government possessed one of the strongest militaries in the world, but for the people of India to accept the Rowlatt Acts would have been worse. Peaceful protests against the Rowlatt Acts were the best possible method, at the time, for the subjects under the rule of the British Raj to demonstrate how the civilians felt about the actions of the British Raj and to repeal the Rowlatt Acts.

The Amritsar Massacre is one of the most well-known and bloodiest episodes in history. It demonstrated how the subjects of India felt about the Rowlatt Acts. The protest, organized by Mahatma Gandhi for the Indian people, was designed to start and end peacefully. Yet, it turned brutally violent when British troops arrived on the scene and fired upon the crowd. The East India Company's record of the Punjab district stated that the people in Amritsar gathered peacefully and were subdued violently since British officials were on edge after the Rowlatt Acts were implemented. Imperial officials believed the protesters would turn against them, so they felt that the protesters must be crushed.[1] The report also claimed that protesters began peacefully but then began to loot the bank in Amritsar rather than just leaving. Despite the looting, the people of India appeared to be acting in a way that they thought would help them gain respect and have their protest taken seriously. Indians knew they were not stronger than the British military; so, peaceful protest seemed to be the best idea at the time. But on April 13, 1919, the protests ended with approximately 380 people dead and over 1,200 people wounded. None of this reflected on the British government well considering that India was one of the strongest financial investments the British government had at the time.

Gandhi on a march, 1930. Unknown author.

Sources that hold the most information on the massacre are a series of court-style reports from different branches of government originating from either the Indian government or the British Raj. These primary sources derive from the Punjab government, the Disorders Inquiry Committee, the Indian National Congress, and the Punjab Sub-Committee. All the governmental branches had to investigate the events that took place at any of the larger protests since it would be essentially impossible to sweep the protests and massacres under the rug. The reports are structured like an interview. The official presiding over the events and the courts would ask a series of questions to the witness or those affected by the protests and the individual would answer. A wide variety of people were interviewed. Some were military or police. Others were average people like small business owners or train station workers. Different reports focused on different types of people, and the result is a multi-volume account of the events at Amritsar and other protests.

The massacre at Amritsar shocked the subjects under the rule of the British Raj. People felt that British actions were not fair since the protest was peaceful. Modern historians often discuss to what extent the massacre undermined colonial rule amongst the people. Historians like Dr. Abul Fazal and Sandhya Dhar believes that Muslim subjects were more affected by the Rowlatt Acts and the militant enforcement of the acts than other religious groups in India. Other historians like Kim Wagner believe that all groups in India, except those originally from the United Kingdom, were affected equally. Using the military to enforce a series of laws violated the rights of the subjects under the rule of the British Raj, especially since Indian political figures had declared their loyalty to the imperial government. Another historian, Mark Naidis, argues that Hindu and Muslim people in India and specifically in Amritsar created a unified force against the Rowlatt Acts since it was not targeted at one specific group of people. The acts sought to control the entire country to keep the subjects of India under the rule of the British Raj.

The people of India are not just one group of people with one background, but a people of multiple different backgrounds; this shaped how they saw the world around them. India is home to many religious groups such as Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Buddhism, and others. Each of the groups have

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[1] Punjab Government, *East India (Punjab Disturbances): Reports on the Punjab Disturbances April 1919/ Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty* (London: H.M. Stationary Office) 3.

different belief systems and social hierarchies. That different groups all united against the Rowlatt Acts symbolizes the importance of that historical development. The unification of Indians from so many social and religious backgrounds could, in theory, overpower the British military and achieve what was desired by the people. To get the Rowlatt Acts repealed, different religious groups, specifically the Muslim and Hindu religious groups, would need to create an alliance of sorts to force the British to quit the acts.[2] Had groups acted individually only, then the people would not immediately have seen the effects of the protests. During World War I, the Indian people had started to cultivate further the idea of nationalism.[3] When the war ended, the people felt insulted since they had supported the British government in the war. But then came the Rowlatt Acts, which most Indians saw as an abuse of political power.[4] When Gandhi announced plans for a peaceful protest, the people joined since it seemed to be the only option to convince the British that the laws were not fair. It was decided that a protest would occur at Amritsar since it was one of the strongest parts of the Punjab district. Amritsar was an agricultural and a financial epicenter in northern India. Residents saw the military and police violence as a deep betrayal.[5]

     Indians languished under the colonial rule of the British government since the mid nineteenth century. Historian Kim Wagner argues that resistance to the British Raj was inevitable, whether it be for the government not listening to the grievances of the people or on general principles of anti-colonialism.[6] The protests aimed to gain political freedom from a powerful empire. The British Raj understood this and felt threatened not only by violent protests against them, but anything or anyone that the people could rally behind.[7] A common cause could unite the people and make it harder for the British to hold onto their subjects.

     Bangladeshi scholar Abul Fazal claimed that the Muslims community suffered even more unfair treatment than other religious groups in India due to the Rowlatt Bills. The Defence of India Act in 1915 was used primarily against the Muslim people in India before the implementation of the Rowlatt Acts.[8] Fazal argued that the Muslim community's press suffered greater repression than those of the Hindu or Sikh religious groups. Followers of the Islamic belief had grown to respect Gandhi and his promotion of a peaceful satyagraha, which is a nonviolent protest that centers on holding to the truth.[9] By joining the satyagraha, the Muslim community in turn gained respect from Gandhi since he felt that they did not oppose the nonviolent protests.[10] Political leaders in India were more vulnerable than civilians, since they could lose their standings in the government, thus they were reluctant to join the protest vocally. The Muslim community's anger against the British emerged from its desire to have a Khilafat, which is an Islamic led governmental system.[11] Students were fascinated by Gandhi, and the British Raj did not appreciate the students going to join with him in his protests against British imperialism. Eventually the tides moved after the Amritsar Massacre, and some groups turned towards a non-cooperation movement, which could also be considered civil disobedience. Sandhya Dhar claimed that Muslims originally did not want to participate in a non-cooperation form of protest, but they eventually joined when the Khilafat

[2] Mark Naidis, "Amritsar Revisited," *The Historian* 21 (1958): 1.

[3] Ibid, 3.

[4] Ibid, 3.

[5] Ibid, 5.

[6] Kim Wagner, "Chapter 2 Rowlatt Satyagraha," *Amritsar 1919: An Empire of Fear & the Making of a Massacre* (Yale University Press, 2019): 44.

[7] Ibid, 45.

[8] Dr. Abul Fazal, "Muslims and the Rowlatt Act Satyagraha," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 63 (2002): 734.

[9] Ibid, 734.

[10] Ibid, 735.

[11] Ibid, 736.

decided it was a good idea since it targeted the Rowlatt Acts and the British enforcement of them.[12] Muslim people wanted the Khilafat to become strong and act as the ruling government since it was aligned with their beliefs rather than those of the British government.

Given their desperation, many Indians abandon the idea of peaceful satyagraha and moved on to a non-cooperation plan since they felt that peaceful protest was not making a difference in the attempt to free themselves from the Rowlatt Acts and British imperialism. To move away from a satyagraha required a grand change in mindset and demonstrates the level of frustration that is tied into the connection with the imperial rule in India. Since the Rowlatt Acts only acted in the best interest of the United Kingdom and not the people, conflict was inevitable. If leaders from the United Kingdom had treated their subjects with more respect, then there would have been less death and fighting for the same result.

The Australian Worker's coverage of the Amritsar Massacre, March 25, 1920

The Indian National Congress used the Amritsar Massacre to plummet further the Rowlatt Acts. The nationalists presented their actions as peaceful and non-violent in contrast to the British government and military. Another representation of peaceful protest is a *hartal*, which is an organized, large-scale strike,[13] since it would act as a strike and not a violent outburst against employers, military forces, and government officials. Since the people of India had been victimized, they could have turned to violence and sought revenge, but they did not. Testimony from many of the people who participated shows deep discontentment with the actions that the British government took against India. The accounts provided to authorities came from doctors, lawyers, regular civilians, and anyone who could tell their stories.[14] Since the records could come from everyone in any walk of life, it could show that the British were treating everyone in India unfairly rather than just lower-class subjects.

One of the problems with the Indian National Congress was that it did not hold sway in all of the states in India. In the Punjab state, the organization had little presence.[15] When the Punjab Land Alienation Act was put into place, people in the state split between agricultural lifestyles and non-agricultural lifestyles. These different kinds of lifestyles created new concerns that were not previously there.[16] People were in different castes than other people, such as farmers. In Amritsar, doctors like Dr. Satyapal were banned from speaking out or participating in any demonstrations against the Rowlatt Acts.[17] When it came to the implementation of the bills, a vote was held within the Imperial Legislative Council regarding an amendment to the original acts, which would defer the institution of the bill for another six months on February 6, 1919.[18] While the Imperial Legislative Council held the vote, the members who voted on the possible amendment was a select committee of the entire council. The members of the committee came from all branches of government in the British Raj. For example, a native of India was part of the Viceroy's Executive Council and another

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[12] Sandhya Dhar, "Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement - Its Effect in Jammu Region," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 64 (2003): 1.

[13] Disorders Inquiry Committee, *Evidence Taken Before the Disorders Inquiry Committee* 1 (Calcutta, 1920): 7.

[14] Disorders Inquiry Committee, *Report of the Committee Appointed in the Government of India to Investigate the Disturbances in the Punjab, etc. [and Evidence Taken Before the Disorders Inquiry Committee]* 1 (London H.M Stationary Office, 1920): 11.

[15] Chanda Chatterjee, "The Congress in Retreat: Punjab 1919-1940," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 61 (2000): 1.

[16] Ibid, 1.

[17] Indian National Congress, *Report of the Commissioners Appointed by the Punjab Sub-committee of the Indian National Congress ....* (Lahore, 1920): 45.

[18] Ibid, 30.

member was the Surgeon-General.[19] Twenty-two people voted for the amendment, which means in favor of the deferment before implementation, and thirty-five voted against the amendment, which means against the deferment and a plan for immediate implementation.[20] Only one person in favor of the immediate implementation was of Indian descent. That person risked removal from office for voting against the deferral amendment. Even in a supposedly civil and equal institution, such as a congress, political careers were dependent on the will of others.

Military and police forces felt that they were acting in a way that would best control the situation. According to Miles Irving, who was the Deputy Commissioner in Amritsar during the Amritsar protest, residents of Amritsar were not happy with the results of recent municipal elections.[21] Irving felt that since the people were dissatisfied with election results in the district, they were more likely to act against the government rather than letting the government do its job. He also claimed that the people protesting against the Rowlatt Acts did not know what the laws were actually about and that everything the protestors did know originated from false rumors. For the British, the Rowlatt Acts supposedly would solidify their hold on the people, but it did not work. The acts were eventually repealed due to the protests occurring.

Political leaders in India felt trapped since the British government wanted the Rowlatt Acts enacted, and Indian leaders could not speak against it without losing their jobs. They would have been removed from power, and the open position would have been filled with someone in favor of the Rowlatt Acts. British officials banned Gandhi from the Punjab state since he was encouraging people to speak out and demonstrate their frustration for the British Raj, which fueled tensions further.[22] The Indian National Congress insisted that the people had shown great restraint in avoiding violence and that if the people had been allowed to demonstrate their frustration towards the Rowlatt Acts, then they would have been repealed sooner.[23] An investigation by the Punjab Sub-Committee examined not only protests like the Amritsar massacre, but it also moved to decide if the protests were the cause for the deaths and injuries that occurred.[24] Indians felt that British brutality opened the door for retaliation which happened when the protests turned to non-cooperation.

There was some good that came from the implementation Rowlatt Acts. According to the Indian National Congress, the laws allowed Indians to realize the strength and power they held.[25] The force behind the protests came from the unity that developed through fighting for a common goal. Protests proved the best way that the subjects under the rule of the British Raj could express their frustration over the Rowlatt Acts. By starting with peaceful protests, Indian activists tried to gain the respect of the British government since they would not be seen as the aggressors. When the protests turned violent, news spread to other regions in India and around the world. Activists in other regions in India started their own protests, which would eventually turn into a non-cooperation movement. Resistance gained the attention of the British government, which allowed investigations to take place that resulted in repeal. The elimination of the Rowlatt Acts from legislature in 1922 benefitted those under the rule of Imperial Britain. Maintaining the dreaded laws, the British government came to understand, risked the future of a country that supported the empire financially. By conceding to the demands of the public, imperial authorities hoped to secure the

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[19] Indian National Congress, *Report of the Commissioners Appointed by the Punjab Sub-committee of the Indian National Congress ....* (Lahore, 1920): 31.

[20] Disorders Inquiry Committee, *Evidence Taken Before the Disorders Inquiry Committee* 1 (Calcutta, 1920): 5.

[21] Disorders Inquiry Committee, *Report of the Committee Appointed in the Government of India to Investigate the Disturbances in the Punjab, etc. [and Evidence Taken Before the Disorders Inquiry Committee]* 1 (London H.M Stationary Office, 1920): 67.

[22] Ibid, 67.

[23] Indian National Congress, *Report of the Commissioners Appointed by the Punjab Sub-Committee of the Indian National Congress* 1 (Lahore, 1920): 41-42.

[24] Ibid, 42.

[25] Ibid,43.

wealth that could be generated by India. The Rowlatt Acts protests set in motion a process that could not be stopped. Protests can help shape the future of a country, and it helped India in 1919.

Historiography of the Tobacco Revolt
Richard Robert Marrero

Richard Marrero is a senior history major from Chicago, Illinois. He wrote this paper for Professor Brian Mann's HIS 4782: Modern Iran. After graduation, he plans on getting his master's degree.

When the British took control of the Iranian tobacco monopoly in 1890-1892 turmoil let loose. The vast majority of the country relied financially on the production and export of tobacco. With this valuable crop under British jurisdiction, many Iranians were left without the control of their own crops and their own destinies. Due to the negligence of Nasar al-Din Shah, the Iranian sovereign, many were left hopeless and bitter. In response, thousands of people revolted against the decision. Battles raged for two years between the people of Iran and tobacco industry leaders.

The Tobacco Revolt was an extremely complicated event with which historians have struggled. Asghar Fathi and Nikki R. Keddie, writing during the Iranian Revolution of the late 1970s, provide us with an understanding of the tobacco revolt from an older perspective. While Abbas Amanat and Medea Benjamin offer us newer more nuanced interpretations.

To begin, the Tobacco Revolt in Iran occurred because Iranian monarch Nasar al-Din Shah sold the rights of tobacco to the British. The growth, sale, and export of all tobacco was now in the hands of foreigners thousands of miles away (3100 miles to be exact). This in turn sparked nationwide protest that would result in revolts and riots across all major cities and towns in Iran. This ill-considered decision in 1890 to sell the tobacco monopoly to Britain for fifty years left farmers, merchants, and common folks struggling. The transaction shocked citizens of Iran because tobacco was a main source of income for much of Iran. Why let some colonists control the monopoly when they have nothing to do with it? The answer was relatively simple – money. The Iranians would fight back, and, within a year, the British eventually dropped their concession of tobacco. This event would have an everlasting impact on Iran; just two decades later, we would see another revolution. Echoes of Tobacco Revolt also could be heard even later in the 1979 Iranian Revolution.

Retired UCLA historian Nikki R. Keddie is a renowned scholar of Iranian. Her book, *Roots of Revolution*, asserted that Persian newspaper releasing an article criticizing the concession sparked the revolution. She writes, "the concession was kept secret for a time but in late 1890, the Istanbul Persian newspaper *Akhtar* ran a series of articles severely criticizing it."[1] The Afghani, Keddie reveals, "continued to write and speak against the Shah and his government."[2] Given the anger at his decision, it is remarkable that the Shah continued to lose the trust of the people, make terrible deals, and cause ongoing problems for the country. Keddie's presentation of a weak, out-of-touch Shah, certainly resonated with times, as she was writing in the midst of the Iranian Revolution in the late 1970s.

Not only did Keddie bring up Afghani, but she also pointed out how newspapers were the key source of information about the Shah's decision to sell the tobacco industry, and she provided a great backstory of the years prior to show why Nasar would sell his country's tobacco rights. Nasar

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[1] Nikki R. Keddie, *Roots of Revolution: An Interpretive History of Modern Iran* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 61.
[2] Keddie, 61

in fact recently had gone to Europe at the expense of Great Britain to see the continent.[3] The point of the trip was to allow the British to cultivate the Shah and set up a deal for the tobacco industry. This would prove successful. The Shah seemed easily impressionable, one of Keddie's essential arguments. She explains that the Shah would make a deal with any foreign country as long as he was personally pampered and treated well by said country. While other authors stressed other causes, Keddie put the Shah at the center of her story as the main problem, and she provides detailed background about how the British were able to achieve such a beneficial deal for themselves.

In his analysis of the Tobacco Rebellion, Iranian-born sociologist Asghar Fathi sees religion as key: the uprising, he argues, amounted to "call to rally to the defense of Islam which moved the people to support the movement of the protest."[4] The clergy were smart, and they knew that if they could bring religion into the discussion, anything could be achieved. Fathi's understanding of the revolt derives from a more modern perspective, and, like Keddie, it was no doubt influenced by the Iranian Revolution swirling at the time he wrote. More recently, Yale historian Abbas Amanat also stresses the clergy. In a book chapter titled "The Tobacco Protests and Rise of Clerical Influence," Amanat explains that the clergy class realized how much power they had by the end of this revolt. "The Tobacco Protest was the first time that the merchants of the bazaar, a number of high-ranking clergy, and a handful of dissidents found common ground to mobilize the public nationwide and challenge the authority of the shah," he writes.[5]

Medea Benjamin, a political activist and author of *Inside Iran* (2018), explains how when Shia Cleric Mirza Hasan Shirazi issued a fatwa, or a religious ruling, banning the use of tobacco, sales fell drastically. The religious community and clergy clearly had an impressive amount of power over the people and even over the government. Not until this revolt occurred following the announced boycott, did religious figures realize how much power they had. Because of this boycott, Benjamin explains, the Shah had to take the monopoly back from the British. "This was the period in which the clerics first realized their ability to sway political decisions," she explains, echoing Amanat.[6]

Because information is scarce, studying the Tobacco Revolt presents challenges. Remarkably, however, Amanat manages to go into great depth about the entire episode in his scholarship, especially his book *Iran: A Modern History*. For instance, Amanat talks about the significance of Amin al-Soltan, one of the Shah's most influential political partners, who helped convince the monarch to accept a deal with the British for financial reasons. "The shah and Amin al-Soltan, who had earlier decided against a plan to impose a state monopoly on the production of tobacco, later entered into negotiations with a British concessionaire," explains Amanat.[7] No other author mentioned the crucial fact that the Shah had someone in his ear. Along these lines, Amanat provides many details other authors simply do not. The significance of how much tobacco really was being used by Iran is another important point stressed by Amanat. "Tobacco … held such a sway over the public," that Iranians were the largest consumers of their own plants.[8] One fourth of the country, men and women, were smokers.[9] One of the largest importers of Iranian tobacco, in fact, were the Ottomans. Alongside religion, tobacco itself then was crucial to the Tobacco Revolt. It was truly the most vital product for the Iranian economy, and when the Shah handed it over, Amanat argues, his bitter

[3] Keddie, 64.

[4] Asghar Fathi, "Role of the Traditional Leader in Modernization of Iran, 1890-1910," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 11, no. 1 (1980): 87–98.

[5] Abbas Amanat, *Iran, A Modern History* (Yale University Press, 2017) 62

[6] Medea Benjamin, "Iran Before The 1979 Revolution," in *Inside Iran, The Real History and Politics of the Islamic Republic of Iran* (OR Books, 2018), 7–31.

[7] Amanat, 247–314.

[8] Amanat, 60.

[9] Amanat, 60

subjects felt their monarch had fallen victim to the foreign influence which proved to be detrimental to all Iranians.

Like Amanat, diplomat and author Michael Axworthy goes into depth about how the revolt affected classes and the people in general. Axworthy provides a brilliant summary showing the impact on all Iranians, including "tobacco growers, who found themselves forced to sell at a fixed price; bazaar traders, who saw themselves once more frozen out of a lucrative sector of the economy… and the ulema, who were closely aligned to the bazaar traders and disliked the foreign presence in the country."[10] But while Amanat provides great details about almost everything, he does not develop aspects of Iranian class structure and the consequences of the situation as does Axworthy. These two works together show how the bazaars and ulema needed each other and worked together to overcome the concession of tobacco. The smoking boycott had been so accepted that the Nasar id-Din's wife joined. The population had enough, and the people were truly tired of the British.

Something that every article or book agrees upon is the injustice of the Shah in simply dismissing the rights to the tobacco industry. For the tobacco industry was the way of life for so many different people throughout the entire country. Not only that, but as the revolt began, people kept getting aggravated and tired of the Shah's choice of letting international countries involved themselves in the dynamics of government of Iran.

Comparing these works and examining the historiography, several points can be made. Many differences can be found in the smallest of details and other small features that each author will bring up. Still, studies produced during the Iranian Revolution emphasize the clash between a weak Shan and a motivated, religious population. Later work, especially that of Amanat, tend to see broader conflict and present a more detailed, complex picture.

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[10] Michael Axworthy, *A History of Iran: Empire of the Mind* (New York: Basic Books, 2008).

The Women of Wrigley's Dainty Baseball League
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We all know there is "no crying in baseball," but there was sexism, charm school, chaperones, "strawberries," and homeruns. The All-American Girl's Professional Baseball League (AAGPBL) amounted to a reimagining of America's favorite pastime as a game played entirely by women players, since men were off fighting in World War II. Though these women were a part of a baseball league, they were much more than just baseball players. They were groomed and trained into symbols of femininity and grace; evidence of this can clearly be seen in their scuffed knees from sliding into home. Their job was not merely to hit homeruns, but to boost the morale of a country at war, while looking and acting like ladies on the field.

The formation of the pristine AAGPBL did not happen overnight. There were many hoops to jump through, or maybe bases to run is more fitting. As their careers in the league continued, the women were continuously compared to men baseball players, no matter how good these women

Dottie Schroeder, of Sadorus, IL, takes a swing while playing for the Fort Wayne Daisies. Photograph courtesy of the State Library and Archives of Florida

were when they came up to bat. Despite all the issues, such as learning how to speak properly at charm school, chaperones watching their every move, playing a vigorous baseball game in a dress, and being compared to their male counterparts, the women of the league just wanted to play some baseball, and they excelled at this job.

