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A Letter from the Editor

It is with great pleasure that we present the tenth volume of Traces, the UNC-Chapel Hill Journal of History. The publication of our tenth volume comes during the ninth year of this journal's existence. The reason of this incongruence lies in the fact that we published two volumes during the 2021-2022 academic year. In many ways, this represents the normalization of the journal's activities since the start of the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic. This period saw serious challenges to the continuation of the journal's activity but ultimately, the care, collaboration, and dedication of many undergraduate, as well as graduate, editors and authors - both current and from past years – alongside the constant support of the faculty and staff of the UNC History Department, have kept this endeavor going. It is always worth highlighting that Traces is completely self-managed and published by students, produced entirely in-house, and printed by the Office of Scholarly Publishing Services (OSPS) of UNC Press.

This volume features eight articles selected from a pool of almost 30 papers submitted by students from three different universities including UNC-Chapel Hill. This level of engagement with the journal leaves us feeling elated and wanting to further our goal of becoming a relevant publication for undergraduate research throughout the Triangle Area and North Carolina, while always focusing on our mission of primarily being a showcase for historical research by part of UNC-Chapel Hill students. The work featured in the present volume does not follow a unified thematic line, but rather showcases the creativity and diversity of the research carried out by UNC-Chapel Hill undergraduate students. In the following pages, the reader will find papers relating to United States history - both from the colonial and national periods - Polish history, and Chinese history; that use methodologies drawn from the spheres of social history, queer history, oral history, diplomatic history, sports history, cultural history, and subaltern history; and analyze a variety of sources such as interviews, memoirs, diaries, newspapers, periodicals, magazines, pulp magazines, literature, poetry, speeches, and policy statements

The staff thanks each author for their hard work and attentive disposition. Our deepest gratitude goes out to Dr. Kathleen DuVal for her support as Chief Faculty Advisor and the History Department for their continued support towards Traces. We would like to thank Samuel Dalzell from UNC Press for ensuring that our publication uphold high printing standards. The staff also thanks Matthew Turi from Special Collections at Wilson Library for his support in facilitating us a cover image. Finally, we want to express our continued appreciation for the donors who provide us with the means to carry out this project year after year

May the history students at UNC-Chapel Hill forever keep this independent, collaborative, and empowering venture that is Traces.

Sincerely,
Javier Etchegaray

Traces

The UNC-Chapel Hill Journal of History

Articles

Ladies of Quality: Loyalist Scotswomen in North Carolina during the American Revolution

Ila L. Chilberg

Abstract. Due to overwhelming migration preceding the American Revolutionary war, Scottish families formed a significant basis of North Carolina's population, government, and economy during the mid to late 18th century. In order to properly ascertain the role of Scottish colonists in this period, it is necessary to look at the intersections of military, political, economic, and social factors that influenced the motives of Scottish women in North Carolina before, during, and after the American Revolution. This paper offers insight into why Scottish women migrated to North Carolina preceding the American revolution, the nature of Loyalist Scottish women's role in North Carolina's war front, and how they used the effects of the war to assert agency for themselves both at home and in political settings. Particular focus is placed on conflicts whose context mirrored that of the Revolutionary War, such as the 1745 Jacobite rebellion and the Regulator movement, as both intersections offer opportunities to witness the war-time motives of female Scottish Carolinians along with the social constrictions they experienced. After the fallout of the Jacobite rebellion led to a wave of Scottish migration, newly arrived Scotswomen found a colony entrenched in political flux. As a result, for many Loyalist Scotswomen, their actions in the war were not necessarily fueled by an allegiance to the British government but more so by their familial and financial ties. Additionally, the agency that the war provided for them created women who not only engaged in political and military forums but also used the war as a platform to assert themselves in the government in its aftermath.

Introduction

Before the Earth's crust spread into the continents we know today, the Scottish Highlands and Carolinian Blue Ridge Appalachia were one and the same. Stretching onwards for hundreds of miles, the two sister ridges have shared a history quite literally since the Earth began. In the eighteenth century, Scottish women such as Flora McDonald and Janet Schaw traveled from one sister ridge to another only to find themselves in yet another historic event when the American Revolution dawned. The former would find herself in a position similar to many Scottish-North Carolinian women during the war; with her husband captured and imprisoned, Flora MacDonald managed her family and property as political turmoil came to a head in the Colonies. In contrast, the latter served primarily as a keen observer and commentator on the events which unfolded before her while her family was tied deeper into the war through enlistment and connection to British Governor

Josiah Martin. Together, although these women may have been of noticeable renown in comparison to their everyday Scottish contemporaries, their wartime experiences were far from unique and are reflective of North Carolina's Scottish emigrants and their experiences during the American Revolutionary War

In the mid-eighteenth century, following the British abolition of the clan system-the general socio-political organizational system in Scotland-women such as Flora McDonald and Janet Schaw migrated to North Carolina seeking economic opportunity. Some, such as Isabella Campbell, lived along the Cape Fear River: a hub for transport and settlement in this period that was often connected to influential cities and regions such as Wilmington, New Bern, and Cumberland County. Following their arrival in the colony, while these women found themselves immersed in the American Rebellion, they also exhibited significant agency in light of the revolutionary turmoil. Although significant research has emerged analyzing the position of women during the American revolution as well as on North Carolinian Highland Scots and loyalists, there has yet to be a thorough examination of Loyalist Scottish women in the colony. Because the North Carolinian revolutionary stage was a highly volatile, personalized affair, it is necessary to analyze all actors who influenced, and were influenced by its chaos. By examining the accounts of Janet Schaw, Isabella Campbell, and their contemporaries, it is possible to bring their voices into discussion and better define not only the nature of loyalist women's experience, but also how it shaped civilian loyalties during the North Carolinian conflict. It is essential that the factors which influenced Loyalist Scottish women are isolated and placed into context with the society they lived in; otherwise, it would be impossible to properly analyze how North Carolinians experienced the American revolution.

As financial insecurity rooted itself in the Scottish agricultural economy, many women migrated to North Carolina as a means of acquiring cheap land, and, in some cases, a pardon. Once settled into the small farm economy, Scotswomen who migrated in the decade after the Battle of Culloden found themselves caught in the political whirlwind that was the North Carolinian government and the Regulator movement. In contrast, many who arrived in the years before the war were quickly confronted with a society on the verge of highly personalized political upheaval. Once the war began, many Scotswomen found themselves managing estates as their families were bound up in the war through enlistment or backyard warfare. In the war's aftermath, loyalist Scotswomen found themselves forced from the colony and returned to Scotland, bartering with the Crown in an attempt to recover some semblance of the property they lost. In order to clarify what shaped their motivations leading up to the war and their desire to advocate for their position within the state, it is essential to define the nature of life for Loyalist Scottish women in North Carolina before the dawn of the revolution, during the conflict, and after its settlement

Before the Colonies

Scottish society, particularly Highland society, still operated along a semi-feudal clan system through which families bore oaths to local lairds.[1] Lairds functioned both as landlords and martial leaders as they had the capacity to call on their tenants for armed conflict.[2] They were also connected to a coat of arms and tartan, two items which functioned not only to identify different Scotsmen and their clans but were consequently ingrained into the cultural identity of Scotland itself. Flora MacDonald was a member of an Island branch family clan named Donald, whereas her counterpart Janet Schaw was a member of a Lowland clan of the same name.[3]

The 1745 Jacobite rebellion and subsequent laws the British government enacted in retaliation not only served as one of the most influential events in Scottish history, but also a turning point in the nature of Scottish society. The Fourty-Five Rebellion was an armed attempt to overthrow the English crown and seat Charles Edward Stuart as king, a cause which was adopted by many Highland Scots under the clan system. However, in April, 1746, the English overwhelmingly defeated Bonnie Prince Charlie's forces on Culloden Moor, promptly ending the rebellion. Although it did signify the end of the rebellion, the defeat at Culloden Moor marked the dismantling of the entire Scottish clan system and their cultural erasure by the British government. Following the battle's conclusion and Bonnie Charlie's retreat from the battlefield, a young Flora McDonald aided and abetted the pretender's escape which ultimately resulted in her appointment as "a symbol of Highland bravery and independence."[4] Peculiarly, this lends one to question why a large majority of Scottish settlers elected to join the loyalist cause when their recent history involved opposition to the same monarchy.[5]

According to Duane Meyer, the English government then used the aftermath of the conflict to implement "a series of laws designed to destroy the clans and to bring the Highlands under political supervision."[6] A young Flora MacDonald, and many like her who had participated in the rebellion, was promptly captured and imprisoned.[7] In addition to the Disarming Act and Highland Dress Act, which barred Scottish citizens from possessing weapons and wearing tartan, the estates of many lairds were confiscated, further decimating the clan system. Tensions eventually reached a head when the population increased, and lack of clan system resulted in a Scotland wrought with unrest during the subsequent

1 Meyer, Duane. *The Highland Scots of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961), 4

2 Meyer. *The Highland Scots of North Carolina*, 14

3 Meyer. *The Highland Scots of North Carolina*, 120

4 Meyer. *The Highland Scots of North Carolina*, 14

5 Meyer. *The Highland Scots of North Carolina*, 120

6 Meyer. *The Highland Scots of North Carolina*, 15

7 Toffey, John. A *Woman Nobly Planned: Fact and Myth in the Legacy of Flora MacDonald* (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 1997), 66

agricultural crisis as "excessive rents and evictions" caused widespread poverty.[8] What later stood as a greater influence to Scottish loyalties during the American Revolution was not in fact participation in the Jacobite Rebellion but, rather, the society England developed in its wake.

Everyday Livelihoods

Once arriving in North Carolina, many Scotswomen found their lives to be similar, albeit slightly more arduous than their lives back home in Scotland. While their involvement in small farm agriculture did increase, it was already not uncommon in the Highlands for women to adopt roles as both caretaker and farmhand. Education also remained more available to Scottish women than for their English peers, and some – including Flora MacDonald – even worked to establish schools themselves. Additionally, while their lives were influenced by the law of coverture, contract law did provide an avenue for women to ensure themselves or their descendants legal protection surrounding property and assets. Bearing this in mind, Scottish women in the colony led lives that were often educated, tied to small farm agriculture, and to the affairs of their families, but they also had a complex relationship with the law and the degree to which it afforded them agency.

Although Scottish women were expected to fulfill their roles within the household, many also assisted in the agricultural needs of the family through fieldwork. Due to agriculture's focus as the basis of the Highland economy, the majority of migrants incorporated small farming into their lifestyles in the colonies. In doing so, the day-to-day lifestyle of a Scottish woman in North Carolina mirrored that of her life in Scotland. Tobacco and grain were the primary crops of small farms in the colony, however these were not the primary goods harvested in the Highlands and, as a result, those who passed by in the area often noted that not "a single acre of land in North Carolina managed as it should have been." [9] Despite this, Scottish farmers occupied the majority of the Cape Fear river's lands and the Appalachian land plots and, consequently, scattered throughout the colony were Scotswomen adopting the roles of both caretaker and farmhand for the sake of their families.

Furthermore, primary education was relatively accessible for young Scotswomen due to the values of Highland society in the eighteenth century, which translated into life for women in North Carolina as Scottish migration increased in the colony. In part, the values of Highland society contributed to how relatively easy it was for young women to obtain primary and secondary education. In Highlands and Scottish Islands culture, particularly amongst clan members and their families, "education and those societal attributes" were

8 Meyer. *The Highland Scots of North Carolina*, 6

9 Franklin, Neil W. "Agriculture in Colonial North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review* 3, no. 4 (1926): 551-555

prioritized and "held in high regard."[10] It was not uncommon for women of higher class to have access to both formal and informal education and there were many women who were teachers, traders, and "skilled dealers in the market place."[11] In fact, data on migrants traveling to the colony noted "disproportionate numbers of skilled and educated Scots from the Lowlands."[12] Upon her arrival in North Carolina, Janet Schaw commented on the instruction of Scottish families in the colony, noting that "the wives and daughters were people of education."[13] Altogether, not only was it common for Scotswomen in the colonies to receive education, but the values of their families often encouraged them to do so.

Outside of their involvement in education and agriculture, Scotswomen in North Carolina were also defined by their marital status, which forced them to obtain legal protection through the establishment of contracts often tied to their descendants. Although North Carolina operated under the law of coverture, wherein a woman's legal status was assumed by her husband upon marriage, it was relatively common for women who were in some fashion legally independent from men to assume legal rights of their own.[14] Janet Schaw, who remained unmarried throughout her lifetime, was considered a free agent in the colony and not tied to the assets of her brother Robert, owner of an estate titled Schawfield, which was confiscated at the war's conclusion. Flora MacDonald on the other hand, had her status assumed by her husband, Alan, and was therefore considered a resident of their property under his name. The law also ensured that upon the deaths of their husbands, widows would be guaranteed portions of their husband's assets.[15] If the deceased's debt exceeded the value of his holdings, then the widow would be given her portion directly from the state. Additionally, through their naming as executrix of a will, many women manipulated the system to obtain property or protection. In some instances, widows were permitted to operate and expand the holdings of their husbands in their entirety, a practice that resulted in Scotswomen like Magdaline Campbell obtaining valuable property like her "640-acre grant" along the Cape Fear.[16] However, if she were to remarry, a practice common amongst Scottish settlers at the time, North Carolina permitted its residents to establish marriage contracts in order to protect property. In the case of Isabella McAllister, she received her first husband's assets upon his death and upon remarrying, she configured the contract so

10 Toffey. *A Woman Nobly Planned*, 58, 20

11 Foyster, Elizabeth and Whately, Christopher. *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland: 1600 to 1800* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), 19

12 Foyster and Whately. *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland*, 276

13 Schaw, Janet. *Journal of a Lady of Quality* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939), 154

14 "Widows and Women Marrying for the First Time Might Protect Their Property by Means of Premarriage Contracts," in Watson, Alan, ed. *Society in Early North Carolina* (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 2000), 36

15 "Widows and Women Marrying for the First Time Might Protect Their Property by Means of Premarriage Contracts," 37

16 Meyer. *The Highland Scots of North Carolina,* 123

that her children, not her husband, were holders of her property.[17] As a result, while Schaw and MacDonald serve as women whose marital status differentiated them legally in society, their counterparts Campbell and McAllister manipulated the system to ensure financial security for themselves and their descendants.

For their time, these women were well educated and, depending on her class, provided the means to access institutionalized instruction. While they were still expected to be caretakers, many adopted the additional role of farmhand and assisted in the management of small tobacco and grain farms. However, the most definitive factor that contributed to a Scotswoman's position in the colony was her marital status, which not only laid out her financial mobility but also afforded her the avenues to manipulate it. Altogether, the everyday lives of Scotswomen in the colony were outlined by her education, relationship to agriculture, and marital status.

Migration

Initially, Scottish emigration to the colony occurred predominately in two distinct periods: the wave of exile following the Battle of Culloden, and the years immediately preceding the American Revolutionary war. Additionally, one of the largest debates surrounding colonial Scottish emigration is whether or not their motivations for moving were influenced by economic or political factors. This discourse inherently fails by treating the two as causes exclusive to one another. It was not solely the economic or political climate that resulted in Scottish emigration, but rather the interplay of both elements that created the stressors and incentives which drove them to move. For many Scottish women, the political climate influenced their financial security and created stressors, but the political incentive of pardons also incentivized many to leave. However, the agricultural crisis also resulted in several women, like Flora MacDonald, migrating to the colony. Others, such as Janet Schaw, were led to the North Carolinian coast at the request of their families. Following the implementation of England's laws against the clan system, migration to North Carolina was primarily driven by Scotland's economic crisis but for many, the political incentive of receiving a pardon served as the final motivation to move as did the presence of family who already resided in the colony. As a result, Scottish migration to the colony should not be contextualized by primarily through the lens of economic or political stressors, but rather both factors and their combined influence on the lives of the women they affected.

As Scotland entered economic turmoil instigated by the British government, women such as Flora McDonald found themselves emigrating to the colonies in order to escape "the threat of 'poverty and oppression'" that ensued from skyrocketing "high

17 "John Slingsby and I. McAllister. In trust to James Murry," in Watson, ed. S*ociety in Early North Carolina*, 38

rents, enclosures, and evictions."[18] North Carolina's quitrent land-grab system appealed to many Scots who suffered from financial instability, particularly women who aimed to manipulate the system in their favor. The British government's attack on the Scottish clan system after the rebellion resulted in an agricultural reformation without the protection or regulation by clan organizations. For many, North Carolina stood as an ideal destination for settlement due to the availability of land, the relaxed means of acquiring it, and the high number of Scottish residents already residing within the colony. Because "it was a policy to grant a 'right' to a person each time he entered the colony", obtaining land was not only a relatively simple process, but one that highly benefited Scottish migrants who had limited means to purchase it.[19] Additionally, North Carolina granted its land on quitrent payments that could easily be afforded by the incoming Scotsmen and women.[20] As evidenced by Governor Tryon's assertion that many emigrating Scots claimed that "the Rents of their lands were so raised that they could not live upon them," the means of payment was just as important to them as obtaining the land itself.[21] North Carolina's legal code did not explicitly discriminate against women on the matters of land holding, an opportunity that Scotswomen such as Mary Buie, Alexandra McAlister, and Catherine McNeil all took advantage of, with the three holding over 575 acres to their names.[22] In this circumstance, North Carolina afforded its women more agency than other colonies, which was something that in the wake of economic insecurity many Scottish women took advantage of.

Immediately following the end of the Jacobite rebellion, the British government offered convicted Jacobites an official pardon on the condition that they would emigrate to North Carolina and other territories as well as swear an oath of allegiance to English crown. For those like Flora MacDonald, who was released from imprisonment during a mass pardon by the government, this stood as additional incentive. This, in tandem with the growing agricultural crisis, served as the final push for many to migrate. For settlers who arrived in the colony, they could obtain easily through the government on the condition that they could be mustered for service should the Crown deem it necessary.

Further incentive for migration laid in the sizeable population of Scottish settlers who already resided in the colony. Witnessed by Alexander McAllister, the coming waves of Scotsmen and women who would settle the colony were perceived to be "a new Scotland."[23] Not only would McAllister observe the incoming migration of Scotsmen and women, he would later incentivize several members of his own family: Hector McAllister,

18 Meyer. *The Highland Scots of North Carolina*, 44

19 Toffey. *A Woman Nobly Planned*, 113

20 Powell, William, ed. *The Correspondence of William Tryon and Other Selected Papers (*Raleigh: Division of Archives and History Department of Cultural Resources, 1981), 2

21 "William Tryon to Earl of Hillsborough. Mar. 12, 1771", in William, ed. *The Correspondence of William Tryon*, 629

22 Meyer. *The Highland Scots of North Carolina*, 123-124.

23 Manuscript Department Page, 2 "McAllister Family Papers" 1978, M-3774, Folder 1-4. Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Mary McNeill, and Isabella Campbell, to relocate to the colony. Many women would venture to the southern colony at the behest of their families, such as Janet Schaw, whose journal, titled *Journal of a Lady of Quality*, would recount her voyage across the Atlantic upon the request of her brother Alexander.

Regarding those who migrated in the years immediately after the Jacobite rebellion and those who arrived just before the revolution dawned, although their motives for their political affiliation were different, there were still considerable similarities. While women who arrived earlier in the eighteenth century experienced an expansion of agency regarding property rights, those who emigrated later desired to secure the assets already in their possession. However, both parties were motivated to ally themselves with whichever political group they believed to have the best chance at safeguarding their ways of life. Regarding political affiliation, the motivation behind allying oneself with either the patriot or loyalist cause appears to vary tremendously from individual to individual, although those who emigrated just before the war allied with the patriot cause in significantly lower numbers.

Through this lens it is possible to analyze the cause for Scottish migration to the colonies. The affordability of the Carolinian quitrent system and the looming agricultural crisis in Scotland led Flora MacDonald and her peers across the Atlantic. Others found themselves in the new continent with a political pardon and territory to take advantage of and some women, like Janet Schaw, traveled with or towards their families intending to benefit from the new region. All in all, amidst the plethora of motives for colonial migration, many Scottish women found their own families, the political incentive of pardons, and economic opportunity to be overwhelming incentives in favor of moving to North Carolina. However, those who ventured to the colony on the eve of revolution found themselves without established ties to the colony and a new set of incentives for political involvement.

Political Developments Before the War

A chaotic political stage since its founding, North Carolina developed a history defined by protest and rebellion. In 1725, North Carolina Governor George Burrington simultaneously recounted the colony's past while also prophesizing its future: "All the Governours that were ever in this Province lived in fear of the People (except myself) and Dreaded their Assemblys."[24]

In doing so, he echoed the nature of North Carolinian politics since its founding and foretold its eventual participation in the American Revolution. This was a colony whose populace was so frequently insurgent that by his own account, Governor Nicholson defined

24 North Carolina General Assembly, "Preface to Volume 2 of the Colonial Records of North Carolina," in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: UNC-Chapel Hill, 2008), 2

them as "a very mutinous people." [25] In its first two decades, the governorship changed positions twelve times, and political turmoil eventually escalated to the armed Regulator movement of 1765.[26] As many Scotswomen found their families tied to the affairs of the resistance, their experience would later mirror that which they would experience to an extreme in the American Revolution. However, the aftermath would not only set the stage for the incoming war, but also define the reasoning behind why the vast majority of Scottish women were loyalists.

When its Scottish settlers led the Regulator revolt in 1765, they risked not only their own lives, but the livelihoods of their families. "The mob," as they were initially referred to, claimed government corruption and "the taking of illegal fees" from taxmen.[27] However, when they formed armed resistance, Governor Tryon invoked the Oath of Allegiance sworn by those who received land from the crown thereby creating an interesting paradigm between the two militias.[28] Amongst the regulators stood Highlanders whose rebellion was tied to their desire to hold reasonably taxed land and against them were landholders whose involvement with the crown's forces was instigated by their desire to obtain land. Scotswomen such as Isabella McAllister found their husbands called to arms and were forced to take on the responsibility of family affairs, while others, like Flora MacDonald, would be called upon to persuade their countrymen against rebellion. Stemming from this conflict and the growing discontent surrounding the government, colonists became familiar with the political chaos and instability of the colony.[29] In tandem with this, Scotswomen developed their allegiances based on the interests of themselves and their families rather than the unreliable state.

In contrast to their predecessors, Scotswomen who migrated just before the American Revolution bore a different perspective on Carolinian politics than those with developed roots to the colony. One such character was Janet Schaw, a Lowland Scot who traveled to the Carolinas after her brothers. A prolific diarist, Janet's writing was reflective of one whose perception of her own status was at times egotistical, but otherwise insightful. Cognizant of how her family's financial position and political affiliation affected her safety in the colony, her account provides invaluable insight into the nature of life for a female Scottish loyalist. As seen in the title of her own work, Schaw viewed herself to be a true "Lady of Quality" in contrast to the patriots she so readily opposed; her commentary is not only reflective of how North Carolina's political jeopardy impacted Scottishs loyalists, but also the sentiment they bore towards their political rivals. Her commentary is evidence that

25 "Preface to Volume 2 of the Colonial Records of North Carolina", xi

26 DeMond, Robert. *The Loyalists in North Carolina During the Revolution* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 5

27 Powell, ed. *The Correspondence of William Tryon*, 1

28 Powell, ed. *The Correspondence of William Tryon*, xxiii

29 Oates, John. *The Story of Fayetteville and the Upper Cape Fear* (Fayetteville: Fayetteville Woman's Club, 1981), 821

while she acknowledged the political climate developing in her surroundings, she was also aware of how it would affect her and her family, noting how after her brother refused to join the patriot cause, she "tremble[d] for his fate" but would rather he refuse every offer "than join those people."[30] It is in this sentiment that part of the narrative is revealed. Schaw was emblematic of the Scottish women who emigrated to North Carolina at the dawn of the Revolution. Her failure to sympathize with the local populace may in part have been due to her affluent position but also the fact that she positioned herself as an outsider through her own dialogue.[31] While it was impossible for newcomers to ignore the looming revolution, their recent arrival and detachment from Carolinian society resulted in women who chose to ally with the British government.

As the American Revolution dawned, the majority of these settlers found themselves with greater ties to the affairs of the state as they integrated themselves into it through either economic investment or political contract. In contrast, those who emigrated in the years immediately preceding the American Revolution found themselves with a separate set of influences than their colonial counterparts. Both held vested interest in economic and political upheaval, but the nature of their perspective varied. For instance, those who had remained in the colony for decades experienced the shifting political stage and had also worked themselves into the foundations of the domestic economy. As the Regulator entrenched itself in the affairs of the general government, its influence over the lives of women bore significant weight as their husbands became bound in the conflict. Comparatively, those who arrived in the early 1770's had experienced the extended brunt of the Scottish economic crisis but not Carolinian society's political chaos. For many, the opportunity and security of allying with the English crown was more appealing than that which was offered by the patriot cause.