In the beginning, the AAGBPL was owned by Philip Wrigley, who also owned the MLB team the Chicago Cubs and Wrigley's Chewing Gum Company.[1] The league ran from 1943-1954, even after World War II ended in 1945. With many men away fighting in the war, Wrigley thought someone should take their place on the field. He wanted to keep America's favorite past time alive to raise American spirits at home. The whole purpose of the league was to improve the morale of wartime workers, create wholesome family entertainment, and keep baseball stadiums filled with patrons. Those who made it into the league also helped the armed forces by playing in army camps or even hospitals.[2]

At start-up, Wrigley and his investors collected $200,000 for the league's salaries, uniforms, spring training, publicity, programs, charter buses, hotel accommodations, and recruitment.[3] From

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[1] Andrea Melvin, "The All-American Girls Professional Baseball League Uniform," *Journal of the Custom Society of America* 44, no. 18 (2018): 17.

[2] Melvin, "The All-American Girls Professional Baseball League Uniform," 17.

[3] Peggy Dahlberg Jensen, "Loving the Peachers" *Rockford Magazine* (July 1989): 34.

the Midwest himself, Wrigley made sure the AAGBL's epicenter was his home turf. The league peaked in 1948, at which time it included ten teams from Chicago, Peoria, Rockford, Springfield, Illinois; Grand Rapids and Muskegon Michigan; Racine and Kenosha, Wisconsin; South Bend and Fort Wayne, Indiana.[4] All teams competed against one another in hopes of being the top team in the end.

During the first ten seasons, almost 895,000 patrons paid to see "America's prettiest baseball players."[5] Why would people come to these games played in small towns? Because of the gas rationing for the war, factory workers had money to spend but could not travel.[6] Now that Wrigley and his crew had a plan to help Americans, there needed to be tryouts to select the women who would help America by running some bases, or who would at least look the prettiest on the field.

League officials approached tryouts with a Miss America-meet-Major League Baseball mentality. Early on the league supposedly "recognized the professional sports principle of getting the very best obtainable players throughout the country."[7] However, a 1943 *Time Magazine* story claimed the first players were chosen primarily for their physical appearance.[8] They needed to get women who could play the game, but who could also get men with extra cash into the stands. This misogyny of seeking attractive women reverberated all throughout the league, even among its recruiters, managers, and owner. Jim Hamilton, one of the league's managers, developed a reputation of turning down excellent players because they were either "uncouth, too hard-boiled, or too masculine."[9] The only women Wrigley expected to see at tryouts were "All-American" girls.[10] The ideal women for the team had to model the highest contemporary standards of femininity, but also be able to throw a wicked curve ball, overhand of course.

To unearth the best players who would fit the league image, thirty scouts were dispersed to uncover talented players throughout the US, Canada, and Cuba. First, recruiters looked to sign the best players from amateur softball leagues, which were growing in abundance. Most of the girls who came to try out were underage, overawed and homesick.[11] Most were gifted in many different sports before they came to the league; so why did women come out to try and be a part of this league in particular? These women simply loved the game. They were ready to play their hardest on the field, while also serving their country.

The final round of tryouts took place at Wrigley Field. Out of the 300 potential players, 75 were assigned to a team.[12] The average age of the women was about 20 years old, and the average height about 5"4.[13] In 1946, on average 1 out of 12 women were married when they joined the league. Some got married during the baseball season, and they would hang up their cap and start a family. One of the women who made the final cut, Margaret "Jurgie" Jurgensmeier, said, when she tried out for the Rockford Peaches, she impressed the staff with her skill on the pitcher's mound. Jurgie said "They chose me because I exhibited a baseball mind."[14] Women who tried out for the league had the skill and knowledge to succeed, but their purpose on the team came with a larger sense of duty than just hitting a homerun. Another woman who tried out for the league, Jane (Jeep)

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[4] Melvin, "The All-American Girls Professional Baseball League Uniform," 19.

[5] Jensen, "Loving the Peaches," 34.

[6] Jack Fincher, "The 'Belles of the Ball Game' were a Hit with their Fans," *Smithsonian Magazine* (July 1989): 4.

[7] Merrie A. Fidler and Cione Jean, *The Original and History of the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland and Company Inc., 2006), 6.

[8] Fidler and Jean, *The Original and History of the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League*, 9

[9] Fidler and Jean, *The Original and History of the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League*, 9.

[10] Fincher, "The 'Belles of the Ball Game' were a Hit with their Fans," 4.

[11] Fincher, "The 'Belles of the Ball Game' were a Hit with their Fans," 4.

[12] Jensen, "Loving the Peaches," 34.

[13] W.C. Madden, *The Women of the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League: A Biographical Dictionary* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland and Company Inc., 1997), 26.

[14] Jensen, "Loving the Peaches," 36.

Stoll, from rural Pennsylvania, was a recent high school graduate. Jeep described her journey to try-outs: "I had never ridden on a train. I sat up all night in a Pullman car because I didn't understand how that seat was going to be my bed."[15] Women came from all over to be a part of this historic league. After the first training camp, 75 players, dwindled down to 60, and those who made it through camp, were spilt into four teams.[16] Despite these grueling try-outs that already forced the women to adhere to certain rules like only being able to pitch overhand, the women were buzzing with excitement to play ball in the AAGBL.

After teams were picked, it was time for the women to practice. This meant they had to wake up at dawn, work out all day on the field, then sit through charm school. Practicing with their teammates, players wanted to act "tough" like men and answered to nicknames such as "Squirt," "Scounge," and "Ruhnke Dunk."[17] The men who managed the team were more often than not ex-baseball players. However, most were known to be incapable of teaching baseball. Some managers actually lamented during practice, "It was easier to educate a skilled player in the elements of feminine charm, for show purposes, than to make an excellent ball player out of an unskilled but attractive woman."[18] Though some managers were enthusiastic about the job, others found the league an insult to baseball. Chet Grant, a manager, initially resisted joining the league because he "wouldn't go around the corner to witness a hybrid travesty on the national pastime; that is, baseball professionally presented by short-skirted young women with [an] oversize[d] ball, undersize[d] diamond, softball pitch, and baseball lead-off base."[19] Later on, some women became managers, but this was more common during the middle or end of the season. Certainly, women were qualified to be managers. The women of the league who looked "pretty enough" were also used as models to publicize games. Once making the team, despite having to deal with male managers who did not believe in them and being appreciated first for their physical appearance, challenges mounted. They were baseball players by day and models by night. However, they would model only after completing the most important part of being a baseball player: charm school.

League officials expected players to be well-versed in the game, but also well-behaved ladies on and off the field. As the league began to grow, it drew substantial attention, as the women involved were pioneering women's sports. Hence players were in the limelight all the time. The way they acted and appeared reflected on the whole profession.[20] The persona they had to portray was "socially acceptable athletic femininity."[21] Wrigley held players to the standards of upper-class society, but he never called them "women." No matter how old they might have been, in everything ever written or talked about regarding the players of the league, they were always referred to as "girls." Here were women, waking up every day bright and early to work on the field and attend charm school; Wrigley never gave them the respect they deserved, despite what they were doing for the country and his league. Nonetheless, the women pushed past such restrictions and still proved to be great athletes and competitors.

Wrigley had three rules: his players would be girls, they were forbidden to wear slacks or skin-tight shorts, and they would have good old-fashioned team names, to contribute to the idea of their being "dainty." For example, the first teams were named "Chicks, Lassies, Belles, [and]

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[15] Fincher, "The 'Belles of the Ball Game' were a Hit with their Fans," 2.

[16] Fincher, "The 'Belles of the Ball Game' were a Hit with their Fans," 2.

[17] Jensen, "Loving the Peachers," 34.

[18] Merrie Fidler, (Interview outline and video), 2016, https://digitalcollections.library.gvsu.edu/document/29713, accessed September 30, 2020.

[19] Fidler and Jean, *The Original and History of the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League*, 25.

[20] Jeff Eldridge, ""The All-American Girls Professional Baseball League Public Image & the Evolution of League Rules," Midway Village and Musume Center, "Rockford Peaches Resource Packet, 3. https://documents.pub/document/rockford-peaches-resource-packet-3-a-rockford-peaches-program-from-1945-includes.html?page=15.

[21] Melvin, "The All-American Girls Professional Baseball League Uniform," 5.

Peaches."[22] Wrigley fixated on the type of image his girls would portray: "His league would have nothing to do with the kind of short-haired, mannishly dressed toughies then touring the country on several all-girl barnstorming teams."[23] Wrigley's obsession with his specific image would later go on to be an iconic style of baseball, and he went to great lengths to achieve this.

To make sure women upheld this image, the league issued a guidebook: "Guide for All American Girls, How to Look Better, Feel Better, Be More Popular."[24] The manual contained a plethora of beauty techniques for players. Daily, the women had to wear "rouge medium, mild astringent, face powder for [a] brunette, hair remover, and cleansing cream lipstick."[25] The manual also had detailed instructions for morning and post-game routines. Though the manual offered instructions for the women to follow regarding their appearance, they were also told not to "overdo it" with their makeup or their look, perhaps not wanting players to appear "cheap." Rather than resisting, most followed suit, as it was just another part of the job to which players were devoted.

Along with following a detailed manual every day, women were also enrolled in Helena Rubistein's charm school for ladylike etiquette, where they learned how to apply makeup, get out of a car, put on a coat, enunciate properly, and other things important to becoming the perfect All-American lady. Most importantly, the women learned how to charm a date. The procedure and dialogue of this "charming" included to "look right at him and say, 'Oh my, what nice eyes you have.'"[26] In addition, the women did need to know how to enunciate properly since they would be continuously in the public eye. Rubistein wanted to make sure the public would "know she is a lady as soon as she opens her mouth."[27] In short, Rubistein was charged with the job of transforming rural working girls into upper-class presentable ladies. And just like her girls, Rubistein welcomed the formidable task at hand.

Not only were these standards of beauty expected when AAGBPL went to the grocery store, but the same requirements were expected on the field as well. These standards included skirt lengths, makeup requirements for the field, prohibitions on drinking and smoking, and a ban on fraternizing with the other team. Team officials had to approve attendance at any social events.[28] Players had to make sure they did not have lipstick on their teeth or a stray hair under their cap.[29] President Franklin Roosevelt was even known to have said, "keep up with important war work by keeping lipsticks on the line," as a way to keep women of the time feminine.[30] These kinds of requirements were recorded into the women's contract and could not be broken. Major League Baseball contracts at this time looked very different. Such contracts said nothing about men having to uphold certain appearances or even charm school.[31] If contract mandates were not met, AAGBPL players faced fines or even suspensions after repeated infractions.[32] With the fear of punishments looming, players tended to obey in order to play with their teammates. After practice and charm school were completed, it was time for the women to hop on the road and play ball.

[22] Melvin, "The All-American Girls Professional Baseball League Uniform," 5.

[23] Fincher, "The 'Belles of the Ball Game' were a Hit with their Fans," 6.

[24] Melvin, "The All-American Girls Professional Baseball League Uniform," 16.

[25] Eldridge, "The All-American Girls Professional Baseball League Public Image & the Evolution of League Rules," 3.

[26] Fincher, "The 'Belles of the Ball Game' were a Hit with their Fans," 2

[27] Eldridge, "The All-American Girls Professional Baseball League Public Image & the Evolution of League Rules," 1.

[28] Melvin, "The All-American Girls Professional Baseball League Uniform," 10.

[29] Gary Livacari, "Tribute to the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League," *Baseball History Comes Alive!* March 8, 2017, accessed December 12, 2020. https://www.baseballhistorycomesalive.com/tribute-to-the-all-american-girls-professional-baseball-league/.

[30] Lindy Woodhead, *War Paint Helena Rubinstien & Miss Elizabeth Arden Their Lives, Their Times, Their Revalry* (New York: John Wiley & Sons,2003), 274.

[31] Bob Becker, "Calling All Chicks, First Ever Reunion Hatches Priceless Baseball Memories," *The Grand Rapids Press*, July 9, 1982.

[32] Melvin, "The All-American Girls Professional Baseball League Uniform," 15.

The women of the league had to live out of a suitcase, staying in different hotels throughout the weeks of the season. Buses that transported women were known to be stuffy and packed. Many suffered from homesickness. As a result, some players left the league to return to their families. Underage girls were watched carefully on and off the field by chaperons, who were in charge of all players.[33]

The women who accepted the role of chaperon dressed in a military suit with jacket, skirt, and cap.[34] It did not matter if the chaperone knew anything about baseball. They were there to protect, or spy, not coach. Some chaperons even knew to put lipstick on players before they went to bat. Despite the imposition, chaperones made it possible and socially acceptable for some women to able to play at all. Many families, understandably, did not like the idea of their daughter traveling the country, playing baseball, all by themselves. Betty (Moe) Trezza, from Brooklyn, recalled, "My Mother wouldn't let me play until I convinced her we'd be chaperoned."[35] On the other hand, some women hated having a chaperone watching their every move. Thelma (Tiby) Eisen had an admirer who followed her on the road, game to game. Preparing to sneak out to her admirer's hotel room one night, she was suddenly halted by a knock at the door from the chaperone wanting to know what Tiby was planning.[36] Though sometimes having a chaperone could be a burden, they were necessary and watched out for the girls. Maddy English, from the Racine Belles, explained how a sportswriter would not leave her alone, so she told him, if he did not leave, she would jump into Lake Michigan to get away from him. She did. As a result, her chaperone had to fish her out.[37]

During the season, Maddy English was not the only member of the league to have some fun. The women had some adventures now and then to help their own morale. They partook in tricks on their chaperones or managers, sneaked beer into their hotel rooms, and slipped out of hotels entirely. Very few got into this sport to go to charm school, wear dresses, and be in the public eye. They were just trying to be young women. To them, this was a time to have fun with their teammates and play baseball. Dottie Collins of Fort Wayne Indiana recalled how "We were just kids having fun. Not until it was all over, did we look back and realize we had been pioneers."[38]

When game day arrived, the excitement and anticipation could be felt all around the stands and the locker room. A game ticket cost twenty-five cents to.[39] The AAGBL contract explained clearly how players were to interact with the baseball fans that attended their games.[40] According to the contract, the league had a "the customer is always right" type of attitude.[41]

Before the women could run onto the field, they had to prepare themselves behind the scenes. They had to look presentable, while also making sure they could play well. Their hair and makeup had to be just right, with nothing out of place. One way the women tried to achieve this was scratching a bar of soap under their nails so they would not get dirt under their fingernails.[42] After everything else was perfect, it was time to put on the iconic dress uniform.

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[33] Fincher, "The 'Belles of the Ball Game' were a Hit with their Fans," 4.
[34] Melvin, "The All-American Girls Professional Baseball League Uniform," 15.
[35] Woodhead, *War Paint Helena Rubinstien & Miss Elizabeth Arden*, 274.
[36] Becker, "Calling All Chicks, First Ever Reunion Hatches Priceless Baseball Memories."
[37] Melvin, "The All-American Girls Professional Baseball League Uniform," 15.
[38] Fincher, "The 'Belles of the Ball Game' were a Hit with their Fans," 4.
[39] Jensen, "Loving the Peachers," 35.
[40] Fincher, "The 'Belles of the Ball Game' were a Hit with their Fans," 6.
[41] Fincher, "The 'Belles of the Ball Game' were a Hit with their Fans," 6.
[42] Fincher, "The 'Belles of the Ball Game' were a Hit with their Fans," 3.

There is much debate about the design of the league's uniform.[43] Even though many softball teams were wearing a similar style of uniform, there was controversy. Some AAGPBL players loved the uniform, while others could not stand it. Jaqueline Mattson Baumgart expressed how she saw putting on that dress as a sign of success: "The first time I put that uniform on, I cried. Because what flooded in my mind was this little kid, at home, playing with the boys… I kind of stood there for a little bit after I was dressed, and I said, 'Ah, this is it!'"[44] While Baumgart loved the uniform, others felt silly wearing a dress, since it was not a part of their normal wardrobe. "Since I grew up as a farm girl and was used to wearing blue jeans, when you put a skirt on that's probably knee length, you feel like you're undressed" described Katie Hortman.[45] Nonetheless, the feminine dress was more acceptable for them to wear publicly while remaining within the image that Wrigley so desired.

Design for the league's patch. Courtesy of Grand Rapids Public Museum

Also, players wearing a partially revealing uniform brought more people into the seats. "Fans were attracted by the skill of the women, not to mention their short skirts," commented a sports reporter of the time.[46]

The design of the dress included a full A-line skirt that reflected the ideal feminine silhouette of the time. There was a back yoke that slightly gathered sleeves, with buttons down the front that was similar to what the youth was wearing at the time. It had no pleats nor decorative fabrics, which was part of the larger effort to preserve fabric for the war effort.[47] There were two patches added to the sleeves, one to represent the league with a professionally branded image and the second patch displaying their team's name and city. The colors of the league were pastels, accented with accessories in bold dark shades of the same color.[48] The team would alternate their colors with a lighter pastel color or white dress at home games and a darker dress for away games. Though the dresses looked nice, they did not always hold up especially in competitive baseball games. This was yet another challenge for the players.

Posters promoting the league featured images implying that the dress would stay down when a player tried to leap and catch a ball, however, this was not always the case.[49] Dresses were known to accidently flash spectators, though players did wear shorts under the skirt.[50] The dress format was hard to work with, especially for pitchers. In a 1945 letter from the league to the Myers Company, one of the manufactures of the uniform read, "the skirts . . . are satisfactory for every playing position with the exception of the pitcher, who must fold and pin the flare either from the right or left side, depending upon whether she is right or left-handed."[51] As a result, from the start, women started altering the uniform themselves. Since the skirt was so full, players would have to "fold over

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[43] Fincher, "The 'Belles of the Ball Game' were a Hit with their Fans," 9.

[44] Jaqueline Baumgart Oral History, All-American Girls Professional Baseball League,https://www.aagpbl.org/profiles/jacqueline-mattson-baumgart-jackie/304, accessed December 12, 2020.

[45] Katie Hortman, Oral History, Grand Valley State University Libraries, Digital Collections Special Collections and University Archives, https://digitalcollections.library.gvsu.edu/docuemtn/29713, (2009), accessed November 15, 2020.

[46] Becker, "Calling All Chicks, First Ever Reunion Hatches Priceless Baseball Memories,"

[47] Melvin, 21.

[48] Norman Hathaway, and Dan Nadel. *Dorothy and Otis: Designing the American Dream: The Pioneering Designers of Basbeball, Billboards, and Chewing Gum* (New York: Harper Design, 2017), 13.

[49] "Gallery: Historical Racine Belles Photos," *The Journal Times*, Febuary 4, 2013.

[50] Melvin, "The All-American Girls Professional Baseball League Uniform," 18

[51] Melvin, "The All-American Girls Professional Baseball League Uniform," 18.

the sides of the skirt, pinning or sewing them in place."[52] Players would create a pleat, which would help them lose six extra inches of fabric from the skirt. As a team, players often would discuss amongst themselves how to modify the uniform's length, fullness, and decorative belt.

Just as players were required to maintain their makeup and hair, officials also required league members to uphold high standard of maintaining their uniform. They had to keep colors clean, though uniforms inevitably faded due to continuous washing after games. As the league began to lose money, it no longer could afford professional laundering. Because of lapse in care, uniforms would start to show rips, tears, and mismatch buttons.[53] Player uniforms had to undergo examinations, but though they were a struggle to wear, the uniform would not prevent them from still playing the game to the best of their ability. Even though they had to wear such a demeaning uniform in front of a crowd of hundreds of patrons, the women of the league accepted the challenge and worked with their uniforms so they could play to the best of their ability.

Once players got their appearances up to standards, it was time to play ball. The league's season consisted of 126 games that lasted from Memorial Day to Labor Day.[54] Women engaged in six games a week and were paid between $65 to $125 a week.[55] At the end of a fifteen-week season, the women earned anywhere from $975- $1875, expenses of hotels and uniforms were included. However, league officials expected women to buy materials, such as their own lipstick, blush, and anything else they needed to upkeep their hair and makeup. To get a sense of the inequality between men and women's professional pay, in 1945 Cleveland Indian Lou Bourdreu earned about $25,000 a season.[56] An MLB player with fewer skills than Bourdreu, on average was paid about $11,197 a season.[57] Nonetheless, to most of these women it was not about the money, it was about playing a game they loved and could play just as well as any man. On top of that, this was the first time many women ever saw a paycheck.

Those who came to the game knew, "[w]hen the Girls of Summer played for pay, they proved women did not have to sacrifice their femininity to excel in a man's world," as Ken Sells, the AAGBL's first president explained.[58] At the start, the women basically played modified softball, as the distance between the bases was a little longer, the ball was bigger, and teams had nine players on a side instead of the normal ten.[59] In addition, runners were able to take a lead and steal a base.[60] The Rockford Peaches were known for their stealing, and just like any baseball team, each team had their own personal hand signals. "[The audience] looked to [Dottie Ferguson] Key, famous for her base-stealing, to advance when Dorothy 'Kammic' Kamenshek, stepped up to bat. The two exchange signals. If Kamenshek puts her hand on the end of the bat, it's a hit, but if Key slips her pigtail, she's preparing to steak and Kamenshek will let the pitch pass," wrote a sportswriter about how the Rockford Peaches meticulously designed their plays.[61] With a solid system, the "Rockford's lipstick leaguers" led the league with the highest batting averages in 1949, 50, and 51.[62] As time went on, the ball got smaller and base paths got longer. Softball rules apparently were a little too soft for the women of the league. Despite having dumbed down rules to start the league, the women performed

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[52]Melvin, "The All-American Girls Professional Baseball League Uniform," 19.

[53] Melvin, 19.

[54] Jenson, "Loving the Peachers," 18.

[55] Fincher, "The 'Belles of the Ball Game' were a Hit with their Fans," 9.

[56] Michael Haupert, "MLB's Annual Salary Leaders Since 1874," *Society for American Baseball Research* (2011), https://sabr.org/research/article/mlbs-annual-salary-leaders-since-1874/, accessed December 8, 2020.

[57] Michael Haupert,"The Economic History of Major League Baseball," *EH.net* https://eh.net/encyclopedia/the-economic-history-of-major-league-baseball/, accessed December 8, 2020.

[58] Fincher, "The 'Belles of the Ball Game' were a Hit with their Fans," 7.

[59] Fincher, "The 'Belles of the Ball Game' were a Hit with their Fans," 7

[60] Fincher, "The 'Belles of the Ball Game' were a Hit with their Fans," 7.

[61]Jensen, "Loving the Peachers," 38.

[62] Jensen, "Loving the Peachers," 38.

as any MLB man would. They were focused on the ball as soon as it was slung from the pitcher's mound. Though they might have been women and in dresses, they were professional baseball players ready to play.

While taking part in a game, women had to play around the dress. Many women were focused on hitting a lot of home runs, so they would not have to slide on the dirt with their unprotected legs.[63] As the women played well, injuries and fights were inevitable. The short skirt led to exposed legs. Players called an injury a "strawberry."[64] As the women collected "strawberries," they were told to keep their attitude and body "pretty and polite," even if they were covered in blood, dirt, and pebbles. Taking such injuries during their games, proved women were really playing the game, along with being in a skirt like a lady. On top of the injuries from sliding, normal baseball collisions and fights occurred within the league regularly. Dolly Pearson Tesseine was the shortstop for the Daisies. During a game, the opposing pitcher came barreling into second base and spiked, or hit, her. "Next time you do that, I'm gonna jam the ball down your throat!" Tesseine threatened, which was not very lady-like of her. The pitcher proceeded to push Tesseine down when she came up to bat. Tesseine did not get hurt much that day, but in an exhibition, she befell a hit right behind the ear by a pitcher.[65] Players were not always safe on the field, but neither were the umpires. Pepper Paire Davis knocked down Lou Rymkus, a future professional football player, who was filling in as the umpire, during a slide to home.[66] AAGBPL women were not afraid of some dirt nor a "strawberry" during the game. They welcomed such abrasions, since they came with the territory of being a good baseball player.

Although men attended games not expecting much from the women, they were pleasantly surprised by the drive and skill women exhibited for the sport. "Maybe at first the men came out to see the legs, but they stuck around when they realized they were seeing a darn good brand of baseball," explained a 1945 *Time* magazine article.[67] Oddly, people were stunned with how seriously these women took the game, after all it was their job. Just like any male, they loved the sport. A member of the Society for American Baseball Research watched old film from games and concluded: "The way they were throwing the ball was unbelievable. It looked as though they were as good as men."[68] It must have been so incredibly frustrating that no matter what these women did or how good they were, they were always compared to men. If only a player of the AAGBL was a man, lamented multiple managers they were so good they would have given them $50,000 to play in the major leagues.[69] If only she was a man, she would have been shipped off to war and not be playing in the first place.

On top of having to play the game well, the women had to be entertaining. This was a way to get more people to attend their games, and it was big part of the spectacle. Pretty June Peppas, of the Muskegon Lassies, would do a little shimmy when walking up to bat. This gimmick became known as "Peppa's wiggle."[70] Since the AAGBL was not just about baseball, but also supporting wartime morale, the women needed to find ways to keep people in seats and achieved this with gimmicks and showmanship. Despite having to do such gimmicks, the women were told: "When you play ball, play hard and play for all you are worth," and that is just what they did.[71]

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[63] Hortman, Oral History," 7.
[64] Gary Livacari, "Tribute to the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League."
[65] Fincher, "The 'Belles of the Ball Game' were a Hit with their Fans," 9.
[66] Fincher, "The 'Belles of the Ball Game' were a Hit with their Fans," 9.
[67] Fincher, "The 'Belles of the Ball Game' were a Hit with their Fans," 9.
[68] Fincher, "The 'Belles of the Ball Game' were a Hit with their Fans," 9.
[69] Fincher, "The 'Belles of the Ball Game' were a Hit with their Fans," 9.
[70] Fincher, "The 'Belles of the Ball Game' were a Hit with their Fans," 9.
[71] Eldridge, "The All-American Girls Professional Baseball League Public Image & the Evolution of League Rules," 4.

After a game, women still had watchful eyes on them as they walked off the field and later out of the locker room. Good sportsmanship was required on and off the field. Player demeanor had to align with etiquette standards. They were not allowed to be poor losers, nor boastful winners. If their team won, women were told to "control your emotions," and "win gracefully and modestly."[72] Though they were told not to boast, the women were told to show off their "strawberries," dirt, and sweat after the game for the fans. However, when coming out of the locker room in their normal attire, management expected women to have taken the time after the game to be particularly cleaned up. This was spelled out not only in their contract, but also the women's manual. This post-game routine was to help their health and appearance. It involved showering well, soaping skin, applying makeup, and checking cuts. Players were to tell their coach about any big aches or pains post-game. Furthermore, those in charge of the women wanted them to "Guard your health and welfare."[73] In spite of the league's suggestions, women already were putting their health and welfare on the line, by playing on the field everyday out of adoration for the sport. They risked getting heavily injured with the clothing they had to wear, but in the end, it was worth it to each team member.

As years went by, the league began to decline. In 1944, Wrigley sold the franchise to Art Meyeroff, a Chicago advertising man.[74] In 1950, management and operations transferred to local owners; thus, began the decline of the All-American Girl's Professional Baseball League. With cheap gas and economic prosperity, people could travel as they chose and even watch major league baseball games on television. Since the league started to find it difficult to recruit women who could throw overhand, in 1954, only five teams of the league remained.[75] Those, who lasted to the end never got their last week's paycheck.[76]

As the league fizzled out, so did memories of the league's stars. Though there were some excellent athletes, the league only kept tabs on those who played ten games in a season, but even then, they did not keep quality track of the records.[77] A plethora of people were impressed with the

Spring Training, 1948 for the AAGBPL. Courtesy of the State Library and Archives of Florida.

women's vigor and skill. However, the women were still never taken as seriously because of their sex. Dorothy Kamenshek, the left-handed pitcher of the Rockford Peaches, was said to be so good that she could easily have made it to the Major Leagues, "if she was a man."[78] Though some were held back because they were not male athletes, some went on to achieve much outside of athletics. Dottie Ferguson Key, also a Rockford Peach, opened a donut shop in West Frankfort, Illinois, called "Dixie Cream Donut Shop."[79] Key described how "Without [the AAGBL], I could

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[72]Eldridge, "The All-American Girls Professional Baseball League Public Image & the Evolution of League Rules," 4.

[73] Eldridge, "The All-American Girls Professional Baseball League Public Image & the Evolution of League Rules," 4.

[74]Jensen, "Loving the Peachers" 38.

[75] Jensen, "Loving the Peachers" 38.

[76] Fincher, "The 'Belles of the Ball Game' were a Hit with their Fans," 12.

[77] Madden, *The Women of the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League,* 36.

[78]Jensen, "Loving the Peachers," 37.

[79] Jensen, "Loving the Peachers" 37.

never have traveled and seen as much as I did. I met all kinds of people. Baseball made my life. Now, I've left part of me there for history."[80] Other members went on to receive their college education, start other athletic careers, teach at schools, and one even emerged as a nun.[81] At the end, these women were prepared to make their mark on history by playing baseball games, then hanging up their bats.

AAGBPL women came to work. They also came to play, and they did so while wearing lipstick. They were expected to play like the men, but dress and act like ladies, with of course the help of the extra training from charm school. Their contracts contained outlandish rules regulating their lives more than any male professional ball player. Overall, the women were underpaid, compared to what the men in major league baseball received. On top of that, the women had to play in a constraining dress, which led to many injuries, and proved hard to upkeep. They were under continuous surveillance, whether by chaperones, the league, or the fans, or the media. Players were expected to win their games, while also be entertaining to get people in seats. They had to adhere to high standard, on and off the field. The women were continuously compared to men and were not taken as seriously because of this continuous comparison.

Nonetheless, the women of the All-American Girl's Professional Baseball League showed up and played the game to their best ability. They played hard for their team and their country. They performed to bring a smile to their patrons faces, no matter their age. They took the game extremely seriously, and they were not afraid to get dirty or hurt in order to compete. At the end of the day, they did not care about their uniform, the lipstick they applied, or the scars they obtained. These women just wanted to play baseball, and they were darn good at doing so. Yes, "There is no crying in baseball," but there were very talented athletes who served their country.

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[80] Jensen, "Loving the Peachers" 37.

[81] Fincher, "The 'Belles of the Ball Game were a Hit with their Fans," 10.

Allied Intervention in Russian Civil War 1917-1918: Critical Assessments – Why Allied Strategy Was Doomed
Sergio M. Vlahovich

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As much of the world plunged into war in 1914, both the Allied Powers and the Central Powers saw opportunities to expand their imperial foothold around the globe. Both sides sought quick victory, but the European empires only found themselves in a grinding stalemate. The Western Front experienced murderous deadlock, while the Eastern Front witnessed offensives from both sides, each enjoying initial successes but not enough to make the enemy submit. Instead, ongoing warfare resulted in heavy casualties and exhausted resources.

However, the years 1917 and 1918 also offered hope, as they provided what looked to be opportunities for both sides to shift the course of the war in their favor. In February of 1917, Russia experienced a major revolution that abolished the monarchial rule of Emperor Nicholas II. In the wake of political tensions and social instability, a provisional government formed in Moscow. On April 6 that same year, the United States joined the war on the allied side, in response to Germany's unrestricted submarine warfare. These two occurrences ensured that Russia was still in the fight, and with the United States entering, the British and French would receive additional troops and supplies on the Western Front. This at first seemed very fortunate for the Allies, but then a major setback occurred.

Six months after US entry, the Russian Provisional Government fell to the nation's new rising political party, the Bolsheviks. Led by Vladimir Lenin, the Bolsheviks intended to strip power from aristocrats and capitalists and to forge an equal society through the abolishment of class privilege and hierarchy. While the revolution sparked initial optimism about restructuring the nation, there quickly developed intense division among the Communists on how to approach the new transition of power. Hardline revolutionaries, the Bolsheviks believed that a small, tightly organized, and disciplined party could forge immediate change. Their opponents however, the Mensheviks, headed by Julius Martov, believed in a large, loosely organized party that could work with liberal thinkers to progressively change Russia's political, economic, and social institutions. This ideological clash between democracy and authoritarianism led to a bloody civil war between the Red Communists (Bolsheviks) and the White Communists (Mensheviks).

With chaos erupting in Russia, meanwhile, Britain and France worried for Russia's political future. Bolshevik aims were not parallel to their war objectives, and revolution in Russia would, the Allies feared, eventually leave them to fight against the Central Powers alone. Their worries were confirmed on March 3, 1918, when Bolshevik leaders signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. This agreement ended Russian participation in the war and relinquished all of Russia's western territories in Europe. The treaty amounted to a strategic advantage for Germany and Austria-Hungary, which could now transport more troops and resources to the Western campaign. In an effort to restore the Eastern campaign, the French and British governments moved to intervene in the Russian Civil War, by supporting the anti-Bolshevik forces. Americans, while eventually collaborating with the other Allied governments, proved initially reluctant to involve themselves in Russia. This paper will

explore the complex US-Anglo negotiations regarding intervention in the Russian Civil War, in particular proposals and responses regarding intervening in Russia's domestic conflict. This study argues that US and UK decision-makers were at odds with another on how to approach chaos in Russia, which inevitably resulted in the rise of a Bolshevik-style of governance known later as the United Socialist Soviet Republic (USSR).

Historiography

The historiography of US-UK division on Russian intervention is complex especially in regard to US-UK division on Russia. Historians Eugene P. Trani and Donald E. Davis provide a binary approach to assessing disagreement among Allied decision-makers. They first acknowledge that from the beginning of the Russian Civil War in December 1917, UK and US diplomats did not agree on how to approach the Bolsheviks. Initially, President Woodrow Wilson wanted to ignore the revolution and let Russia's domestic insecurity take its course, as he believed the Bolshevik cause would collapse.[1] Meanwhile, the British and French proposed alternatives to Wilson's "doing nothing and watching-waiting" approach, such as the reconstruction of a front in southern Russia in an attempt to overthrow the Bolsheviks and another plan for Russia's Far East that involved Japanese intervention.[2]

Trani and Davis also document divisions among American policymakers. For instance, US Secretary of State Robert Lansing argued for some form of aid to Russians still willing to fight against the Bolsheviks, while the president's confidant, Colonel Edward M. House, recommended reconciliation, not recognition, in order not to force the Russians into German hands.[3] Americans in Petrograd were much more concerned about the war situation. US Ambassador to the Bolsheviks David Francis and General William Judson sought to preserve the Eastern Front as much as possible.[4] The conflicting interpretations between American bureaucrats abroad and those from mainland America described by Trani and Davis adds depth to the historical debate. It illustrates how American officials were divided amongst themselves in coordinating strategic responses to the Bolshevik cause.

Other scholars have suggested that while there was intense dispute among British lawmakers, more cooperation took place between foreign collaborators. Finish historian Markku Ruotsila emphasizes how Winston Churchill's anti-communist cause concerned some of the British officials, such as Prime Minister David Lloyd George, who called Churchill's quest to halt the communist advance an "unhealthy and overriding 'obsession.'"[5] Ruotsila explains that while Churchill was unable to convince the majority of British politicians to support a joint allied intervention effort in Russia, he was desperate for foreign collaboration.[6] He believes Churchill's search for foreign support was much more systematic, broad, and protracted than historians generally realize.[7] Churchill's desperation for collaboration included extensive and prolonged secret contacts and heavily detailed preparations for military operations alongside representatives of several

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[1] Eugene P. Trani and Donald E. Davis, "Woodrow Wilson and the Origins of the Cold War: A Hundred Years Later and Still Relevant." *World Affairs* 180, no. 4 (2017), 27.

[2] Trani and Davis, "Woodrow Wilson," 28.

[3] Trani and Davis, "Woodrow Wilson," 27.

[4] Trani and Davis, "Woodrow Wilson," 27.

[5] Markku Ruotsila, "The Churchill-Mannerheim Collaboration in the Russian Intervention, 1919-1920." *The Slavonic and East European Review* 80, no. 1 (2002), 1.

[6] Ruotsila, "The Churchill-Mannerheim," 2.

[7] Ruotsila, "The Churchill-Mannerheim," 2.

new states bordering Soviet Russia who were interested in anti-communist intervention but whose initiatives were rejected by the Versailles Conference.[8]

While key scholars have developed Anglo-American divisions to explain post-WWI policy toward Russia, others have considered the role of division within Allied nations. One excellent example is the work of American historian David S. Foglesong. His book *America's Secret War against Bolshevism* combines American political and social history to suggest that the American public overall held different expectations and concerns from those of the Wilson administration. More specifically, Foglesong theorizes that Wilson was long aware of the moral force of public opinion, the motivating power of "high principle" in shaping policy.[9] Fearing resistance, Wilson, Foglesong argues, had to rely on secretive methods in order to participate and effect the course of the Russian Civil War. The average American, however, saw no such moral imperative according to Foglesong.[10] This is an example of historical analysis attempting to go beyond the traditional largely top-class perspective on the US-UK clash over Russia.

Not only have historians focused on division within Western populations, but some have also broadened the discussion on the interactions of top decision-makers. Specifically, they have brought attention to the political relations between major western Entente governments: Britain, France, and imperial Japan. David R. Woodward's scholarship suggests British officials initially did not feel comfortable with Japan joining both the First World War and the intervention against Bolshevik Russia on the allied side. London, he argued, was suspicious of Japan's growing influence and pretensions.[11] He further suggests that the British were also concerned about what Japanese leaders would demand in return for their participation.[12] However, Woodward's analysis then suggests that British officials began to reconsider Japan's role in preserving the eastern campaign when their fears of Russia's likely withdrawal from the war increased. The British also received positive appraisals of Japan's potential from the nation's chief military advisor to the British government, the British War Cabinet, and the French government.[13] Woodward's work explains the significance of the initial suspicion of Japanese intentions, a crucial aspect that will be discussed in this paper when analyzing the divisiveness among British and American policymakers.

Allies' Initial Reactions – Where's the Resistance?

With the historiography of American-British disputes over Russia in mind, this study will move to an examination of primary sources. Available records dating between the end of 1917 and May 1918 reveal sharp divisions between UK and US observers in their interpretation of important aspects of the Russian Civil War. These differences revolved around the identification of minority groups resisting Bolshevik forces, the effectiveness of intervention, and the option of including Japan in the interventionist effort. Using documentation from the United States Department of State, it will focus on the diplomatic interactions between American, British, and even French lawmakers. French officials will be part of the analysis because the French and British worked very closely with one another when coordinating and exercising foreign policy during World War I and the Russian Civil War. Furthermore, archival research illustrates that the French and British shared common views regarding allied intervention in Russia.

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[8] Ruotsila, "The Churchill-Mannerheim," 2.

[9] David S. Foglesong, *America's Secret War Against Bolshevism: U.S. Intervention in Russian Civil War, 1917-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 1-3.

[10] Foglesong, *America's Secret War*, 2.

[11] David R. Woodward, "The British Government and Japanese Intervention in Russia during World War I," *The Journal of Modern History* 46, no. 4 (1974), 663.

[12] Woodward, "The British Government," 663.

[13] Woodward, "The British Government," 665.

David. R. Francis, US ambassador to Petrograd, provided American officials with intelligence on internal violence in Russia. On December 3, 1917, Francis forwarded to Washington a message written by the acting head of the American Y.M.C.A (Young Men's Christian Associations) in Russia. The Y.M.C.A. begged for aid from the US government, as millions of private Russian citizens and thousands of Cossack troops were running severely low on food and clothing.[14] Francis' accompanying message further implied that support for anti-Bolshevism was present in Russia as there were northern and western armies initially willing to fight against the Bolsheviks.[15] He concluded his message by saying that immediate action to send men and supplies to Russia would further boost morale among the numerous anti-Bolshevik armies.[16] These records from the last month of 1917 suggests that the situation in Russia was intensifying. American representatives witnessed how the social distress of Russia's civil war wreaked havoc on civilian and combatant populations.

What is surprising however, is that it appears the British were not fully aware of resistance groups identified by Americans. In fact, research suggests that the British were almost completely clueless about such efforts to resist the Bolsheviks. A memorandum from the British Embassy addressed to the U.S. Department of State on January 28, 1918, stated that London has identified recent changes in Russian conditions requiring Parliament to reconsider changes in allied policy.[17] It then described how a few weeks before London did not see any political or military forces in Russia outside of Bolshevik territory, nor could it identify groups that were willing to aid the Allied cause due to enormous national chaos.[18] However, the British Embassy's new report suggested that "local organisations appear to have sprung up in south and southeast Russia which, with encouragement and assistance, might do something to prevent Russia from falling immediately and completely under the control of Germany."[19]

The telegram then explained how British policymakers had identified important organizations able to help conduct a coalition in preventing the Germans from seizing control of Russia, such as the various Cossack groups north of the Caucasus and the Armenians to the south.[20] The Americans appeared ahead of the British regarding the collection of intelligence on Russia's domestic situation, as the Americans brought forward evidence on the existence of anti-Bolshevik and resistance groups in some regions which the British only were able to identify over a month later.

While these contrasting calculations were minor debates, the two allied governments would eventually put these pieces of information together and come to a consensus that through the supervision and guidance of these minority Russian groups, a coalition against the Bolsheviks could potentially be formed. However, there were two early developments within the decision-making process that put allied strategy in Russia in jeopardy – initial US reluctance in joining Allied intervention and the question of Japanese involvement. What was peculiar about the nature of the US government from the beginning of the Russian Civil War was that no immediate, definitive decision was made on whether or not intervention was necessary, despite the fact Ambassador Francis made very clear that foreign aid was crucial.

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[14] *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1918, Russia, Volume I, ed. Joseph V. Fuller (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1931), Document 274. (Cited hereafter as *FRUS* with volume and document number).

[15] *FRUS,* Vol. I, Document 274.

[16] *FRUS*, Vol. I, Document 274.

[17] *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1918, Russia, Volume II, ed. Joseph V. Fuller (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1931), Document 54.

[18] *FRUS,* Vol. II, Document 54.

[19] *FRUS*, Vol. II, Document 54.

[20] *FRUS*, Vol. II, Document 54.

Diplomacy vs. Militarism

In response to hostile occurrences in Petrograd, the American government sent a letter to the Chief of the Russian General Staff, W.V. Judson. It announced that the US government would not be sending shipments of military supplies and provisions to Russia until the situation within the country was "established."[21] The cut-off would continue if the Bolsheviks remained in power and made peace with Germany.[22] This appears to show division among American officials, supporting what Trani and Davis discussed in their work.

The British government, on the other hand, responded quickly to the situation when finding evidence of dangerous actions among the Bolsheviks. On November 1, 1917, at approximately 9 p.m., Secretary of War Newton D. Baker received a cablegram from British Prime Minister Lloyd George, which pushed the United States to join in the allied interventionist effort against pro-Bolshevik forces.[23] The British Cabinet, George explained, received important news that by January, a Russian army of at least 400,000 selected men would be ready to launch a plan, approved by British military strategists.[24] Like Ambassador Francis, the prime minister was concerned about the morale of the Russian troops, as he hoped these forces could halt the Bolshevik advance.[25] George then concluded that American participation in the operation would help in its success.[26] This discussion between London and Washington policymakers suggests different interpretations regarding the seriousness of the situation in Russia. Nevertheless, America promised to keep intervention in mind as a possible option.

The Question of Japanese Involvement

While the American government continued to wait and hope for the Bolshevik threat to collapse from within, it also weighed possible use of Japanese forces. Archival research shows that there were divisions regarding who, the Americans or British, encouraged the Japanese to join the pursuit against Bolshevik Russians. On December 27, 1917, Secretary Baker met with Japanese Ambassador Naotake Sato to discuss the situation at Vladivostok.

During the interview, both Sato and Baker agreed that it would be unwise for either America or Japan to send troops to Vladivostok as it could potentially result in unifying the Russians under the Bolsheviks against foreign influence.[27] Sato also said that Great Britain and France had pushed Japan to invade Vladivostok, but the Japanese government thought it would be best to adopt an alternative policy.[28] This interaction suggests concerns regarding Russia's right to self-determination, even though the words "self-determination" was not stated in the memorandum. This interaction shows early concerns among some Allies of being seen as invasive, or even imperialistic – political ideals that President Wilson heavily criticized in his Fourteen Points.