Revolutionary Livelihoods

In 1775, North Carolina became a battlefield. The lives of Scottish men and women were equally affected as the revolution's influence seeped onto the home front. For women whose husbands, brothers, and sons left to fight in the war, several found themselves tied to the political and military affairs of the state. Left alone to manage entire estates and businesses, countless women experienced more freedoms. Nevertheless, Scotswomen in North Carolina were not just individuals who adapted to the chaos of war, several engaged in the anti-revolutionary or revolutionary cause in an active manner. During the war, the lives of women were undoubtedly tied to the affairs of their families and the agricultural economy, but this did not mean that it was what solely defined them.

As the war dawned, the livelihood of Scottish women was firmly fixed in the

30 Schaw. *Journal of a Lady of Quality*, 189
31 Schaw. *Journal of a Lady of Quality*, 1

affairs of the state and of their families. Not only were women affected by the militias and laws of the state, but also the actions of their families and husbands. Many Scottish families during this period had several members enlisted in service or married to those who were. Flora McDonald's five sons were enlisted in the service of the British and both daughters married to men who were as well. Both Robert and Alexander Schaw, Janet Schaw's two brothers, were heavily involved in the military and governorship. Not only was Robert Schaw enlisted under Governor Tryon's militia during the Regulator conflict, but Alexander was an aide to Governor Martin during the Revolution.[32] Additionally, the wave of migrants following the Jacobite rebellion saw a North Carolina whose Scottish population "immediately accepted responsibilities in colonial government and produced several political leaders."[33] Because the structure of North Carolinian society financially tied women to their family units, enlistment and political office not only threatened their economic stability when the war began. but as their husbands, brothers, and sons left for war, the entirety of the household was left to the women their choices affected. As a result, these women were interwoven into the narrative of the revolution as individuals whose lives were influenced by the direct military and political participation of their families.

For many Scots who lived in North Carolina in this period, participation in the war meant they had to put their property and livelihood on the line as both the Carolinian Council and English Crown targeted the property and assets of those they deemed as traitors. Regarding the lifestyle of Scotswomen during the war, "home, garden, and dairy were not their only concern," and with husbands otherwise indisposed "they found themselves managing plantations, ferries, ordinaries, or shops."[34] Penelope Dawson was one such woman, and she elected to manage her various lands, settle labor-management issues, and oversee the purchase of planting supplies.[35] For many Scottish migrants who arrived in the wake of Culloden, the sworn oath of allegiance to the monarchy meant their estates would be forfeit should they join the revolution. Land, property, and family businesses were all grounded in the domestic economy and were constantly subjected to shifting laws and proclamations issued by the governorship and Board of Trade, to counter the government meant sacrificing one's way of life. However, the North Carolinian Committees of Safety issued a proclamation of their own and declared that those who remained loyalists could not only have their estates, property, and assets confiscated, but they were also liable to be imprisoned and shot.[36] While Janet Schaw bore no property in her name, nor a husband with land in his, her brother's estate, Schawfeild, was confiscated during the war and he

32 Meyer. *The Highland Scots of North Carolina*, 130

33 Toffey. *A Woman Nobly Planned,* 125

34 Mathews, Alice. *Society in Revolutionary North Carolina* (Zebulon: Theo. Davis Sons, inc., 1976), 60

35 "Penelope Dawson to "Dear Cousin" [Samuel Johnston], [ca. 1773], Hayes Papers" in Watson, ed. *Society in Early North Carolina*, 35

36 DeMond. *The Loyalists in North Carolina During the Revolution*, 51

was forced to flee. Flora McDonald on the other hand, had her property taken and her husband's land title revoked for their participation in the loyalist cause, which forced her to take refuge with friends.[37] For many women whose way of life was reliant on land which they were not the owners of, this created a lose-lose scenario resulting in a colony filled with women whose lives were uprooted based off of the decisions of their husbands.

Despite Scottish Women's heavy ties to their families and husbands, many did find avenues to act in the war often by means of recruitment or protest. A former Jacobite aide to Charles Stuart, Flora McDonald was not content with a life of complete "domesticity defined by the vestitudes of agricultural economy and the raising of a family" once the war reared its head.[38] Not only would she assist in the recruitment of troops, particularly Highlanders, she also accompanied the men on their march towards Wilmington.[39] However, although loyalists comprised the majority of Scottish participants in the war, Patriot Scotswomen did write themselves into the historical narrative. Seven members of the Edenton Tea party were Scottish women who pledged to boycott several British goods in response to the Tea Act and felt strongly enough to send a statement of their commitment to newspapers within the colonies and Great Britain.[40] An account made by Janet Schaw claimed that a few women in Wilmington "burnt their tea in a solemn procession."[41] Altogether, Scotswomen in North Carolina were not always silent participants in the war – while some aided in the war effort, others organized protests and boycotts in order to rally their cause.

Overall, although the warfront was somewhat separated from those at home, the lives of women were undoubtedly influenced by their families' ties to the political and military stages of the war. Separated from their families, it was not uncommon for women to adopt additional roles in order to manage the assets and affairs of her household while under the daunting influence of the Crown's Oath of Allegiance and imposing Carolinian policies regarding traitors. Nevertheless, this did not inhibit them from actively participating in the war as some joined their husbands on the campaign or staged protests. As much as Scotswomen were influenced by the ties of their families to the battlefield, as well as the dilemma of property concerning the English crown and Carolinian government, they not only experienced an increase in autonomy but actively participated in the war themselves.

Scotswomen in the Wake of the War

Following the subsequent defeat of the British army and establishment of the North Carolina legislature, the statue used a purge of loyalists from the colony for financial gain as it auctioned off goods and lands. Although many Scotswomen returned to their native

37 Toffey. *A Woman Nobly Planned*, 125
38 Toffey. *A Woman Nobly Planned*, 113
39 Toffey. *A Woman Nobly Planned*, 121-122
40 *Virginia Gazette,* Oct. 25, 1774
41 Schaw. *Journal of a Lady of Quality*, 155

country with almost nothing, some elected to file grievances with the crown in an attempt to receive financial compensation.

Once the British were forced out of Wilmington, the patriot government remained relatively in control for the remainder of the war. This resulted in a gradual and then mass exodus of Scottish loyalists from the colony as they fled from the port at the end of the war. Such action was then accelerated by legislation. Almost immediately after assuming control the North Carolina general assembly was established, its legal code declaring the following:

> all Persons who owe or acknowledge Allegiance or Obedience to the King of Great-Britain, should be removed out of the State; Be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all the late Officers of the King of Great-Britain, and all Persons (Quakers excepted) being Subjects of this State, and now living therein, or who shall hereafter come to live therein, who have traded immediately to Great-Britain or Ireland within ten Years last past, in their own Right, or acted as Factors, Store-keepers, or Agents, here or in any of United States of America, for Merchants residing in Great-Britain or Ireland, shall take the following Oath of Abjuration and Allegiance, or depart out of the State, viz.[42]

This statute functioned to effectively begin the mass exodus of Carolinian loyalists from the territory and following the war's conclusion, resulting in large populations of Scottish loyalists returning to Great Britain. Not only were loyalists forced from their homes and the state's territory, but their land was sold and then distributed to wealthy patriots to fund the newfound state. From just one man: Henry McCulloch, North Carolina confiscated and then redistributed 56,969 acres of land and received £10,275 in total sales, a sum equivalent to almost $260,000 today.[43] As a result, a rather tragic narrative was established: Scots who had left their home country in the hopes of acquiring land and opportunity allied themselves with the government they believed had the greater chance of protecting their assets and later found themselves returning home equal or worse for wear.

To make matters worse, many Scotswomen had their family members separated from them, imprisoned, or killed. Both Janet Schaw and Flora MacDonald made their way back across the Atlantic without the families they had come to the colony with. Janet Schaw's brother was left under the direct care of Governor Josiah Martin and Flora MacDonald's husband was imprisoned. Strangely enough, both Robert Schaw and Alan McDonald met one another aboard the HMS Cruizer, the same ship that would ensure

42 "Acts of the North Carolina General Assembly, 1777," in C*olonial and State Records of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University Library, UNC-Chapel Hill, 2008), 24:11

43 Harrell, Isaac. "North Carolina Loyalists," *The North Carolina Historical Review* 3, no. 4 (1926): 589

Janet Schaw's escape from North Carolina.[44] While Janet Schaw and Flora McDonald's relatives would both escape later in the war, many other Scotswomen did not share the same experience. Not only was their land and property taken from them, but in some cases, so too were the lives of their loved ones. However, their losses did not mean that these women were left without opportunity or agency.

Having returned to their home country with very little in tow, several women took it upon themselves to petition the British government for claims and pensions to cover losses incurred due to their involvement with the loyalist cause. While some women spoke on behalf of themselves, others argued for recompense due to the loss of family members, most frequently husbands and sons. For instance, Margaret Fitzsimmons and Dororthy Boot are but two examples of women who petitioned the British government on the grounds of "compensation for loss of office or property in the state," and were both successful in receiving a sum.[45] Furthermore, Margaret Murray, Jannet Murcheson, Ann McDougal, Annabella McNicholl, and many other Scotswomen received pension from the Crown as testament to "the loyalty of certain families within the state to the king's cause."[46] In this instance, not only did Scotswomen advocate for their own financial rights, but upon the successful receipt of claims and pensions, it is testament to the fact that the British government legitimized them on such grounds and awarded them accordingly. Additionally, due to the law of coverture rooted in the English system, Scotswomen in this period were already navigators of legal code for the purposes of their own financial security. For them, this would unknowingly become a practice that would tie them to the property-based upheaval which ensued during the Revolution, but also provided them the means to advocate their financial position to the English crown after the war.

While their time in the colony placed them in a situation that appeared to be unwinnable, many loyalist Scotswomen found themselves on an unforgiving losing side that not only stripped them of their lands but also forced them from the state's borders. Additionally, this land was then sold and distributed to those they had just fought against in order to replenish the pockets of the new state government. Not only did many of these women lose their livelihoods, but many fled North Carolina without the family members who had connected them to the conflict. In an attempt to gain back some semblance of their financial loss, several Scotswomen appealed to the British government requesting payment for their loyalty during the war. By awarding them compensation, not only did the British government recognize these Scotswomen's contribution to the war effort, but also their request in and of itself shows they were cognizant of the power that came with self-identifying loyalty to the Crown.

44 MacLeod, Ruairidh. *Flora MacDonald: The Jacobite Heroine in Scotland and North America* (London: Shepheard-Walwyn, 1995), 153

45 DeMond. *The Loyalists in North Carolina During the Revolution*, 251-252

46 DeMond. *The Loyalists in North Carolina During the Revolution*, 256

Conclusion

In a way, both the lives of Scottish patriots and loyalists in the Carolinas are more emblematic of the American cause than perhaps any other. They fought for the right to maintain economic security, the right to hold land and property, and to command political voice. Even more so were the lives of women rooted in the revolutionary cause as their agency within the colony was defined through the legal code, their position within their families, and that which they asserted themselves.

Drawn to North Carolina with their families in the wake of agricultural crisis and a decimated clan system in Scotland, many Scotswomen found a colony with cheap, bountiful land and the potential for opportunity. Before the war, Scotswomen who migrated around the mid-eighteenth century found themselves adopting a snapshot of their lives during the Revolution as political flux in North Carolina resulted in armed resistance. However, those who came at the dawn of the revolution would find themselves drawn into a conflict not due to significant ties to the affairs of the colony, but rather in the wellbeing and interest of their families. During the war, women's lives were altered due to the political and military positions of their husbands and the government, as well as the economic front which forced them to take on additional roles of the household, but still participated actively in the loyalist and patriot causes. As much as Scotswomen were influenced by the ties of their families to the battlefield, as well as the dilemma of property concerning the English crown and Carolinian government, they not only experienced an increase in autonomy but actively participated in the war themselves. At the war's conclusion, the mass exodus of loyalist Scots witnessed women who took it upon themselves to advocate recompense for their losses in the newly founded state to the British government. Overall, spanning from the wave of immigration following 1745 to loyalist exodus in 1783, Scottish women consistently proved themselves to be individuals who were not only conscious of the gravity of their surroundings but adopted the means to adapt to the shifting environment they lived in.

When Justice Kills:
The Execution of George Stinney Jr. as a Reflection of State-Sanctioned Murders of Black Children in 1944

Annabelle B. Friedman

Abstract. This paper studies the 1944 execution of George Stinney Jr. in order to explore state-sanctioned executions of Black children in the United States during the 1940's and 1950's. Through an exploration of state records, contemporary newspapers, and judicial files, this paper argues that the disproportionately high number of juvenile executions of Black Americans during this period reflected the judicial institutionalization of racial violence prevalent in the United States' southern states. George Stinney's trial in 1944 was guided by legal norms and customs that created extreme judicial disparities and injustice along racial lines and allowed states to put Black children to death with little evidence and irregular procedures. Stinney's posthumous retrial and exoneration in 2014, alongside recent high-profile cases of Black men and women killed by police officials, poses difficult questions about the persistence of institutionalized racial violence in the United States.

George Junius Stinney Jr. was only fourteen years old when he died – the youngest person executed in American history. Before 7:30am on June 16, 1944, a small room overlooking the execution chamber had already filled. The South Carolina heat, already nearing seventy-five degrees, hung heavy in the room, sweat dripping down the temples of the fifty or so white men who had gathered to watch this boy die.[1] The men talked quietly among themselves, watching an old oak chair known as "Old Sparky."[2] The chair, which George would soon die in, sat nailed into the ground in the center of the brick building known as the "death house." The chair was outfitted with a leather head restraint; huge shackles lay

1 Record of Climatological Observations: Eau Claire, SC, June 1944 (National Centers for Environmental Information), https://www.ncei.noaa.gov/orders/cdo/2561264.pdf

2 Morse, Rachel Lynne. "The Execution of George Stinney, Jr.: A Case of Legal Lynching in South Carolina, 1944" (PhD diss., University of Charleston, South Carolina at the College of Charleston and the Citadel, 2015), 3. South Carolina's electric chair was not the only one referred to this way. Prisons in Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Arkansas, and Kentucky also electrocuted inmates in a chairs named "Old Sparky". For more on the history of the electric chair, see Galvin, Anthony. *Old Sparky: Famous Electric Chairs Used in Executions* (Skyhorse Publishing, 2016)

waiting to bind all four arms and legs.[3]

As the spectating men waited, George took his final steps down the long walk leading to the small brick building housing the State Penitentiary's execution chamber.[4] This child, barely five feet tall and only ninety-five pounds, was a boy in a place built for grown men. Two white guards walked behind, escorting him to his death. George clutched a Bible, given to him by another Black man on death row, in his hands. During his eighty-three days in prison, he had sung hymns with the other inmates and often joined them for Bible readings.[5] These times served as one of the few reminders of his life outside of prison: the Stinney family used to attend services at the nearby Baptist Church every Sunday morning alongside the rest of the Black community.[6]

When he entered the death house, a warden banged a thin cane against the ground and the room fell silent. The men who had gathered watched as George climbed into Old Sparky, his prison shirt oversized and sagging around his shoulders. The guards struggled to strap him into the chair because the restraints were too large for his small body; his feet dangled above the floor, legs not long enough to reach the ground.[7] The executioner made several attempts to secure him in the chair before someone decided to take the Bible from George's hand and sit him on top of it, a makeshift booster seat.[8] The guards stripped him of the gift, the last show of kindness in his short life, and used it as a mechanism to accelerate his death.

With that, the warden decided George was ready to be killed. The guards strapped an oversized mask over his face to spare the audience the sight of the life leaving his eyes. The executioner flipped the switch next to Old Sparky and 2,400 volts coursed through George's body. He shook so violently that the mask fell from his head. His face streaked with tears, eyes wide open and unmoving. Even though he lay still, the executioner fired another 1,400 volts of electricity into his body, and then another 500. There was no window between George and the audience; they sat only feet from him. The stench of burnt flesh, saturated with the hot glow of hatred, clung to their clothing.[9]

This type of execution of Black Americans was, certainly, not a novel occurrence.

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3 Taylor, Richard. *Electric Chair and Cane at the State Penitentiary*, July 10, 1956, photograph, Box 2, Penitentiary, cane and electric chair, The State Newspaper Photograph Archive, The Walker Local and Family History Collection, Columbia, SC, accessed April 21, 2021

4 Pan, Deanna and Berry Hawes, Jennifer. "An Undying Mystery," *The Post and Courier* (Charleston, SC), March 25, 2018, 2, accessed March 21, 2021, https://www.postandcourier.com/news/special_reports/stinney/

5 Morse. "The Execution of George Stinney, Jr.," 3

6 Pan and Berry Hawes. "An Undying Mystery," 1

7 Morse. "The Execution of George Stinney, Jr.," 3

8 Stafford Smith, Clive. "George Stinney: Even If the Executed 14-Year-Old Is Pardoned, It Would Be Wrong to Suppose Capital Punishment Has Become More 'Humane' Since 1944," *The Independent*, January 26, 2014, accessed April 22, 2021, https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/george-stinney-even-if-executed-14-year-old-pardoned-it-would-be-wrong-suppose-capital-punishment-has-become-more-humane-1944-9086198.html

9 Stafford Smith. "George Stinney"; Pan and Berry Hawes. "An Undying Mystery," 2

Nor was a child dying in the execution chamber; George was just one of the ninety-seven Black children murdered by way of the death penalty between 1931 and 1959.[10] His trial, like that of many other Black Americans, was riddled with constitutional violations. His murder, sickening as it was, exemplifies the era's criminal justice system.

In the days before that June morning, hundreds of concerned citizens from across the country had penned letters to South Carolina governor Olin D. Johnston asking for clemency. George's young age drew national attention, as did the fact that the governor had spared the life of a white boy on trial for murder only days prior. The knowledge that George's life might be saved fueled the public's investment. Once his body lay buried, however, national interest quickly faded; the execution of a fourteen-year-old boy could not be undone.

Nearly seventy years later, in 2014, his name reappeared in headlines across the country. Matt Burgess, a young, white criminal defense lawyer from South Carolina – believing he could right the wrongs of decades prior –filed a motion to vacate George's guilty sentence. Mr. Burgess described the hearings as a chance to "make a difference and correct a wrong that's been there for seventy years."[11] The judge exonerated George in 2014 because of violations of his procedural due process, functionally clearing his name.

This decision may be interpreted as a hallmark of a new stage of justice in the United States, but this would be hasty. No form of justice could ever truly exist for George Stinney: his brutal death can never be undone. Meaningful changes in the carceral system could serve as a salve for the scars of the past. But the exoneration served as a performative absolution for a single individual, instead of representing widespread reforms.

George's lawyers presented the conditions leading to the execution as bygone features of the justice system, an inaccurate characterization. Even as his second trial unfolded, Black children continued to die at the hands of the state. Most of the surface-level remnants of America's past racist infrastructure have dissipated, but the criminal justice system remains one of the strongest relics. Had George been born only a few decades later, he would not have been barred from attending the town's white school or denied entrance to a segregated grocery store. Such discriminations had been outlawed by the time of his second trial. But he could still be murdered by white representatives of the justice system for a crime he did not commit. This juxtaposition poses a damning indictment of the United States' carceral system.

10 Pan and Berry Hawes. "An Undying Mystery," 2

11 McLaughlin, Eliott C. "New trial sought for George Stinney, executed at 14," *CNN*, January 23, 2014, accessed April 17, 2021, https://www.cnn.com/2014/01/21/us/george-stinney-hearing/

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George Stinney Jr. lived in the town of Alcolu, South Carolina for all fourteen years of his life. Born in October 1929, he grew up in a three-room house with his parents, his older half-brother Johnny, and his three younger siblings: Aime, Katherine, and Charles. George's father had been a sharecropper in his early life, but, by 1944, he labored long days at a local milling factory. His mother cooked lunches at the local school for Black children. George's siblings remember him as a gentle child; he enjoyed drawing and loved airplanes.[12]

Alcolu was a one-industry town powered by the Alderman sawmill. The town itself took its name from the Alderman family, symbolic of their grip on the local livelihood. The Aldermans controlled much of the regional politics and were considerably more affluent than anyone else for miles around. They resided in the only two-story house and were the sole family to employ Black domestic workers.[13] Everyone else in Alcolu, Black and white alike, was just poor, struggling in their two or three-room houses to make ends meet.

Nowhere in the Jim Crow South was it truly safe to be Black, but some places proved more dangerous than others. Violent racism, ranging from daily humiliations to lynch mobs, operated as a way for whites to subordinate Black Americans and remind them of their inferiority.[14] It is logical, then, that these displays of degradation were more common in places where white people felt insecure in their supremacy.

Their shared poverty served as a clear threat to the dominance of the white people of Alcolu. If they could not establish their superiority financially, they would have to maintain control in other ways. Despite the common economic struggles of Black and white residents, the town was still very much segregated. The 120 or so Black homes sat on one side of the Alcolu Railroad, with the fifty white homes situated on the other.[15] Both white and Black people worked on the floor of the factory, probably because the mill could

12 Pan and Berry Hawes. "An Undying Mystery," 1. George's sisters' names are spelled differently in different accounts. Aime's name, sometimes written as Amie, reflects the spelling used in an interview. Katherine, alternately reflected as Catherine, is taken from legal documents.

13 Morse. "The Execution of George Stinney, Jr.," 15

14 Bailey, Amy Kate and Emory Tolnay, Stewart. *Lynched: The Victims of Southern Mob Violence* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 18

15 Morse. "The Execution of George Stinney, Jr.," 16. Very little academic writing exists on the town of Alcolu. Morse derives much of her information from an unpublished book written by the grandson of the mill's last owners, Robert Lewis Alderman. There appears to be only one copy publicly available, at a public library in Florence, SC. Alderman provided a history of the white community in Alcolu but did not include any information about George's trial. Alderman wrote that "[t]hings omitted are due to…a personal desire to leave out details that may be embarrassing to a variety of individuals." For a biased account of the town and Alderman family, see also: Alderman, Robert Lewis. *A Little History of the Village of Alcolu, South Carolina* (n.p,, 2000)

not afford to segregate the workers.[16] Although they worked side by side during the day, the white workers maintained "ceremonial distance" in their personal lives through clearly demarcated social partitions of segregation.[17]

On March 24, 1944, one of the first spring-like Fridays of the year, George and Aime stood in the pasture outside their house after school, tending to their family's cow, Lizzie.[18] Because Alcolu was so segregated, they did not know the two little white girls pushing their bicycles, who paused and asked for directions. Betty June Binnicker and Mary Emma Thames lived in the same white neighborhood across the train tracks, and they were in search of a patch of maypop flowers. Eleven-year-old Betty June, four years older than Mary Emma, was the one who asked the Stinney children where they could find the spring purple fields. The four children's interaction was brief and unmemorable. George was not sure where they could find the flowers and he told them as much. Betty June and Mary Emma continued on their way; George and Aime finished their chores and headed home for dinner.[19]

The day after they embarked on their search for the purple maypops, the bodies of Betty June Binnicker and Mary Emma Thames were found in a shallow ditch, stiffened by blood loss and partially concealed under one of the girls' bicycles.[20] Both of their skulls were crushed; Betty June's skull fractured in at least seven places, and Mary Emma had a two-inch hole through her forehead. The killer had bludgeoned them to death, probably with a railroad spike.[21] Hours later, the Alcolu police handcuffed George and dragged him out of his home to the jailhouse.