Americans feared intervention might appear imperialistic rather than liberative. US officials hoped anti-Bolshevik action would be welcomed by the Russian people as much as possible. However, Washington saw the Japanese government invading Russia from the east as potentially threatening to the image of the Entente Powers as liberating and restoring domestic peace and order in Russia. On March 5, 1918, at 4 p.m., Secretary Baker telegrammed US Ambassador to Japan

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[21] *FRUS,* Vol. II, Document 249.
[22] *FRUS*, Vol. II, Document 249.
[23] *FRUS,* Vol. II, Document 1.
[24] *FRUS,* Vol. II, Document 1.
[25] *FRUS,* Vol. II, Document 1.
[26] *FRUS*, Vol II, Document 1.
[27] *FRUS,* Vol. II, Document 20.
[28] *FRUS*, Vol. II, Document 20.

Roland Morris, a message then copied and sent to Ambassadors of France, England, Russia, and Italy. The United States government, Baker explained, had given consideration to Japanese participation in the eastern campaign against the Bolsheviks but concluded bringing Japan into the intervention alliance was questionable.[29] Baker instead concluded that it would be best to approach the situation through peace talks. In fact, Baker believed that the Germans wanted Japanese intervention to set off a propaganda trap:

> "Otherwise the Central powers could and would make it appear that Japan was doing in the East exactly what Germany is doing in the West and so seek to counter condemnation which all the world must pronounce against Germany's invasion of Russia, which she attempts to justify on the pretext of restoring order. And it is the judgement of the Government of the United States, uttered with the utmost respect, that, even with such assurances given, they could in the same way be discredited by those who interest it was to discredit them."[30]

Baker was suggesting that if the Allies were to approve the movement of Japanese troops in the Far East, then the Germans could portray the allied nations as imperial interventionist states. To American officials, Japanese intervention would only complicate matters. This fear of a tainted global image concerned American officials and convinced them that use of Japanese troops in the east was unwise. They increasingly balked at supporting anti-Bolshevik forces.

On the contrary, the French and the British believed that Japan would prove a much-needed participant in the anti-Bolshevik campaign. As the war in Russia continued to unfold, French and British diplomats and strategists were in the process of coordinating possible maneuvers to restore the Eastern Front. In a message written to Secretary Baker from the French Ambassador to Washington on May 12, 1918, Jean Jules Jusserand, proposed three reasons as to how and why Japan could assist in defeating the Bolsheviks. First, Jusserand strongly urged that Japan intervene in Asia with allied assent, otherwise they feared that there would be a likelihood that the Japanese would later come to an understanding with Germany.[31] Second, he also insisted that Japan was acting "as an ally of the moral person represented by Russia and is resolved not to encroach in the least on Russia's right of self-determination in selecting this or that form of government, that she desires to help Russia out of the political and economic control of Germany and to assist in reconstituting Russia's national unity."[32] Jusserand, while hinting at Japan's aims for imperialist/colonial expansion, believed that Japanese leaders would be cooperative and reasonable in helping Russia to determine its own political destiny, and not take advantage of political and social insecurity of Russia.

Thirdly, Jusserand provided calculations regarding Japan's population size and military power. With a population of 56 million, an active army of 600,000 men and a reserve army of equal strength, this support could both motivate and reinforce local anti-Bolshevik forces.[33] Furthermore, Japan had increased their national wealth during the war. Even though Jusserand did not provide specific statistics about Japan's economy, he asserted that the nation's economic prosperity could assist in providing financial resources to initiate the project.[34] According to Jusserand's analysis, cooperation with the Japanese was crucial. Without any assurance of America committing itself to the effort, Jusserand concluded that Japanese intervention would be the best option.

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[29] *FRUS,* Vol. II, Document 99.
[30] *FRUS*, Vol. II, Document 99.
[31] *FRUS*, Vol. II, Document 109.
[32] *FRUS*, Vol. II, Document 109.
[33] *FRUS*, Vol. II, Document 109.
[34] *FRUS*, Vol. II, Document 109.

While Washington worried allied strategy in Russia lacked justification, Jusserand seemed to believe that there was justification for Japanese/allied actions. The occupation of the Trans-Siberian terminals at Vladivostok and Harbin, he insisted, would preserve stocks of resources and means of regular communication, both military and economic, with Russia.[35] By securing the Trans-Siberian Railway and occupying the Chita Pass, the Allies would have access to several railroads in northern Asia.[36] All these strategic calculations in terms of how Japan could help the Entente nations, in Jusserand's view, explain why the British and French felt Japanese involvement necessary. Finally, by entering Siberia, which has been an area of resistance in southern parts of Russia, Jusserand believed the Allies could create incentive among Siberian and southern Russian locals to jointly mobilize against the Bolshevik militants.[37] Jusserand pointed out that the British and French were also coming from an ethical perspective. The Russian Civil War was more than just a regional conflict that only impacted Western Russians, he explained. The crisis happening in Russia reflected the social violence and instability occurring in areas neighboring war-torn Russia, like Siberia. These common internal struggles could inspire Siberians to unite with anti-Bolshevik troops and take on the Bolsheviks together.

Conclusion

From contrasting calculations about minority groups combating Bolshevik forces, to weighing options between intervention and diplomacy, to assessing the nature and significance of Japanese intervention, American-Anglo relations after World War I regarding Russia proved challenging. While tensions hardly matched those of the American Revolution and War of 1812, there were ideological differences between Britain and America in the wake of the Great War. One side advocated for diplomacy and did not want other imperial states involved in the political affairs of Russia, while the other pressed for military solutions and more foreign intervention.

Even though the American and Japanese governments eventually joined the interventionist effort to remove the Bolshevik regime, allied intervention ended in failure. The Bolshevik regime remained in Russia for the majority of the twentieth century, and eventually it would have a powerful impact on the course of European/global political affairs. But for the immediate postwar period, Soviet Russia would remain in its own bubble, almost entirely isolated from the rest of the world. As for Britain and America, both understood the rise of Bolshevism posed a global threat to the capitalist and western imperialist universes. Some would expect the emergence of the Bolshevik state to have united British and American decision-makers against totalitarian-style socialism. No such developments occurred once the Communists consolidated its undisputed power in 1922. If the Bolsheviks were to have been thwarted, such eventualities would have come only from a united allied front at the start of Russia's civil war. Due to Anglo-American divisions, this was not to be.

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[35] *FRUS*, Vol. II, Document 109.
[36] *FRUS,* Vol. II, Document 109.
[37] *FRUS*, Vol. II, Document 109.

The Six Day War
Joel R. Beck

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The Middle East has always been a turbulent region—particularly the land currently known as Israel. Even thousands of years ago Israel was a focal point for conflict. In today's world, it remains a highly divisive nation, especially after World War II when the region would become the equivalent of a massive tug-of-war, not just between the countries of the Middle East but also between the global superpowers. Of the many conflicts plaguing the Middle East and Israel, the Third Arab Israel War, also known as the Six Day War, is often considered one of the most controversial. Historians debate the causes of the war, if it was necessary, and if larger issues were at stake beyond the Middle East, which might erupt yet again.[1] Some theorize that the United States and the Soviet Union played a part in instigating and escalating the war between Israel and its neighbors. Evidence would suggest that the Americans and the Soviets did indeed play a role in the war, but ultimately the war still boiled down to old grudges between nations and peoples.

The capital city of Israel is Jerusalem, and to understand the history of the country, the history of the city needs to be understood as well. Jerusalem, of course, holds importance for three of the most influential religions on the planet, Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Within its walls Jerusalem holds the ruins of the Temple of Solomon, which is sacred to the Jewish faith as it was the resting place of the Arc of the Covenant. All that is left of the temple is the Western Wall to which Jews travel from all across the world to pay respect and to leave prayers. Jerusalem in and of itself began as a Jewish city but was eventually taken over by various different kingdoms and empires. Most significant of those empires was Rome, which was directly responsible for a second religion to call Jerusalem home. The Church of the Holy Sepulcher located in Israel, sits on the spot where the Romans executed Jesus Christ. The Sepulcher, much like the Western Wall for Jews, remains a point of pilgrimage for many Christians the world over. Finally, the city is also considered sacred to Muslims. Upon the Temple Mount stands the Al-Aske Mosque, one of the holiest sites in the Islamic faith. Given the city's long, complicated, and sacred history, it is understandable that it became a highly sought-after prize for each of these religions.

In more modern times, Israel once again became a source of conflict. With the onset of World War II and the Nazi Party relentlessly hunting down Jewish people, many Jews fled Europe to their ancient holy land seeking asylum. In Palestine, they joined other Jews who looked to the land as a refuge since the nineteenth century. After the war, many Jews resisted returning to Europe and looked instead to create a homeland. This caused quite a few problems. First of all, the land that the Jewish refugees occupied was within the borders of Palestine, an Arab state. So, in an effort to keep the peace, a new country was established by the United Nations in the form of the sovereign

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[1] A vigorous historiographical debate about the Six Day War continues to this day. For an early work that is critical of Israel and the "Israeli Lobby" see Donald Neff, *Warriors for Jerusalem: The Six Days That Changed the Middle East* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984). A more recent but equally critical take is offered by Tom Segev, *1967: Israel, the War, and the Year That Transformed the Middle East* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2007). Michael Oren, *Six Days of War June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (New York: Rosetta Books, 2010) offers a robust defense of Israeli actions in 1967. For the Arab perspective see Youssef H Aboul-Enein, *Reconstructing a shattered Egyptian Army: War Minister Gen. Mohamed Fawzi's Memoirs, 1967-1971* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2014). Finally see Guy Laron, *The Six-Day War the Breaking of the Middle East* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017) for more balanced multi-archival approach.

nation of Israel. The United States played a large role in forming this new country, and as such, Israel became highly westernized compared to its neighbors. Israel and the United States would become close allies, which would only strain the relationship that Israel had with the other Middle Eastern countries that surrounded it.

Israel declared itself a Jewish state, which caused grief between Israel and its Arab neighbors. Jews, Christians and Muslims have always been at odds with each other since all three religions share the same basic roots. All three have also committed terrible acts against one another—the most grievous of which came during the Crusades. In a sad show of irony, religious organizations tend to hold the longest grudges. When Israel declared itself a Jewish state, Islamic countries like Palestine, Syria, Jordan and Egypt seethed at the fact that an age-old enemy was suddenly dropped in their midst. Hatred and bigotry between all sides became an underlying factor for future conflicts between all of these countries.

The events mentioned above can all be considered underlying factors creating a bed of tension between Israel and the rest of the Middle East, but there were also several more obvious factors at play. The Six Day War is also called the Third Arab-Israeli War, and one of the main causes for the third war would be the Second Arab-Israeli War. In the 1950s, the United Arab Republic–modern day Egypt– controlled an important trade route connecting the Mediterranean Seas to the Red Sea called the Straits of Tiran. Egyptian control of the trade route meant that they determined who could pass through, and Israeli ships were forbidden from the passage. So Israel launched an attack on the Sinai Peninsula in an effort to control the straits. For a while, the Israelites succeeded. They had managed to seize control of the straits, but eventually Egypt regained control. However, this development attracted the attention of the United Nations, which stepped in and forced Egypt to allow Israeli ships to pass through the straits again, effectively ending the war.

An Egyptian stamp celebrating the period during which the Suez Canal was the national possession of the UAR.

Peace would not last long between Israel and Egypt. In May of 1967, Egypt once again closed the Straits of Tiran and banned all Israeli ships. On June 5, 1967, Israel mounted one of the most impressive military campaigns to date. The Israeli Air Force launched calculated strikes against Egyptian air bases, effectively eliminating the Egyptian air force as well as any means of a competent counterattack.[2] Over the next five days, Israel drove into Egyptian, Palestinian, Syrian territories, as well as some parts of Jordan. In the span of six days, Israel nearly tripled in size and proved itself a force to be reckoned with. The success of Israel can largely be attributed to their expert planning and coordinated movements, while their enemies proved highly disorganized and unable to offer much resistance to the much smaller country.[3] So despite being incredibly outnumbered, Israel

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[2] National Archives Prague, "Preliminary Findings Regarding the Reasons for the United Arab Republic's and the Arab States' Defeat," June 17, 1967, Wilson Digital Archives, accessed 11 July 2022, https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/144973.

[3] Ibid.

managed to turn itself from a small country barely noticeable on a map to a country that was a major regional power.

Israel overtook eastern Jerusalem, Sinai Peninsula, Gaza Strip and the West Bank (see map below). Eventually Israel would relinquish control of some of these territories back to their original owners, but even after that, Israel's new borders were highly contested. To this day, most countries do not recognize the new Israeli boundaries. Despite this, Israel continues to play a major role in the affairs of the Middle East and surprisingly has managed to form new treaties with its surrounding neighbors. But despite Israel's impressive victory, every war has its price. After the fighting, hundreds of thousands of people were displaced from their homes and forced to flee. Reports vary, but estimates have up to five hundred thousand Palestinian refugees evacuating the areas that Israel now occupied.[4] Additionally, Jewish citizens of other countries found themselves needing to flee to Israel since the country's actions led to greater hatred between Muslims and Jews in the region.[5]

Map of the region

The Six Day War broke out at the height of the Cold War, and, just like every other major event of that time, two specific countries managed to be involved. The United States and the Soviet Union, in their constant struggle against each other, managed to worm their way into this conflict. The United States and Israel had a long-standing relationship, one that dates back to the country's birth in 1948. The U.S.S.R. was an ally to both Syria and the United Arab Republic. Prior to the Six Day War, the Soviets sent an intelligence report to the United Arab Republic. This report has been cited by many historians as a key factor in the start of the Six Day War, as the report was supposedly given to Egypt as a means to incite a war between Israel and the Arab states. The Soviets claimed that Israeli troops were massing to attack Syria. According to historian Galia Golan, "This information set in motion Egyptian actions and the escalating crisis that ultimately led to the war."[6] Counterintelligence was a common theme during the Cold War as countries like the Soviet Union and the United States attempted to influence nations indirectly to suit their needs. As such, it is highly likely that the Soviet Union could have spread false information to incite conflict in the Middle East in an attempt to increase its control in the area.

Israel was closely allied with the United States, so eliminating the country's influence in the area would have served the U.S.S.R quite well, since its allies like Syria and Egypt would have taken control of the area and gained a substantial bit of power. It was also apparent that the Americans believed that the Soviets were involved in some way. US Secretary of State Dean Rusk stated in an interview, "The Soviets played a considerable role in stirring up the sense of hostility and crisis in the

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[4] Arieh J. Kochavi, "The US, Britain and the Palestinian Refugee Question after the Six Day War," *Middle Eastern Studies* 48, no. 4 (2012): 537-52.

[5] Yitzhak Mualem, "Quiet Diplomacy: The Exodus of Egyptian Jews between the Six-Day War and the War of Attrition," *Jewish Political Studies Review* 31, no. 1/2 (2020): 124-45.

[6] Galia Golan, "The Soviet Union and the Outbreak of the June 1967 Six-Day War," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 8, no. 1 (2006): 3-19.

Middle East just prior to the June war."[7] The Soviets also used this event as a means to build a larger presence in the area. "Soviet policy toward the Arab-Israeli conflict was driven by broader international considerations,"[8] wrote Galia. "The conflict allowed Moscow to move into the Middle East after the death of Josif Stalin, and in subsequent years the standoff between Israel and the Arab countries permitted the Soviet Union to strengthen its military and diplomatic presence in the region."[9] During the Cold War the United States and the U.S.S.R. constantly labored to gain the upper hand against one another, and the Six Day War provided the Soviets with a perfect opportunity.

Political scientist Guy Laron argues that "The Soviet Union did not in fact seek to provoke an armed conflict in the Middle East and that the war began because of independent actions by Egypt."[10] Laron believes that the dependent economic state of Egypt was a major factor in the cause of the war and that the Soviet information was a ploy to distance the U.S.S.R from Middle Eastern involvement. Laron also claims that "For two years before the Six-Day Mideast War, Soviet-Egyptian relations were increasingly troubled because the Soviet Union wanted to disengage from radical regimes in the Third World, the UAR included."[11] Some in the Soviet Union viewed countries like Egypt and Syria as becoming a burden not only to the Soviet economy, but the stability of the U.S.S.R as a whole.[12] Laron portrays Egypt almost like a "problem child" that the Soviets sought to cast aside to save their own skin and keep themselves out of third world politics altogether. And so, Laron argues against the common assumption of Soviet meddling in Middle Eastern affairs.

Egypt accused the United States of interfering in the war as well. The president of Egypt at the time, Gamal Abdel Nasser, claimed that U.S. troops were involved in the ground assaults led by the Israelis. Even though the Americans were preoccupied in other parts of the world, Secretary Rusk claimed that "Viet Nam was never such a problem as to cause us to neglect other areas. There were times when for weeks on end President Johnson would give more time to Europe or to the Middle East or to Latin America than he did to Viet Nam."[13] Still, it was unlikely the president would commit troops. Egypt also accused the United States of supplying weapons and intelligence to the Israelis. However, these claims can be disputed since America had the opportunity to get involved before the war even began when Egypt closed the Straits of Tiran. Secretary Rusk explained "We looked upon it as involving two stages: one, a declaration by the Maritime powers … that the Strait of Tiran was an international waterway, and that innocent passage through the Strait of Tiran was available for all nations, and for ships carrying all flags."[14] As for the second stage, it involved "the possibility of forcing ships through the Strait of Tiran even against Egyptian opposition."[15] So the Americans were prepared to intervene, and the only reason these plans were not acted upon, explained Rusk, was because the war had already started. Most, if not all of Nasser's claims can be labeled as conspiracy theories, which Nasser spun quite often since the Egyptian loss was quick and rather brutal at the hands of Israel. This is not to say that the United States did not play a role in the war. Due to American influence on Israel, and the strained relationship between

[7] Oral history transcript, Dean Rusk, interview 4 (IV), 3/8/1970, by Paige E. Mulhollan, LBJ Library Oral Histories, Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library

[8] Golan, "The Soviet Union and the Outbreak of the June 1967 Six-Day War," 3-19.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Guy Laron, "Stepping Back from the Third World: Soviet Policy toward the United Arab Republic, 1965–1967," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 12, no. 4 (2010): 99-118.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Czech Foreign Ministry Archive "The Visit of the [Syrian] Ba'ath in the USSR, Political Report No. 3," February 16, 1967, Wilson Center Digital Archives, accessed 20 May 2022, https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/114305.

[13] Dean Rusk Oral History.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

the U.S. and the Arab states of the Middle East, the mere appearance of American support for Israel put major pressure on the relationships between Israel and its neighbors.

The causes for the war are many and they vary quite a bit from theory to theory. Some claim that the Israeli decision to strike was taken not for military reasons but rather to prevent a diplomatic solution which might have entailed disadvantages for the Israeli side. This was entirely possible.[16] With military action, Israel managed to forge its own borders in an incredibly short amount of time. Whereas at the negotiating table, talks could have stretched out for months, if not years at a time, and Israel would have gone nowhere. Others claimed that the Soviet Union was concerned about Israel becoming a nuclear power and decided to interfere to prevent that from happening by having their allies prepare for war, thus sparking an Israeli attack.[17]

President Johnson in the White House "situation room" during the Six Day War. Johnson is second to right, and to his left is Vice President Hubert Humphrey. Image Courtesy of the Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library.

Like any major event in history, the true cause of the war remains open for debate. The Middle East may very well be the most contested area in the world. The region is more often than not in a state of flux and has been since humans first learned to swing sticks at one another. With the region having a rich history and ties to several major and conflicting religions, there is likely never going to be lasting peace. The Six Day War is proof of that. The fact that it is called the Third Arab-Israeli War speaks volumes about how the region is in a near constant state of war. And the countries in the area are not the only ones to blame since for centuries outsiders have fought for control of the area. The United States and the Soviet Union are only two in a long line of countries that have tried to influence the region and bring it under their wing.

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[16] Roland Popp, "Stumbling Decidedly into the Six-Day War," *Middle East Journal* 60, no. 2 (2006): 281-309

[17] Isabella Ginor and Gideon Remez, "LETTER TO THE EDITOR," *Jewish Political Studies Review* 20, no. 3/4 (2008): 213-16.

War on Drugs Legislation in the 1980s: Failed Policies That Created Racial Injustice
Shane Smith

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For the past 40 years, the War on Drugs has negatively affected millions of African Americans. Not only have prisons become overcrowded as a result of failed drug control policies, but millions of people are also still facing consequences such as poverty, broken family dynamics, violence, and tensions with law enforcement in their communities. Understanding the origins of this plague helps us to understanding why crime and incarceration remain hotly debated contemporary issues to this day. Prison expansion and violence did not just arbitrarily hit these communities: they resulted from failed government policies in the 1970s and 1980s.

Discrimination in the criminal justice system originated with the implementation of the 13th Amendment in the United States Constitution. This Amendment, passed in 1865, prohibited slavery in the United States and its jurisdiction, "except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted."[1] This provision was immediately exploited by southern plantation owners and as a result, incarceration skyrocketed and continued to grow for decades.[2] It was not until the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that African Americans achieved progress. Unfortunately, this progress ground to a halt when President Richard Nixon declared his War on Drugs in June of 1971. Mandatory minimum sentencing and no-knock warrants became acceptable with Nixon's proposed legislation.[3] However, it was not until President Ronald Reagan passed the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986 that this war would specifically target African Americans in the criminal justice system.

Since it is a more contemporary issue, few historians have researched this topic in detail. Prominent legal scholars and criminologists have studied the effects on today's legal system. Michelle Alexander, noted legal scholar and former member of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), was one of the first to examine the topic and incorporate historical components into her study of race and incarceration. Alexander published *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* in 2010, then released a second edition of her book in 2020. In that second edition, she addresses changes and current issues, but also offered more historical context. Alexander describes mass incarceration as a caste system, in which African Americans sit at the bottom tier, unable to move up. Like slavery and segregation, mass incarceration is another form of whites maintaining their position of power by disadvantaging African Americans. "The drug war had little to do with public concern about drugs and much to do with public concern about race," she argued.[4] This theme would be central to the arguments presented in her scholarship.