Before the arrest, the Stinney children rarely interacted with the white people in town. Charles, George's brother, recalls that their parents often instructed their children not to leave the Black neighborhoods. Even years later, the memory of the night of their brother's arrest remained so clear in Charles and Aime's memories partially because it was the most white people they had encountered in their life.[22] The Stinney family fled the town the weekend of George's arrest after hearing rumors that a white mob would come in the night to attack them. Only George's father returned to Alcolu one time, to collect their

16 Morse. "The Execution of George Stinney, Jr.", 18; Myrdal, Gunnar. *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (Routledge, Taylor & Francis, 1944), 1092

17 Myrdal. *An American Dilemma*, 621. Myrdal explored the phenomenon of ceremonial distance, writing "[l]ower class whites in the South have no Negro servants in whose humble demeanors they can reflect their own superiority…They need the caste demarcations for much more substantial reasons than do the middle and upper classes…[and] like to stress aggressively that no Negro can ever attain the status of even the lowest white," (597). This proved true in Alcolu, SC. (Italics included in the original)

18 Morse. "The Execution of George Stinney, Jr.," 15

19 Pan and Berry Hawes. "An Undying Mystery," 1

20 State of South Carolina v. George Stinney, Jr. (3d Cir. Dec. 17, 2014), 2

21 Pan and Berry Hawes. "An Undying Mystery," 1

22 Affidavit of Bishop Charles Stinney. *The State of South Carolina vs. George Stinney, Jr.*, Clarendon County, South Carolina, December 15, 2009

belongings.[23]

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The arrest thrust George into a juvenile justice system largely defined by regional politics and attitudes. In 1940, three of four Black Americans lived in the South. Thus, Jim Crow dictated the majority of the juvenile justice system, overlaying its signatures of segregation and degradation. By design, the system denied Black youth the development and resources given to white children, in turn harming the greater Black community.[24] White power holders viewed juvenile justice as yet another tool to reinforce racial inequity, using it as a way to transmit their ideas of Black Americans' inferiority. Courts often subjected Black children to markedly more severe sanctions. In North Carolina, for example, 134 Black children were whipped in 1933, compared to only twenty-five white children.[25]

The incongruency of the punishment stood starkest in the harshest of sentences: the death penalty. The government reserved juvenile executions primarily for Black children. Of the more than 330 executions on record in the United States before 1959, 67.7% were Black – a shockingly disproportionate figure given that Black Americans made up less than one-fifth of the nationwide population.[26] While Black children were always executed at a higher rate, the extent of discriminatory sentencing increased dramatically, jumping from less than half of all youth executions before 1850 to more than 80% by 1959. There was no clear legislation that sparked this increase; on the contrary, it was a time when reform seemed imminent. For example, during the 1930s, the United States Children's Bureau began releasing significant guidance on and funding for the establishment of training schools for delinquents.[27] The rate of white children being executed held steady, and yet the number of Black children dying was climbing steadily higher.

The rise in Black youth executions reflects increased racist violence across the South during the World War II era. Such violence correlated with the rising visibility of Civil Rights movements. Black soldiers wanted the same sort of equity in America they risked their lives for in Germany and Japan. One such effort, the Double Victory

23 Pan and Berry Hawes. "An Undying Mystery," 1

24 Ward, Geoff K. *The Black Child-Savers: Racial Democracy and Juvenile Justice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 105

25 Ward. *The Black Child-Savers*, 115

26 Espy, M. Watt and Smelka, John Ortiz. *Executions in the United States, 1608-2002: The ESPY File* (University of Alabama, 2016). Espy and Smelka's data includes 7,958 executions. Of the 3,645 cases recorded before 1865, 91% are missing data on age. Similarly, Black executions were missing age in approximately 60% of cases. Thus, it is possible that there were significantly more Black children who were executed. For nationwide demographic trends, see Gibson, Campbell and Jung, Kay. *Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race, 1790 to 1990, and By Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, For the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States* (United States Census Bureau, September 2002)

27 Ward. *The Black Child-Savers*, 116

campaign, gained nationwide traction. *The Pittsburgh Courier*, one of the nation's largest Black newspapers, published a letter written by a man named James Thompson, entitled "Should I Sacrifice to Live Half-American?" If he were to fight, the man wrote, it would be for victory over fascism both at home and abroad.[28] The campaign created fear among white Southerners, since it presented a legitimate avenue for Black Americans to bolster their case for equity and equality. There was a clear irony of Black soldiers fighting in a war aimed to halt the Jim Crow-like Nazi regime, as America took on the dueling roles of a global advocate for democracy and a domestic home for fascism.[29]

Despite these battles abroad, opposition to anti-lynching legislation grew after the war.[30] Across the country, white violence increased dramatically during the World War II era.[31] White people wielded racial violence as a way to maintain social control during periods of fear about losing power.[32] The pattern of increased white violence translated into a rise in the execution of Black children.

White fear increased racial violence in the South. Not only did lynchings and racist violence increase among the broader population, but it seems to have permeated into the juvenile justice system, reflected in the ballooning number of Black youth executions. Wartime fear fostered the environment that led to George's death, a pattern antithetical to the cause for which thousands of Americans lost their lives.

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Only ten days after the Alcolu police dragged George from his home, the United States Supreme Court announced its decision in *Smith v. Allright*. The case, brought by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), opposed a rule limiting Texas' political primaries to white voters. The Supreme Court ruled that these exclusionary practices violated Black Texans' Fifteenth Amendment rights, which granted every American man the right to vote.[33]

In South Carolina, these laws posed a problem for Governor Olin D. Johnston. The governor felt politically threatened by Black South Carolinians, evidenced in his swift response to the *Allright* decision. On April 14, less than two weeks after the Supreme Court

28 Thompson, James G. "Should I Sacrifice to Live Half-American?," *The Pittsburgh Courier*, January 31, 1942, 3

29 Myrdal. *An American Dilemma*, 1004

30 White, Steven. "Civil Rights, World War II, and U.S. Public Opinion," S*tudies in American Political Development* 30, no. 1 (April 2016): 38-61

31 Ward. *The Black Child-Savers*, 117

32 For more on the role of fear as a driving force in American life, see: Katznelson, Ira. *Fear Itself – The New Deal and the Origins of Our Time* (New York: WW Norton and Co., 2014). Katznelson focuses his work primarily on the New Deal.

33 Lau, Peter F. *Democracy Rising: South Carolina and the Fight for Black Equality since 1865* (University Press of Kentucky, 2006), 134

decision, Johnston opened the state legislature for a special session. The purpose of these emergency meetings was to rewrite the entirety of the states' laws relating to electoral primaries. Governor Johnston opened the session by saying, "[w]hite supremacy will be maintained in our primaries. Let the chips fall where they may."[34]

Over the next seven days, while George Stinney sat scared and alone in his prison cell, the state legislature enacted 147 new laws intended to exclude Black voters in a manner compliant with *Smith v. Allright*. If the laws did not prove sufficient in maintaining the "integrity" of the elections, the governor promised legislators that "we South Carolinians will use the necessary methods" to do so.[35]

Johnston bolstered his political career through George's case: the governor's apathy cemented his stance of upholding white supremacy. He had been elected to his second stint as the highest-ranked South Carolinian in 1943, having previously served from 1935 to 1939. Even though he'd only returned to the governorship a year prior, Johnston set his sights on something bigger: he wanted to go to Washington.[36] The biggest obstacle that faced him in his quest to be a senator was his own constituency.

Governor Johnston ran for the Senate on a platform of Black demonization, a stance surely aided by his treatment of George. There are no records of their conversation during the governor's single visit to the fourteen-year-old's cell, but it is not difficult to imagine what Johnston might have said. The governor made no effort in concealing his dislike for the child. He wrote to supporters that George had "brutally murdered" and sexually assaulted the young girls.[37] On June 9th, five days before George took his last breath in the electric chair, the governor announced that he would not grant clemency. He saw "no reason to interfere."[38]

He received mail from citizens who approved of his inaction, which some interpreted as measures in favor of white South Carolinians. Some correspondences called on the Bible as justification for the execution, with one man writing: "if any white man…think that negro boy should get life in prison, I don't think they have the love of God in their heart. The negros are awful."[39] One letter, signed only by 'your people,' began with: "[w]e

34 Lander, Jr, Ernest M. *A History of South Carolina, 1865-1960* (University of North Carolina Press, 1960), 170

35 Lau. *Democracy Rising*, 135

36 McVeigh, Karen. "George Stinney Was Executed at 14. Can His Family Now Clear His Name?," *The Guardian*, March 22, 2014, accessed March 22, 2021, https://web.archive.org/web/20160319042807/http://www.theguardian.com/theobserver/2014/mar/22/george-stinney-execution-verdict-innocent

37 Olin D. Johnston to Mrs. Elizabeth W. McClean, June 13, 1944, Governor Olin D. Johnston Papers, SCDAH, Columbia, SC

38 Associated Press. "No Clemency for Youthful Slayer," *The Greenville News* (Greenville, SC), June 10, 1944

39 W. M. Hyerding to Olin D. Johnston, 1944, Governor Olin D. Johnston Papers, SCDAH, Columbia, SC

are proud of what you are doing for your people, (the white). We will stick with you."[40] In July, the month after George's execution, Governor Johnston defeated the incumbent by a margin of 45,000 votes.[41] He remained in the Senate until his death in 1965.

While Governor Johnston was hard at work affirming his commitment to white supremacy in South Carolina's politics, John McCray watched horrified from the statehouse's segregated gallery seating. A journalist, McCray was a longtime leader in the local community, serving as the president of the Charleston NAACP and heading the state's most prominent Black paper.[42] Watching Johnston's proclamation that he would "retain white supremacy […] to safeguard the homes and happiness" of the state, McCray decided it was time to take a stand on behalf of Black South Carolinians.[43]

McCray walked out of the courthouse that afternoon and prepared to announce the establishment of his Progressive Democratic Party: the first Black Democratic party in the South. McCray's party was an inflection point for Black activism in South Carolina. To McCray, organizing was a means to achieve Black empowerment. He quickly took action. The party's first convention began in Columbia on May 24, only miles from George's cell. Speakers declared that political representation meant Black South Carolinians could "no longer be lynched, segregated and Jim Crowed."[44]

Governor Johnston received several letters from Black activists regarding George's case. The chairman of the South Carolina chapter of the NAACP wrote with "vigorous protest" against the sentence, arguing that such a punishment would cause the state to "lose its prestige."[45] The chapter's youth branch also wrote to the governor. They argued that George's age precluded him, even if he was guilty, from bearing the responsibility of the murder. If a fourteen-year-old could kill two children, they said, "society must share the blame."[46]

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George was probably unaware of the events unfolding across town at the state capital. He would not have known about Governor Johnston's efforts to maintain the whites-only primary, nor would he have heard about John McCray's up-and-coming political party. There was no one to tell him. George's parents were not allowed to visit their son, and

40 Your People to Olin D. Johnston, 1944, Governor Olin D. Johnston Papers, SCDAH, Columbia, SC

41 Lander. *A History of South Carolina*, 171

42 Lau. *Democracy Rising*, 136

43 Lau. *Democracy Rising*, 135

44 Lau. *Democracy Rising*, 140

45 Tobin J. McDonald, Sr. to Olin D. Johnston, June 13, 1944, Governor Olin D. Johnston Papers, SCDAH, Columbia, SC

46 Committee on Resolutions, Youth Council NAACP to Olin D. Johnston, June 12, 1944, Governor Olin D Johnston Papers, SCDAH, Columbia, SC

they would see him alive only once after his arrest when he was on the state's death row.[47] Terrified by the whisperings of a white mob, they could not attend their son's trial.[48]

The trial began only one month after his arrest, on April 24, 1944. The guards led George into the crowded room wearing chains so heavy he could barely walk, and a white man spat on him as he passed.[49] Dressed in an old button-down blue shirt and faded jeans, he spent most of the three-hour trial with his eyes glued to the floor. George's wide-eyed face was the only Black one in the courthouse. Had he lifted his head, he would have seen the 1,500 white men, women, and children glaring back at him. The crowd spilled into the hallways, down the stairs, and onto the statehouse's front lawn, with the scope of the audience's hatred too vast to fit into the small courtroom.[50] The Stinney family did not have the resources to pay for a lawyer, so the judge assigned Charles H. Plowden – a thirty-year-old tax lawyer – to defend George.[51]

Duty should have obligated the lawyer to do everything in his power to save George Stinney's life. Charles Plowden had loftier aspirations; he sensed an opportunity and pounced. In the summer of 1944, he mounted a campaign for the South Carolina House of Representatives and succeeded. Plowden swore on the Bible in January 1945, only months after he neglected to save the fourteen-year-old boy whose life the state had entrusted to him. Much like Governor Johnston, Plowden did not see George's life as anything more than a weapon he could wield to win over the public; his inaction reinforced to voters that he would not be an ally to Black South Carolinians. After winning his election, he remained in the state Senate for nearly two decades.[52]

Plowden did not call any witnesses, nor did he ask the accused to testify. He presented one argument in his client's defense, that George was too young to face execution. In South Carolina, the minimum age was fourteen years old. The prosecution procured George's birth certificate, evidence that he was five months past his fourteenth birthday, and the trial continued.[53] Plowden did not ask for the proceedings to be relocated, which would have tamped down the volatility within the courtroom.[54]

Instead of unfolding in a more neutral location, the trial was held in a room packed with observers who staunchly believed George deserved death. Plowden did not challenge the jury selection. The twelve white men knew Alcolu – some of them worked with Betty June and Mary Emma's fathers, and they all drank together after long shifts at the mill. The

47 Morse. "The Execution of George Stinney," 3

48 Pan and Berry Hawes. "An Undying Mystery," 1

49 Pan and Berry Hawes. "An Undying Mystery," 4

50 Bruck, David. "Executing Teen Killers Again," *The Washington Post*, September 5, 1985, 2

51 McVeigh. "George Stinney"

52 "32 'Freshmen' Legislators in 86th Assembly of SC Legislature," *The Greenville News*, January 7, 1945

53 "32 'Freshmen' Legislators in 86th Assembly of SC Legislature"

54 Morse. "The Execution of George Stinney, Jr.," 61

foreman, George Burke Sr., testified on the behalf of the state. Another one of the jurors led the search party that found the girls' bodies, in a ditch located on Burke's property.[55] The twelve men deliberated for less than thirty minutes. They found young George guilty only hours after the trial began on April 24 and were home in time for dinner.[56]

At every juncture of George's case, there were opportunities to save his life. If the governor would not intervene, there were judicial mechanisms that should have. Every capital punishment case in 1944 South Carolina was, in theory, guided by the doctrine of *in favorem vitae*, translated to 'in favor of life.' It compelled judges to review the entirety of a case for any technically improper arguments, evidence, or procedure. If a life hung in the balance, the doctrine required the courts to be especially careful in ensuring that the case was properly conducted.[57]

Time and time again throughout George's short trial it is clear that the courts – the system of justice upon which our nation is built – ignored this doctrine. The judges did not fail to grasp the implications and requirements of *in favorem vitae*; they applied it successfully in another case only weeks before George's trial. The same day Betty June and Mary Emma set off on their search for maypops, a boy named Ernest Feltwell Jr. sat in a courtroom across the state in Charleston. Sixteen years old, he stood trial for the rape and murder of an eight-year-old girl.[58] The state sentenced him to twenty years in prison, with the possibility of an early release with good behavior.[59] Feltwell was white.

More so than any other aspect of George's death, Feltwell's trial embodies the ingrained racism of the justice system in 1944 South Carolina. The state assigned Feltwell three of the most skilled criminal defenders in the state, including a state senator and a former mayor.[60] The judge approved the defense's request for Feltwell to receive an extensive psychiatric evaluation; he believed Feltwell too young to commit such a crime without an underlying condition. Feltwell traveled from Charleston to the state hospital in Columbia with his father, a member of the Marine Corps.[61] While George sat in the state prison across town, his family barred from visiting, Feltwell confessed to attempting to rape the eight-year-old. When she screamed, he held his hand over her mouth until she went limp.[62]

It is difficult to imagine that these two trials unfolded in the same legal system, much less within months and miles of each other. The injustice of this juxtaposition at-

55 Morse. "The Execution of George Stinney, Jr.," 27

56 Pan and Berry Hawes. "An Undying Mystery," 1

57 Memorandum by Burnham and Meltsner, "Amicus Curiae," 17

58 "Youth to Be Tried for Child's Murder at Parris Island," *The Item* (Sumter, SC), March 21, 1944

59 Morse. "The Execution of George Stinney, Jr.," 41

60 "Court Names Three Attorneys to Defend Parris Island Youth," *The Charleston News and Courier*, April 8, 1944; "Charged with Slaying, Youth to Be Examined," *The Charlotte Observer*, April 8, 1944

61 Pan and Berry Hawes. "An Undying Mystery," 1

62 Pan and Berry Hawes. "An Undying Mystery," 1

tracted the public's attention. A Parris Island woman wrote to the governor that she and her husband, a naval officer, were "horribly shocked" when they learned of Feltwell's crime.[63] They were, however, "glad that his age and mentality were considered" in his sentencing. "Therefore, it came as quite a shock," she wrote, when Johnston "refused to save the fourteen-year-old Negro, George Stinney Jr […] for a similar crime." She was not alone in raising this concern.

The disparity between the two cases provoked the most ire from the public. The governor received letters invoking Feltwell's case from a motley crew of protestors. A self-described "believer in white supremacy, within reasonable limits," urged Johnston to commute George's sentence.[64] One man wrote on his official Army letterhead that "the negro boys are losing their lives for this country," and because of that "they should have the same treatment that us whites are getting."[65] This sentiment appeared multiple times, including from an Army sergeant who asked, "[d]o you call this justice?"[66]

A reverend noted that Feltwell's case "was given very little publicity and[…] a very light sentence," while "the Negro youth some two years younger who did an identical crime […] [was] rushed through the courts before the public […] [and given] the supreme penalty."[67] The dissidents came from all walks of life: letter writers included a Charleston Rabbi and a union representative in New York City.[68] The fates of Ernest Feltwell and George Stinney, whose cases unfolded on such parallel tracks, provided tangible and digestible evidence to the public that an injustice had occurred.

The execution created ripples nationwide. A New York City newspaper reported that in such 'tense' times, "it would hardly be expected that any Negro would get a 'break." [69] George's family buried him in an unmarked grave; even in death, they feared their son

63 Mrs. J. D. Fox to Olin D. Johnston, June 12, 1944, Governor Olin D. Johnston Papers, SCDAH, Columbia, SC

64 James O. Barden Jr. to Olin D. Johnston, June 12, 1944, Governor Olin D. Johnston Papers, SCDAH, Columbia, SC

65 H. J. Bailey to Olin D. Johnston, June 11, 1944, Governor Olin D. Johnston Papers, SCDAH, Columbia, SC

66 Sgt. Sam C. Williams to Olin D. Johnston, June 13, 1944, Governor Olin D. Johnston Papers, SCDAH, Columbia, SC

67 Reverend Joe H. Maw to Olin D. Johnston, June 12, 1944, Governor Olin D. Johnston Papers, SCDAH, Columbia, SC. The reverend's note about the lack of coverage in the Feltwell case proved true in my research. While there were hundreds of articles written nationwide about George's trial and execution, there were only a handful in local papers about Feltwell. This disparity indicates that it was not the act of murder that the press found so intriguing in the former case, but that the accused was Black.

68 Rabbi Jacob S. Raisin to Olin D. Johnston, June 12, 1944, Governor Olin D. Johnston Papers, SCDAH, Columbia, SC; George Marshall to Olin D. Johnston, June 12, 1944, Governor Olin D. Johnston Papers, SCDAH, Columbia, SC

69 "S.C. Electrocutes 14-Year-Old Youth: Gov. Refuses to Commute Sentence Despite Pleas From Both Races," *New York Amsterdam News*, June 24, 1944

was not safe from white violence.[70] The Stinney family moved to the town of Sumter, fifteen miles north of their old home, the one they had lived in for more than two decades. Three children lay dead, but Alcolu moved on.

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In October 2013, nearly seventy years after his brother's death, the phone rang in Charles Stinney's Brooklyn home. He answered, greeted by a young white lawyer calling from hundreds of miles away in South Carolina. Matt Burgess had been an attorney for only ten months. He was calling from a law firm in Manning, the town where George had been sent to the electric chair. Burgess's office faced the courthouse steps, the same ones the mob had packed onto during the first trial in 1944.[71] On that fall morning, he called Charles Stinney with an invitation. With the family's consent, Matt Burgess wanted to clear George's name.

Burgess had good intentions when he approached the surviving members of the Stinney family, first calling Charles and then contacting his younger sisters Aime and Katherine. He did not intend for it to be a performative action – he wanted to right the wrong of a murdered child. But Charles, Aime, and Katherine were hesitant. They had escaped the claws of the Jim Crow south and watched as their brother had perished in its grasp. The Stinney siblings, like all Black Americans, knew the perils of hoping for justice.

Burgess stumbled upon George's story only a week prior in his research for another client, a Black man incarcerated almost ten years for an arson he did not commit.[72] Even though seven decades had passed since George's death, Black men still faced abuse at the hands of the justice system. The period of lynching, waning during George's lifetime, was considered decidedly over by 2014. Black Americans were still not free from the fear of white violence, however. Jim Crow replaced the infrastructure of slavery; in recent years, a new iteration of institutionalized racism slid easily into the skeleton left behind. W.E.B. Du Bois declares in *The Souls of Black Folk* that "the problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color line."[73] To the extent that this prediction proved true, the problem of the twenty-first century is the denial by white Americans to recognize the presence of racism in the present day.[74] Now, the problem is colorblindness.[75]

In 2013, the year Burgess called Charles Stinney, two-thirds of white Americans

70 McVeigh. "George Stinney"; Morse. "The Execution," 4

71 Pan and Berry Hawes. "An Undying Mystery," 2

72 Pan and Berry Hawes. "An Undying Mystery," 2

73 Du Bois, W.E.B. *The Souls of Black Folk: Essays and Sketches* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg, 1903), vii

74 Murakawa, Naomi. *The First Civil Right: How Liberals Built Prison America* (Oxford University, 2014), 7

75 Murakawa. *The First Civil Right*, 7. For the normalization of 'color-blind racism', see Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. *Racism Without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States* (Rowman & Little Publishers, 2017)

were 'very or somewhat satisfied' by race relations in the US. Less than half of the Black population agreed.[76] Even if white Americans considered the nation cured of its racist roots, it was evident to Black Americans that the disease remained. A Black man born in the late 1960s who did not finish high school had a 60% chance of incarceration in 2014. In 2007, the carceral state left one in fifteen Black children separated from at least one parent.[77] In 2014, more than one-third of the United States' 6.8 million incarcerated people were Black.[78] This unfair system of justice ensnares Black Americans and especially Black men. They are disproportionately arrested, sentenced more harshly, and held in worse conditions. Even in the face of these injustices, George's siblings agreed to let Burgess embark on the trek to exonerate their eldest brother.

George's second trial began the week of Martin Luther King Jr.'s eighty-fifth birthday in 2014.[79] The Civil Rights icon and George were born only nine months apart. Burgess and his legal team faced a difficult obstacle: disappeared evidence, faded memories, and a world that had moved on. The judge expressed concern, as well, that the defendant was nearly seven decades dead.[80] Burgess soon realized that the case required a non-traditional legal approach, so he filed a Writ of *Coram Nobis*, which allows a court to overturn a decision if a fundamental error has been discovered.[81]

The hearings lasted two days. All three of George's siblings participated, including Aime, who confirmed that she and her brother spent the rest of the evening at home after the little girls walked by.[82] She felt sure that the police "were looking for someone to blame [the murders] on, so they used my brother as a scapegoat."[83] None of the Stinney children testified on their brother's behalf in 1944, since the defense did not call any witnesses for George during the trial. They waited nearly seventy years to speak for their brother.

Experts presented forensic evidence disproving two of the cornerstone arguments of the prosecution from 1944. The prosecution relied heavily on the characterization of George as a rapist. Governor Johnston leaned on this argument as one of his motivations for ignoring the calls for clemency. He wrote in a letter only two days before the execution that "Stinney killed the smaller girl to rape the larger one. Then he killed the larger girl and raped her dead body. Twenty minutes later he returned and attempted to rape her again,

76 The Gallup Editors, "Gallup Review: Black and White Differences in Views on Race," *Gallup*, December 12, 2014, accessed April 11, 2021, https://news.gallup.com/poll/180107/gallup-review-black-white-differences-views-race.aspx

77 Murawaka. *The First Civil Right*, 4

78 "Criminal Justice Fact Sheet," *NAACP*, accessed April 11, 2021, https://www.naacp.org/criminal-justice-fact-sheet/

79 Pan and Berry Hawes. "An Undying Mystery," 2

80 Pan and Berry Hawes. "An Undying Mystery," 2

81 State of South Carolina v. George Stinney, Jr. (Circuit Court of the Fourteenth Judicial Circuit December 17, 2014), 5

82 State of South Carolina v. George Stinney, Jr., 10-11

83 McLaughlin. "New trial sought for George Stinney"

but her body was too cold."[84] Reviews of the girls' autopsies showed no evidence of any sexual assault.[85] Based on the lack of blood pooled around Mary Emma and Betty June's bodies when they were found, they likely had been dragged from a different location. Still a child himself, George would not have had the strength to move them, let alone without detection.[86]

Despite the experts' testimony, the second trial never addressed the issue of his innocence or guilt. Rather than assess any culpability, the judge focused her attention on constitutionality. But the question still lingered. Two little girls had been murdered in Alcolu: if George had not done it, that meant the true killer was still out there, never formally identified. Even so, most of Alcolu heard the whisperings over the years. As Betty June and Mary Emma walked down the road beyond the Stinney house, Aime saw a pickup truck driving in the girls' direction. She recognized the truck. It belonged to George Burke Jr. A white man in his twenties, he had a reputation around town as a womanizer, a trait he shared with his father.[87] The elder Burke held more power than most in town. As such, he had the means to hire a domestic worker. He employed George Stinney's mother for a short time. Amie recalls that her mother left the job when Burke, Sr. made several sexual advances.[88]

After Betty June and Mary Emma spoke with the Stinney children, they continued down the road, pausing at their friend Amelia's home. Amelia recalled to her grandson years later that George Burke Jr. parked his truck in front of her house and offered to give the young girls a ride.[89] The girls agreed, so he put the girls' bicycles in the bed of his truck, and they continued on their drive. They were not seen alive again. Betty June and Mary Emma's bodies were found on Burke's family property.[90]

The truck driver's father, Burke, Sr., played a role in almost every step of the case: not only were the bodies discovered on his land, but he served as the foreman of George's jury and testified for the state.[91] These efforts to protect his son proved successful. Although Burke Jr. died only years after the trial, he lived the rest of his life a free man. According to family lore, Burke Jr. died after a Black woman hexed him for watching

84 Olin D. Johnston to VM Ford, June 14, 1944, Governor Olin D. Johnston Papers, SCDAH, Columbia, SC

85 State of South Carolina v. George Stinney, Jr., 15

86 State of South Carolina v. George Stinney, Jr., 15

87 Pan and Berry Hawes. "An Undying Mystery," 4

88 Pan and Berry Hawes. "An Undying Mystery," 4

89 Morse. "The Execution," 28

90 Pan and Berry Hawes. "An Undying Mystery," 4. The vast majority of the evidence against George Burke Jr. was collected by Sonya Eaddy-Williamson, a white woman descended from Alcolu's wealthy families. After learning of George Stinney's case, she embarked on a journey to learn about her own family's involvement in the trials. Both Black and white folks directed her to investigate the Burke family's guilt. Eaddy-Williamson relayed much of her research to the authors of "An Undying Mystery"

91 Pan and Berry Hawes. "An Undying Mystery," 4

George's execution.[92] Years later, a family member claimed that he confessed to the murders on his deathbed.[93] These whisperings, muffled by the Burke family's power, should have unequivocally cleared George of any suspicion in 1944.

Despite the evidence to support George's innocence, not everyone saw the merits of the 2014 trial. Betty June's niece, born years after she died, felt that he "got what he deserved…[h]e was old enough to know better."[94] The lawyer representing South Carolina, Chip Finney, told reporters that George's murder "occurred because of a legal system of justice that was in place and… [we know] that it worked properly."[95] It is ironic that in his efforts to justify the events of seventy years prior, Finney delivered a damning indictment of the infrastructure he was defending. The system worked in the exact manner for which it was designed: George's murder upheld an apparatus of Black subjugation, murder, and white supremacy.

The judge deliberated for nearly eleven months. Near the end of the tenth month, the story of another Black child murdered at the hands of the state overtook national headlines. Two white police officers in Cleveland were dispatched to a park when a man called about a kid carrying a gun; the caller stressed that the weapon could be fake. As the officers approached, they spotted Tamir Rice sitting in the park's gazebo a few hundred yards from his house. The car sped towards him; one of the officers shot Tamir two times from seven feet away. The car had not fully reached a stop when the officer exited the vehicle, firing within a second of their arrival.[96]

Tamir collapsed to the ground, one of the officer's bullets carved through his intestines. The officer radioed in that he had shot a "Black male, maybe twenty."[97] Tamir was twelve. For four minutes, his body lay untouched on the ground, bleeding from the bullet hole in his abdomen.[98] Tamir's fourteen-year-old sister sprinted to the park, having heard the commotion. She tried to help her brother; none of the police administered first aid. Encroaching officers tackled her to the ground, handcuffed her, and forced her into the police car.[99]

The date was November 22, 2014. Seventy years, five months, and ten days had passed since George Stinney's execution. It is doubtful that he and Tamir Rice would have

92 Pan and Berry Hawes. "An Undying Mystery," 4

93 Morse. "The Execution of George Stinney, Jr.," 25

94 McLaughlin. "New trial sought for George Stinney"

95 McLaughlin. "New trial sought for George Stinney"

96 Flynn, Sean. "The Tamir Rice Story: How to Make a Police Story Disappear," *GQ*, July 14, 2016, accessed April 27, 2021, https://www.gq.com/story/tamir-rice-story

97 Dewan, Shaila and Oppel Jr., Richard A. "In Tamir Rice Case, Many Errors by Cleveland Police, Then a Fatal One," *The New York Times*, January 25, 2015, accessed April 17, 2021, https://www.nytimes.com/2015/01/23/us/in-tamir-rice-shooting-in-cleveland-many-errors-by-police-then-a-fatal-one.html

98 Flynn. "The Tamir Rice Story"

99 Dewan and Oppel. "In Tamir Rice Case, Many Errors by Cleveland Police"

ever crossed paths: they were born eighty-two years apart, with hundreds of miles between them. But their deaths share stark similarities. The officer who murdered Tamir claimed he saw the boy playing with a real pistol; a white man whispered that George had attacked two little girls on their afternoon walk. Both of their sisters watched helplessly as their brothers' lives were cut short. Two Black children lay dead at the hands of state-sanctioned violence. In George's case, the judge delivered the sentence; several weeks later, the executioner delivered the electric shocks that stopped his heart.

In Tamir's case, the prosecutor spent over a year laying the groundwork for the grand jury's decision to reject the indictments of the officers who had already killed a twelve-year-old boy.[100] He made the case that Tamir's shooting was justified, relying on experts with histories of supporting excessive police force.[101] In doing so, the prosecutor – the representative of the state – condoned the murder of a child by a member of the criminal justice system. Though the infrastructures of George and Tamir's deaths were not identical, they functioned analogously.

Three weeks after Tamir's death in 2014, the South Carolina judge threw out George's murder conviction. She wrote in her decision that "from time to time we are called to look back to examine our still-recent history and correct injustice."[102] For George's family, perhaps, the ruling brought some semblance of peace. When Aime heard the news, she burst into tears. "They cleared his name," she shouted.[103] But it was hard to believe that justice had truly been corrected.

In April 2015, only five months after George's name was cleared, a Black man named Freddie Gray died after he sustained spinal cord injuries because of the misconduct of the officers who arrested him.[104] None of those involved in his arrest faced any charges, nor did they even lose their jobs. Two months after that, a Black woman named Sandra Bland was found dead in a jail cell in Texas.[105] In July, a Black man named Alton Brown was fatally shot by an officer for selling music records out of his car in Baton Rouge. The next day, Philando Castile was murdered during a traffic stop in Minnesota; the officer who shot him was found not guilty.[106] The list goes on, thousands of Black sons and sisters and mothers and uncles murdered, their lives taken by the state.

100 Flynn. "The Tamir Rice Story"

101 Flynn. "The Tamir Rice Story"

102 State of South Carolina v. George Stinney, Jr., 27

103 Pan and Berry Hawes. "An Undying Mystery," 4

104 Lopez, German. "The Baltimore Protests Over Freddie Gray's Death, Explained," *Vox*, August 6, 2018, accessed April 17, 2021, https://www.vox.com/2016/7/27/18089352/freddie-gray-baltimore-riots-police-violence

105 Nathan, Debbie. "What Happened to Sandra Bland?," *The Nation*, April 21, 2016, accessed April 17, 2021, https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/what-happened-to-sandra-bland/

106 Ruiz, Rebecca R. "Officers Won't Be Charged in Black Man's Shooting in Louisiana," *The New York Times*, May 2, 2017, accessed April 17, 2021, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/02/us/alton-sterling-justice-department.html

Despite the dissolution of the Jim Crow south, Tamir Rice and George Stinney's lives met the same catastrophic end. Their deaths both came at the hands of the state, two children dead because of their Blackness. Even as much of the nation's policies on race have progressed, this facet of systematic and deadly racism remains. The parallel arcs of these two children's deaths underscore the inherently anti-Black nature of the justice system operating in the United States. As long as the carceral and justice systems still carry out and condone the murder of Black children, this nation will remain a perpetrator and upholder of racist violence.

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On May 28, 1944, twenty days before George's execution date, guards completed a packet of forms for the prison's records. They measured him, weighed him, and stamped his fingerprints onto the official paperwork. He stood in front of the prison's camera, the number 260 fastened to his shirt. On the paperwork, the guards described his build as "small."[107] In pictures included in the files, however, he looks more than just small.[108] His widely set eyes carried a profound aloneness, the face of a boy who held the knowledge that a terrible fate awaited him. George's cellmate on death row, a seventeen-year-old named Johnny Hunter, recalled him looking like a "tiny child," frail and scared.[109]

George and Johnny were friends. They sang old country songs together and played hide-and-seek in the prison cells, an attempt at normalcy in a place as abnormal as death row. Johnny recalled during the second trial how staunchly George maintained his innocence. "Why would they kill me for something I didn't do?" he asked his older friend. Johnny had no answer.[110]

The carceral system functioned to perfection when George Stinney died in the electric chair. His exoneration in 2014 served as an anomaly rather than an indicator of a reformed justice system. Even as the judge threw out the charges against George, the justice system still targeted and mistreated Black children, teenagers, and adults. His case does not exemplify a new era of justice for Black Americans but rather serves as a reminder of how little some aspects of the justice system have changed. Even in the face of considerable racial progress – discrimination is rarely ever explicitly codified – remnants of the errs of

107 George Stinney Official Records, May 28, 1944, George Stinney Case Files-S132004, File #260, Record of prisoners awaiting execution., Department of Corrections, Central Correctional Institution, accessed April 19, 2021, http://www.nationalregister.sc.gov/georgestinney/S132004/pages/S13200400000026001a.htm

108 George Stinney Official Photograph, May 28, 1944, George Stinney Case Files-S132004, File #260, Record of prisoners awaiting execution., Department of Corrections, Central Correctional Institution, accessed April 19, 2021, http://www.nationalregister.sc.gov/georgestinney/S132004/pages/S13200400000026009a.htm

109 Morse. "The Execution of George Stinney, Jr.," 78

110 Pan and Berry Hawes. "An Undying Mystery," 1

George's case still linger.

Before dawn on June 16, 1944, George and his bunkmate Johnny both sat awake in their prison beds. Keys rattled in the door, and it creaked open to reveal the guards, ready to escort the young boy to the execution chamber. George held the Bible in his hands, a final reminder of his family in the last moments of his life.[111] The two Black children in the cell on death row embraced tightly and whispered goodbye.[112] With that, George Junius Stinney Jr. began his long walk to the room packed with white men and the fate that awaited him.

Figure 1. George Stinney's mug shot. State of South Carolina

111 Morse. "The Execution of George Stinney, Jr.," 3

112 Pan and Berry Hawes. "An Undying Mystery," 1

Human Rights in Cold War Poland: The Vatican's Intellectual Development and Diplomacy

Joshua O'Brien

Abstract. The Catholic Church has historically advanced moral philosophy and intellectual development through the Western world. This has included human rights, especially through the latter half of the twentieth century. During the Cold War, the Church - and Pope John Paul II in particular - provided to the dialogue of human rights, particularly regarding democracy and worker's rights. The Pope - informed by his upbringing in Poland - advanced these human rights ideas before his papacy, at the Second Vatican Council, as well as through his ecclesiastical work in Poland. During his papacy, he provided several encyclicals on the subject, and directly used the Church's appeal, symbols, and international reach to promote its doctrines of human rights in Poland and Eastern Europe. This article will explore the Church's development of human rights through the Cold War, particularly through the thoughts, writings, and actions of John Paul II. Through its encyclicals, diplomatic pilgrimages, and alliances with non-government labor organizations, this article also argues that the Church was an international actor in implementing human rights ideals.

Introduction

In the 1970s, the language of human rights came to the forefront of international politics as a goal for foreign policies and peoples. The ideas of human rights are perpetually evolving, with an assortment of actors and philosophers contributing to their legal, moral, and practical definitions. They have worked across timespans, from the Enlightenment to the World Wars and the Cold Wars. They have included philosophers such as Rosseau, but also institutions such as the Catholic Church.

The Church has contributed to the language of human rights through its theological doctrine and as an actor in international law and politics. Though the Church is not a nominally political body, its views inform over approximately one billion people, per its own estimates.[1] Through its applications of doctrine, public statements, and dispatching of nuncios, the Church is a prominent actor in international relations. This is particularly true in countries with significant devout populations, such as Poland. Poland has a tumultuous history, but over the last couple centuries, its demographics have solidified it as an exceed-

1 "How Many Roman Catholics Are There in the World?," *BBC News,* March 14, 2013, www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-21443313

ingly Catholic country in which the Church impacts thought and culture. This was even true in politically charged times in its history, such as the Cold War. At the start of the Cold War, Poland was absorbed into the Soviet Union's orbit, with the established Polish government under the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) limiting commonly understood political and economic human rights of its constituents. The Catholic Church developed its intellectual framework on modern human rights in opposition to these policies and sought to realize them under Pope John Paul II.

This paper will begin with a brief introduction to the early work and human rights thought of Pope John Paul II, including his work at the Second Vatican Council (Vatican II), preceding his election to the papacy. The human rights doctrines of the Pope and Vatican II will then be discussed to form a basis for his thought and the Church's doctrine on issues of human rights. After a brief enumeration of the state of human rights in Cold War Poland, the Church's views on human rights will be applied to the Polish case, along with a discussion of the Holy See's diplomatic efforts to advance its conceptions of human rights. The paper will close with an analysis and affirmation of the Church's effect on the human rights situation in Poland during the Cold War.

Karol Wojtyła: Conceptions of Human Rights in Poland Before the Papacy

The development of the Church's thought on human rights and implementation under John Paul II can be traced to his experiences living in Poland, where he was born Karol Wojtyła. Wojtyła was ordained in 1946 and named the Auxiliary Bishop of Krakow in 1958. He became archbishop in 1962, followed by his creation as a Cardinal in 1967. During his tenure as archbishop, he grew familiar with the PZPR policies regarding religious oppression.[2] Churches could not be approved by the state without demonstrated need, making the formation of new parishes difficult. As a religious leader and cultural figure, Wojtyła was frequently tailed by the state security services during his travels.[3]

It was during this time that Wojtyła would be called to Rome to serve at Vatican II. Pope John XXIII called the Council to the surprise of the Roman Curia—the bureaucracy of the Holy See—in 1962. The Council intended to address the Catholic Church's relations with the modern world, and its relationship with the laity. Wojtyła would be careful to keep Poland apprised of his work, seeking to represent Polish parishioners and their unique needs in the communist system. At Vatican II, his main work was on *Gaudium et Spes* and *Dignitas Humane*.[4] The former is a comprehensive pastoral constitution, positioning the Church's relationship with the modern world, the laity, and social conditions.[5] The latter is

2 Weigel, George. *Witness to Hope: The Biography of Pope John Paul II*, 1st ed. (New York: Cliff Street Books, 1999), 88

3 Weigel. *Witness to Hope*, 216

4 Weigel. *Witness to Hope*, 153-178

5 Paul VI. "Gaudium et Spes" (The Holy See, December 7, 1965)

a declaration, laying out the Holy See's dedication to religious freedom.[6] Both documents would be crucial to Wojtyła's views upon his assumption of the papacy, particularly as they informed the Church's response to the Polish case.

During Wojtyła's tenure as cardinal, Pope Paul VI implemented the Vatican's Ostpolitik policy. The policy sought to open relations with the Soviet Union and find common ground, in a manner comparable to the ongoing détente between the superpowers and Ostpolitik between the German states. Wojtyła disagreed with the execution of the policy, though he never challenged the Vatican or Primate Wyszyński—his superior in Poland, and a longtime Polish-Catholic leader—on the issue. He did, however, allow for the covert ordination of Czech priests through his See, in a doctrinal sidestep of the Vatican's policy, with the goal of ensuring religious freedom for some Czech parishioners, who had not been allowed newly ordained priests by the state.[7]

Given his work at Vatican II, his quick rise through the ecclesiastical ranks in Poland, and his charismatic nature, Cardinal Wojtyła was warmly regarded by the Polish people, and considered a notable Catholic leader globally. This cultural preeminence, combined with his more subversive approach in comparison to Wyszyński, made Wojtyła an object of fear for the PZPR before his assumption of the Papacy, as the party assumed Wojtyła's cultural status could undermine its legitimacy.[8]Wojtyła would be elected to the Papacy in the Second Papal Conclave of 1978, convened after Pope John Paul I died in office. As he entered into the papacy, he would continue to hone the human rights ideas the Church developed at Vatican II and seek their effective implementation in communist Poland.

The Church's Intellectual Conception of Rights

As an institution spanning over two millennia, the Church has an extensive intellectual history, including the evolution of modern human rights ideas. The Vatican's conceptions of political rights, economic rights, and human dignity as defined by Vatican II and John Paul II would be most pertinent to how it addressed the Polish situation.

Political Rights

The Church's body of thought on political rights was intellectualized and espoused during the Cold War, both at Vatican II and during the pontificate of John Paul II. At Vatican II, the Church started with limited conceptions of its ideas on political rights. Previous popes, through the nineteenth century, had rebuked the potentially sacrilegious choices inherent

6 Paul VI. "Dignitatis Humanae" (The Holy See, December 7, 1965)
7 Weigel. *Witness to Hope*, 232-233
8 Weigel. *Witness to Hope*, 185

to democracy as "insanity."[9] It much preferred the stable role monarchies allowed it to play in national life to the uncertainties of a democratic system. But by the time of Vatican II, *Rerum Novarum*, a core encyclical dealing with the Church's conceptions on labor, had allowed that rulers have the obligation to protect the rights of all citizens. Still, Pope Leo XII did not provide a specific enumeration of political rights nor any statements on the just selection of a ruler in Rerum Novarum.[10]

The Church's shift on political rights—towards the allowance of democracy and self-determination—is seen in the two Vatican II documents to which Wojtyła most actively contributed. *Gaudium et Spes* calls for "a full and free life worthy of man," with freedom being a particular necessity to direct man towards a good and beneficial life.[11] *Gaudium et Spes* also breaks with the previous view on social and democratic systems, affirming that the social nature of man is a prerequisite towards progress in society. The encyclical affirmed the right to civil society and the formation of social groups—a core behavior in a democratic society, and a common political right.[12] The encyclical feels this necessary to "allow the largest possible number of citizens to participate in public affairs with genuine freedom."[13] Lastly, the encyclical affirmed the fundamental rights of people common to liberal democratic thought and called for the end of discrimination and infringements on these rights.[14]

Dignitas Humanae also makes an open move towards political rights, though it is framed in the idea of freedom of religion. The Declaration provides "the human person has a right to religious freedom," in terms differing from the Church's previous attitude.[15] Previously, the Church considered religious freedom as contrary to its mission to evangelize.[16] For similar reasons, a democratic society rather than a Catholic society was viewed with trepidation.[17] By explicitly affirming the right to religious freedom, *Dignitas Humanae* also implicitly affirmed the political right to a democratic, pluralistic society, rather than one strictly governed based on Catholic principles.[18] While this might seem counterintuitive for the Church, its doctrine dictated that men would be naturally guided to what it held as divine truths.

9 Sigmund, Paul. "The Catholic Tradition and Modern Democracy," T*he Review of Politics* 49, no. 4 (1987): 530–48

10 Leo XIII. "Rerum Novarum" (The Holy See, May 15, 1891), 35

11 Paul VI. "Gaudium et Spes," 17

12 Paul VI. "Gaudium et Spes," 25

13 Paul VI. "Gaudium et Spes," 31

14 Paul VI. "Gaudium et Spes," 29

15 Paul VI. "Dignitatis Humanae," 2

16 Zielińska, Katarzyna. "The Roman Catholic Church and Human Rights in Poland," in Ziebertz, Hans-Georg and Črpić, Gordan, eds. *Religion and Human Rights: An International Perspective* (Springer, 2015), 137

17 Shelledy, Robert B. "The Vatican's Role in Global Politics," *The SAIS Review of International Affairs* 24, no. 2 (Summer 2004): 149–62

18 Zielińska. "The Roman Catholic Church and Human Rights in Poland," 137

Beyond the documents of Vatican II, Pope John Paul II advanced Catholic thought on political rights in his own writings. The most prominent change the Pope made was in Sollicitudo Rei Socialis, where he renounced totalitarian systems for their infringements on free will and individual spirits. The Pope specifically provides the example of a political party, one of which might be considered the PZPR that ruled over his native Poland.[19] He also reaffirmed the importance of religious freedom in *Redemptor Hominis* and his World Peace Day Message in 1988.[20] The latter, in particular, is notable for its affirmation that religious freedom, and associated political freedoms more generally, are important to broader global peace and stability.[21]The political rights the Church affirms in its doctrine through the Cold War differ markedly from both previous doctrine and from the systems in place in Soviet bloc countries such as Poland. A similar trend in the alignment of Church intellectual thought is visible in economic rights as well.[22]

Economic Rights

Much like political rights, the Church's views on economic rights are similarly rooted in *Rerum Novarum*. The encyclical, written in 1891, addresses the rise in socialist thought and Marxism—the ideological basis of communist Poland. The encyclical argues for expanded labor rights, but opposes the core ideas of Marxism, primarily by espousing the right to private property. This right is justified divinely, as a natural product of humanity's industrious spirit.[23] This justification rebukes states built on Marxist doctrine, as they explicitly deny divine justification for any natural occurrence or humanitarian cause. It further holds, in opposition to Marxist thought, that the state is unjust in assuming public control of private property.[24]

Pope John Paul II continued to develop the Church's views on economic rights, primarily in *Laborem Exercens*. He reaffirms the necessity of labor codes, but criticizes those in socialist countries such as Poland, for their restrictions on the creative spirit of labor and the right to hold property.[25] While his ideas in this encyclical did not fundamentally differ from *Rerum Novarum*, they would be developed and applied more significantly through the future of his papacy.

The next of his social encyclicals, *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, was written in commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of Pope Paul VI's *Populorum pregressio*. Paul

19 John Paul II. "Sollicitudo Rei Socialis" (The Holy See, December 30, 1987), 15

20 John Paul II. "Redemptor Hominis" (The Holy See, March 4, 1979)

21 John Paul II. "Message of His Holiness Pope John Paul II for the Celebration of the World Day of Peace" (The Holy See, January 1, 1988)

22 John Paul II. "World Day of Peace."

23 Leo XIII. "Rerum Novarum," 4-6.

24 Leo XIII. "Rerum Novarum," 47

25 John Paul II. "Laborem Exercens" (The Holy See, September 14, 1981), 1, 11, 15

VI's encyclical dealt with modern economic development, a subject that John Paul II continues to expound upon. However, John Paul II also adds societal justification to his arguments on private property. Contrary to Marxist thought, the Holy See views ingenuity and creativity as a natural benefit to society. Through the religious justification of these traits, it is implied that the suppression of creativity in Marxist systems is detrimental to society as a whole.[26] Still, it is important to note that the Church's views of economic rights are primarily rooted in the status of the individual.

"The Dignity of the Human Person"

In situating the contrast between the Church under John Paul II and the communist system in Poland, it is important to note how significantly the two differed in fundamental perceptions on the basis of human rights. Church doctrine holds that man is a fundamentally spiritual and social creature. In *Gaudium et Spes*. the Second Vatican Council declared "For by his innermost nature man is a social being, and unless he relates himself to others he can neither live nor develop his potential."[27] In recognizing this potential, and associating the individual as the unit of society, the Church assumes a fundamental duty towards the individual. Pope John Paul II declares in his first papal encyclical:

> Since man's true freedom is not found in everything that the various systems and individuals see and propagate as freedom, the Church, because of her divine mission, becomes all the more the guardian of this freedom, which is the condition and basis for the human person's true dignity.[28]

The Church has the duty to protect human rights as it sees them—a view, per John Paul II's statement, which is in contrast to other systems and ideologies employed in the world. Vatican II laid a similar mission out to the administration of governments in D*ignitas Humanae*, declaring that they, in addition to the Church, have the essential duty of safeguarding human rights.[29]

The Church's view on the primacy of the individual is in stark contrast to the view implemented by the PZPR in Poland. Marxist thought is built on the conception of the collective, with human rights being a false flag of bourgeoise systems. In the application of Soviet-bloc states, the Party and government were agents to move towards this collective good, with human rights not being a value of importance within its revolutionary goals

26 John Paul II. "Sollicitudo Rei Socialis," 20

27 Paul VI. "Gaudium et Spes," 12. The gendered language of the encyclical reflects its original drafting in Ecclesiastical Latin—a language that uses a binary gender system. It is not necessarily a statement on differences between sexes.