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[1] U.S. Constitution, amend. 13, sec. 1.

[2] *13th,* directed by Ava Duvernay, (Kandoo Films, 2016), video.

[3] Drug Policy Institute, "A History of the Drug War," https://drugpolicy.org/issues/brief-history-drug-war, accessed 15 June 2022.

[4] Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*, 2nd ed. (New York: The New Press, 2020), 62-63.

Alexander's book, however, did not find an audience immediately, despite the importance of the issue. It took a few years to become a bestseller, and it was difficult to get people to listen to her concerns. She released the second edition in 2020 to address changes that occurred since the initial publication. These developments surround police brutality and bipartisan support for ending the mass prison problem. During this time, historians and criminologists began to notice Alexander's work and to utilize and expand upon on her arguments. For instance, historian Matthew D. Lassiter took a similar approach to Alexander, crediting her influence and agreeing with her that the War on Drugs amounted to a war on race. Lassiter describes policy changes in the 1980s as a new form of racial and social control of minority urban areas, while in the suburbs those affected by the problem were considered "innocent" and "victims."[5] Alexander notes how economic problems that affected urban centers in the 1980s—such as globalization and deindustrialization— took jobs from blue-collar workers.[6] Like Alexander, Lassiter suggests the government took it upon itself to enforce social control instead of helping peoples in need.

Another argument Lassiter makes that fleshes out Alexander's findings is that anticrime legislation was supported by "concerned parents" of white teenagers affected by drugs. When drugs started hitting suburban areas, organizations like the National Federation of Parents for Drug Free Youth (NFP) began to push Reagan for tougher legislation.[7] Thus, legislators had the backing of white parents. Minimum sentencing and disparities in sentencing emerged as a result. Alexander never really discussed how the legislation passed, but Lassiter provides a glimpse of the motives of the government.

Another scholar who expanded on Alexander's analysis was criminologist Anthony B. Bradley, who took a different approach by examining the causes of the massive growth in prison population and seeking solutions to the problem of mass incarceration. Approaching the matter as a human rights issue, he focuses on how individuals are stripped of their human identity and no longer seen as humans when they enter the criminal justice system.[8] He seconds Alexander by documenting the consequences of incarceration such as difficulty finding employment and receiving loans after release. Bradley expands on Alexander's point that the effect is not solely on the convicted drug user: imprisonment has massive consequences on those around the incarcerated.[9] In terms of health, housing, and funding, this point explains the damage the War on Drugs caused outside of prisons.

Influenced by the historians, criminologists, and scholars from other disciplines who have focused on how the War on Drugs affects African Americans, this essay will look at the role government played in creating these problems. This research supports Alexander's claim that this war was a war on race and not a war on drugs. It addresses the question, "Did the response by the federal government to the growing drug epidemic help Americans or did it create a never-ending cycle that disproportionately affected African Americans during the 1980s?" Using public laws, public hearings, and editorials from journalists, I examine how the government failed to respond appropriately to the growing drug problem in America, which resulted in a damaging and destructive cycle to victims and their families, one that continues to this day.

Drug use increased and became politicized by the 1980s. Americans hold values like personal autonomy and freedom, which contradicts, in some ways, regulation of drugs. Criminologist Michael

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[5] Matthew D. Lassiter, "Impossible Criminals: The Suburban Imperatives of America's War on Drugs," *Journal of American History* 102 (2015): 127.

[6] Alexander, *The New Jim Crow*, 63-64.

[7] Lassiter, "Impossible Criminals," 128.

[8] Anthony V. Bradley, *Ending Overcriminalization and Mass Incarceration: Hope from Civil Society* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 7.

[9] Bradley, *Ending Overcriminalization and Mass Incarceration*," 18.

Tonry observes that Americans believe an individual has the right to do whatever they want, but, at the same time, they believe that if actions negatively affect society, they should be against the law.[10] Yet, he notes, there is the vagueness of what constituents "affecting society." The founder of Drug Policy Alliance, Ethan Nadelmann, explains this point further. Throughout history, when the dominant class experiments or uses drugs, it is regarded as fine; however, when the minority groups takes up drugs (African Americans with cocaine, Mexicans with marijuana), laws are passed against drug use.[11] Nadelmann expands on Alexander's argument, further noting that the reason mass incarceration might be called the "modern-day Jim Crow," is not because it does not affect whites, but that African Americans were affected by the system more than whites. It was when African Americans started using drugs that the American public became concerned about the morality of drug use.

Thus, it came to no surprise when Ronald Reagan, 40th president of the United States, sponsored the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986 and the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988, which passed Congress with bipartisan support.[12] As Lassiter had noted, white parents fully supported this measure. The government, backed by the people, enforced harsh legislation that punished drug users. The Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986 created an enforcement budget along with numerous regulations. The most notable was the new mandatory minimum sentencing, also known as the "100-to-1" ratio.[13] This law mandated that 500 grams of powder cocaine (typically associated with whites) would be equal to the sentence of 5 grams of crack cocaine (typically associated with African Americans). The law also favored incarceration while focusing less on treatment and rehabilitation programs. Thus, the budget allocated over 70% of the budget for law enforcement, yet only allotted around 20% to treatment programs. Despite these changes, Reagan promised the American people: "This legislation is not intended as a means of filling our jails with drug users."[14] As the numbers will show, this is what occurred as a result of this legislation.

Evidence from the Department of Justice backed up the ACLU's claim that War on Drugs laws disproportionately affected African Americans. In 1980, authorities arrested roughly 450,000 people for drug use or possession of drugs; however, by 1989 this number had risen to close to 1 million people.[15] As a result, the prison population during this time skyrocketed. Significantly, while the white arrest rate for drugs only increased 56%, the arrest rate for African Americans grew by 219%, almost four times that of whites.[16] The African American arrest rate increased more than 150% more than whites during this time. Unequal sentencing guidelines enacted by Reagan's Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986 explain the increase. Despite the president's vow his legislation would not fill prisons, the rate of incarceration rose during this time. Even more noteworthy was that it significantly affected African Americans at higher rates.

This occurred because of the mandatory minimum sentencing established by the law. Even though it took 500 grams of powder cocaine and 5 grams of crack cocaine to be convicted, the US Sentencing Commission reported no pharmaceutical differences between the two drugs.[17] This not only explained why African Americans were convicted at higher rates; it also supports Alexander's

[10] Michael Tonry, "Race and the War on Drugs," *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, no. 1 (1994): 38.

[11] *The Racist War on Drugs,* directed by Ethan Nadelmann, (Big Think, 2014), video.

[12] Bradley, *Ending Overcriminalization and Mass Incarceration*, 21.

[13] Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986, Public Law 99-570, 99th Cong. (October 27, 1986).

[14] Gerald M. Boyd, "Reagan Signs Anti-Drug Measure; Hopes for 'Drug-Free Generation,'" *New York Times*, October 28, 1986.

[15] Howard N. Snyder "Arrest in the United States 1980-2009," *Patterns and Trends* (US Justice Department), 234319, September 2011: 12.

[16] Snyder, "Arrest in the United States 1980-2009," 13.

[17] Deborah J. Vagins and Jesselyn McCurdy, "Cracks in the System: 20 Years of the Unjust Federal Crack Cocaine Law," *The American Civil Liberties Union* (2006): 1.

point that this was a war on race rather than a war on drugs. The question remains: why were African Americans arrested at higher rates? The ACLU reported that whites used drugs, even crack cocaine, at higher rates than African Americans.[18] Therefore, why were African Americans arrested more often?

A report published by Human Rights Watch provides a glimpse into the disparity. "It was [low-income] neighborhoods which more visibly suffered from crack addiction, and the nuisance and violence that accompanied the struggle of different drug-dealing groups to establish control over its distribution in the 1980s and 1990s," concludes the organization.[19] As a result of economic decline and addiction in these distressed areas, law enforcement found it more appropriate to regulate the areas affected most by drugs and economic blight. Tonry noted that it was easier for police to make arrests in areas where community organization was limited and drug dealing proliferated on the streets.[20] Therefore, weak economies and paltry social institutions of these areas meant they became patrolled at higher rates. This sharpened the existing divide between law enforcement and African Americans. Instead of helping crowded and lower income urban areas, the government dispatched police to enforce strict laws. As a result, African Americans were imprisoned at higher rates than whites, and the cycle of race-related drug prosecution described by Alexander and other scholars went into motion.

The National Drug Control Strategy of 1989 revealed the government's logic. Although it emerged after Reagan's presidency, the strategy described the goals of the national government in its war on drugs. From 1989-1992 each National Drug Control Strategy followed the same four mandates: reducing the number of Americans using drugs, holding drug users responsible, reducing the supply and the demand for drugs, and calling for a nationwide effort.[21] The problem with this strategy was that it directly targeted drug users and justified mass incarceration. The strategy does not promote rehabilitating drug users; it only mentioned holding them accountable. The emphasis was on law enforcement and the criminal justice system, however, there should have been a greater focus on treatment and rehabilitation services.

Bradley sees several reasons why we punish those that have violated drug laws: "deterrence, incapacitation, rehabilitation, retribution, and restitution."[22] Deterrence is the first effort to discourage people from committing crimes due to the punishments they would receive. Yet incapacitation (which was promoted through the two drug abuse acts) hardly deterred users or dealers, as can be seen from the massive incarceration spike. Retribution offers another form of deterrence; it justified the government keeping social and political control by removing personal rights like voting and loans. This also had a major effect on recidivism rates. Overall, the government focused on deterring drug users. Thus, with African Americans being convicted at higher rates, the legislation created an unjust system.

Bradley argues that no system of rehabilitation has worked in America since the War on Drugs started.[23] Deterrence, specifically incarceration, appeared the favorable option. Yet, in 1987, the American Medical Association (AMA) labeled drug dependency a medically treatable disease.[24] As mentioned, incarceration rates still boomed in the 1980s. It came as no surprise that the budget

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[18] Vagins and McCurdy, "Cracks in the System," 1.

[19] Jamie Fellner, "Race, Drugs, and Law Enforcement," *Stanford Law & Public Policy Review* 20, no. 2 (2009): 263-264.

[20] Tonry, "Race and the War on Drugs," 52.

[21] US Department of Justice, "National Drug Control Strategy: Progress in the War on Drugs 1989-1992, The Office of National Drug Control Policy," January 1993: 2-3, accessed 15 June 2022, https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/ondcp/140556.pdf.

[22] Bradley, *Ending Overcriminalization and Mass Incarceration*, 18.

[23] Bradley, *Ending Overcriminalization and Mass Incarceration*, 18.

[24] "History of Drug Treatment," American Addiction Centers: Desert Hope Treatment Center., accessed 15 June 2022, https://deserthopetreatment.com/addiction-guide/substance-abuse/treatment-history/.

for rehabilitation and treatment programs increased in the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988.[25] The fact that drug dependency was medically treatable, suggests incarceration, still the favored punishment for addicts, amounted to an illogical solution. Alongside this, many Americans faced consequences from the preexisting laws, and law enforcement funding grew substantially. Thus, the government failed to act appropriately, resulting in the creation of the current cycle associated with the inflated prison system.

Those suffering from drug addiction need to decide for themselves to get help. Individuals must have personal autonomy regarding rehabilitation. In fact, it is unknown how many Americans might have used treatment but did not seek it out. The government failed to assist these people when they were seeking help. In a Congressional hearing before the Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control, Jesse Jackson—civil rights leader and former politician—explained to the committee that: "The waiting line is four to nine months for drug rehabilitation."[26] Although it is the addict's responsibility to seek help, it is also the job of the government to ensure there are options. In the 1980s, as Jackson suggests, the wait was too long to make a difference. To Alexander's point, Jackson noted that low-income areas in big cities were especially affected by this. Many African Americans could not afford personal healthcare or medical assistance, and, as a result, did not receive the assistance they needed. The government had monies available to help these communities, yet it failed. Instead, it funded law enforcement excessively rather than supporting rehabilitation programs.

Greater problems resulting from inadequate funding and Reagan's mandatory minimum sentencing guidelines related to the court system. When someone was caught with the minimum amount of drugs (5 grams of crack or 500 grams of powder cocaine), mandatory minimums required imprisonment for a certain amount of time. Therefore, judges could not weigh the particular circumstances involved in the cases. Former district court Judge John S. Martin Jr. explained how many judges, like himself, opposed mandatory minimum sentencing, which stripped them of flexibility and barred them from practicing discretion for the given circumstances.[27] When drug users were arrested and brought to court, judges were mandated to follow guidelines given them by law. Not only did this undermine the checks and balances of the system, it also punished drug users instead of offering assistance. This created many of the existing problems today with the criminal justice system.

As previously mentioned, the money to fund the War on Drugs was improperly implemented. Americans paid huge sums towards this war. In a 1989 editorial, journalist Liz Sly explained that Americans had already spent $7.8 billion to fund the war on drugs, and she questioned whether throwing more money at the problem would solve the issue (as seemed to be believed).[28] The money supported the wrong services as well. Therefore, not only did the government fail African Americans it put behind bars, but it also failed the American people by funding a war that could not be won.

Both the media and organizations like NFP fed the problem which continued to fester. A contributing factor was the government exaggerating the drug problem. President George H.W. Bush addressed the nation on September 5, 1989, about his National Drug Control Policy.[29] Not only did he call for more law enforcement and blame the drug users for their actions, but he also

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[25] Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988, Public Law 100-690, 100th Cong. (November 18, 1988).
[26] US Congress, House of Representatives, *The Federal Drug Strategy: What Does it Mean for Black America? Hearing Before the Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control.* 101st Cong., 1st sess., (September 15, 1989), 21.
[27] John S. Martin, Jr., "Why Mandatory Minimums Make No Sense," *Notre Dame Journal of Law, Ethics & Public Policy,* 311 (2004): 312.
[28] Liz Sly, "Odds Stacked Against the President," *Chicago Tribune,* September 15, 1989.
[29] *Presidential Address on National Drug Policy,* directed by George H. W. Bush, (C-span, 1989), video.

inflated the issue. As a result, Americans who ranked drug control as a priority jumped from 22 percent (in the summer before) to 64 percent.[30] This spike was attributed to the wave of panic that Bush spread. Journalist Stephen Chapman highlighted Bush's lies in an editorial two days after the speech. He inveighed that the punishment should fall on the drug dealer, not the drug user. Blaming the drugs and those using them amounted to blaming alcohol for the problems that came with alcohol prohibition in the 1920s.[31]

While the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986 had bipartisan support, there were things Democrats wanted to make sure were included in the bill. The most notable was education. Democratic Senator John D. Rockefeller IV of West Virginia complained that:

> "Of the federal Department of Education's $18.4 billion annual budget, only $3 million was spent last year on drug education and prevention. Yet…experts told the Democratic Task Force on Drug Abuse that effective drug education programs were the key to cutting back on adolescent drug use."[32]

Limited funds went toward education programs—which would have offered the most effective drug treatment and prevention programs. Education would have improved the lives of those who started drugs and deterred them. This would have also opened the door for addicts to seek out drug rehabilitation.

One of the most famous attempts at educating the youth during the 1980s came with First Lady Nancy Reagan's "Just Say No" campaign. Her mission aimed to confront the drug issue in schools and to address the growing epidemic. She noted that implementing systems like this should be a major priority for students as it will help in preventing them from experimenting with drugs.[33] This was a major step in preventing the drug problem. Reagan teamed up with athletes and celebrities. One former educator and mother of a Chicago student explained that children needed to be educated about drugs.[34] Implementing education programs would be beneficial because it would help confront the issue before it started and lead to positive improvements for those already addicted.

Although the campaign helped a lot of students, it also failed many students of color. The first reason why was, like many of the other programs: a lack of funding. Outside of donations, the organization relied on funding through local taxes. African Americans lived already disproportionately in disadvantaged areas with poor housing and community services as a result of redlining and other forms of housing segregation often dating from the Great Migration. Therefore, some districts received less funding than others. In Illinois, for example, wealthier districts spent five times or more on each student compared to poorer districts.[35] Typically, suburban or very affluent inner-city schools received more funding. This wasn't just a local problem, however. According to a public hearing by prominent civil rights leaders, the Secretary of Education William Bennett, and others in the Reagan administration never held schools accountable for ensuring these services were provided.[36] Therefore, the federal government played a role in ensuring programs were put in place,

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[30] Michael Oreskes, "Washington Talk; Drug War Underlines Fickleness of Public," *Chicago Tribune*, September 6, 1990.

[31] Stephen Chapman, "The Dishonesty of Bush's War on Drugs," *Chicago Tribune*, September 7, 1989.

[32] John D. Rockefeller, "Drug Abuse," *Issues in Science and Technology 3*, no. 3 (Spring 1987): 10.

[33] Nancy Reagan, "'Just Say No,'" *National School Safety Center* (Spring 1986): 4.

[34] "Helping Children to Just Say No," *Chicago Tribune*, May 25, 1988.

[35] Patrick Reardon and Karen Thomas, "School Fund Scales Tipping Further: Rich, Poor Districts Grow Apart," *Chicago Tribune*, July 9, 1989.

[36] US Congress, House of Representatives, Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control, *The Federal Drug Strategy: What Does it Mean for Black America?* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1990), 22.

however, they did not take appropriate measures to ensure this. As a result, schools, specifically in poor inner-city areas, never provided these services, and students in this social class suffered substantial losses.

Similar to how Bush's speech portrayed drug users as the problem rather than pointing to drugs or dealers, the "Just Say No" campaign failed by placing blame on individuals rather than the drugs themselves.[37] This demoralized countless drug users—specifically the youth who these campaigns aimed to help. As a result, instead of helping drug users gain education about drugs, Reagan's program blamed them and amplified the problem. Youth already hooked on drugs, who needed the education to get off them, were essentially condemned. Thus, the organization helped many students avoid drugs, but it failed to help millions already affected.

Nancy Reagan's campaign relied on parental' support.[38] Parents need to assist their children to seek education in order to prevent this problem. However, as Lassiter points out, this mainly meant affluent, whites in suburban areas. On the contrary, about 59 percent of African American families were headed by single-parent mothers.[39] This made it difficult to get poorer parents' support when they were occupied with other responsibilities. Along with that, 32.2 percent of young black men (ages 20-29) were under some form of supervision under the criminal justice system.[40] As a result of the massive mandatory minimum sentencing and other guidelines, families were severely affected by the War on Drugs. Parental support in these cases decreased because the parents were already affected by the war. These families needed the education and treatment programs, yet they were the ones that never received it.

Another impact the War on Drugs had on families was increased health problems. Not only were families negatively affected, but disease also spread, specifically in low-income areas. The National Urban League, an organization committed to ensuring civil liberties in urban areas, noted that 52 percent of women with AIDS were African Americans and 53 percent of children with AIDS were African American.[41] Alexander observes that this was one of the many social and economic consequences of the War on Drugs. Most families affected were unable to afford healthcare until Obamacare. Thus, the War on Drugs put many families in economic turmoil.

Other economic factors resulted after offenders were released from prison. Relating to Bradley's point about prisoners losing their sense of humanity, ex-cons had difficulty finding jobs, getting loans for housing, and were denied rights like voting and food stamps.[42] As a result, many former criminals reentered the criminal justice system. For example, because of their inability to find work, many moved to drug dealing (similar to during the Prohibition era). Unsurprisingly, the recidivism rate for drug users was close to 70 percent within just three years of release, and 6 percent higher for African Americans than whites.[43] This statistic shows the severity of the problem the War on Drugs created. While American society claimed to respect personal autonomy, personal freedoms were targeted when it came to drug users. Specifically, African Americans saw prosecution at a substantially higher rate (with regards to tougher laws on crack cocaine), and this disparity left them

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[37] Michael McGrath, "Nancy Reagan and the Negative Impact on the 'Just Say No' Anti-Drug Campaign," *The Guardian*, January 17, 1989.

[38] Reagan, "'Just Say No,'" 4.

[39] US Census Bureau, "Single Parents and Their Children," (November 1989): 1, accessed 15 June 2022, https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1989/demo/sb-03-89.html.

[40] Marc Mauer and Tracy Huling, "Young Black Americans and the Criminal Justice System: Five Years Later," *The Sentencing Project*, (October 1995): 1.

[41] US Congress, House of Representatives, *The Federal Drug Strategy: What Does it Mean for Black America?* 52.

[42] Bradley, *Ending Overcriminalization and Mass Incarceration: Hope from Civil Society*, 17-19.

[43] Patrick A. Langan and David J. Levin, "Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 1994," *Bureau of Justice Statistics Special Report*, NCJ: 193427, (August 2002): 1.

disadvantaged not only in terms of getting punished but also with the effects after their release from prison.

The War on Drugs, responding to a real epidemic, set in motion damaging cycles that disproportionately affected African Americans. From harsh prison sentences mandated by mandatory minimums, limitations on options for rehabilitation services, and a broken drug education system, severe health and economic consequences resulted. Problems continue to this day. Millions of families are broken up, millions of young men have been imprisoned, and the negative affects cripple generation after generation. It is through understanding the origins of this drug war that we can better address problem moving forward. This war was not about drugs or about protecting the American people. This was a war on race and maintaining social control.

Representation of Ancient Queens: The Reality of Their Lives
Shelby Hummel

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Having few written or archaeological sources to consult, scholars often overlook the fascinating history of ancient queens. Even the limited information that exists can be skewed, whether it be a Roman depiction of a foreign queen or the portrayal of queens on coins or in narratives written by ancient scholars. Zenobia of Palmyra, a third-century queen from the Palmyrene region, was one such regal figure about whom very little information can be found; historians must base their knowledge of her on general information about the lives of women during her reign. They must weigh the fact that some of the stories about Zenobia were written by her opponents with an interest in making her seem villainous. Then there is the opposite case of Cleopatra VII, where there is so much information that historians must sift through to try and find facts behind legends and myths. Some of the stories about her are fictional, designed to make her look maleficent, while others focus largely on the lives of the men around her. This study examines an array of ancient queens and how they were perceived during their time, and how these perceptions affected the way they were viewed centuries after. Because of differences in cultures, the Romans wrote negatively about the queens. An understanding of the lives and depictions of women during the ancient period can help us get beyond these limitations. There were different standards for Roman women and foreign women. Actions that may seem normal to a Roman woman would have made little sense to foreign women. Reality may be different than the myths Ancient Romans came to know centuries after the queens' reigns.

Most ancient sculptures and portraits were idealized. A.A. Donahue, a professor of classical and near eastern archaeology at Bryn Mawr College, writes, "Sculpture in the second half of the fifth century displays a balance of naturalistic rendering and idealized-meaning a preference for typical rather than distinctively individualized-forms."[1] Artists sought to connect their subject to a god or goddess. Although in a different era, Emperor Augustus used his wife's image in art to communicate values he cherished.[2] Created the year after Augustus died, a bust of Livia wearing a diadem of a fertility goddess emphasized her maternal role. "With the portraiture of Livia, the Roman artists of the court created an appropriate imagery of the empress-matron, an imagery that could represent an important individual…while at the same time communicating concepts of royalty, family, and gender ideology," wrote classicist Elaine Fantham.[3] Livia is just one example of how Augustus used people around him to show the values he cherished. But he was not the only one to use the image of people around him. Claudius created coins after the fall of his wife Messalina that were completely different from the usual Roman subjects depicted on coins. Susan Wood, professor of art history at Oakland University, writes that the representation on coins went through a dramatic change, from the military and political policies of Claudius to a focus on the family of his new wife. This was

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[1] A. A. Donohue, "Dress and adornment in Archaic and Classical Greece," in *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World*, eds. Sharon L. James and Sheila Dillon (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012): 172.

[2] Elaine Fantham, et. al, *Women in the Classical World: Image and Text* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994): 305.

[3] Fantham, *Women in the Classical World*, 308.

because he wanted to dissociate himself from his previous wife Messalina.[4] Wood also writes that Agrippina's image in sculpture played a similar function: to dissociate himself from Messalina. Images of women can be used for different types of propaganda, but they were often idealized to prove a point to the viewer.

Unfortunately, by the time many historians discovered several of the key sculptures that idealize women, they were in fragments. Sheila Dillon, a professor of art history and classical studies at Duke University, explains how this is just one of the many methodological problems historians face when dealing with the materials. Trying to distinguish and identify each piece can be challenging. She writes, "I do not mean identifying the subject of the portrait...but simply being able to tell whether a particular statue or statue fragment *is* from a portrait."[5] She goes on to explain that it is very rare to find statues that contain all the original pieces, many having lost their heads or arms through the centuries. Dillon describes the challenges of even determining if the sculpture was of a mortal woman or a goddess. Many of the sculptures had women wearing the same costume as an image of a goddess does.[6] Many women subjects wanted to be displayed as a goddess so that they could show their loyalty to Rome. With goddess imagery, a woman could make herself seem more approachable and have more authority over their subjects, even if they did not have true power as their male family members would have had. When it came to inscribing many of the statues of imperial women, the male lineage was placed before or after the name of the subject. This was not only to establish the lineage of the woman but also to show that a queen had some small power within her family. While Augustus was in power, he wanted to show that his imperial family was a family in every sense. As women are needed in the family to continue the lineage, an image of a fertile mother guaranteed the health and happiness of the Roman people.[7] Augustus promoted this idea of Rome as family through several works of art, coins, and different shrines throughout the Empire. Women were essential in Roman life, but the depiction and idealization can make many historians stumble when identifying a sculpture or coin, whether it be for the goddess or for the patron.

Before Cleopatra VII, her ancestor Arsinoe II was often depicted as goddess. There were coins made of the Ptolemies that showed Arsinoe wearing a diadem when her cult was first created. The divinities and royalty presented themselves as divine through wearing the diadem.[8] Arisone could have chosen the coin portrait or someone else could have chosen it for her. Either way, the portrayal of Arsinoe as a goddess not only shows her place in the hierarchy but to also shows her connection to the divine. Arsinoe was one of the many Egyptian queens portrayed this way, but she may have been the first. Cleopatra VII would do this several times throughout her own reign, centuries later, as she symbolically identified herself with Isis. Sarah B. Pomeroy, an American professor of classics, describes how, like many Egyptian rulers, Cleopatra considered herself not only descended from the Egyptian sun god, but also a reincarnation of Isis with Osiris being the reincarnation of Mark Antony.[9] It was typical for Egyptian rulers to humanize a certain god or goddess. This was not the case in Roman society. They may have portrayed themselves on coins or statues as a god or goddess, but they did not directly present themselves as reincarnations. Roman society seemed to hold foreign dignitaries to a different standard along with the women outside of Rome.

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[4] Susan Wood, "Memoriae Agrippinae: Agrippina the Elder in Julio-Claudian Art and Propaganda," *American Journal of Archaeology* 92 (1988): 410.

[5] Sheila Dillon, "Female Portraiture in the Hellenistic Period," in *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World*, eds. Sharon L. James and Sheila Dillon (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012): 265.

[6] Dillon, 266.

[7] Fantham, 313.

[8] Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Women in Hellenistic Egypt: From Alexander to Cleopatra* (New York: Schocken Books, 1984): 29.

[9] Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity* (New York: Schocken Books, 1975): 188.

Different social "spheres" existed in Rome into which a woman might fit. Women occupied the private social sphere but not the public sphere. Still many Roman women worked behind the scenes to help their male kin. Aude Chatelard, a doctoral student at the University of Strasbourg, argues that women became more emancipated during the Roman Republic, especially when it came to family, economic, and sexual matters.[10] Romans who wrote about ancient queens centuries later had to rely on information written before the emancipation of women, which would have contained some bias towards women. However, allies of the emperor wrote most of the sources, and they tended to make foreign enemies appear inferior. This can especially be seen in Plutarch's discussion of Cleopatra. Documents related to Cleopatra's ceremonies provide a great deal of information. Elena Woodacre explains how, fortunately for scholars today, rituals and ceremonies were well recorded because of their importance to the monarchy.[11] The Donations of Alexandria is just one example of a well-documented ceremony involving the queen. However, its description could also be seen as bias toward Cleopatra since Plutarch describes the ceremony as "theatrical and arrogant, and to evince hatred of Rome."[12] Luckily for many historians, this is one ceremony that seems to be well documented. That does not mean there were not some biases reflecting Augustan propaganda.[13] Woodacre notes that some sources have issues of reliable witnesses in terms of how much focus they give to the queen's role and not the queen herself.

Nathanael Andrade, professor of Greek and Roman history at Binghamton University, argues that coins are problematic sources due to idealization. However, there are times when coins are all historians have in terms of imagery of ancient people. Only through coins do historians have an image of Zenobia of Palmyra. These coins, Andrade explains, depict how Zenobia wanted people inside and outside of her realm to perceive her.[14] Unfortunately, this is the only imagery of Zenobia still available due to current crises in Syria. *Historia Augusta* provides a description of Zenobia, but Andrade does not believe it to be very accurate. It describes Zenobia as such, "Her face was dark and of a swarthy hue, her eyes were black and powerful beyond the usual wont, her spirit divinely great, and her beauty incredible. So white were her teeth that many thought that she had pearls in place of teeth."[15] Andrade points out that if Zenobia were drinking the water in Palmyraher teeth would not be white because of all the fluoride and chloride in the water.[16] That begs the question of why *Historia Augusta* described her as such. Were they intimidated by her, or did they just want to make her seem more malicious by making her seem the opposite of a typical Roman woman? Historians may never have direct answers to these questions, but to many, it seems as if the Romans were comparing her to a typical Roman woman. Judith Hallett, professor emerita of classics at the University of Maryland, explains that Roman society acknowledged women's physical charms, but they also patronized them only when they adhered to the accepted norms of women.[17] She explains that women were supposed to be little more than submissive, supportive, and stable. However, she acknowledges this was how a man would portray a typical Roman woman. How a typical Roman woman really might have acted remains an open question.

According to Aristotle, "the temperance of men and women are not the same. Neither is their courage and justice. One is the courage of command, and the other of subordination, and is

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[10] Aude Chatelard and Anne Stevens, "Women as Legal Minors and Their Citizenship in Republican Rome," *Clio. Women, Gender, History* 43 (2016): 25.

[11] Elena Woodacre, *Queens and Queenship* (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2021): 99.

[12] Plut. *Ant*. 54.3

[13] Lee Patterson, ""Antony and Armenia," *TAPA* 145 (2015): 95.

[14] Nathanael Andrade, *Zenobia: Shooting Star of Palmyra* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018): 6.

[15] *HA* TT 30.15-16

[16] Andrade, 6.

[17] Judith P. Hallett, "The Role of Women in the Roman Elegy: Counter-Cultural Feminism," in *Women in the Ancient World: The Arethusa Papers*, eds. John Peradotto and J.P. Sullivan (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984): 241.

similar with the other virtues."[18] Cato the Elder shared the same ideas as Aristotle about women. In his speech about the repeal of the Lex Oppia, Cato the Elder, a dominant figure in both the political and the cultural life of Rome in the first half of the second century, admonished men for not controlling their women. He blamed the husbands for not individually managing their wives to the point where they banded together to try and change the law. The *Lex Oppia* proclaimed that women should not possess more than half an ounce of gold, wear multi-colored clothes, or ride in a carriage in the city.[19] Many women fumed at restrictions regarding dress or accessorizing. According to Livy, a great crowd of women appeared in public and gathered in opposition to these laws and wanted them removed in 195 BCE. The revocation of the laws happened twenty years after passage. Cato the Elder spoke in favor of this law. He did not believe that women should make decisions about any laws, whether they pertained to women or not. Cato even suggested that women aimed to tear down all laws pertaining to women: "If they win in this, what will they not attempt? Review all the laws with which your forefathers restrained their license and made them subject to their husbands; even with all these bonds you can scarcely control them."[20] He did not believe a woman to be equal to men and made sure it was known. There may have been an even bigger fight on the Forum's hands without the revocation of this law.

A few opposed the laws and supported women. Thucydides, in *History of the Peloponnesian War*, quotes Pericles after the battle of Marathon. He applauded the women who did not show weakness when losing the men: "To a woman not to show more weakness than is natural to her sex is a great glory, and not to be talked about for or for evil among men."[21] As explained earlier, a woman's place was in the private social sphere. Perciles' declaration was out of the norm as Romans generally viewed women as weak. Plutarch also saw women as stronger than most. In his *Mulierum Virtutes,* he wrote that a woman should be able to go out and enjoy company of others. Plutarch believed that a man and a woman had the same virtues.[22] Plutarch did not see the difference between the genders. He described Celtic women as brave when they were tasked with facing armed forces.[23] Plutarch seems to have great respect for women, at least those from regions that got along with Rome. As with many ancient authors, however, disagreeing or criticizing Rome presented a problem.

Cleopatra VII was well known as a potential challenger to Rome, but a lesser-known ancient queen also challenged Rome: Boudicca, the British Iceni queen. Unfortunately, like Zenobia, literary accounts of Boudicca are sparse. Most narratives focus on the last year of her life. This is unsurprising because she challenged Rome during this year. Boudicca's husband was Prasutagus, the Iceni king and a client-king of sorts to Rome. When he died, he left his kingdom to his daughters. Rome objected and wanted control over the land. They sent Suetonius to control the Iceni. This backfired, and Boudicca led a revolt against the Romans.[24] Dio described, in detail, a speech given by Boudicca. However, this account raises questions of reliability, as Woodacre suggests. Dio described Boudicca largely in a negative light. Brandeis University professor, Caitlin Gillespie, author of *Boudica: Warrior Woman of Roman Britain*, describes how Dio's description of Boudicca presents further evidence of Boudicca's hatred of Roman influence.[25] There is no doubt Boudicca did not like the way Rome treated her family and friends. She stood up to them and was then made to look like a malicious woman. Ultimately, Boudicca failed in her revolt, which did not help her case against the Romans at all.

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[18] Pol. 1.1260a
[19] Liv.34.1
[20] Liv.34.3
[21] Thuc. 2.45
[22] Plut. Mulier. 0
[23] Plut. Mulier. 6
[24] Dio. Epi. 62.2
[25] Caitlin Gillespie, *Boudica: Warrior Woman of Roman* Britain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 72.

The lives of Roman women in the higher ranks also can help us understand the ancient queens. Livia and Fulvia were two very prominent women in Rome during the time of Cleopatra VII. Livia, the wife of Augustus, was married once before to Tiberius Claudius Nero and bore two children with him. After divorcing him, she married Octavian, who eventually became Augustus. As wife to a Roman emperor, she enjoyed the right to administer her own affairs. Octavian also granted his sister the same rights as his wife.[26] "Normal" Roman women were not allowed to have the rights of administering their own affairs, rather men made all the financial decisions. Some ancient authors believe that Livia was Augustus' right-hand aide. Dio wrote that when men had plotted against him, he did not know what to do and this kept him awake for several nights. Livia recognized this and gave him advice to be kind to the people even his enemies: "For it seems to me that far more wrongs are set right by kindness than by harshness. For those who forgive are not only loved by the objects of their clemency, who will therefore even strive to repay the favor, but are also respected and revered by all the rest, who will therefore not readily venture to harm them."[27]

Bauman believes that one of the most dramatic things to happen in Livia's career was the death of her husband. As Augustus lay on his death bed, Livia wrote a letter to Tiberius to recall him from Dalmatia. She feared the outcome when the news of Augustus' death came out.[28] After her husband's death, Tiberius lived under the control of the Roman Empire. In his will, Augustus granted Livia the name Julia Augusta, thus creating a connection to the Julian family. Once the Senate opened, legislators wanted to gain an advantage over Livia. They proposed many different names for her but eventually Tiberius stated that there must be a limit to the honors paid to women.[29] Tiberius thought that Livia would go too far and try to push him out of his birth-right of ruling Rome. Livia was always helpful to others and could sometimes go too far, at least according to the ancient narratives. Jospehus writes that when her brother Herod the Great asked Salome of Judea to marry Alexas, Livia advised Salome to do what was the most advantageous for herself and not care about what others thought.[30] As Livia was married to Augustus, Salome took her advice. She was not the only one to seek advice from Livia.

Archeologist Duane Roller suggests that Dynamis of Bosporos may have been friends with Salome and Livia as well.[31] Dynamis was the daughter of Pharnakes II and married to Asandros. When her second husband, Polemon I of Pontus, was murdered, Augustus had to decide what to do with Bosporos. Historian M. Rostovtzeff suggested that Livia influenced Augustus to allow Dynamis to rule Bosporos.[32] This ultimately would have worked against Pythodoris, who was the second wife of Polemon. Although there is no evidence to suggest that Livia did or did not assist Dynamis, there are several clues that led historians to believe the two were friends. There was a sculpture made in Livia's honor by Dynamis in a temple of Aphrodite. Dynamis wanted to show that she was on the side of the Romans to help keep her position. To do this she incorporated herself with Livia who, as mentioned before, had strong relations with Augustus. Unfortunately, little literature survives on Dynamis. Most of the information historians have comes from inscriptions and coins. Roller notes that her actions revealed political skill and may have allowed for her long rule in Bosporos.[33] Livia was not the only Roman to have influence over men situated around her.

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[26] Dio. 49.38.1
[27] Dio. 55.16.5
[28] Tac. Ann. 1.5
[29] Tac. Ann. 1.14
[30] J. AJ 17.1
[31] Duane W. Roller, *Cleopatra's Daughter: and Other Royal Women of the Augustan Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018): 83-94.
[32] M. Rostovtzeff, "Queen Dynamis of Bosporus" *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 39 (2013): 104.
[33] Roller, 93.

Fulvia, the wife of Marc Antony, was also very vocal when it came to subjects that interested her. Many historians note that Fulvia seemed to be the one in charge of the Senate when her son-in-law, Augustus, was away dealing with issues outside of the Empire. Dio remarks that the Senate would only give Lucius, Antony's brother, triumph over certain peoples dwelling in the Alps if Fulvia agreed.[34] Fulvia seemed to have a hold over the Senate when the men were away at war, especially her husband. Richard A. Bauman, an archaeologist, writes that Fulvia was so loyal to Antony that she looked after his interests with "unshakeable courage and determination, and it is by her actions in that regard that she should finally be judged."[35] Although she was not a queen, she was very powerful. When Augustus sent his wife back to Fulvia, she was outraged and would not stand down from him. "Fulvia attempted to get control of affairs, pretending to be doing this on behalf of Antony, and would yield to Caesar on no point," wrote Dio.[36] Augustus did not challenge Antony openly. Instead, he went through Fulvia by accusing her of betraying Antony. She in turn stood up to the army and begged to stay with Antony. Pomeroy notes that Fulvia might have been female in body only but for many of the Roman men, she was too masculine."[37] She was outside of the norm for a typical Roman matron.

Fulvia and Livia were not your typical Roman matrons. They were powerful whether it be through their husbands, father, brother, or sons. Most Roman matrons never achieved that kind of power. M. I. Finley, a classical scholar, notes that it was not until fairly late in Roman history that women even got individual names. "It is as if the Romans wished to suggest very pointedly that women were not, or ought not to be, genuine individuals but only fractions of a family," he wrote.[38] Social strictures barred women from doing anything outside of the family. They were to stay in the private sphere and not interfere with the public sphere. Obviously, some women did not agree with that, such as Fulvia, Livia, and Octavia. Instead, they took what they wanted, such as power, and did not look back. Their husbands did not complain but the other men around them did. When it came to the foreign queens, however, they could do the same exact things as the Roman women but still be downgraded for doing as such.

Cleopatra VII, Livia, Octavia, and Fulvia were all alive at the same time and most likely dealt with each other indirectly, and they approached their challenges in similar fashions. Cleopatra VII, Fulvia, and Octavia all fought to protect Antony. The only real difference between the queens was that two were Roman and one was Egyptian. They gathered armies to battle Augustus, they were disliked by Augustus, and two of them loved Antony enough to have children by him. Livia defended and supported her husband as well. She stood by him when others attacked him, as mentioned before. All these women were very similar. Cleopatra, however, was not only Egyptian, but with Anthony she also defied Rome. This angered Augustus as Antony was a Roman citizen, so the emperor declared war on Cleopatra instead. This explains much of the negativity written about Cleopatra. She did what she thought was right for her people and went against Rome. The same thing happened with Boudicca and Zenobia.

Of course, information regarding Boudicca and Zenobia comes from studying women around them or narratives written years after. Historians also can deduce how the queens wanted to be represented through their coins. Finley notes that women's voices are missing in sources written by men.[39] Yet in fact, their voices were not missing except in the narrative. Their influences could be

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[34] Dio. 48.4.2

[35] Richard A. Bauman, *Women and Politics in Ancient Rome* (New York: Routledge, 1992): 85.

[36] Dio. 48.5.4

[37] Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves*, 185.

[38] M.I. Finley, "The Silent Women of Rome" in *Sexuality and Gender in the Classical World*, ed. Laura K. McClure (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002): 149.

[39] Finley, 148.

seen on the inscriptions on statues and buildings or how their coins were labeled. They did not need to outright explain themselves through narrative. It might have been helpful for historians today, but unfortunately this was not to happen. It should also be noted that because of gender, many women did not know how to read or write. Because of the lack of evidence, we cannot know if either of the queens mentioned knew how to write. Andrade noted in *Zenobia: Shooting Star of Palmyra* that he was basing his conclusions about Zenobia on information about women in the same era.[40] However, with the help of some of the narratives, pieces can be put together with the information historians have compiled about other women. In the case of Boudicca, after the death of her husband, Prasutagus, she went to war against Rome. Instead of letting the Iceni live peacefully and remain a client kingdom, Rome wanted a Roman in charge. Boudicca resisted. She evidently did not think that the influences brought by Rome were in the best interests of her or her people. Rome also might have killed off Zenobia's husband when he got too greedy for land. Historians do not know how Odainath died because Rome blamed Zenobia, and Zenobia blamed Rome. Rome branded Zenobia a usurper and claimed that she modeled herself after Cleopatra VII. Claudius II wanted control over the land that Odainath had gained, but Zenobia believed it was her sons' right to reign. Rome went against these two women who were just trying to get the best for either their children or their people.

Cleopatra VII, Boudicca, and Zenobia— three foreign queens—all wanted what was best for their people. Unfortunately, Rome had other ideas. The narratives, however, claim the queens were ruthless or too ambitious or even crazy. These narratives in fact were written long after the deaths of their subjects. This makes it difficult to know the line between facts and biased propaganda. However, by looking at surviving coins, or the inscriptions made on buildings or statues, historians can deduce that many of the narratives written about the ancient queens, several centuries later, contain distortions. Historians cannot always fact check stories because so much information has been lost or replaced with mythical stories. So many plays and movies have written about Cleopatra VII that people can get confused about her reality. Zenobia of Palmyra has almost disappeared from the narrative today because of modern day issues leading to the destruction of Syria. Boudicca also has faded, even though Queen Victoria still used her as a model.[41] Ideally, more scholars will examine this important but neglected topic. With time perhaps biased narratives will be exposed, and we can move toward a fuller understanding of the ancient queens.

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[40] Andrade, 1.

[41] Martha Vandrei, "A Victorian Inventions? Thomas Thornycroft's 'Boadicea Group' and the Idea of Historical Culture in Britain," *The Historical Journal* 57 (2014): 485-508.

Slavery in Illinois
Samantha Blatti

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From the arrival of the first white settlers, the Illinois territory and subsequent state of Illinois had a tortured, complicated history with slavery. It started with the French introducing enslaved Africans to the region in the early 1700s for supplemental labor. The British and Virginians who came later continued to spread the practice.[1] Illinois presented itself as a free state in its inaugural 1818 constitution, however, the reality was more complex. The state continued to tolerate slavery because of the differing desires and viewpoints of its residents. Slavery would not legally end for decades even after passage of the state constitution banning slavery. Until the official end of slavery in the new 1848 constitution, African Americans found themselves in jeopardy. They were supposed to be free, but instead many remained enslaved or indentured servants. Despite what the state constitution implied, Illinois was not entirely a free state, and this legal ambiguity generated endless problems for African Americans in Illinois such as continued slave labor, Black Laws, and residency status prohibiting their rights.