28 John Paul II. "Redeptor Hominis," 12

29 Paul VI. "Dignitatis Humanae," 6

more broadly. This stands in stark contrast to the quasi-humanist approach John Paul II takes, and his broader renunciations of state infringements on personal autonomy.

The State of Human Rights in Cold War Poland

Poland possesses a tumultuous history, which inevitably interfered with the human rights of the Polish people. While Poland developed a strong historical and national identity during its golden age in the Jagiellonian dynasty and Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, by the twentieth century it had long been under the rule of other states. This continued haphazardly through World War II, during which the Nazi occupation saw the conduct of the Holocaust and severe repression of Polish identity and culture.

While Poland existed as a state in the Cold War, the Yalta Conference assured that it would be under the influence of the Soviet Union, and a communist government under the PZPR was formally established in 1948. Under this government, human rights were quickly repressed, including in regard to religious practice. The Archbishop of Warsaw and Polish cultural hero, Stefan Wyszyński, was arrested by the regime in 1953. Upon his release in 1956, he was forced to endorse the PZPR. Though the move was largely symbolic, it allowed further support for the regime, and eroded any effective or pluralistic competition.[30] The regime continued to restrict Catholic schooling, censure publications, and prevent the establishment of additional Catholic churches in the country.[31] In opposing the Church, its goal was to restrict the role of culture and 32 the individual, and associate the communist state with Polish national identity.[32]

Political rights in Poland were limited after 1956 despite some liberalization on church relations. Into the 1960s, the Gomułka regime continued to imprison dissidents and outlaw free speech. Anti-Semitism was fairly common, and the counterculture was oppressed when it arose in the 1970s. The ability of the Church to comment on political affairs was also limited.[33] Economic rights in Poland were similarly prohibited under the communist regime, at least per the definitions the Church laid out under Vatican II and John Paul II.[34] The regime quickly collectivized farms, restricting private property. Unions—another core tenet of economic rights in the view of the Church—were outlawed as well. Price controls were strict, and state planning over the economy and available careers was extensive.[35]

30 Kemp-Welch, A. *Poland Under Communism: A Cold War History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2008), 121

31 Kemp-Welch. *Poland Under Communism*, 124-125

32 Porter-Szücs, Brian. *Faith and Fatherland: Catholicism, Modernity, and Poland* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 187

33 Kemp-Welch. *Poland Under Communism*, 146

34 John Paul II. "Laborem Exercens," 20

35 Kemp-Welch. *Poland Under Communism*, 128

These conditions, along with the general displeasure caused by economic stagnation, were prominent when Wojtyła assumed the papacy in 1978. As he developed the ideas of Vatican II and human rights in his own encyclicals, he would apply them diplomatically through Papal pilgrimages, and a close association with worker's movements and popular culture.

Vatican Diplomacy and Realizing Human Rights in Poland

With the development of the Church's ideas of human rights informed by the experiences and context of the Cold War, the Vatican began to seek their implementation through diplomatic methods under John Paul II's papacy. These efforts included high-profile cultural efforts, such as the Pope's pilgrimages to Poland. They also included more covert diplomatic means, such as support for the underground Solidarity union and labor movement, and a working alliance with Soviet adversaries. While the Vatican's efforts were not the sole cause for the ultimate collapse of the PZPR regime in Poland, they did spark and sustain the cultural dissent and desire for human rights that fueled its collapse.

Papal Diplomacy and Pilgrimages

The most visible Vatican effort regarding human rights in Poland were the Pope's three pilgrimages to Poland in 1979, 1983, and 1987. Each visit served a different purpose both formally and informally, but the Pope consistently employed his cultural status and connection in Poland to great effect. His visits consistently attracted mass crowds, and subverted communist imagery and ideology.

The Pope's first visit, in 1979, coincided with the 900th anniversary of the death of Saint Stanisław, a Polish icon. The visit involved frequent references to his cause of canonization—he was murdered by King Bolesław after the saint excommunicated him for his harsh brand of justice and sexual immorality.[36] The story is commonly seen as an allegory on the necessity that governments follow divine law, and the Pope used it as a clear criticism of the communist regime's state atheism and harsh practices.[37]

The Pope also used his cultural knowledge and authority to juxtapose the Polish nation to the Polish state. During his 1979 visit, he spoke to crowds from his bedroom window nearly every night he was in Krakow. The crowds frequently performed folk songs, with the Pope singing along to the vast majority of these Polish anthems. The city's residents saw him in large numbers, and embraced this cultural display, despite attempted PZPR propaganda against this old Polish culture. At Auschwitz, the Pope also sought to

36 Kemp-Welch. *Poland Under Communism*, 128

37 Felak, James Ramon. "Pope John Paul II, the Saints, and Communist Poland: The Papal Pilgrimages of 1979 and 1983," *The Catholic Historical Review* 100, no. 3 (2014): 563

reaffirm faith over communism in the common historical narrative.[38] At the concentration camp he prayed for the victims and spoke of how the victory over Nazism was brought by Christ, a subtle rebuke of the historical fame of the Red Army liberation in 1945.[39] In this way, the Pope effectively delegitimized many of the cultural and historical influences the PZPR attempted to use to back its political and economic systems.

The Pope sealed his criticisms of the Polish state in his departure. In perhaps the most public and obvious rebuke of communism he had provided to date, he told the crowd at the airfield: "Our times demand that we should not lock ourselves into the rigid boundaries of systems, but seek all that is necessary for the good of man, who must find everywhere the awareness and certainty of his authentic citizenship."[40] The Pope's statements are clearly directed against both the strict communist system, and the repression of Polish culture. They were his most obvious call to human rights recognition in Poland to date, and likely inspired Solidarity the following year.[41]

The Pope's second pilgrimage in 1983 was conducted with a focus on renewing the spirit of the Polish people. In the intervening four years, Solidarity had been recognized and repressed, and the state had declared martial law. Revolutionary and cultural fervor was running low, and the Pope was eager to renew the spirit of his people. He employed similar strategies as his first pilgrimage, making notable references to Stanisław.[42] He also invoked Hedwig of Silesia, a Polish saint famed for her representation of cultural interconnection, goodwill, and global solidarity.[43] Her invocation represented a larger criticism of the Soviet bloc's foreign policy, the World War II era Yalta Settlement's endorsement of Soviet influence in Eastern Europe, and the repression of western cultural elements in Poland. He also continued to challenge the secular nature of the Polish state, and publicly associated Polish culture with the Church and its teachings. This juxtaposed with the more repressive implementation of Marxism, and its lack of cultural connection in Poland, along with its lack of human rights focus.

In 1987, the Pope made his final visit to communist Poland. He was satisfied with the growing strength of the underground Solidarity and was convinced that the Church's ideas were winning in an existential fight with Marxism. The communist government was in the process of reforming its political structure, and Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev was pushing reforms through the whole of the bloc. There would be no compromise on these issues in the Pope's eyes, only winners and losers. Due to his cultural authority from

38 Felak. "Pope John Paul II, the Saints, and Communist Poland," 563

39 Weigel. *Witness to Hope*, 312-320

40 John Paul II. *Return to Poland: The Collected Speeches of John Paul II* (London: Collins, 2005), 183

41 MacShane, Denis. *Solidarity: Poland's Independent Trade Union* (Nottingham: Spokesman, 1981), 95

42 Weigel. *Witness to Hope*, 437

43 Felak. "Pope John Paul II, the Saints, and Communist Poland," 557-558

the previous two visits, the PZPR was forced to allow the Pope to visit despite his views, solidifying the cultural push for human rights in the country.

The Pope's pilgrimages to Poland were clearly important in advancing the Church's ideas on human rights—they drew millions of people, and forced the state to make concessions on advertising, travel manifests, and broadcasting. But the Vatican also pushed its human rights agenda in Poland covertly.

International Alliances and Support for Underground Solidarity

Solidarity is an independent trade union, founded in Gdańsk by Lech Wałęsa in August 1980. Solidarity emerged from a workers' strike, eventually forcing the PZPR to sign an agreement recognizing it. The Church's influence was apparent in Solidarity—Catholic imagery was employed at meetings, and Wałęsa signed the government agreement with a novelty John Paul II pen produced during his 1979 pilgrimage. During Solidarity's first two years in the open, the Church hierarchy in Poland worked closely with Solidarity.[44] While the Church never made decisions regarding its internal matters, its support and advice was of importance to Solidarity's leadership.[45]

In late 1981, the Polish state implemented martial law, and by April of 1982 Solidarity's leaders had been arrested, and the organization had been outlawed. The Pope immediately voiced support for Solidarity, and rebuked PZPR political repression. Meanwhile, the Church began a concerted effort to provide underground support to the union.[46] Specific mechanisms by which the Vatican coordinated with the underground Solidarity during this time are difficult to elucidate; Solidarity was forced to maintain secrecy. Additionally, the Holy See has not yet opened many of the archival material from John Paul II's papacy, meaning many of the records of this cooperation are not public. But details of the Church's coordination with underground Solidarity can be surmised from close work on from close inspection of the Pope's relationship with the United States' Reagan Administration.[47]

President Reagan and Pope John Paul II had an unusually close diplomatic relationship, fueled by their mutual disdain for Soviet communism, and a shared story of attempted assassination only six weeks apart. The two used their relationship to create an unofficial but coordinated policy to provide support to the underground Solidarity.[48] American envoys frequently met with the Pope, and both sides shared sophisticated

44 MacShane. *Solidarity*, 95

45 MacShane. *Solidarity*, 94-101

46 "Church Will Stand behind Solidarity, Pope Tells Poland," *The Globe and Mail (1936-2017)*, January 2, 1982

47 Gayte, Marie. "The Vatican and the Reagan Administration: A Cold War Alliance?," *The Catholic Historical Review* 97, no. 4 (2011): 713–36

48 Bernstein, Carl. "Cover Story: The Holy Alliance," *Time*, June 24, 2001, http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,159069,00.html

streams of intelligence to coordinate activities. Major efforts to support Solidarity focused on coordinating supply shipments and information. Most of the intelligence in this affair was provided by the Vatican. With its sophisticated bureaucracy and network of adherents, associates, and bishops, the Church's capacity to receive and disseminate information surpassed the American intelligence apparatus in Poland. With Vatican information, along with American backchannels, the Church could use its networks and facilities to connect American supply shipments to Solidarity.[49] This logistical chain was frequently discussed with the Pope by American envoys and was seen as essential to keeping the underground movement alive. They did not always share the same goals—the Church was focused first on human rights, while the American government had decidedly geopolitical aims—but the two were able to consistently cooperate and found mutual outcomes for their goals.[50]

What is known about the Church's relations with underground Solidarity is largely consistent with the Church's practices in authoritarian regimes across the latter half of the twentieth century. In countries where it had a strong cultural presence, the Church aimed to maintain its religious autonomy while endorsing moves for the expansion of larger human rights. It typically did this quietly, so as to not compromise its position and access to the faithful it sought to help. So while refraining from formal endorsements, parishes and Church properties were made available to opposition groups in authoritarian regimes, including Poland. Intellectuals were allowed access to Catholic publications to spread their ideas, and the Church provided information and advice where it was able. While the Church engaged in such efforts across authoritarian regimes in the twentieth century, its efforts in Poland are notable, as they are seen both in Solidarity and in the Worker's Defense Committee (KOR), a predecessor to Solidarity organized by members of the intelligentsia.[51]

In 1989, Solidarity was allowed to reform publicly and participate in semi-free elections. Solidarity, in its existence as a political party, won all of the open seats in the Sejm, the lower house of the Polish parliament, and 99 of the 100 open seats in a newly created Senate. The mere existence of the elections symbolized a 54 victory for political rights and self-determination in Poland, but the results further delegitimized the structure the PZPR had set in place.[52] In 1990, presidential elections brought another end to communist control, with Wałęsa assuming the office. Combined with the German reunification and the growing independence movements across the Soviet bloc, Poland was clearly transforming

49 Bernstein. "The Holy Alliance."

50 Johnston, Hank and Figa, Jozef. "The Church and Political Opposition: Comparative Perspectives on Mobilization against Authoritarian Regimes," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 27, no. 1 (March 1988): 32

51 Johnston and Figa. "The Church and Political Opposition," 32; Kemp-Welch, *Poland Under Communism*, 125

52 Domber, Gregory F. E*mpowering Revolution: America, Poland, and the End of the Cold War, Empowering Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 232-237

from communist rule to self-determination and democracy, as had been promoted by the Vatican since its Second Council and implemented in policy by John Paul II.

Centesimus Annus and the Church's Effectiveness

The dramatic shifts in Poland and Eastern Europe across 1989 and 1990 looked like a victory for the Church. Its ideological opposition to communism had won out, and the Polish population was allowed greater economic and political freedoms. In his encyclical Centesimus Annus, John Paul II recognized these changes, and espoused religious ideals of human rights in dignified victory.

Like *Laborem Exercens*, *Centesimus Annus* was written in commemoration of the anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*; it addresses the changes of the preceding years, and provides firm commentary on communism, and the Church's role in human rights. The Pope argues that the truths of Church doctrine on human rights are "especially confirmed by the events which took place near the end of 1989 and at the beginning of 1990."[53] He provides that the power blocs of the Cold War, particularly over countries such as Poland, were the "suffocating boundaries of an empire in which efforts were made to destroy their historical memory and the centuries-old roots of their culture."[54] The Pope frames these changes as a victory for human rights, writing that "An important, even decisive, contribution was made by *the Church's commitment to defend and promote human rights*."[55] As a guardian of culture and history in Poland, the Pope was clearly correct in his former point, as the Church had won an important victory in maintaining this culture, and providing for a clearly Catholic Poland. The Pope's other statements on human rights in the encyclical are less verifiable; many of the document's later points are rooted in theology, such as in his praises of a Christian spirit against the amoral adversaries that protestors and workers had gone against. He particularly notes the hard work and cooperation between the Church and the workers' movement.[56]

Regardless of the theology behind the encyclical, it is clear that the ideas and diplomacy of the Church did in fact play a role in restoring human rights to Poland. The political and economic liberalizations of Poland were largely won by popular demand. The protestations of Solidarity, and the frequent strikes on meat and bread prices in the early 1980s, forced the PZPR to make concessions in order to maintain its power.[57] These concessions resulted in the eventual victory of Solidarity entirely, and the reformation of Poland to a republic, with a market-based system and political self-determination in line

53 John Paul II. "Centesimus Annus" (The Holy See, May 1, 1991), 12
54 John Paul II. "Centesimus Annus," 18
55 John Paul II. "Centesimus Annus," 22
56 John Paul II. "Centesimus Annus," 25
57 Kemp-Welch. *Poland Under Communism*, 209-236

with the teachings of Vatican II and the Pope.[58] These included, of course, the right to private property and unions, per *Laborem Exercens*, but also the rights to cultural and religious determination, per *Dignitas Humane*.

This popular uprising was informed and inspired by the Church, though not entirely guided by the Church. It was the first Papal pilgrimage in 1979 that reinvigorated Polish cultural spirit in the wake of long-running economic stagnation. Millions of Poles heard the pontiff's message and allegories on fair governance, and many more saw and heard the Pope's message through the broadcasting concessions the PZPR was forced to make during the pilgrimages.[59]

The cultural connections the Church provided permeated into Solidarity, and during its underground phase, helped to keep it alive. Through the Church's information, bureaucracy, and investment by John Paul II, the movement was able to stay well-sourced and well-connected to the broader Polish culture that the Church valued as a fundamental right. As Solidarity organized the Polish people and formed a party with resounding electoral success, the Church's support was fundamental to the political and economic reforms to the Republic.

Still, it is important to recognize factors beyond the Papacy. Most immediately, Vatican II under Pope John XXIII and Pope Paul VI institutionalized the Church's ideological shift to emphasize human rights. The ideas presented in *Gaudium et Spes* and *Dignitas Humane* guided the Church as a whole, and John Paul II specifically, through his arbishopship and papacy. Additionally, as Karol Wojtyła, his contributions to these documents were influential but not decisive. For example, other base drafts were chosen for *Gaudium et Spes*, rather than Wojtyła's. Still, Pope John Paul II chose to carry these documents through their implementation and maintained them as tenets of the Church's teachings.[60]

Other factors in Poland are also worth noting. By the 1980s long-term economic stagnation had led to discontent, with protests over hikes in meat prices affecting the regime's stability. Additionally, the Helsinki Final Act of 1975 committed the Soviet bloc to specific human rights obligations that many organizers and protesters sought to maintain.[61] While Polish efforts on Helsinki might not be as visible as Charta 77, they were certainly an organizing factor for popular discontent in Poland.[62]

Conclusion

The Catholic Church's efforts towards the recognition of human rights in Poland were significant. The Cold War situation shaped the Church's doctrine in the twentieth century,

58 John Paul II. "Centesimus Annus."
59 Weigel. *Witness to Hope*, 330-332
60 Weigel. *Witness to Hope*, 171
61 Kemp-Welch. *Poland Under Communism*, 209-236
62 Kemp-Welch. *Poland Under Communism*, 182-202

with the Second Vatican Council and John Paul II's encyclicals taking particular concern for the human rights situations in the Soviet bloc. Diplomatic efforts sought to advance the Church's conceptions of religious freedom and economic liberty in Poland. Papal pilgrimages invigorated the populace to achieve these goals in association with their culture, and covert Church connections allowed for their maintenance in the course of regime repression. As Solidarity emerged as a political force in 1989, and the PZPR regime lost effective power and legitimacy, it seems the Church's efforts through ideology and diplomacy were instrumental to the popular realization of human rights in Poland.

“Tearing Down A Building Won’t Stop Them”: Memory as a Source of Power in Brooklyn, Charlotte

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Abstract. Established after the Civil War in what is now Charlotte’s Second Ward, Brooklyn, Charlotte grew to become one of the foremost Black neighborhoods in the U.S. South. Excluded from mainstream institutions and commerce, Brooklyn residents constructed their own society within the space allotted to them: they built theaters, churches, and illustrious public schools. They also endured poverty, police brutality, and other reminders of the prevailing economic and racial hierarchies. Brooklyn was, then, both a reminder of the realities of segregation and a symbol of what Black communities could accomplish despite their marginalization. Then, at the beginning of the 1960's, urban planners and politicians across the United States embarked on a policy of "urban renewal": a program meant to address the perceived decay of inner cities. In a matter of years, Brooklyn was gone: its schools and churches torn down, its residents scattered, and its community only a memory. Using an archive of oral histories collected by undergraduate students at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte in 2004 and 2007, this paper addresses Brooklyn residents’ memory of their neighborhood and its destruction. I argue that Brooklyn’s physicality was essential to its cultural significance, and that former residents most associated the neighborhood’s physical destruction with a lack of agency and self-determination. Finally, I argue that former residents’ deliberate cultivation of memory allowed them to regain agency over Brooklyn’s identity. This paper aims to localize broader discussions of urban renewal, race, and physical space, using individuals’ specific memories to tell the story of Brooklyn - both as a neighborhood and as a memory.

Introduction

Zechariah Alexander was a man of simple pleasures. Every evening, he would indulge in a stroll through his neighborhood of Brooklyn, located on the western end of Charlotte. He would walk from the family residence on Stonewall Street down to the post office, and then he would head toward McDowell Street. It was there that he encountered the first signs of a transformation whose magnitude he would never know. McDowell Street, unlike Stonewall Street or any other streets in Brooklyn in the 1940’s, was a paved road rather than a dirt road. While in the rest of the neighborhood Zechariah could walk the streets without concern for cars - for there were very few at that point—McDowell Street was quickly becoming a busy road. Zechariah was not accustomed to staying on sidewalks, those modern borders signifying the difference between the car’s territory and the humans’. When Margaret, his daughter-in-law, would sit on her front porch and watch him walk

below, she would yell down to him, laughing, "Get back up on that sidewalk!" She was inside, tending to her two boys, when one day, Zechariah lingered a bit too long off the sidewalk on McDowell Street and was struck by a car. He died at the hospital that day.[1]

Zechariah Alexander's death was, in a way, an early reminder of the consequences of a community's rapid transformation. For nearly his entire life, he would have been able to roam the streets of Brooklyn without any worry for sidewalks, or cars, or the new urban bustle that sidewalks and cars represented. In this specific way, though, Brooklyn's evolution outpaced Zechariah's—just enough that he paid for the difference with his life.

The changes to McDowell Street in the 1940's, along with the construction of Independence Avenue through Charlotte's First Ward, portended an era of rapid change that would define life in Brooklyn for the two succeeding decades.[2] Indeed, the changes that Brooklyn residents would experience in the years after Zechariah Alexander's death would render the paving of McDowell Street trivial by comparison. With the urban transformation known as "urban renewal," the very fabric of Brooklyn would change; the beloved churches and schools, stores and restaurants would be demolished; and Brooklyn's predominately Black residents would be forced out of their homes and relegated to more distant neighborhoods.

A half-century after Brooklyn's demise, undergraduate students at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte, under the guidance of Professor Karen Flint, conducted a series of oral histories as part of the Brooklyn Oral History Project. Interviewers recorded conversations with dozens of former Brooklyn residents, an urban planner, and a former member of the Charlotte City Council. Any historical analysis that involves oral history requires the writer to engage not only with the oral history collection itself - how it was obtained and for what purpose - but also oral history as a historical methodology. Oral history has a distinctive methodological purpose. More traditional forms of historical evidence - such as letters, maps, and newspaper articles - offer the historian concrete glimpses into the past. A letter, for instance, may have been written in the past by a certain historical figure, and, accordingly, reading the letter in the present offers an unparalleled insight into that individual's attitudes, opinions, and emotions. The letter is a relic of the past, and the historian engages with it in the present. Oral histories eliminate the chasm between past and present by invoking individuals' memories - in the present, about the past - rather than offering glimpses of the latter from the discrete realm of the former.[3] Some critics of oral history argue that it is, by nature, trivial - in other words, it seeks to record as many facts as

1 Margaret Alexander. "Oral History Interview with Margaret Alexander," by Glinski, Nicole. *Brooklyn Oral History*, last modified April 2, 2007, accessed October 11, 2021, https://brooklyn-oral-history.charlotte.edu/margaret-alexander/

2 The First Ward was directly east of Brooklyn, which is now known as the Second Ward.

3 For more on the relationship between past and present, history and memory, see Frisch, Michael H. A *Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2011), 15-27

possible, regardless of their historical importance.[4] Another obvious argument against oral history is that memory is inherently unreliable, as it is easily and perniciously altered and distorted, both at the time of the experience and at the time of the recollection.[5]

Proponents of oral history as a methodology see its proliferation as democratizing: while traditional forms of historical evidence tend to favor the powerful, the literate, and the victorious, oral history often seeks to record the experiences of individuals that exist on the margins of society - for instance, the former residents of Brooklyn.[6] Another distinctive aspect of oral history is that it puts the interviewer and the subject in direct dialogue, which provides the subject with some sense of control over their own historical record.[7] In the Brooklyn Oral History Project, the interviewers and the subjects work collaboratively: the interviewers ask direct questions in attempts to draw out the subjects' memories of Brooklyn and urban renewal, and the subjects, with their responses, guide the interviewers toward the topics of which they have the sharpest recollection or the strongest desire to discuss.[8] In these interviews, accordingly, the subjects recall in vivid detail the realities of life in Brooklyn - the schools, the churches, the nightlife, and the poverty. They also recall that period of urban renewal, when the City of Charlotte declared Brooklyn to be blighted and sought to "renew" it, pushing away its residents and wiping away almost all traces of the community that they had built over the course of a century. Finally, they recount life after renewal, including the ways that former residents sought to maintain their ties to each other and to Brooklyn.

It was in the maintenance of community that Brooklyn residents took back power over their circumstances. Indeed, even long after their neighborhood was destroyed, a sense of affiliation with Brooklyn survived among former residents because of deliberate attempts to maintain community and define the neighborhood's identity. In other words, as they fostered and refined a collective identity over the decades after renewal, they exer-

4 Sharpless, Rebecca. "The History of Oral History," in Charlton, Thomas; Myers, Lois & Sharlpess, Rebecca, eds. *History of Oral History: Foundations and Methodology* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), 20

5 Loftus, Elizabeth F. *Eyewitness Testimony: With a New Preface by the Author* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996) offers various qualitative and quantitative studies that indicate the unreliability of memory, and specifically eyewitness accounts of specific events.

6 Frisch. *A Shared*, 20

7 Marshall Clark, Mary. "Oral History: Art and Praxis," in Adams, Don and Goldbard, Arelen, eds. *Community, Culture, and Globalization* (New York: Rockefeller Foundation, 2002), 91-94

8 It is an important point that the purpose of this particular oral history collection is not purely archival—in other words, the interviewers did not simply seek to record any and all memories that their subjects sought to discuss. Rather, the purpose of the oral histories was to document life in Brooklyn and the period of urban renewal. Accordingly, the interviews largely follow the same general format: the interviewers begin by asking about life in Brooklyn (such as school, home life, commerce, and community) and then deliberately steer the discussion toward urban renewal. The targeted nature of the undertaking mitigates the criticism that oral history provides the historian with a deluge of trivia rather than historical substance.

cised a sense of agency with respect to their community of origin that they were repeatedly denied during urban renewal. In its efforts to examine the collective memory and identity of Brooklyn, this paper will first ask why Brooklyn was significant, both in the context of post-war urban history and also Black life and culture within Charlotte; then, it will ask how Brooklyn residents remembered urban renewal and the associated lack of agency; and finally, it will ask to what extent former residents' memory allowed them to regain agency over Brooklyn's identity.

Part I: Construction

The transformation of Brooklyn took place within the context of a national movement known as urban renewal: the desire to "renew" urban areas, especially inner cities, by eliminating blight, slums, and other forms of urban decay.[9] Urban renewal, importantly, did not seek to end poverty or even confront it directly. Rather, it was an aesthetic movement—one that focused much more on the physical manifestations of poverty than its root causes.[10]

A wide variety of factors - both political and social - contributed to both the desire of governments to embark on urban renewal and the disproportionate effects of renewal policies on Black neighborhoods and communities. The most important and obvious trait of the urban landscape in the early and mid-twentieth century was racial segregation. Racial segregation in American cities was, as Richard Rothstein describes it, both *de facto* and *de jure*. *De facto* segregation refers to individual decisions to segregate: for example, a white person deciding to move away from a Black neighbor, or a Black person wanting to live around other Black people. *De jure* segregation, which was much more insidious, refers to segregation by law.[11] Indeed, local, state, and federal law mandated segregation in various ways throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, making it impossible in many cases for individuals to live integrated lifestyles even if they so desired.

By the 50-year anniversary of the Civil War, cities throughout the United States, particularly in the south, had imposed restrictive policies known as racial zoning. Racial zoning defined in explicit terms the specific neighborhoods, streets, and blocks where

9 "Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal," *The Columbia Law Review* 66, no. 3 (March 1966): 486

10 This was a critique of urban renewal programs contemporaneously as well as through a modern lens. For a contemporaneous critique of urban renewal as aesthetic and superficial, see Gans, Herbert J. "The Failure of Urban Renewal," *Commentary*, April 1965, accessed November 15, 2021, https://www.commentary.org/articles/herbert-gans/the-failure-of-urban-renewal/. For a modern analysis, see Jeffrey, Sr. Robert. "Right past wrongs of racist 'urban renewal' and pay reparations to Seattle's Black community," *The Seattle Times*, last modified July 16, 2021, accessed November 15, 2021, https://www.seattletimes.com/opinion/right-past-wrongs-of-racist-urban-renewal-and-pay-reparations-to-seattles-black-community/

11 Rothstein, Richard. *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2018), vii-viii

white and Black people should be allowed to live. Even when the Supreme Court declared in 1917 that racial zoning was a violation of "freedom of contract" as outlined in the Fourteenth Amendment, many of these cities continued to practice racial zoning - some ignored the decision outright, and others declared that the Court's ruling did not apply to them since their specific policy differed slightly from the Louisville policy from which *Buchanan v. Warley* originated.[12] Cities also adopted other zoning policies that, while not mentioning race outright, intended to preserve certain neighborhoods for white people only. For example, many cities used zoning ordinances to preserve entire neighborhoods for single-family homes, which were largely out of reach for low-income individuals of all races - a policy which was, on its face, class-based but had a stark racial impact as well.[13] After strategically creating and maintaining the segregation of neighborhoods, cities then used zoning to relegate conventionally unattractive businesses and industries—such as liquor stores, brothels, and polluting factories - to Black neighborhoods. The result of all of these policies was that, by and large, the most attractive and safe neighborhoods were restricted to white people, and Black neighborhoods were left to confront poverty, crime, and pollution. Black individuals, in turn, were largely unable to escape the economic and geographic constraints that their governments imposed upon them.

Despite - or perhaps because of - the racial and economic constraints that confined Black people to certain neighborhoods, they constructed sub-societies for themselves: all that they were refused in society, they built for themselves. Two notable examples of these semi-autonomous societies were Harlem and Brooklyn, New York, but Black cultural epicenters appeared in cities across the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.[14]

12 Rothstein. *The Color*, 45-46

13 Rothstein. *The Color*, 48; United States Census Bureau, "Median Home Values: Adjusted to 2000 dollars," in *2000 United States Census*, accessed November 18, 2021, https://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial/tables/time-series/coh-values/values-adj.txt; United States Census Bureau, "Median Gross Rents: Adjusted to 2000 dollars," in 2000 United States Census, accessed November 18, 2021, https://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial/tables/time-series/coh-grossrents/grossrents-adj.txt. In 1950, the median value of a single-family home was $30,600 across the United States and $18,800 in North Carolina; in the same year, the median gross rent was $284 nationwide and $151 in North Carolina (all figures adjusted to 2000 dollars). Single-family zoning is commonplace today in cities and towns throughout the United States, and its effects have not changed.

14 For a view of Harlem in the early twentieth century through a literary, cultural, and musical lens, see Gilbert, Osofsky. "Symbols of the Jazz Age: The New Negro and Harlem Discovered," *American Quarterly* 12, no. 2 (Summer 1965): 229-238. For more information on the development of Black life, culture, and activism in Harlem, Brooklyn, and New York City at large, see Osofsky, Gilbert. "Progressivism and the Negro: New York, 1900-1915," *American Quarterly* 16, no. 2 (Summer 1964): 153-168. For a geographical and sociological analysis of the process by which Black neighborhoods formed and developed, see Logan, John R.; Zhang, Weiwei and Chunyu, Miao. "Emergent Ghettos: Black Neighborhoods in New York and Chicago, 1880–1940," *American Journal of Sociology* 120, no. 4 (January 2015): 1055-1094

Brooklyn, Charlotte was initially settled after the Civil War by formerly enslaved people seeking an affordable place to live. The area was known as Log Town after the log houses that these first residents constructed and maintained.[15] By 1875, the area that today comprises Uptown Charlotte had taken form, and it was divided into four distinct quadrants: the First Ward was for blue-collar white people, the Second Ward, where Log Town was located, was for Black people, the Third Ward was commercial, and the Fourth Ward contained wealthier white people.[16] As the turn of the century approached, Log Town became known as Brooklyn, for residents believed it to be reminiscent in cultural richness to Brooklyn, New York.

During the first years of the twentieth century, businesses, restaurants, and nightlife appeared in Brooklyn, most of which were owned by Black community members themselves and served the wants and needs of the community. Former residents recalled these establishments with pride. For instance, the Alexander Funeral Home - acquired by Zechariah Alexander's father in 1914 - became a venerated, generational institution, providing ambulance services as well as mortuary services, since the ambulances affiliated with white hospitals did not serve Brooklyn or other Black neighborhoods.[17] By the mid-twentieth century, a portion of Second Street had become known as "the Block," and it was the center of Brooklyn's commerce. Former resident Olaf Abraham remembered a large variety of attractions on the Block: "They had the Lincoln Theater was located on Second Street, Queen City Pharmacy, the doctor's building, McKissick's shoe shop, a couple of cafes, a pool room. And on the corner of Second and Brevard you had the library, and on the other corner was a publication house, and most of the business were in that area, you know? They had Alexander's funeral home, Grier's funeral home, you know, they were all in that general area."[18] The Queen City Pharmacy that Abraham mentioned was run by Dr. J. T. Williams, the first licensed Black physician in North Carolina. Williams moved his practice from East Trade Street in downtown Charlotte to South Brevard Street in Brooklyn in 1910, a physical move that represents the increasing attractiveness of Brooklyn through the early twentieth century.[19]

Another centerpiece of the community was Second Ward High School, which

15 *Brooklyn to Biddleville* (Charlotte, NC: Charlotte Museum of History, 2021)

16 *Center City* (Charlotte, NC: Charlotte Museum of History, 2021)

17 Kelly Alexander. "Oral History Interview with Kelly Alexander," by Glinski, Nicole. *Brooklyn Oral History*, last modified April 2, 2007, accessed October 9, 2021, https://brooklyn-oral-history.charlotte.edu/kelly-alexander/. Funeral homes were institutions in Brooklyn and had much cultural importance for the community. Dolores Giles and Mary Poe. "Oral History Interview with Dolores Giles and Mary Poe," by Payne, Jennifer K. *Brooklyn Oral History*, last modified April 5, 2007, accessed October 2, 2021, https://brooklyn-oral-history.charlotte.edu/dolores-giles-mary-poe/. The Alexander family still runs the Alexander Funeral Home, albeit in a different location.

18 Olaf Abraham. "Oral History Interview with Olaf Abraham," by Funk, Dawn. *Brooklyn Oral History*, last modified April 11, 2007, accessed October 9, 2021, https://brooklyn-oral-history.charlotte.edu/olaf-abraham/.

19 *Brooklyn to Biddleville*

was the primary high school in Brooklyn and the one which the vast majority of Brooklyn students attended. Former residents' memories of Second Ward High School - from the academic offerings to the social aspects - were almost entirely fond. Abraham recounted that the library at the high school opened his eyes to different parts of the world and different cultures, which prepared him for his travels while serving in the United States military; he also described all the various vocational training that the school offered its students in addition to conventional academic subjects.[20] Mary Poe recalled going to the high school on Saturday nights to enjoy some line and swing dancing.[21] At one point, Marian Anderson performed for the public in Second Ward's auditorium.[22] Price Davis described the school as "the second best thing to going to heaven."[23]

While Brooklyn residents constructed for themselves a vibrant, semi-autonomous neighborhood, their experience in Brooklyn during the mid-twentieth century also reflects the reality of their circumstances: that they were living in a segregated city and country which were determined to subjugate them socially and economically. The Alexander family was one of the most powerful and wealthiest families in the area.[24] The family funeral home was profitable and Kelly Alexander Sr., whose widow and son were interviewed for the Brooklyn Oral History Project, was a prominent activist who, over the course of several years, transformed the North Carolina chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) from a flailing remnant of past eras to the largest state NAACP chapter in the nation.[25] Even despite their prestige and relative wealth, however, the Alexander family's home in Brooklyn was comfortable, but not luxurious: it included eight rooms in total, a screened-in porch, and a front yard with a sandbox that all the neighborhood's children enjoyed.[26] The vast majority of Brooklyn homes were much more modest than the Alexanders'. Many were known as "shotgun homes," since one could look from the front all the way through to the back door as if it were a shotgun

20 Olaf Abraham. "Oral History," interview, *Brooklyn Oral History*

21 Dolores Giles and Mary Poe. "Oral History," interview, *Brooklyn Oral History*

22 Arthur Stinson. "Oral History Interview with Arthur Stinson," by Franklin, Solomon. *Brooklyn Oral History*, last modified April 23, 2007, accessed October 12, 2021, https://brooklyn-oral-history.charlotte.edu/arthur-stinson/

23 Price Davis. "Oral History Interview with Price Davis," by Johnson, Ryan. *Brooklyn Oral History*. Last modified March 19, 2004. Accessed October 2, 2021. https://brooklyn-oral-history.charlotte.edu/price-davis/

24 The Alexander family's power and influence did not end with Kelly Sr.; Kelly Sr. and Margaret's son Kelly Jr. and Kelly Sr.'s brother Fred attained successful careers of their own. Kelly Jr. was elected in 2008 to the North Carolina Statehouse, where he still serves at the time of this writing. Fred was elected to the Charlotte City Council in 1965, making him the first Black councilmember. In 1974, he was elected to the North Carolina Senate, where he served until 1980.

25 Smothers, Ronald. "Kelly Alexander of N.A.A.C.P. Dies," *The New York Times*, April 4, 1985, sec. D, 30, accessed November 2, 2021, https://www.nytimes.com/1985/04/04/us/kelly-alexander-of-n-a-a-c-p-dies.html.

26 Margaret Alexander, "Oral History," interview, *Brooklyn Oral History*

barrel. Olaf Abraham's shotgun home contained two bedrooms, a kitchen, a living room, and a toilet behind the house; it did not have electricity.[27] Price Davis recalled that many of the shotgun houses were without running water.[28]

While the former Brooklyn residents' memories of more intangible aspects of life in Brooklyn - such as community, faith, and family - certainly warrant discussion, an important aspect of their memory of pre-renewal Brooklyn is its physicality. Former residents could describe in detail the geography of the neighborhood. In almost all cases, when mentioning a certain business or church, interviewees would name the street where the establishment was located. Many residents also described their route to and from school or work, listing the streets they walked and the sub-neighborhoods they traversed. One slightly unusual but telling statement from James Black provides an example of the importance of Brooklyn's physicality to the neighborhood's identity. When asked about the loss of community caused by urban renewal, Black reframed the question almost immediately and began talking about the loss of Brooklyn's streets themselves: "I mean, you go down through there now - see, there was no Independence Boulevard. It was Stone Street, Stonewall, and it stopped right there at Morrow Street. And, the only two, two streets that you had was Seventh Street and Fourth Street going through Charlotte."[29]

The dueling reality of life in Brooklyn - cultural richness alongside poverty - portended the issues of agency that residents would experience during urban renewal and afterwards. The very existence of Brooklyn was a marker of the self-determination that Black people were denied in Charlotte in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century: like Black people across the United States, they were confined to discrete areas within the urban landscape. Then, having settled in those areas which they were allotted, they were left to fend for themselves. It was in fending for themselves, however, that Brooklyn residents attained some level of self-determination. Building and maintaining their own businesses, churches, and schools was a necessity, since they were excluded from their white counterparts' equivalent institutions. Building theaters, nightclubs, and restaurants, however, was a different sort of activity: it was a successful attempt on the part of Brooklyn residents to make their own the space in which they were confined. In other words, the bricks, mortar, gravel, and concrete of the neighborhood were themselves a symbol of triumph. Moreover, as the neighborhood became a center of Black life in Charlotte and the southeastern United States, its symbolic and material significance emerged: despite its origins in racial segregation and the resulting social and economic marginalization that it endured, Brooklyn was an enduring physical construction of Black identity and culture.

27 Olaf Abraham. "Oral History," interview, *Brooklyn Oral History*

28 Price Davis. "Oral History," interview, *Brooklyn Oral History*

29 James Black. "Oral History Interview with James Black," by Payne, Jennifer. *Brooklyn Oral History*, last modified March 26, 2007, accessed October 11, 2021, https://brooklyn-oral-history.charlotte.edu/james-black/

Part II: Destruction

In the 1940s, urban planners and policy makers throughout the United States began to sound an alarm about the state of the American city. In a 1941 pamphlet published by the National Planning Association, Guy Greer and Alvin H. Hansen opened their recommendations with a dire warning:

> With few exceptions, our American cities and towns have drifted into a situation, both physically and financially, that is becoming intolerable. Their plight, moreover, is getting progressively worse. Notwithstanding their improved fiscal position since the advent of the defense program, most of them are still financially helpless to do anything, on their own initiative, that would be genuinely effective to cope with the conditions and forces responsible. The same kind of helplessness holds with respect to the States; and private enterprise cannot single handed solve the problem so long as certain legal and financial obstacles stand in the way.[30]

The problem, as Greer and Hansen saw it, was that urban centers were poor and getting poorer, and local and state governments were unable, by law and economics, to change course. The authors presented various solutions, which included the "acquisition by local governments of land in slum and blighted areas," "consolidation of Federal agencies to administer or supervise all activity of the Government affecting the structure of urban communities," and "local government's ownership of slum - and blighted-area land to be a by-product of clearing the way for redevelopment."[31] Because of segregation and its accompanying inequalities, Black neighborhoods were a natural target for planners and officials seeking to eliminate slums and urban decay.

These were the conditions that Black urban neighborhoods such as Brooklyn confronted with increasing intensity during the 1940's, 1950's, and 1960's. The Housing Act of 1949, with noticeable similarities to the proposals outlined by Greer and Hansen in their 1941 pamphlet, was intended to reverse the decline of the American city. On July 15, 1949, the day that he signed the Housing Act, President Harry S. Truman told the public:

> This far-reaching measure is of great significance to the welfare of the American people. It opens up the prospect of decent homes in wholesome surroundings for low-income families now living in the squalor of the slums. It equips the Federal Government, for the first time, with effective means for aiding cities in the vital task of clearing slums and rebuilding blighted areas.[32]

30 Greer, Guy and Harvey Hansen, Alvin. *Urban Redevelopment and Housing* (n.p.: National Planning Association, 1941), 3

31 Greer and Hansen. *Urban Redevelopment*, 2

32 Truman, Harry S. "Statement by the President Upon Signing the Housing Act of 1949," address presented at the White House, July 15, 1949, https://www.trumanlibrary.gov/library/public-papers/157/statement-president-upon-signing-housing-act-1949

By arming cities with federal funding in order to reverse urban decline, the Housing Act also armed them with a mandate: that they could and should take control of their land and repurpose it to fit their desires.

Chatter about urban renewal in Charlotte began in the mid-1950's as the Housing Act's grant money became increasingly available for cities across the United States. An article published in a January 1955 edition of the *Charlotte Observer* described lobbying efforts by the North Carolina chapter of the American Institute of Architects with respect to the Housing Act's funding and how it should be used: the architects called for measures that would "prevent the marring of North Carolina's beauty" and "work toward the goal of making every town in the state a garden city." James Webb, a regional planner based in Chapel Hill, singled out the City of Charlotte and Mecklenburg County as leaders in this effort, having enacted legislation more than two years before to create a metropolitan planning agency.[33] By 1956, the first signs of urban renewal appeared in Brooklyn.

In February 1956, the chair of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg planning commission, Spencer Bell, announced that the commission would submit a proposal to the General Assembly asking legislators to apply for federal funding for "buying up, clearing and converting blighted areas to desirable uses."[34] A *Charlotte Observer* article on the matter titled "Planners Eye Redevelopment of Slum Areas" described the proposal and Bell's arguments:

> "I personally feel," said Chairman Bell Thursday, "that the need for this program becomes more apparent every day. It is certain that something will have to be done, sooner or later." The issue came alive with the announcement of plans for opening Third Street to Brevard and construction by Southern Railway of a 600-car parking lot on its old College Street site. These developments create a commercial gateway into the crime-ridden, shack-packed Brooklyn area, which embraces 24 square blocks. It portends, as well, a surge of commercial development toward this area.[35]

Bell and other advocates for urban renewal argued that by simply replacing blighted urban areas - tearing down existing structures and building new ones - one could solve both problems for a neighborhood such as Brooklyn: being "crime-ridden" and being "shack-packed." Both Bell and the authors of the article presented Brooklyn's crime problem and its slum problem without any acknowledgement of those who would experience them most

33 "'Beauty' Planning Agency Needed, Architects Told," *Charlotte Observer*, January 29, 1955, sec. 7A, https://unc.live/3rr8OmV

34 "Planners Eye Redevelopment of Slum Areas," *Charlotte Observer*, February 24, 1956, sec. 1B, https://unc.live/3plDDXs

35 "Planners Eye Redevelopment," sec. 1B

directly: the neighborhood's residents.[36]

The final stages of planning took place between 1959 and 1961. In the final days of 1959, consultant Frederick M. Babcock released a report containing his assessment of Brooklyn and its land's suitability: the study recommended that post-renewal, the land should be used not for residential purposes but for commercial and industrial development. An Observer article about the report noted that if adopted, Babcock's proposal would cause the relocation of the 500 families living in Brooklyn.[37] In early January, 1960, state and local NAACP leaders wrote to the mayor and City Council asking for more information on the proposed fate of Brooklyn's residents.[38] On January 18, 1960, the City Council voted five to two to advance the plans.[39] In April of the same year, the NAACP objected again, observing that the city had no plan for the relocation of Brooklyn residents.[40] Despite these objections, the project proceeded, receiving final approval from the federal Urban Renewal Administration in January, 1961.[41]

Indeed, as urban renewal proposals advanced through various stages of planning, Brooklyn residents found themselves outside of the process that affected their neighborhood so directly: business interests and the white political establishment steered both the conversation surrounding renewal and the legislation itself. In March, 1956, a group of "urban experts" held an urban development conference in Charlotte: the conference was sponsored by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the Charlotte Chamber of Commerce, and the Charlotte Board of Realtors, and its purpose was to generate "advice" for the City of Charlotte.[42] Legislative powers were no more representative of Brooklyn than business interests, since the first Black member of the Charlotte City Council was not elected until

36 "Planners Eye Redevelopment of Slum Areas," *Charlotte Observer*, February 24, 1956, sec. 12B, https://unc.live/3IcCf1Z

37 Covington, Roy. "Brooklyn Residential Use Appears Unlikely," *Charlotte Observer*, December 15, 1959, sec. 1C, https://bit.ly/31v31Sw

38 At the time, Kelly Alexander, Sr. was the president of the statewide NAACP chapter. Doster, Joe. "NAACP Asks Stronger Voice In Slum Plan," *Charlotte Observer*, January 5, 1960, sec. 1B, https://bit.ly/3oktKdm

39 The two councilmembers that opposed the plans did so because they believed that slum clearance and other aspects of the renewal project were in violation of private property rights—a matter which the North Carolina Supreme Court evaluated in 1960. Crucially, private property rights did not refer to the rights of Brooklyn residents, the vast majority of whom were renters; rather, they referred to the mostly absentee landlords that owned Brooklyn's slums. Doster, Joe. "Slum Razing Project Renewed By Council," *Charlotte Observer*, January 19, 1960, sec. 1A, https://bit.ly/3djktfe.

40 "Public Housing A Must—NAACP," *Charlotte Observer*, June 12, 1960, sec. 1D, https://bit.ly/32RKz77

41 "Final Slum Clearance Blueprint Approved," *Charlotte Observer*, January 18, 1961, sec. 1B, https://bit.ly/3xS5DFV

42 "City To Get Advice From Urban Experts," *Charlotte Observer*, March 2, 1956, sec. 4A, https://unc.live/3xS8crO

1965,[43] and the first Black member of the North Carolina General Assembly since Reconstruction was not elected until 1968.[44] While state and local NAACP chapters did advocate for Brooklyn residents, they lacked the institutional power required to achieve substantial material victories. On the whole, the actors advocating for and planning renewal viewed it as a means of improving Charlotte as a whole, rendering the input of Brooklyn residents tangential to their mission rather than imperative.