There is an extensive historiography relating to the slavery and Black Laws in Illinois. Historians, like Kurt E. Leitch Le, have examined the fight against slavery led by Edward Coles. Leitchle's work explores the abolitionist movement throughout the 1820s with a focus on Coles, although it also treats slavery's hold on Illinois. Leitchle proposes that antislavery views spread through Baptist and Methodists in the early 1810s. Coles allied with these groups. Yet at the same time, the Missouri Compromise allowed slavery in neighboring Missouri. This meant slaveowners and enslaved people traveled through Illinois and potentially stayed for periods of time.[2] In contrast to Leitchle and others, this brief study focuses not on the antislavery movement in Illinois, but rather the proslavery views in the state. Historian Paul Finkleman has written extensively on the controversial Dred Scott v. Sanford case in 1857, which proclaimed that free black men were not truly citizens of the United States and thus enslavement was legal in all states. He has also studied the Illinois constitution which allowed the limited introduction of slavery.[3] This paper will follow Finkleman's general approach examining the entire history of slavery in Illinois from 1818 to the 1840s, although it will not debate the end of slavery. In particular, it will discuss the early laws and legal consequences for African Americans looking for freedom in Illinois.

Illinois, a so-called "free state," was the only Midwestern to allow slavery well into the nineteenth century. In 1818, when the Illinois constitution was completed, indentured servants were supposed to live in freedom after their term expired. This was stated clearly in the first page of the Illinois constitution which declared:

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[1] Roger Biles, *Illinois: A History of the Land and Its People*. (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois Univ. Press, 2006), 46.

[2] Kurt E. Leichtle and Bruce G. Carveth, *Crusade against Slavery: Edward Coles, Pioneer of Freedom* (Carbondale IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2018), 78.

[3] Paul Finkleman, "Slavery, the 'More Perfect Union,' and the Prairie State," *Illinois Historical Journal* 80, no. 4 (1987): 249.

"Neither slavery or involuntary servitude shall hereafter be introduced into this state, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; nor shall any male person, arrived at the age of 21 years, nor female person arrived at the age of 18 years, be held to serve any person as a servant, under any indenture hereafter made, unless such person shall enter into such indenture while in a state of perfect freedom, and on condition of a bona -fide consideration received or to be received for their service."[4]

Despite this seemingly clear statement, the reality proved different as slaveowners who had political clout mobilized to maintain slavery. These slaveholders relied on the ambiguity of the state constitution to find ways around the antislavery laws. They encouraged indentured servitude instead so that they could keep slavery alive in spirit. Slave owners who migrated to Illinois were allowed to convert their slaves into servants within thirty days.[5] In principle, if someone was an indentured servant, he or she would eventually gain freedom after serving the promised term in full. Most enslaved people looked for any opportunities to rebel against their owners, including appeals to the state's legal system. Some thus turned to the local courts pointing to provisions that indentured servants had the promise of eventual freedom.[6] The legal ambiguity written into the constitution, however, proved difficult to overcome.

In fact, some slaveholders attempted to keep servants in this role as long as possible. According to M. Scott Heerman, African Americans were sometimes kept as servants for ninety years, although reliance on the indentured servitude provision waned overtime.[7] Still ambiguity remained woven into the law, and enslaved peoples remained unfree in Illinois. Slave owners retained their power, and their "servants" had no choice in the matter. Further harsh labor conditions remained a feature of life for African Americans in Illinois for decades after 1818. Enslaved workers endured arduous labor conditions and worked around the clock in dangerous jobs.[8] Slavery still existed under the Missouri Compromise, and slaveowners were allowed to work their slaves to the point of exhaustion. Inhumane conditions continued for the slaves that owners retained before and after the constitution was created. The enslaved could be brought into the Illinois territory for up to twelve months in the early 1800s before Illinois became an official state. It remained legal, however, to remove them for a day, and then take them back in for another twelve months.[9] In short, the Illinois

Notice for runaways in a Kaskaskia, Illinois newspaper, December 1826

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[4] Ill. Const. art. VI, pt. I, January 31, 1865

[5] M. Scott Heerman, "In a State of Slavery: Black Servitude in Illinois, 1800-1830," *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 14, no. 1 (Winter, 2016): 123.

[6] Heerman," In a State of Slavery," 119.

[7] Heerman, "In a State of Slavery," 125.

[8] Heerman, "In a State of Slavery," 127-129.

[9] Paul Finkleman, "Slavery, the 'More Perfect Union," 250.

Constitution, created in 1818, did virtually nothing to stop unfree labor as it continued to encourage slavery and indentured servitude.

Involuntary labor, essentially slavery, persisted due to the constitution and the Black Laws (discussed below). Slave owners circumvented the "free state" ideals because of the way the constitution was set up. In fact, negotiations over the 1818 constitution resulted in a series of compromises that allowed the persistence of slavery. The constitution protected property rights by allowing current slaveholders to keep their slaves if they existed before the constitution was ratified, but the constitution also forbade the future introduction of slavery.[10] This happened because slaveowners protested the idea of Illinois banning slavery and desired a compromise. The final agreement put African Americans in Illinois at a disadvantage if they were already enslaved to start with since there was no hope that they would ever earn their freedom. Many saw this as an unfair scenario since there were no protections for them and their families.

It was not easy for free black people of Illinois either. In 1819, one year after the constitution passed, Illinois also introduced the Black Laws. According to these laws, free black men had to provide certificates of freedom for filing at county seats, which was something not required for white people just to become a resident.[11] The laws further suppressed the rights of existing slaves, but it also added limitations for free black men.

Critics could hardly miss the persistence of slavery in Illinois. The Petition for Black Male Suffrage in 1822 blasted the state. It proclaimed: "We wish you would enable us to obtain that protection to our persons and property, so well laid out in your constitution and laws, that we are now strangers to."[12] This petition pointed to an undeniable reality: the state of Illinois was very hostile toward the idea of truly free black people and excepting of racial injustice. Nevertheless, these criticisms were not acknowledged, and Illinois laws would become more restrictive with time.

More Black Laws appeared in the following years, and these laws became most restrictive in the 1850s. Indentured servants were prohibited from testifying in court or suing other citizens, and laws banned blacks from emigration and serving on juries and in the military.[13] There were many restrictions based on these Black Laws that rendered black citizenship little different from enslavement. Due to these factors, Illinois made it clear that despite being a "free state" slavery remained acceptable and free African Americans would not be welcome.

A final consequence of the Black Laws was that African Americans also faced restrictions related to immigration and residency rights. The fact that the constitution supposedly condemned slavery but allowed it to flourish proved devastating to the African American population when it came to residency in the state. Free black people were not welcome due to the tolerance of slavery and the presence of Black Laws. Illinois restricted the immigration of free blacks and severely limited their rights in the state.[14] This was expected when Illinois was as close to being a slave state as a "free state" could get. African Americans needed to provide a certificate of proof that they were free in other states, or else they would be seen as runaways and jailed for up to a year.[15] Many blacks resented conditions and sought to rebel against these laws in hope they would eventually win their freedom. Such was the case in 1847 for a freedman named Anthony Bryant whose wife and children remained enslaved by Robert Maton, a Kentuckian who had moved to Coles County, Illinois. Bryant

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[10] Biles, *Illinois,* 47.

[11] First Black Law, 1819, no 722, box 21, Illinois State Archives, Illinois, https://www.ilsos.gov/departments/archives/online_exhibits/100_documents/1819-first-black-law.html.

[12] Petition for Black Male Suffrage, 1822-1823, Illinois State Archives, Illinois, https://www.ilsos.gov/departments/archives/online_exhibits/100_documents/1822-1823-pet-black-male-suffer.html.

[13] Illinois Black Law, 1853, no 5277, box 117, Illinois State Archives, Illinois, https://www.ilsos.gov/departments/archives/online_exhibits/100_documents/1853-black-law.html.

[14] Finkleman, "Slavery," 252.

[15] Finkleman, "Slavery", 252.

insisted his family was free under Illinois law. None other than Abraham Lincoln represented Matson. The presiding judge ruled the Bryant children, having lived two years in Illinois, were hardly in transit to another state as required by the constitution. Bryant's family was freed, and they eventually moved to Liberia.[16]

African Americans in Illinois faced terrible challenges in Illinois. Enslavement continued to exist well after the 1818 constitution. The official legal end of slavery in Illinois would not come until the 1850s. This had devastating consequences for African Americans: arduous labor conditions, the enforcement of the Black Laws, and the lack of residency and voting rights for free black people in the state. Slave conditions in Illinois existed since the arrival of the French in the territory, continued into the early eighteenth century, and persisted into the first several decades of the nineteenth century. Despite claims otherwise, the Prairie State was never a free state.

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[16] Eric Foner, *The Fiery Trial: Abraham Lincoln and American Slavery* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2010), 45-48.

The Iron Nation: An Analysis of the Historiography of Prussia's Formation as a State

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The old view of Prussia as "an army with a state," while still common amongst those who study the nation, fails to represent more complex aspects of Prussia forged during the early modern period. For a time, research which focused on theories of war tended to essentialize Prussia as dominated by its mighty military capacity, which spurred the marshal spirit of the successor German state. Equally prevalent, though far less popularized, scholars developed theories that revolved around the stereotypical efficient bureaucratic machinery of the house of Hohenzollern. The Protestant work ethic of aspiring middle-class state actors resulted in a nation with highly mobile armies and industry, a model for the world. Such ideas, on the surface certainly seem to explain Prussia's uniqueness. But they, fail to contextualize the Prussian state within Europe as well as the real flesh and blood people who formed the state.

Perhaps one can argue that notions such as the war-making theory do have some merit when discussing Prussia (and research into the military and bureaucracy are indeed important facets of the topic). Yet, the historiographical analysis of Prussia in recent years suggests a far more nuanced picture of the state. War and bureaucracy remain leading topics, but increasingly historians have pushed into new areas such as international relations, religious history, and the role of the monarchy as a limited yet influential institution. New research affirms the uniqueness of Prussia, but also examines its shared experiences with other Central European states. Additionally, the historiography of Prussia in recent years has shifted to a "bottom up" perspective by focusing on the relationships and choices individual Prussian citizens and communities made in concert with the state.

Still whether one studies S. Fischer-Fabian, Philip S. Gorski, or Karin Friedrich, the majority of historians recognize Prussia as a nation with numerous geographic, political, and religious circumstances that cause it to stand as an interesting case study of state formation in the early modern period. With this in mind, three distinct schools of thought emerge. These include the war-making and bureaucratic state theories, championed by authors such as S. Fischer-Fabian and Hans Rosenberg which take a more traditional path. A second approach is offered by Gorski with his theories on confessional conflict regarding a top-down approach represents a moderate or intermediate school. Finally, historians such as Karin Friedrich, Edger Kiser, Joachim Schneider, and Peter Wilson all represent the newer school of "bottom-up," historical analysis. Seen together the approaches allow one to view the historiography of state formation in Prussia as neither static nor completely defined, but rather an ever-evolving discipline of study searching for a complete answer to how such a fractured and minuscule state in Northern Germany developed into a nation capable of altering the course of world history.

The Traditional Approach

For the purpose of this analysis, "traditional" means the foundational knowledge for further development of the historiography of Prussia. The traditional approach to studying the state formation of Prussia follows two schools of thought: the "War Making" theory championed by Charles Tilly and the Immaterialist Theory. In both cases, a top-down approach imagines the state as a formation of monarchical institutions in partnership with nobility, high-level bureaucrats, and military officials. Prussian historians such as Hans Rosenburg take a favorable view of bureaucracy. In his introduction to the book, *Bureaucracy, Aristocracy, and Autocracy: The Prussian Experience, 1660-1815*, Rosenburg wrote that, "it (bureaucracy) restored the autocratic authority of the monarch. It ceased to be responsible to the dynastic interest. It captured control of the central administration and of public policy. At the same time, it also presented the imposition of legal and political checks from below."[17] This view of bureaucracy puts forth a "top-down" shift in the state from feudalism to centralized authority.

Rosenburg also notes the role of the monarch in the formation of the state of Prussia. The monarch utilized absolutism in order to seize power away from the nobility and install a loyal class of "common" men whose power fell at the feet of the king. The rise of absolutism, in Rosenburg's thought, altered the nature of political power. This realignment also resulted in a "new bureaucratic empire," which in turn made a place for the Crown as a commercial competitor and monopoly in production and distribution.[18] For Rosenburg, the number of historical actors involved in the formation of the state of Prussia is miniscule.

S. Fischer-Fabian offers another side of traditional approach. In the introduction to his book, *Prussia's Glory*, Fischer-Fabian makes a poignant reference to the poet Theodore Fantane who describes Prussia as "that calamitous mix of absolutism, militarism, and everything bourgeois, unlovable and solemnly self-important."[19] Fischer-Fabian's work, following the rise of Prussia's military under the reign of King Frederick William I, reads as both a love letter to war-making theory as well as an exploration of absolutism. For Fischer-Fabian, Frederick William played a pivotal role in Prussia's development as a state. He labels the monarch as an absolutist, perhaps not believing he was the state like Louis XIV, but still capable of dominating government life.[20] In this analysis of state formation, the leading group of movers and shakers is small, but it contained the knowledge, experience, and achievement vital to the rise of Prussia. Rosenburg attributes the rise of Prussia to the hero of the story, the civil government. This group helped to develop Prussia as a state despite "the prolonged concentration of political leadership in the irresponsible central executive, the adoption of state power, and…influence of the irrational teachings of German Romanticism."[21] For both historians, the rise of Prussia resulted from the work of a small group of influential courtiers, at times with the involvement of the Crown. This group struggled against the outside forces of the nobility in search of a centralized and efficient bureaucratic state.

Gorski and a Moderate Approach

Philip S. Gorski's 2003 work, *The Disciplinary Revolution: Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe*, serves two functions. On one hand, Gorski expands on previous historical research, culminating with an interesting analysis of Prussian centralization, crown and nobility relations, and religious tensions. On the other hand, his analysis dedicates an entire section to

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[17] Hans Rosenberg, *Bureaucracy, Aristocracy, and Autocracy: The Prussian Experience, 1660-1815* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966).

[18] Rosenberg.

[19] S. Fischer-Fabian, *Prussia's Glory: The Rise of a Military State* (New York: Macmillan, 1981), ix.

[20] Fischer-Fabian, *Prussia's Glory*.

[21] Rosenberg, *Bureaucracy, Aristocracy, and Autocracy*, 37.

bridging the traditional approach and later approaches (to be covered below). Gorski represents the moderate interpretation, combining various perspectives identified above.

The title of Gorski's work shows the importance of religion in his analysis of the early modern period. Particularly, he focuses on John Calvin and his religious reforms. Gorski describes how tensions and new ideas regarding how the individual's bond with both God and society forever changed the ways the state interacted with its citizens. For Gorski, Calvin and his followers helped create an infrastructure of religious governance and social control that served as a model for Europe and the world.[22] Gorski reveals how religious Calvinism created a social/political mindset yet unseen in Central Europe. This is a religious mindset that lacked the older obsession with dogmatic principles and focused more on individuality and the public self. Gorski sees Prussia's centralization of power and more importantly, the rationalization of administration as an important development despite its apparent unlikeliness.[23] This centralization of government spurned on confessional tension and marked a key development in Prussia, separating it from other European states.

Gorski's historical analysis makes for a good bridge between eras of historiography as he builds upon previously discussed theories. He finds some aspects of Tilly's war-making theory lacking since they ignore important variables. Tilly disregards, for instance, the role of common people in state formation. Gorski instead looks to expand the model, by referencing historians such as Thomas Ertman who argued cross-class alliances in legislatures represented a notable step in state development.[24] Gorski, however, continued to employ a top-down approach when discussing Prussia and its rise. Prussia's efficiency as a state is one particular focus. Prussia enjoyed financial strength and stability due to its army being inordinately large, its court unusually small, and its administration efficient.[25] To Gorski, state actors were responsible for the rise of the state far more than court leaders and the pulpit, as other historians claimed.

Old school theories do lose their usefulness in Gorski's model. One theory in particular is the Materialist approach. This theory revolves around the championing of the efficient bureaucracy and centralization of the state. The institution of ancient, decentralized systems found in Medieval Europe gave way to a dominant government, albeit via consent of the nobility, by a group of public servants chosen not for their birth but rather for their abilities. This efficiency resulted in ever increased power for the monarchy culminating in what we can call Absolutism. Gorski rejects this theory. For him, the absolutist rule originating out of a seemingly cordial alliance or pact between the crown and nobility in Prussia lacks evidence. In many cases, the crown intervened in disputes and settlements on the side of peasant classes, as Gorski writes; "probably more out of self-interest than warm-heartedness: they understood that a strong state could be built only on the backs of a prosperous peasantry."[26] *Disciplinary Revolution* charts the accumulation of power via manipulation from the crown rather than alliance building. The crown became autonomous, according to Gorski, through confessional conflicts. By appointing large numbers of Calvinists and "foreigners" to key administration posts, the crown could circumvent and undermine the power of the estates.[27] One example Gorski uses particularly shows the crown's development of autonomy through confessional strife. In the 1650's, the Hohenzollern's invasion of Julich and Berg set the stage for conflict between crown and nobility. Protestant noblemen hesitated to join the Catholic Hapsburg Emperor to oppose the Prussian king Frederick William I and halt the invasion. Frederick William placated

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[22] Philip S. Gorski, *The Disciplinary Revolution: Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Gorski.

[26] Ibid, 91.

[27] Ibid.

the Protestants while arresting Catholic leaders.[28] The Calvinist approach, in Gorski's estimation, further exemplifies Prussia's rise to a centralized and efficient state.

For Gorski, state development in Prussia possessed aspects of development both from above and below. The crown played a key role in the rise of the state, yet it coincided with disciplinary revolutions. As Gorski writes, "Prussia's disciplinary revolution was primarily a revolution from above, led by the crown. But it was buttressed by a revolution from below, sparked by the Pietist Movement."[29] The Pietist Movement, seeking change in religious observance as well as advocating for a simplified life and worship, had a great effect on Prussia during the early modern period. Prussian kings saw the Pietist movement as an opportunity to relinquish power from the nobility and accumulate power for the Crown in the name of religious purification. According to Gorski, the Prussian state actively supported the Pietist movement to implement changes in its structure. Such changes resulted in a weakened nobility and an ever-centralized monarchy.

Gorski also acts as a bridge between eras of historical analysis. He incorporates numerous aspects of the traditionalist approach into his conceptual framework. The state is created and empowered through the involvement, manipulation, and work of a small group of actors in conjunction with social and religious movements. Unlike the traditional approaches covered earlier, Gorski expands the circle of state actors to include not just the crown, nobility and bureaucrats, but also religious leaders as partners, both coerced and willing, in the expansion of central state power. Prussia, in Gorski's analysis, emerged as an efficient state entering the modern period of European history with an absolute monarch supported by a centralized bureaucracy. Elements of this conclusion will be discussed later in this analysis. But when one studies Gorski's work, we see aspects which carry on into later areas of historiography. Gorski acknowledges, and in many ways attributes, the development of the state of Prussia to the societal shifts among the peasant classes. This focus on the common people while limited in comparison with later historians, is part of a theory of state formation which sees influences from both above and below. This discourse on the origins of state building continues to spur historians to further study the role other elements of Prussia played in the rise of the state.

The Modern Era

The earlier historiography of the rise of the state of Prussia emphasized the from-above role of the monarchy and bureaucracy. This section will treat several historians who analyze the rise of Prussia from bottom-up perspective, including twenty-first century historians such as Andre Holenstein and Wim Blockmans. The from-below perspective traces the formation of the state from a far more diverse origin. The role of the monarchy, military conquest, and centralized bureaucracy are not ignored but rather re-contextualized into a framework that highlights other elements of the state. Relationships between townships and the monarchy, economic decision making amongst the peasantry, and the not so centralized elements of the bureaucratic state round out a more nuanced and complex picture of state formation. To these authors, the state does not originate in a linear way, instead it emerged from experimentation and trial and error.

One such author who seeks to shift conversations away from the traditional historical analysis is Karin Friedrich. Her book, *Brandenburg-Prussia, 1466-1806: The Rise of a Composite State*, seeks to dispel several notions about Prussia. For Friedrich, Borussian historiographical notions such as Prussia serving as the "Mother of Germany" are seen as a "slick nationalist picture" that

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[28] Gorski.
[29] Ibid, 105.

promoted Prussia's "Germany destiny."[30] Prussia is a "composite state," meaning its vast and disconnected territories, both inside the Holy Roman Empire and out, required a litany of administrative and diplomatic arrangements not all originating from the monarchy. Friedrich sees so-called absolutist rulers not as builders of a modern state, but instead simply actors responding to the necessities and emergencies that arose from the composite nature of Prussian politics. They did not act in a purposeful, systematic, and standardized plan.[31] To her, the rise of Prussia as a state developed not from complex century-spanning plan, but rather from the chaotic interactions of groups within the kingdom. A traditional focus on central governmental decrees ignores, Friedrich insists, local opposition and inconsistent enforcement by officeholders.

Friedrich pushes back against theories such as Tilly's war-making state as inconsistent with the interactions between localities and the monarchy. The army and its recruiting practices, she suggests are overemphasized, since older forms of organization, such as subsidies, and the noble levy were still present by the reign of Frederick II.[32] While Prussian military innovation contributed to state-building, Friedrich sees it not as a starting point but rather as an aspect of a wide range of innovations and changes made by society at large. She also disagrees with authors like Gorski who link Prussia's rise to Calvinism. She believes this approach is too narrow.[33] Rather Friedrich's approach seeks answers from a new host of sources.

Two other scholars who are challenging traditional Prussian historiography are Edgar Kiser and Joachim Schneider. In their article, "Bureaucracy and Efficiency: An Analysis of Taxation in Early Modern Prussia," Kiser and Schneider challenge historians such as Max Weber who saw the bureaucracy as a prime example of state power and centralization. They acknowledge that the Prussian tax system between 1640 and 1806 represented one of the most efficient in Europe, yet they push back against tendencies by Weber to stress the predominance of bureaucracy in Prussia. In fact, the two do not even see Prussia as bureaucratic.[34] Their argument stems from the view that Weber's theory rests on an incomplete analysis of the efficiency of Prussia's tax system. Kiser and Schneider argue that, while Prussia had an efficiency rivaling other European states, it lacked a truly efficient bureaucracy.[35] Instead, Kiser and Schneider argue in favor of the "agency theory" in which personal actions take center stage. Personal conflicts, corruption and rivalries marred Prussia's bureaucracy. Prussia's taxation system, "using direct personal control by rulers, employing disabled veterans in low-level positions, using collegiate organizations for monitoring tax officials, and establishing long-term but conditional contracts for tax farming in the domains," was an exception.[36] Schneider and Kiser's focus on the thousands of decisionmakers who ran and served within the Prussian bureaucracy is essentially a from-below method. This approach incorporating new elements deepens our understanding of the many aspects contributing to the rise of Prussia as a state.

Perhaps another common traditional element of historiography surrounding Prussia's rise as a state involves its place within the Holy Roman Empire (HRE). The traditional viewpoint emphasizes Prussia's unique qualities in contrast to its fellow HRE members. Historians such as Peter Wilson in his book, *Prussia's Relations with The Holy Roman Empire, 1740–1786* focuses less on Prussia's exceptionalism and more so on its commonality. For Wilson, Prussia should not be seen as

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[30] Karin Friedrich, *Brandenburg-Prussia, 1466-1806: The Rise of a Composite State* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 2.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Friedrich.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Edgar Kiser and Joachim Schneider, "Bureaucracy and Efficiency: An Analysis of Taxation in Early Modern Prussia," *American Sociological Review* 59, no. 2 (1994): 187–204.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Kiser and Schneider, 64.

exactly unique amongst the other princedoms in the Empire as it still concerned itself with both external and internal territorial changes. Prussia did not look to destroy the Holy Roman Empire, but rather sustain an existing framework of the imperial constitution.[37] This notion of the state's willingness to live within the bounds contrasts with older interpretations which frame Prussia as a disgruntled member creating a long-standing plan for the eventual fall of the Empire. Wilson sees Prussia's relations with the Empire in a far different light,

> (Prussia's) relations to the Empire did not fit a simple linear model with one becoming steadily stronger as the other declined. While Prussia was growing more powerful as it emerged as a distinct European power, its degree of exposure to international threats varied across the period. Meanwhile, the Empire was not in terminal decline as its political development remained open to several possible paths including that of reform as promoted by the lesser princes.[38]

To Wilson, Prussia's formation as a state requires a framework which includes its relationship within the Holy Roman Empire. Such a framework analyzes not simply the dynastic politics of the house of Hohenzollern or the Protestant Catholic divide which ravaged Central Europe. A closer look also reveals the interconnected relationships of Imperial citizens in their loyalty to their Prince and Emperor, trade amongst member states, and shared struggles from outside threats, particularly France. Peter Wilson, while analyzing Prussia within the HRE, revealed the need for historical analysis to branch away from simplified notions of historical relationships and instead see the historical development of Prussia, not from the perspective of a completed product, but from a working process.

To complete the analysis of modern historical approaches, three authors will be analyzed. Each work focuses on common themes of the traditional approach (religion and bureaucracy, monarchy, and international relations) which all potentially could fall under a from-above approach to the formation of Prussia as a state. These authors, however, show the complexity of Prussia's formation and discover interesting aspects which open new perspectives. Such perspectives include Susan Lachenicht's article on "Early modern German states and the settlement of Jews: Brandenburg—Prussia and the Palatinate, sixteenth to nineteenth centuries." Lachenicht explores how the role of Jewish settlers in Brandenburg-Prussia effected the bureaucracy of the state and the struggles of Jewish settlers in terms of religious tolerance. The article details the 1671 Edict of Potsdam which legalized and expanded Jewish settlement. Lachenicht further explores how the Jewish bureaucrats provided a new labor force in Brandenburg-Prussia and had a corresponding economic impact upon the burgeoning state.[39] Past analysis focused primarily on Christian religious diversity in Prussia, yet historians such as Lachenicht help expand the scope of Prussia's development as a state by analyzing religious minorities, no matter how small their numbers, and their impact on Prussia.

Other historians like Jasper Heinzen explores the very nature of the monarchy and criticize the from-above perspective of past historiography. As Heinzen writes,

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[37] Peter H. Wilson, "Prussia's Relations with The Holy Roman Empire, 1740–1786," *The Historical Journal* 51, no. 2 (June 2008): 337–71.

[38] Wilson, 340.

[39] Susan Lachenicht, "Early Modern German States and the Settlement of Jews: Brandenburg—Prussia and the Palatinate, Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries," *Jewish Historical Studies* 42 (2009): 7–17.

> …the fact that monarchs still manage to attract so much scholarly attention in spite of the sophisticated challenge presented by 'history from below' is a sign of as yet unanswered questions about the adaptability of monarchies to changing socio-political environments, the global projection of European power in the nineteenth century and the mechanics of international relations.[40]

Heinzen's article focuses on the house of Hohenzollern's efforts at state building. He studies sources such as textbooks and patriotic ceremonies in the army.[41] This subject matter in some ways incorporates traditional approaches, but it also recognizes a need to explore the relationships common people had with their government.

Perhaps one author whose work does not fall within the same era of other modern writers yet exemplifies a from-below approach to Prussia's rise as a state is Karl Schweizer, author of *England, Prussia, and the Seven Years War: Studies in Alliance Policies and Diplomacy.* The topic of warfare and Prussia normally conjures up traditional notions of the Prussian army formulating a state out of violence in lockstep with an efficient bureaucracy under an absolutist monarch. Schweizer, however, focuses on disparate institutions, decision makers, and common people who effected the war and Prussia's development. He notes the effect of international relations on the state, particularly the formation of alliances, which he calls an "intrinsic element of international politics."[42] Prussia's rise was not in a vacuum, and Schweizer argues that the British alliance in the Seven Years' War benefited Prussia greatly in its development. His treatment of the war, however, does not include discussion of war-making theory. Instead, Schweizer focuses on international relations, journalistic opinions and diplomatic cables instead of focusing on the development of the army.[43] Prussia reads not as an all-powerful absolute state, but instead as an amalgamation of bureaucratic elements, dynastic politics, commonly held beliefs, journalistic agendas and national ideals which effect the course of the state's decision making in the war. Such developments highlight the impact of common people on state formation even in heightened situations.

Conclusion

In the traditional approach, the role of the monarch and bureaucracy in conjunction with the armed forces take a center stage. Such an analysis concludes that the Prussian state formed through the work of a small group of influential movers and shakers. These historical actors bucked contemporary trends in order to form a highly centralized and bureaucratic state.

However, recently historians have expanded their scope. In particular, they have begun discussing the role that confessional conflict and religious loyalty played in the lives of Prussian citizens. These new interpretations take a from-above approach and focus on the development of the state through the crown and bureaucratic elements, while acknowledging the role of common beliefs and values in decision making. In more recent years, the analysis has flipped to a from-below approach. Historians recognize the tensions between monarchy and nobility, corruption and incompetence in bureaucracy, and further disloyalty and independence in townships, cities and territories as pointing to a state not entirely centralized, not entirely absolute, and not entirely efficient. In the end, however, key elements remain present in all periods of the historiography. The

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[40] Jasper Heinzen, "Monarchical State-Building through State Destruction: Hohenzollern Self-Legitimization at the Expense of Deposed Dynasties in the Kaiserreich," *German History* 35, no. 4 (December 2017).

[41] Heinzen.

[42] Karl W. Schweizer, *England, Prussia, and the Seven Years War: Studies in Alliance Policies and Diplomacy*, Studies in British History; v. 14 (Lewiston, N.Y: E. Mellen Press, 1989), 7.

[43] Ibid.

army remains a crucial point of study. Religious tensions also continue to play a role in development. Bureaucratic systems are consistently analyzed, as is the issue of territorial integrity along with dynastic politics.

Review of *Radicals in the Heartland: The 1960s Student Protest Movement at the University of Illinois* by Michael V. Metz (Urbana, Il: University of Illinois Press, 2019).
Derek Schneeman

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"Young Illini were confronted with grave moral issues," writes Michael V. Metz in his book *Radicals in the Heartland: The 1960s Student Protest Movement at the University of Illinois*, "in response, they questioned authorities, spoke out, and, in the end, made history." Metz chronicles the student protest movements on the campus of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign from the mid-1960s through the early 1970s. As was a common theme during this time period, students at the University of Illinois became increasingly vocal, leading to frequent clashes with campus administration, as well as the Champaign-Urbana community over issues such as freedom of speech, civil rights, and opposition to the Vietnam War. Metz has an intimate connection with this particular chapter in the University of Illinois' history. A University of Illinois alumnus, he participated in the student movements from 1965-1970. He later worked in Silicon Valley for twenty years and, upon retirement, proceeded to earn a master's degree in European History and delve into historical writing as a second act to his professional career. In *Radicals*, he provides first-hand accounts of the protests of various student groups and responses of university administration. Metz's study adequately shows how students brought about drastic changes to the University of Illinois' campus policies. At the same time, the book is not without its share of flaws.

Radicals is organized into four parts: The Prelude, The Free Speech Era, The Antiwar Movement, and The Violent Time. The parts move chronologically from the start of President George D. Stoddard's tenure in the late 1940s and early 1950s through the end of President David Dods Henry's tenure in 1971. The book is further divided into thirty-seven chapters, despite being only 223 pages! Many of the chapters are only a few pages in length, allowing the author to easily change the reader's focus between various events and perspectives. This is a suitable strategy considering the tumultuous time period and rapid turn of events covered in the book.

Metz's primary objective is retelling the events using interviews with students, administration, and faculty. He reserves his analysis for the introduction and conclusion. In an interview with the Champaign-Urbana based publication *Smile Politely*, Metz stated, "I tried as best I could to maintain objectivity — there's no such thing as pure objectivity of course — but I tried to keep my own personal perspective out of the bulk of the work…I tried to write a straight history." For the most part, Metz accomplishes this goal. He relies heavily on *The Daily Illini*, the university's student newspaper, as well as recent interviews with students who had leading roles in the movement. He also incorporates articles from the *Champaign News-Gazette*, the *Champaign-Urbana Courier*, *The Chicago Sun-Times* and *The Chicago Tribune* to show how the protest movements were being perceived by urban and rural Illinoisans. However, the absence of a historical argument leaves the reader wondering what the book's greater purpose is and why it all should matter to the reader.

Another flaw is its lack of representation of women or people of color as sources. To be fair, as Metz states in the book, 66% of University of Illinois students during the time period covered were male, and 90% were white, so it stands to reason that a majority of Metz's interviewees

resembled the student population at the time. In chapter 18 titled Spring/Summer '67: Women Rising, he included accounts from Patricia and Nancy Englehard, two women who were deeply involved in the protest movements on campus. Additionally, Patricia Englehard is the only woman included in the "Contributors in Their Own Words" section at the end of the book, where some of the most quoted protesters in the book explained what the movement meant to them. Simply put, the number of women interviewed for the book can be counted on one hand. Fewer still are the number of black alumni represented. The most glaring example of this comes in chapter 26 titled "Fall '68: Project 500." In this chapter, Metz describes the university's implementation of Project 500, a program designed specifically to increase enrollment opportunities for Black students. When students recruited for Project 500 quickly realized that the university was falling short in many of the promises that they had made, including lesser-than-expected financial aid packages and poor housing arrangements, they decided to protest in the Illini Union. The administration responded by calling in 133 police officers who subsequently arrested 244 people. Metz quotes the Black Student Association statement responding to the university's ironfisted reaction, he also quotes Illinois Chancellor Jack Peltason and hardcore conservative Illinois congressman Representative Charles Clabaugh, but curiously he did not interview any of the individual black students involved, who were undoubtedly the most deeply affected by the incident. Here, Metz missed a golden opportunity to show the reader the black students' perspective on the most violent crackdown on a student protest to that point in the university's history.

Overall, Metz provides the reader an in-depth look at the student protest movement at the University of Illinois during the late 1960s and early 1970s. The book outlines the progression of the student movement at the University of Illinois from its beginning in fighting for freedom of speech during the height of McCarthyism, to its shift in opposing the Vietnam War. In many ways, students at the University of Illinois were similar to their peers on college campuses across the country during this time period. This does not mean, however, that their stories are not worth telling. While it is not without its flaws, *Radicals* offers a microhistory showing how students at the University of Illinois contributed to the chorus of voices on college campuses throughout the country in challenging authority figures and protesting injustices

Review of *The Blood of Emmett Till* by Timothy B. Tyson (New York: Simon and Shuster, 2017).
Liam Gardner

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Dear reader, close your eyes and imagine a young child–or if you have children of your own, imagine them in that child's place. Imagine that child is part of a minority group which the dominant group wants to suppress–or even erase in extreme cases. Imagine that child made a mistake. Maybe they forgot to mind their manners or made eye contact with an oppressor. It appears to be a seemingly harmless mistake to the naked eye. However, it was one that wound up costing the young child their dignity and life. As uncomfortable as it may feel, imagine that young child being beaten, tortured, shot dead, and then thrown into a river for that tiny mistake. If this made you feel uncomfortable, outraged, or sad, then this visualization proved successful. This was also exactly how many people felt in 1955 after the murder of a fourteen-year-old black teen. Emmett Till, a native of Chicago, was brutally murdered by white men while visiting relatives in Mississippi. His supposed crime was whistling at a white lady. *The Blood of Emmett Till* –a *New York Times* Best-Seller, by Timothy Tyson—tells young Mr. Till's story. This book describes in great detail the events leading up to Till's cold-blooded murder, and how it proceeded to spark a revolution within the Civil Rights Movement.

Each of Tyson's eighteen chapters alternates between four perspectives. The first being Emmett Till and those close to him, and the second being the Bryants and others complicit with murdering Till. In addition to the perspectives of the parties directly related to the crime, the third perspective includes the black community of Mississippi, and the fourth being the general Civil Rights Movement as the fallout from the brutal murder began to unfold.

The purpose of this book is to show readers how the murder of Emmett Till fueled the Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s, leading into the 1960s. Tyson explores the horrors of the Jim Crow system and growing anger among blacks. The book also describes how Till's mother became a Civil Rights icon following his death, and how Till was on Rosa Parks's mind as she sat in the front of a Montgomery public bus roughly a year after the brutal killing.

This book is stunning, engaging, and well-written. It is a wonderful representation of how far American society has come, in terms of race relations. The book depicts horrifying atrocities committed against black Americans, especially in the Deep South and Mississippi in particular. With intimidation an everyday occurrence, white Mississippians would threaten African American registered voters with their lives until they took their own names off the voting rolls. Black sharecroppers and prisoners effectively kept the institution of slavery alive and legal under the law. Beatings, and in the worst case, lynchings, commonly occurred if a black individual so much as let slip the most minor infraction of manners towards a white individual. Following the Civil Rights Movement, these abuses have become increasingly less prevalent in American society. There is still quite a way to go before the United States becomes a more anti-racist society, but there is no denying that America has come a long way since then.

In summary, *The Blood of Emmett Till* is powerful and enthralling. While most will find the contents of this book engaging, these events can also be disturbing. But despite this duality, Timothy B. Tyson did a wonderful job facing some of the darker sides of America's past and writing about it

as a responsible historian should. It was definitely something worth reading. I would encourage everybody to read, because that is the responsible thing to do: accept all history, regardless of how painful it may be.

Review of *Back Over There: One American Time Traveler, 100 Years Since the Great War, 500 Miles of Scarred Countryside, and Too Many Trenches, Shells, Legends and Ghosts* by Richard Rubin (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2017).
Cameron Clark

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Richard Rubin, a writer for *The New York Times* and author of well-known history books, chronicles his 2009 and 2014 journeys across the Western Front of World War I in his latest book. Along the way he talks with local experts and discovers stories of the American soldiers who fought in the last two years of the war. In the book, Rubin often refers to the Western front as "Over There," a reference to the 1917 song by George M. Cohan. His prior book on World War I, *The Last of the Doughboys*, featured interviews the last living veterans of World War I conducted before Rubin traveled to the Western Front himself, where he decided to write a separate book on the discoveries he made there. Rather than focusing on the broad topic of the war, the book tells many smaller stories and focuses on localized conflicts. This approach ensures that even readers with a great deal of knowledge of World War I will still learn something from this book.

Throughout the book, Rubin recounts his travels to important locations on the Western Front. In the introduction, Rubin becomes lost in rural northeastern France, in an area known as Lorraine, as he attempts to find a monument removed from paved roads. This opening introduces the reader to both the writer's style and the general purpose of the book. In the following chapter, Rubin travels to the Argonne Forest where the audience is introduced to Jean-Paul de Vries, a local museum proprietor, whose information on the area takes Rubin to the various other destinations. One was a house that Erwin Rommel, later a famous general in World War II, stayed in briefly during 1914. The owner of this house showed Rubin another house on his property where another famous World War II general, Douglas MacArthur, stayed later in World War I.

Throughout Rubin's travels on the Western Front, he recounts forgotten stories of events and people through the war. One example is Rubin's exploration, with expert Gilles Chauwin, of a chalk mine near the Chemin des Dames, a location where Americans were briefly stationed during World War I. American soldiers stationed within the mine carved images and identifying information. Rubin uses the information provided through these carvings to find official documents about the individuals and provides a brief description of the information he found. Included among these carved names is that of Ralph T. Moan, whose diary, which the author refers to as "the only contemporary firsthand account I know of from an American soldier at the Chemin des Dames in 1918," which provided much information from the perspective of American soldiers, contradicting other sources that depict far more excitement in regard to the mines.

In the third chapter of the book, Rubin, aided by local expert Eric Mansuy, attempts to find the location of the first shot fired by the American military in the war. Despite the circumstances surrounding the ceremonial firing of this shot being well recorded, Rubin struggled to find the exact hill from where the shot was fired. With help from Mansuy, Rubin eventually found the location of the first shot on a hill designated "A81." Mansuy also escorted Rubin to the location where a German raid on the American trenches resulted in the first three American casualties in World War I.

At the end of the second chapter, Rubin visits the city of Ypres, in Flanders, Belgium. While there, Rubin attended a ceremonial playing of "Last Post," a British bugle call equivalent to "Taps," held at the Menin Gate, a memorial to the British soldiers who died at Ypres. This ceremony has been held every day since shortly after the unveiling of the memorial in 1927. In July of 2015, the 30,000th consecutive ceremony was held. At this event, an Australian tourist told Rubin the legend of how a piper continued to play the "Last Post" at the location during World War II despite the German occupation of the area.

Back Over There is a great recreational read. The book, however, lacks a cohesive thesis, instead providing several interesting independent stories and using Rubin's travels to connect the narrative. The lack of a central thesis perhaps indicates a focus on attracting an amateur consumer base rather than professionals in the field. However, this does not negatively impact the quality of the work, as the subject matter involved is diverse and would limit a potential thesis to the broadest of statements regarding American involvement in World War I. Given the many untold stories in *Back Over There*, the reader is bound to learn new information about the experiences of American soldiers in World War I. This book is sure to entertain and inform readers.

Review of *Department Stores and the Black Freedom Movement: Workers, Consumers, and Civil Rights from the 1930s to the 1980s* by Traci Parker (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019).
Samantha Blatti

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Historians have hardly neglected the black freedom movement in the United States. However, historian Traci Parker offers a different perspective related to the subject, as her book focuses specifically on department stores and how they relate to the civil rights movement. Parker examines the economics of department store development, and how these shopping meccas mainly targeted middle class citizens. African American workers and shoppers generally suffered unfair treatment in department stores. This changed as the civil rights movement intersected with the department store movement. For example, civil rights activists forged "don't buy where you can't work" movement, which served to get African American workers into white collar jobs at department stores. The emergence of middle-class African Americans with money to spend in stores added to pressure for change. Parker's book deftly shows how class and race intersected around the department store.

Professor Parker's mix of race, class and culture provides a novel perspective compared to standard historical treatments. She explains how many historians have had a dismissive view of the department store movement, arguing it harmed economic growth for African Americans going forward. However, Parker takes the viewpoint that African Americans remained committed to economic rights, and she reveals how the department store movement shows those preoccupations. Her book is a refreshing take on the culture of department stores in Chicago, New York City, and elsewhere. Readers can learn about how African Americans integrated into department stores after the labor movement challenged the culture of the stores and pressed economic rights for workers.

The book comprises six chapters, each one representing a different time period in the department store movement. Parker starts with the beginning of the movement, in the 1910s and 1920s, an era which offered a step forward for many African Americans, but there were still limitations in promotion or advancement for black employees. As a result, there was an early time period of activism among black department store workers before the civil rights protests. According to Parker, in the 1910s and 1920s, department stores became the center for the middle class. Unlike many public spaces at the time, African American customers were allowed to come into some stores and browse, but they were not treated equally and were sometimes refused service. Activism would eventually change this. Chapters two and three show the rise of the department store movement and African American workers being treated like second class citizens, and chapters four and five discuss popular activists of the civil rights movement and how they used department stores for activism. Chapter six offers a conclusion that discusses the decline of department stores. Parker concludes with the idea that department stores became less service oriented; they were more about service

names and designer goods, which allowed for more equality among workers, since customers no longer demanded premium services.[1]

Most impressive is the author's deep research. This is an interesting topic that many readers may enjoy learning about since previous historiography has neglected to discuss the department store movement. Parker weaves together both primary and secondary sources. She uses legal documents, newspapers, oral histories, and various secondary sources by other historians, and she maps the historical timeline of the department store movement from the early introduction to the department store movement to the conclusion of the movement. It is interesting that Parker does not limit herself to the height of the black freedom movement in the 1960s; rather, she expands it beyond that to the 1980s. This reflects the new interest among historians in the "long civil rights movement."

Her book is strongest, however, when she discusses the integration of department stores from the 1930s to 1960s. She describes the contribution of key groups, such as the NAACP. By considering both race and class, Parker shows how the civil rights movement was related to the labor movement. While her first chapters were strong, her last chapters could have been integrated better. By the end of Parker's study, we see a department store that had fundamentally changed. Employment in department stores were no longer associated with middle class, but increasingly was seen as a job offering little room for progress for anyone.

Overall, Parker's work provides a compelling narrative. She brings new information about the department store movement to the historiography, and her writing can be enjoyed by both scholars and casual readers looking to learn something about both the department store movement and the civil rights movement.

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[1] Traci Parker, 224.