Especially when compared to the vividness of their memories of Brooklyn pre-renewal, Brooklyn residents' memories about how they first heard about the city's renewal plans were notably vague. Olaf Abraham, who was deployed in the military when plans became reality in the early 1960s, heard about renewal indirectly: "[I heard] through friends and family, and, and you know, people that were still living there. You know, mostly through my friends and family members." When asked how his friends and family members heard about renewal, Abraham could not recall with much specificity:

> I'm not sure about that. It was probably through the politicians, you know? And I don't know what was said or what was supposed to be done, but I, it was my understanding that they were supposed to build some affordable housing there. But that never happened, so. And, I don't know who decided all this, I'm, I'm laying it all on the politicians because they're usually the ones that make decisions about stuff like that, you know, so. [45]

Dolores Giles remembered in more detail:

> The city, and they came through, from door to door, from door to door talking to different people, saying, you know, "Well, how would you like this, how would you like that?" And they would say, "Oh, we going to try to do this, we going to try to keep you all within a place where you don't have to worry about moving," and all this. And then all of a sudden, we were out, bam, and that was it.[46]

When asked the same question, James Black offered simply, "Well, we knew it was going

43 Frederick Alexander was Kelly Alexander, Jr.'s uncle and Kelly Alexander, Sr.'s brother. "Frederick D. Alexander, North Carolina Official," *The New York Times*, April 19, 1980, 28, accessed December 1, 2021, https://www.nytimes.com/1980/04/19/archives/frederick-d-alexander-north-carolina-official.html

44 Henry Frye attended North Carolina A&T and then served in the US Air Force. Upon his return, he tried to register to vote but was told he failed the literacy test. He would go on to serve as the first Black Justice on the North Carolina Supreme Court. "Henry Frye: First African-American on the N.C. Supreme Court," North Carolina Department of Natural and Cultural Resources, accessed December 1, 2021, https://www.ncdcr.gov/blog/2017/02/03/henry-frye-first-african-american-on-the-n-c-supreme-court

45 Olaf Abraham. "Oral History." interview, *Brooklyn Oral History*

46 Dolores Giles and Mary Poe. "Oral History," interview, *Brooklyn Oral History*

to happen."[47] It is inaccurate to say that planners and government officials entirely neglected to engage the community while they planned and finalized their renewal program. As required by state law, the City Council held at least three public hearings about the plan during the summer of 1960. The Observer described Urban Renewal Director Vernon Sawyer as a "wandering missionary" in Brooklyn, reporting that Sawyer had spoken to at least three church congregations about how the city's plans would affect them. He also spoke to residents at the YMCA and YWCA branches located in the neighborhood.[48]

Though they differ in content and specificity, the memories of this preliminary stage of urban renewal yield two important conclusions. The first arises from the lack of consensus. That former Brooklyn residents had no one recollection of hearing about the city's plans for the first time demonstrates the disconnect between the residents and those making the plans. If the community engagement efforts had occurred more than a few times, and had started during the preliminary planning stage instead of after the plans were near final, the residents' memory would likely reflect these conversations.[49] In reality, though, only some of the residents remembered being told about renewal directly by government officials; for the most part, Brooklyn residents first found out what would happen to their neighborhood through the local newspaper, friends, or relatives. The second conclusion about the memory of this phase of renewal is that even when the city did engage the community about its plans, this engagement was perceived by residents as more superficial than substantive. When asked what city officials did to accommodate residents' requests regarding where they might move and what kind of house they might live in, Mary Poe responded, "Not a thing. But they informed you when you had to move."[50] In other words, while Sawyer and other officials may have disseminated information to the community in various ways, residents did not believe that information was flowing in the other direction—the preferences of community members went unheard.

On December 20, 1961, the Charlotte Redevelopment Commission threw a party inside one of the houses in Brooklyn that had been labeled a slum and slated for demolition. The party was in honor of the Brooklyn renewal project's first demolition. It would begin at 11:00 AM and end with Mayor Stan Brookshire striking the house with a sledgehammer.[51] After the demolition party in December 1961, the neighborhood disappeared quickly. Between 1961 and 1967, city authorities displaced several churches, 1,007 Brooklyn families,

47 James Black. "Oral History," interview, *Brooklyn Oral History*

48 "Brooklyn Folks See Much of Sawyer," *Charlotte Observer*, December 9, 1960, sec. 1B, https://bit.ly/3ltOcXm

49 Importantly, it's difficult to prove a negative, especially in the context of memory. Indeed, just because the residents do not remember receiving official notice of renewal does not mean they did not receive it. However, the more widespread the trend, the more support there is for the conclusion.

50 Dolores Giles and Mary Poe. "Oral History," interview, *Brooklyn Oral History*

51 "Slumming Party To End In Wreck," *Charlotte Observer*, December 14, 1961, sec. 8A, https://bit.ly/3djVSHi

and 216 Brooklyn businesses, demolishing 1,480 buildings in the process. Second Ward High School was demolished as well. Many families moved to Belmont-Villa Heights, Wesley Heights, and Wilmore—three working-class suburbs that were predominately white but quickly became Black. Some of the churches found new physical spaces and survived their displacement; most of the businesses did not.[52]

Even as the neighborhood experienced changes that residents did not determine and for which they were consulted only nominally, the Brooklyn story is not one of protest, activism, and political combat. While the NAACP offered periodic commentary on the city's plans, they did not organize traditional forms of protest, such as sit-ins, blockades, and marches. Indeed, the former residents interviewed recalled feeling that resistance was futile. Lamenting on the displacement of the Friendship Missionary Baptist Church, Walter Kennedy told his interviewer, "You can't change the course because it's already there, that's what they were gonna do."[53] "It's called change," said Mary Poe. "That's what they wanted to do," continued Dolores Giles.[54] Even when locals did try to organize against the city's plans, those around them saw their efforts as futile. Price Davis remembered such a dynamic between his father—a local pastor—and his congregants:

> No, [the people] didn't have a voice…my father and some of the other people were instrumental in trying to get people to go vote: "Please, come on, go down and register to vote." And I remember people telling him, "Oh, Reverend Davis, they gonna do what they wanna do, their vote won't count.[55]

Unable and unwilling to mount substantial resistance to their displacement, Brooklyn residents departed, every physical remnant of their community to be demolished. The somewhat passive response to the city's plans - despite those plans' substantial impact on them - indicates that Brooklyn residents had a thoughtful, realistic perception of their own political power. Given that the plans for the renewal of Brooklyn were created and advanced by the Charlotte Chamber of Commerce, the urban planning bureaucracy, and the prevailing political establishment over a number of years and with the encouragement of the federal government and their funding, it is unlikely that even a sustained, organized effort on the part of Brooklyn residents would have changed the neighborhood's outcome.

52 Grace AME Zion Church is the only church that survived urban renewal in Brooklyn—it stands on Brevard Street, near the northeastern edge of the neighborhood. Hanchett, Thomas. *Sorting Out the New South City: Race, Class, and Urban Development in Charlotte, 1875-1975* (n.p.: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 250; Brooklyn to Biddleville.

53 Mary McGill, Walter Kennedy, and Dorothy Shipman "Oral History Oral History Interview with Friendship Missionary Baptist Church," by Well, Kathryn. *Brooklyn Oral History*, last modified 2003, accessed October 5, 2021, https://brooklyn-oral-history.charlotte.edu/friendship-missionary-baptist-church/

54 Dolores Giles and Mary Poe. "Oral History," interview, *Brooklyn Oral History*

55 Price Davis. "Oral History," interview, *Brooklyn Oral History*

However, it is also important to acknowledge the distorting effect that time and intermediate knowledge can have on an individual's memory of a situation. In a qualitative study of memory over long periods of time, Frederic C. Bartlett found that his subjects recalled in great detail those memories that were compatible with their preconceptions and interests.[56] In other words, an individual's memories do not stand alone but rather coexist with their other memories, knowledge, and opinions - and, indeed, these elements are impossible to separate. The somewhat fatalistic attitude that Brooklyn residents remembered having during the period of their displacement may reflect their true attitudes at the time, and it may also reflect the knowledge that they gained in the intermediate. Indeed, when one is looking in hindsight, remembering past events, one knows what happened, both in the short run and in the long run. It may be natural, therefore, for the individual's memories to superimpose themselves on this new knowledge. In other words, when one knows the outcome of a situation, it is natural to suppose that this was the only possible outcome, or at least the likeliest of all possible outcomes. Bearing this possibility in mind, one may attain a balanced perception of Brooklyn's situation: Brooklyn residents had very little political power and influence, and, when speaking retrospectively, it is possible that they overestimated the inevitability of their situation.

It is also a mistake to assume that Brooklyn residents were united in opposition to urban renewal. Indeed, some supported the idea, both at the time and in hindsight. A public opinion poll of Brooklyn residents taken by an undergraduate sociology class at Belmont Abbey College and published in May 1961, revealed that many Brooklyn residents did favor certain aspects of the urban renewal plans. Of the 1,160 individuals that provided usable information, 91.6% knew at the time that Brooklyn was slated for renewal, slightly less than half indicated that they were "concerned" about the housing conditions in the neighborhood, and a notable 83% expressed support for urban renewal in Charlotte.[57]

No matter the possibilities, though, it is clear that the defining trait of the urban

56 Bartlett, Frederic C. *Remembering: A Study in Experimental and Social Psychology,* reissued pbk. ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 93

57 There are several points that one must bear in mind when considering the results of this poll. The first is that the most robust conclusions come from multiple opinion polls, not just one. Another is that this poll was crucially taken while urban renewal was already underway. While demolition would not begin until later in 1961, the City Council had already appropriated funds for the proposal and the federal government had already provided final approval. It would be illuminating to see a similar opinion poll taken in 1959 or early 1960, when the plans and talk of the plans were circulating but nothing had been decided yet. Finally, in many contexts, the phrase "urban renewal" signified the improvement of urban areas, while "urban redevelopment" implied demolition and reconstruction. Some residents may have supported urban renewal on principle but not urban redevelopment. Olaf Abraham, for instance, said in his interview that he had thought the city was planning to build affordable housing in Brooklyn. In reality, it did not. In other words, even for the residents to whom the stipulations of urban renewal were clear, the results of the policy may not have been. Doster, Joe. "Majority of Brooklyn Residents Back Slum Clearance," *Charlotte Observer*, May 23, 1961, sec. 1B, https://bit.ly/31t4g4w

renewal period as it existed in Brooklyn residents' memory was a sense of powerlessness. The purpose of urban renewal was ostensibly to benefit the City of Charlotte: city officials and urban planners alike believed that demolishing Brooklyn's slums and then developing the land for commercial and industrial use would be a boon to the city's economy. In the instances in which decisionmakers considered the fate of Brooklyn's residents, it was secondary to the project's true objectives. Even individuals that generally supported urban renewal, such as Price Davis, acknowledged that the city's plans included him and his neighbors as subjects rather than actors.[58] In other words, regardless of residents' level of support for the plans, urban renewal was a not a policy that Brooklyn residents participated in, but rather one which was enacted upon them, and the agency they lacked during the period would become the thread uniting all their memories.

Part III: Reconstruction

What differentiates between a widely-shared individual memory and a collective memory, according to William Hirst and Gerald Echterhoff, is that a collective memory must bear a relation to the group's collective identity. In other words, while many people may remember the same event, and even remember the event in the same way, their memory cannot be called a collective memory unless the memory itself becomes an element of the group's identity.[59]

Memory may often be considered as a passive acquisition. An individual experiences an event, and as time passes, observation becomes recollection. All the individual needs to do is observe, and memory follows automatically. Collective memory, however, sometimes implies a more active effort. While it can originate as a composite of several individuals' individual memories, it can also be cultivated. A deliberately cultivated collective memory may revolve in large part around symbols: a statue in the center of the city commemorating a war hero, for instance, may indicate how the residents of the city collectively remember the war.[60] The act of remembering the war, in turn, indicates that the war retains an important piece of the city's identity.

The most obvious effect of Brooklyn's urban renewal was that the physical symbols of the neighborhood were demolished. Second Ward High School, the Alexander Funeral Home, the neighborhood's two theaters, and nearly all of Brooklyn's churches were cleared along with the neighborhood's slums. Various former residents, such as James Black, lamented the destruction of Brooklyn's commerce-lined streets—the symbols of the neighborhood's cultural triumph over its segregationist origins. Others focused on the

58 Price Davis. "Oral History," interview, *Brooklyn Oral History*

59 Hirst, William and Echterhoff, Gerald. "Creating Shared Memories in Conversation: Toward a Psychology of Collective Memory," *Social Research* 75, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 188

60 Olick, Jeffrey K. "Collective Memory: The Two Cultures," *Sociological Theory* 17, no. 3 (November 1999): 341

loss of Second Ward High School. Discussing the demolition of the school building made Olaf Abraham emotional: "When I got, when I got back I was, you know, I was, I felt bad about them, you know, tearing down the school. I thought it was a nice building. I think it could still be there serving some purpose if they had just built around it, but that wasn't my decision to make."[61] Abraham's response shows the importance of physical structures to the Brooklyn community as well as the pain that accompanied the community's powerlessness in the face of these structures' destruction. Aside from the symbolic importance of the neighborhood's physical spaces, their loss signified something else: the diminished ability to remember. The physical reminders of the past were gone and would never come back.

The destruction of Brooklyn's physicality, though, did not prevent its former residents from cultivating a sense of collective memory: rather than tying themselves to their neighborhood and each other through the preservation of buildings, streets, and statues, they did so through the maintenance of community ties. Faced with physical separation, Brooklyn residents tried over the course of decades to maintain their connections. Churches were more successful at relocating than businesses were: even though the churches themselves were demolished, the congregations often relocated, moving from temporary space to temporary space until they could raise enough money to build a new church. Because churches and their congregations naturally relocated to the same area, the physical changes did not always cause great social disruption.[62] As time passed, furthermore, former Brooklyn residents reunited at events such as funerals: given the prominence of funeral homes within the Brooklyn community, it is perhaps fitting that funerals still united the community even decades afterwards. Community members also maintained their ties through the creation of organizations. The Second Ward High School National Alumni Foundation, for instance, was founded in 1981 and held yearly alumni reunions as recently as 2016.[63] More informally, the Wednesday Morning Breakfast club met on Wednesday mornings to "sit down and have breakfast and laugh at old times."[64] As Kelly Alexander said to his interviewer, "you can tear down buildings, but if people have a will to do something, to build, to maintain that way, then just tearing down a building won't stop them."[65]

As they gathered, celebrating their shared history and memories, former Brooklyn residents began to take back control over Brooklyn. While they could not control Charlotte's desire to repurpose their neighborhood, they could not control the plans that officials drafted and implemented, and they could not control the destruction of their physical spaces, they could control how their neighborhood was remembered.

61 Olaf Abraham. "Oral History," interview, *Brooklyn Oral History*

62 Mary McGill, Walter Kennedy, and Dorothy Shipman. "Oral History," interview, *Brooklyn Oral History*

63 "Homepage," Second Ward High School National Alumni Foundation, accessed December 4, 2021, http://www.secondwardfoundation.org/homepage

64 Price Davis. "Oral History," interview, *Brooklyn Oral History*

65 Kelly Alexander. "Oral History," interview, *Brooklyn Oral History*

At various points throughout their oral histories, interviewees deliberately combatted various misconceptions about life in Brooklyn and emphasized what they saw as the community's biggest strengths. The most sensitive matter was the fairness of the classification of Brooklyn as a "slum." While a couple former residents believed that the label was fair, many disputed the characterization and even believed it offensive. Kelly Alexander asserted that the physical problems with Brooklyn were caused by a lack of investment in infrastructure from the city.[66] Price Davis explained that there were several "beautiful homes" in Brooklyn, and that even in the neighborhood's poorer areas, there were many "good people" who sought to "better themselves."[67] Connie Patton took the most offense to the representation of Brooklyn as a slum:

> This Afro American Cultural Service, they did Brooklyn a disservice. Terrible disservice and I think they should be ashamed of themselves. Every picture that they ever taken of Brooklyn, old run-down, three-room shotgun house…There were some nice homes in Brooklyn. You see at that time we didn't have development like all new homes for blacks. Everybody lived in Brooklyn and then in Brooklyn there were teachers, lawyers, preachers, and all professional people.

"That's not the way you want to remember it," Patton's interviewer commented, referring to the depiction of Brooklyn's houses. "No, I don't," responded Patton.[68] As they combatted the label of Brooklyn as a slum, the interviewees also emphasized the most positive aspects of their memories of Brooklyn: namely, community members' strong ties to each other. James Black remembered that the most important aspect of the Brooklyn community "was always awareness and caring and it was a lot of interest in people learning to learn coming up in Brooklyn."[69] Arthur Stinson and others remembered being "raised by the community."[70] Olaf Abraham remembered it as a place where "people cared about each other and they looked out for each other."[71] As the Charlotte Observer published article after article calling Brooklyn's urban renewal a "slum clearance," hardly mentioning the neighborhood's commerce, culture, and people, and as other elements of the political and commercial establishment saw the neighborhood only for what could be built on its land, Brooklyn residents had no means to describe Brooklyn as they saw it: a neighborhood not without problems, but rich in value and strong in community. By remembering Brooklyn for all its complexities, its troubles, and its richness, they could exert agency over the

66 Kelly Alexander. "Oral History," interview, *Brooklyn Oral History*

67 Price Davis. "Oral History," interview, *Brooklyn Oral History*

68 Connie Patton, "Oral History Interview with Connie Patton," by Robert Bemis, *Brooklyn Oral History*, last modified April 9, 2007, accessed October 12, 2021, https://brooklyn-oral-history.charlotte.edu/connie-patton/

69 James Black. "Oral History," interview, *Brooklyn Oral History*

70 Arthur Stinson. "Oral History," interview, *Brooklyn Oral History*

71 Olaf Abraham. "Oral History," interview, *Brooklyn Oral History*

Brooklyn identity.

At the end of his interview, Olaf Abraham reflected on the legacy of urban renewal and what it meant for his community:

> Dawn Funk [interviewer]: So, what, in your opinion, did they do wrong with urban renewal? I know, obviously, the community is gone, and, and that is a great detriment to Charlotte…
>
> Olaf Abraham: Well, I don't, I don't think they were honest and up front with the people. And, you know, I think that, they, they, they misled the people that lived in those areas over there—I think they were misled. But there was nothing they, that they could do about it…You know, so. I think mostly that's, mostly what I feel kind of bad about. If you're going to do something, you should be honest with the people that you're doing it to…so they'll try to be—excuse me—prepared for it. But I don't think they were completely honest about what their plans were and what they were going to do…So, they didn't really have to—I don't think the people, our people back then had as much of a voice about what's happening in the Charlotte area back then as they have now.
>
> Funk: Right.
>
> OA: So, they probably said something, but no one was listening.
>
> DF: Right.
>
> […]
>
> OA: But we survived that, just like everything else. We had to keep going. I still think Charlotte is a nice place.[72]

While the Brooklyn story is not a story of resistance and protest, it is a story of survival: survival of community ties, survival of memory, and, as a result, survival of identity. As Abraham noted, community members had to keep going. They moved to new places, found new jobs, and, eventually, formed new communities. "It might be bittersweet thinking that you could go back and have things like that," said Margaret Alexander, but "life goes on, so we have to adapt."[73] Even as community members adapted, though, they never forgot Brooklyn—rather, they made deliberate efforts to remember it. In doing so, they ensured the neighborhood's survival even decades after its bricks, mortar, gravel, and concrete were cleared away.

72 Olaf Abraham. "Oral History," interview, *Brooklyn Oral History*

73 Margaret Alexander. "Oral History," interview, *Brooklyn Oral History*

The Role of Agency in *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* by Harriet Jacobs

Emma S. Powell

Abstract. This essay examines the multi-faceted role of agency in Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl by Harriet Jacobs. Throughout Incidents, acts of agency are not only presented as a way in which Jacobs attempted to exert power and control from a marginalized position. They are also illustrated as calculated measures of protection taken by Jacobs in response to direct threats to her body, her freedom, and her children. Furthermore, this essay explores how exercises of agency taken by Jacobs did not always lead to greater self-determination, but instead sometimes led to severe restrictions of current and future agency. Additionally, Incidents highlights how the institution of slavery impacted Jacobs's choices in exercising and restricting her agency in order to achieve her overarching goals of safety for herself and her children from her master, Dr. Flint. This essay focuses on the analysis of agency through the themes of motherhood, captivity, and fugitivity. These themes provide insight into how agency was an ever-present tactical tool in Incidents. Specifically, motherhood, captivity, and fugitivity highlight how Jacobs was able to retain agency while still being physically and legally constrained by the institution of slavery. However, these themes also illuminate how agency was often elusive in many parts of Jacobs's life because as she gained agency in one area, she often lost agency in another. Despite the elusiveness of agency Jacobs often experienced, this essay also examines how Jacobs attempted to reclaim agency over situations in which she had relatively little formal power or protection. Ultimately, Incidents sheds light on Jacobs's demand, intentional or unintentional, to be recognized as human through strategic acts and restrictions of agency.

Agency plays an elusive yet ever-present role in Harriet Jacobs's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*. Jacobs's experiences throughout *Incidents* shine a light on her life as both an enslaved person and a woman as well as the manner in which these identities impacted the specific avenues of agency available to her. Additionally, the choices Jacobs made in exercising agency in certain areas of her life while refraining in other areas may reflect how agency fit in with her greatest concerns, desires, dreams, and beliefs. However, Jacobs did not often exercise agency at her own discretion. Though this may seem contradictory, more often than not, outside influences prompted Jacobs to act and exert her agency. Therefore, *Incidents* brings attention to a specific angle of human agency in which a lack of control is prominent. *Incidents* provides an in-depth look into agency in the life of an enslaved woman, shedding light on the ways in which someone who had very little recognized power in society dealt with constant restrictions in their life and glimpses of opportunities

for exercising power.[1]

Jacobs was born in Edenton, North Carolina in 1813 to enslaved parents. Enslaved by Dr. Norcom (Dr. Flint in *Incidents*), she experienced constant sexual harassment throughout her teenage years. Eventually, Jacobs gave birth to two children named Joseph and Louisa (Benjamin and Ellen in *Incidents*), fathered by North Carolinian Congressman Samuel Tredwell Sawyer (Mr. Sands in *Incidents*). Beginning in 1835, Jacobs ran away from Dr. Norcom and hid in her grandmother's attic for the next seven years until 1842 when she was finally able to safely escape to the North. Jacobs lived in the North for the next ten years as a fugitive slave until 1852, when her freedom was purchased by a friend. After Jacobs had her freedom purchased, she continued her advocacy for enslaved people, and after the end of the Civil War, she advocated for emancipated individuals.[2]

Jacobs published *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* in 1860 under the pseudonym Linda Brent. The road that led to Jacobs' recounting of her life as an enslaved woman, as well as its publishing was paved by abolitionist advocate Amy Post, who encouraged Jacobs to share her story to a wider audience. Furthermore, Jacobs acquired help from abolitionist author Lydia Marie Child who edited Jacobs's manuscript for her. Jacobs wrote *Incidents* with the goal of promoting abolitionism and inspiring white Northern women to take up the cause of abolitionism and antislavery by highlighting the struggles of enslaved mothers and the sexual terrorism that existed in slavery. In this way, Jacobs attempted to appeal to the morality of white Northern women by showcasing how slavery and the sexual violence it entailed made it almost impossible for enslaved women to live up to the virtues and values that white Northern women held so dearly.[3]

This paper explores the question of what role agency played and how it was exercised in the life of an enslaved woman in the antebellum United States through Jacobs's *Incidents*. Specifically, this paper will consider agency through the themes of motherhood, captivity, and fugitivity. Jacobs details her life in *Incidents* from the time she was enslaved, through extreme conditions of captivity in a garret for seven years, and as a fugitive slave. Jacobs also prominently explored the situations she encountered as a mother and as a woman and how agency played a role in these circumstances. Additionally, Jacobs's experiences of various states of mental and physical freedom and enslavement throughout her life provide insights into a wealth of situations that I will analyze through the lens of agency. *Incidents* also describes how different individuals such as other enslaved people, Southern slave owners, white Northerners - both with and without abolitionist sentiments -, and family members, exercised agency in ways that may have been employed or constrained tactically depending on the power dynamics at play in those relationships. Furthermore, Jacobs often provided commentary and explanations regarding the sometimes difficult and

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1 Burnard, Trevor. "Introduction," *Journal of Global Slavery* 6, no. 1 (2021): 3; Jacobs, Harriet. *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (New York: Barnes & Noble Classics, 2005), 100

2 Andrews, William L. "Harriet A. Jacobs (Harriet Ann), 1813-1897," *Documenting the American South*. UNC. 20 February 2022. https://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/jacobs/bio.html

3 Andrews, "Harriet A. Jacobs"

sometimes easy choices regarding when and how to exercise her agency given her current obstacles, predictions about future outcomes, and priorities. A variety of secondary works will help contextualize Jacobs's *Incidents* by providing a deeper look into the cultural, psychological, and societal influences exerted in Jacobs's life that impacted her agency.[4]

Jacobs's *Incidents* provides a specific look into agency, the roles it plays, the ways in which it is both restricted and exercised, its limitations, and the ways it creates opportunities to access power by highlighting specific moments in which the exercise of agency, or a lack thereof, is at the forefront. As the title of the narrative suggests, *Incidents* largely focuses on particular incidents or moments that Jacobs experienced throughout the various states of enslavement and freedom she found herself in. Jacobs's thoughtful choices of moments to include in her narrative illuminate a distinct pattern of agency in her life in which she would often be pushed by the circumstances of the situation she was in to exercise her agency which would then lead to future constraints of her agency in different ways. In this way, *Incidents* highlights the exercise of agency not only as a means of self-determination in the present but also as a way in which Jacobs' future self-determination could be severely constrained. Therefore, *Incidents* does not present agency as a straightforward concept in the life of an enslaved woman and takes into account the complexities that went into exercising agency in situations with high stakes.

The specific incidents that Jacobs chose to include in her narrative are also accompanied by a keen self-awareness of her position in life as well as emotional retellings of the motivations and concerns she had in strategically exercising agency. Jacobs's self-awareness of her marginalized position in society in *Incidents* helps illuminate the role of agency in the life of an enslaved woman by contextualizing Jacobs's choices in exercising and constraining her agency. In this way, *Incidents* treats acts of agency as deliberate decisions made with the understanding of possible positive consequences, negative consequences, and obstacles in mind to achieve a specific goal. Therefore, Jacobs's acute self-awareness in *Incidents* provides insight into how agency was used as a strategic tool of survival in the life of an enslaved woman. Furthermore, Jacobs's emotional retellings of her concerns and motivations in the specific moments she details in *Incidents* compliments her deliberate decision-making by highlighting the compelling personal reasons and incentives that would drive an enslaved woman to employ or restrict her agency.

The concept of agency itself can be understood from several different perspec-

4 West, Emily and Shearer, Erin. "Fertility Control, Shared Nurturing, and Dual Exploitation: The Lives of Enslaved Mothers in the Antebellum United States," *Women's History Review* 27, no. 6 (2017): 1006-1020; Green-Barteet, Miranda A. "'The Loophole of Retreat' Interstitial Spaces in Harriet Jacobs's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*," *South Central Review* 30, no. 2 (2013): 53-72; Lewis, Christopher S. "Neuter-Bound/Neuter-Freed: Queer Gender and Resistance to Slavery," *African American Review* 52, no. 4 (2019): 341-355; Morgan, Winifred. "Gender-Related Difference in the Slave Narratives of Harriet Jacobs and Frederick Douglass," *American Studies* 35, no. 2 (1994): 73-94

tives. Throughout this project, two different definitions of agency will be incorporated for the purposes of analyzing *Incidents*. However, the main focus will be on a sociological understanding of agency. Oxford Reference defines agency as "representing the scope of human freedom of action - versus the ways in which actions may be determined by social structures."[5] This definition will provide an understanding as to how Jacobs's existence as a woman as well as her existence as an enslaved person impacted the free exercise of her agency and how she dealt with these impacts. Furthermore, Merriam-Webster's definition of agency will also be used. Merriam-Webster defines agency as "the capacity, condition, or state of exerting power."[6] This alternate definition provides perspective into agency as a manifestation of power and the ability to influence. It will contribute to an analysis of how Jacobs, as a marginalized person, may have exerted power through the exercise of agency. These definitions will provide a multifaceted view of agency which will help better illuminate the various considerations that influenced Jacobs's choices in exerting agency.

Specifically, Jacobs's agency in *Incidents* reflects her standing in society, the means available to her to protect herself, and how her choices were shaped by the context of her situation. As Michelle Burnham argues, Jacobs's agency as well as means her means of protection in harmful situations mirror and engage with "dominant hierarchies" and "power structures."[7] These hierarchies and structures, however, allowed Jacobs access to agency through their impracticality as "sites of resistance."[8] In this manner, Jacobs's agency and the structures and hierarchies she encountered and engaged with in *Incidents* were inextricably intertwined. Burnham argues that although agency can be a form of resistance, it is also a "form of subjection," highlighting the way in which the dichotomy of independent agency as opposed to acquiescence to oppressive systems is false.[9]

Walter Johnson addresses the false dichotomy between agency and acquiescence, arguing that agency as employed by enslaved people was not always explicitly resistance to enslavement.[10] Therefore, although Jacobs often took actions and exercised her agency to make choices that would benefit her in threatening situations produced by her enslavement, she often was just attempting to keep her family together, escape sexual harassment, and avoid physical and psychological violence. In this manner, Jacobs was not directly and explicitly resisting slavery while, for example, running away from the plantation she worked at or living in a garret for seven years, even if these actions did ultimately contribute to undermining the system of slavery. Johnson also argues that sensations, emotions,

5 "Agency," *Oxford Reference*, https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095355717

6 "Agency," *Merriam-Webster,* https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/agency

7 Burnham, Michelle. "Loopholes of Resistance: Harriet Jacobs' Slave Narrative and the Critique of Agency in Foucault," A*rizona Quarterly: A Journal of American Literature, Culture, and Theory* 49, no. 2 (1993): 55

8 Burnham. "Loopholes of Resistance," 55

9 Burnham. "Loopholes of Resistance," 55

10 Burnham. "Loopholes of Resistance," 56

and events that enslaved people experienced were "powerfully conditioned by, yet not reducible to, their slavery."[11] *Incidents*, then, illustrates how Jacobs's use of agency was largely the result of human impulses to, for example, avoid pain and fear and seek comfort and happiness.

An analysis of motherhood, captivity, and fugitivity in *Incidents* provides insight into how Jacobs's agency operated within the framework of slavery. As Burnham argues, the employment of agency does not necessarily mean an actor is working outside of an oppressive institution; actors often work within these structures.[12] Jacobs's choice to become a mother, to remain a captive in her grandmother's garret, and to live as a fugitive in the North illustrate how Jacobs was able to retain agency while still being stuck physically or legally within the institution of slavery. Although her exercises of agency in these instances may have resisted the institution of slavery, intentionally or unintentionally, her actions were often driven by more immediate threats. In the same vein, Johnson suggests that threats to an enslaved person's humanity were weaponized by slave owners, provoking reactions by and emotions from enslaved people.[13] This mirrors Jacobs's experience with her tormentor Dr. Flint, providing context needed to comprehend Jacobs's choices in exercising her agency in relation to motherhood, captivity, and fugitivity, as well as how these choices ultimately benefited her in the future or limited her agency.

Motherhood

The theme of motherhood is prevalent in Jacobs's *Incidents* as it is one of the longest-held roles that Jacobs occupies in her narrative, and therefore it provides significant insight into how agency operated in the life of an enslaved woman. Jacob's explorations of the theme of motherhood in *Incidents* is key to answering the questions of what role agency played in relation to Jacobs as a mother as well as how motherhood both helped and harmed her in achieving greater agency for herself and her children. Motherhood provided Jacobs the ability to fend off attacks on her agency while also constraining her agency in other important aspects of her life as well as her childrens'.

Throughout *Incidents*, motherhood was one of the most important roles that Jacobs took on, and gave her new opportunities for self-determination. Motherhood is what eventually pushed Jacobs to make the decision to run away from her master and the plantation she was working at.[14] Jacobs described how she learned by chance that her children, who were located at a different plantation at the time, were going to be brought to the plantation she was working at to be "broke in."[15] It was clear to Jacobs that her children

11 Johnson, Walter. "On Agency," *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 1 (2003): 115
12 Burnham. "Loopholes of Resistance," 56
13 Johnson. "On Agency," 116
14 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 229
15 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 226

were going to be brought to the plantation that she worked at as leverage against her and to "fetter me to the spot."[16] Dr. Flint's family thought this move was necessary because they believed Jacobs was dissatisfied with her current position at the plantation and wanted to prevent any future rebellion.[17] Dr Flint would thus use Jacobs's children to maintain and extend control over her as well as constrain her agency to act freely and to resist unfair treatment. In this manner, the exercise of agency by Jacobs in running away from her master was a way to preserve her future agency from being all but eliminated. Jacobs's decision to exercise her agency in such a perilous and life-altering manner illustrates that the preservation of her agency was something Jacobs was not willing to leave up to chance. Jacobs's resistance against future constraints of her agency also illuminates that agency played an essential and prominent role in her life and that it was something worth risking her life to keep.

Jacobs did not want her own role as a mother to be used against her in support of slavery. Therefore, to prevent her own motherhood from being exploited, Jacobs exercised her agency in response by running away from the plantation. Emily West and Erin Shearer argue that enslaved mothers in the antebellum United States would often resist the abusive nature of slavery by putting their children above all else in their life.[18] Furthermore, West and Shearer suggest that enslaved women, through their roles as mothers, experienced gratification.[19] Jacobs's actions in exercising her limited agency by running away from the plantation highlights this phenomenon. In this manner, Jacobs likely chose to exercise agency and run away from her master to resist something that had been a source of control and happiness (being a mother) from being weaponized against her. As an enslaved person, Jacobs had relatively limited opportunities to exercise control and authority over many aspects of her life. For example, Dr. Flint previously denied Jacobs the opportunity to marry a man that she.[20] Therefore, the agency that Jacobs did have was that much more important for her to maintain. In this manner, Jacobs used agency as a tool to strengthen the control she had over the most important source of happiness in her life in an attempt to prevent it from being completely soured by slavery.

Jacobs was not only concerned with the preservation of her agency, but she also was concerned with the fate of her children and exercised her agency in order to protect them. When Jacobs decided to run away, she had planned to have her children's father, Mr. Sands, purchase them from her master and free them.[21] However, Jacobs admitted that if Dr. Flint continued to keep her under his control, he would never consider putting her

16 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 225
17 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 225-226
18 West and Shearer. "Fertility Control," 1008
19 West and Shearer. "Fertility Control," 1007
20 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 118
21 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 229

children up for sale.[22] Jacobs's response in acknowledgement of this situation, running away from the plantation to further the plan to free her children, illustrates that agency also played a role as a means of defending and protecting Jacobs's children from the brutalities of slavery. Jacobs was not only concerned with preserving her own agency, but she was also concerned with creating a life for her children in which they had agency as well. Jacobs was pushed to exercise her agency in response to the development of a dangerous and urgent situation. She would have preferred to not use her agency in this manner as she knew it would hurt one of the most important people in her life, her grandmother.[23] As Jacobs prepared to run away, she "remembered the grief this step would bring upon my dear old grandmother, and nothing less than the freedom of my children would induce me to disregard her advice."[24] In this way, the exercise of agency both acted as a liberator as well as a source of pain and sadness. However, no matter how much pain Jacobs predicted her running away would bring her grandmother, any opportunity for such a significant exercise of agency in the life of an enslaved person was rare.[25] Therefore, when the opportunity presented itself, Jacobs intended to gain agency and give this to her children in an attempt to shield them from the worst of slavery.

Motherhood offered Jacobs refuge and reinstated agency in her life when she was in an extremely vulnerable position. As a young girl, Jacobs experienced constant sexual harassment by Dr. Flint.[26] At one point, Jacobs knew that the sexual harassment was going to escalate to the point at which she predicted that her future agency was at risk of being completely eliminated the by plans Dr. Flint had for her. Dr. Flint told Jacobs that he was going to build a secluded home where she could live and be his mistress.[27] In response, Jacobs made a "deliberate calculation" to have a child with a different man of her choice, Mr. Sands.[28] Jacobs's intentional decision to become a mother while simultaneously rebelling against the exploitation brought on by slavery illuminates agency's role as a means of resistance against the future loss of agency over one's body. West and Shearer argue that enslaved women would attempt to achieve bodily autonomy and control over their reproduction in order to counter the degrading nature of slavery.[29] Jacobs's actions highlight how she attempted to gain power and authority over Dr. Flint from a marginalized position through the choice of motherhood. Jacobs was pushed into choosing motherhood and into the position of having to choose who the father of her children would be to protect herself from increasing abuse as well as a seemingly hopeless future. However, this exercise of

22 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 229
23 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 153
24 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 153
25 Burnard. "Introduction," 3
26 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 99-100
27 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 148
28 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 150
29 West and Shearer. "Fertility Control," 1008

agency served as a means of accessing some measure of control in a situation that had almost completely rendered her powerless.

Although Jacobs's decision to become a mother gave her an opportunity to have agency in a spiraling situation, motherhood also posed threats to her agency as well. Jacobs knew the loss of future agency was imminent if she did not act quickly to derail Dr. Flint's plans for her to be his mistress which would have likely led to her bearing his children

> I shuddered to think of being the mother of children that should be owned by my old tyrant. I knew that as soon as a new fancy took him, his victims were sold far off to get rid of them; especially if they had children.[30]

In this manner, the agency that Jacobs derived from choosing motherhood was limited. Her existence as a woman and as an enslaved person limited her available responses to dealing with the abuse from Dr. Flint. She was prompted by the urgency and severity of the situation she found herself in to choose motherhood to protect herself, and therefore, this act of agency only occurred once Jacobs had been backed into a corner. Green-Barteet suggests that Jacobs's choice to have children with Mr. Sands caused Jacobs to violate her own principles that stemmed from religion and her grandmother.[31] Jacobs knew that she would be disappointing her grandmother with her pregnancy and the fact that she had "degraded" herself.[32] Therefore, Jacobs's initial exercise of agency in becoming a mother to protect herself from abuse constrained her ability to live up to the moral principles that she held so highly. Agency held the dual role of a mechanism of defense as well as a source of shame in Jacobs's life.

Although motherhood brought temporary relief to the increasingly serious situation Jacobs was involved in, the choice of motherhood complicated Jacobs's relationship with agency. Motherhood meant that Jacobs would be giving birth to children who would be enslaved as well.[33] Jacobs described how soon after her son was born, every time that Dr. Flint would see her, he would tell her how her son "was an addition to his stock of slaves."[34] The institution of slavery posed limits to the ways in which Jacobs was able to defend herself against exploitation while Jacobs's previous exercise of agency in choosing motherhood led to future constraints on her children's agency. Similarly, West and Shearer argue that Jacobs felt heartbroken when she found out that her second child was a girl because enslaved women knew that girls would likely experience sexual harassment or abuse at some point in their lifetime.[35] In this manner, *Incidents* illustrates how slavery

30 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 152
31 Green-Barteet. "'The Loophole of Retreat,'" 61
32 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 153-154
33 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 163
34 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 163
35 West and Shearer. "Fertility Control," 1009

created a cycle in which one exercise of agency by an enslaved person, in an attempt to access power and control, could lead them directly into another situation in which their agency was restricted. However, as West and Shearer note, many enslaved mothers, such as Jacobs, still felt overwhelming love and attachment for their children born out of difficult and undesirable circumstances.[36] Jacobs, expressing the love she felt for her son and the comfort she received from him, stated "When I was most sorely oppressed I found solace in his smiles."[37] The exercise of agency could bring about both the undesired impact of constraints on the agency of others while simultaneously bringing about comfort and happiness.

Captivity

The theme of captivity features prominently throughout *Incidents* and is essential to understanding the role that agency played in Jacobs's life. More specifically, the analysis of the relationship between captivity and agency will be guided by the questions of how captivity impacted both the ways in which Jacobs was and was not able to exercise agency and what the consequences of this were. In *Incidents*, Jacobs detailed moments from her life when she had to live in captivity, such as when she exercised her agency strategically and decided to live in a garret in her grandmother's house for seven years to evade recapture by Dr. Flint where she experienced extreme physical constraints.[38] The lack of physical agency while in captivity prevented Jacobs from exercising agency in some personally significant ways but offered her new creative and strategic ways to passively exercise agency in resistance to slavery.

As a captive in the garret, Jacobs experienced extreme limitations in her physical agency which caused Jacobs to have a high degree of dependence on her family members for basic necessities. Jacobs details how her food had to be handed to her through a "trapdoor."[39] Therefore, to remain in the garret, Jacobs had to make the conscious decision to transfer her ability to determine her day-to-day life to her family members. Although she was no longer under the direct control of Dr. Flint and no longer subject to his family's attempt at controlling her through her children, she lost one of the most basic forms of agency that humans can possess, the ability to move about freely. In this manner, captivity rendered her powerless in a physical sense and almost reverted her to a child-like dependent state in which the simple question of when and how she would get food was out of her control. It is true that Jacobs did not have the agency to move in a completely free manner while she was in Dr. Flint's control as seen by Dr. Flint dictating that Jacobs work at his son's

36 West and Shearer. "Fertility Control," 1009
37 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 165
38 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 274, 326
39 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 265

plantation.[40] However, Jacobs was not subject to such extreme physical constraints on her agency under Dr. Flint's control compared to her living conditions in the garret. Therefore, this highlights that Jacobs was willing to give up her ability to exercise agency over some of the most basic activities in her daily life. She was willing to entrust this power to others in order to secure something she held more dearly which was her children's agency and the ability to exercise agency over her own life in the future which was what captivity in the garret helped preserve. Physical loss of agency caused by captivity, therefore, precipitated Jacobs's loss of agency in a more practical sense as well.

Although the garret aided in Jacobs's larger plans of preserving her children's agency and her own future agency, the physical constraints of the garret robbed her of parts of her humanity by denying her the ability to cultivate the connections that were most important to her. Jacobs noted that when she received her food through the trapdoor in the garret, her family members could use this time to have conversations with her, but this could only happen in the safety of nighttime.[41] In this manner, Jacobs, while no longer property through direct enslavement, took on the role of an object that could be taken out and put away at will in her grandmother's home rather than a fully-fledged person her family members could interact with freely. Jacobs fought back against the denial of her humanity that accompanied her physical loss of agency. Jacobs wrote about how one day in the garret she found a "gimlet" (a tool) that had been left behind, and her first thoughts were to create a hole in the garret so that she could see outside the home.[42] Jacobs thought, "Now I will have some light. Now I will see my children."[43] Although Jacobs could not be physically present in her previous life and could not keep up the degree of connection she had with her family before she entered the garret, she still attempted to preserve some of her humanity by engaging with the outside world and her family in ways that were safe and available to her. Jacobs exercised agency when opportunities presented themselves, such as hiding in the gimlet, in an attempt to reclaim her humanity by giving herself access to the day-to-day life she was missing out on.

However, no matter how hard Jacobs attempted to reclaim and re-establish her humanity through small exercises of agency in the garret, she was still limited in the agency she had over her children's lives. Jacobs's children, for most of the seven years she spent living in the garret, did not know that their mother was living in the same house they lived in because this could have jeopardized Jacobs's safety had her young children told anyone where she was.[44] In this way, the garret served as a barrier to Jacobs's ability to exercise agency in her children's lives and to be an active mother figure. Furthermore, Jacobs described how she would often watch her children talk and play outside while

40 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 206
41 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 265
42 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 265
43 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 265
44 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 266, 269

looking through the hole she bored in the garret.[45] The physical loss of agency in the garret, therefore, precipitated a shift in Jacobs's role as a mother that led her to be a passive observer in her children's lives. While watching her children through the hole in the garret provided Jacobs comfort in her "prison," it also highlighted the negative implications of her absence.[46] First, Jacobs was able to witness first-hand how her lack of agency in her children's lives and her subsequent inability to mother impacted her children emotionally. Jacobs recalls hearing her son, Benny, ask Dr. Flint, "[…] did you bring my mother home? I want to see her." Benny's desire to see his mother highlighted how Jacobs's physical restraint not only impeded her own agency but also damaged the sense of agency her children had over their lives. This is evident in her son's desperate questioning of Dr. Flint, someone her children often avoided and were afraid of.[47]

In contrast, captivity did not always limit Jacobs's ability to exercise agency in her children's lives and at times offered her a special opportunity to access power to influence the lives of her children that had not been available to her while she was enslaved. When Jacobs observed Benny asking Dr. Flint to bring his mother home, she also witnessed Dr. Flint react very violently to Benny's request and even threaten Benny's life.[48] In response, the next time she was able to speak with her grandmother, she told her grandmother to not let Benny provoke Dr. Flint.[49] Green-Barteet argues that Jacobs's life in the garret was "interstitial," one where she inhabited an "in-between" space, in which Jacobs was unable to fulfill the role of a mother but was also not completely cut off from involvement in her children's lives.[50] From the garret, Jacob's was able to exercise agency over her children's lives by acting as a beneficent monitor of her children's behavior, guiding their lives from the safety of the garret. This was very different from the reality she experienced when she was enslaved and under the direct control of Dr. Flint. Part of the reason Jacobs chose to run away in the first place was to preserve her children's agency and to prevent them from being harmed in an attempt to control her. From her captive state in the garret, although unable to take an active role as a mother to her children, she was able to use her observations of her children's behavior to help save them from the brutalities of slavery and regain her power as a mother. Jacobs accomplished mothering from afar and utilized this newfound power by transferring her agency to her grandmother in order to pass on the motherly advice Jacobs was unable to directly give.

Furthermore, captivity in the garret allowed Jacobs to exercise agency by resisting the authority of her master in a particularly passive manner which contrasted with other conventional means of resistance used by enslaved individuals. Maria O'Malley argues

45 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 266
46 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 266, 274
47 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 200, 240, 267
48 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 267
49 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 267
50 Green-Barteet. "'The Loophole of Retreat,'" 54

that Jacobs was able to alter the power dynamic between her and Dr. Flint from the garret in her own favor.[51] O'Malley suggests that Jacobs accomplished this by writing letters from the garret, pretending that she was in the North, and sending Dr. Flint on fruitless trips to look for her.[52] In this way, Jacobs was able to resist slavery and her master in a non-confrontational way through the protection the garret provided her. However, other enslaved individuals such as Frederick Douglass were often forced to resort to very physical and violent means of resistance to protect themselves from the brutalities of slavery.[53] For example, Douglass resorted to physically fighting the man he was rented out to, Mr. Covey, for two hours in order to prevent himself from being whipped.[54] Similarly, from the garret, Jacobs saw an enslaved woman commit suicide to escape punishment from her master.[55] This does not mean that Jacobs was entirely safe in the captivity of the garret as she was unable to even converse with her family members during the day or let her children know she was in there for fear of re-enslavement if Dr. Flint found out where she was.[56] Instead, what this does illuminate is the fact that captivity gave Jacobs a specific way to exercise agency by resisting slavery in a nonviolent manner that did not immediately threaten her life unlike the resistance that Douglass and the other enslaved woman resorted to. In this manner, Jacobs accessed power and exercised agency in a way that was not widely available to other slaves, enabling her to circumvent her master's possible violence and refuse to partake in it.

Even though Jacobs was able to strategically and nonviolently resist slavery while in captivity, captivity also limited the ability that Jacobs had to exercise agency over the state of her children's lives and freedom. Jacobs was able to exercise agency over her and her children's lives in captivity by denying Dr. Flint the source of his power. Jacobs ran away in the first place to stop Dr. Flint and his family from using her children against her to control her behavior.[57] Before Jacobs entered her grandmother's garret where she would live for the next seven years, Jacobs first hid in the nearby home of a slave owner who was willing to help Jacobs run away.[58] Dr. Flint was persuaded to sell Jacobs's children because he no longer had any use for them since Jacobs was no longer in his control, and Mr. Sands purchased them.[59] By removing herself from the equation entirely, Jacobs took away Dr. Flint's greatest source of power which was control over Jacobs herself. As Green-Barteet argues, Jacobs was able to deliberately alter Dr. Flint's motivations and goals so that he

51 O'Malley. "Imagining Massachusetts," 50

52 O'Malley. "Imagining Massachusetts," 50

53 Douglass, Frederick. *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (New York: Barnes & Noble Classics, 2003), 150

54 Douglass. *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, 150

55 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 27

56 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 265, 266

57 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 225

58 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 237

59 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 247

would relinquish control over her children.[60] However, it must be taken into account that Dr. Flint's relinquishment of Jacobs's children was done while operating under the institution of slavery. Although Jacobs succeeded in removing her children from Dr. Flint's grasp, this only resulted in her children ending up in the control of another slave owner, Mr. Sands.[61] It is true that Mr. Sands helped Jacobs in getting her children away from Dr. Flint and allowed them to live with Jacobs's grandmother, but Mr. Sands still did not legally free them.[62] Therefore, Jacobs's removal of herself from slavery through captivity did not result in the acquisition of agency and power to the degree that Jacobs hoped it would.[63] Captivity allowed Jacobs more agency over her children's lives than she had while enslaved, but the institution of slavery still loomed over her every action, obstructing her children's freedom.

Additionally, Jacobs's passive exercise of agency in resistance to Dr. Flint's control by removing herself from the equation entirely had negative implications for her children's future agency. While still physically constrained in the garret, Jacobs learned that her children's father, Mr. Sands, told his new wife about the children that he had fathered with Jacobs. Mr. Sands told his new wife that the children were "motherless" and that Jacobs was deceased.[64] Even more alarmingly, Jacobs learned that Mr. Sands's sister as well as his wife were interested in taking her children from Jacobs's grandmother.[65] In this way, Jacobs's apparent absence in her children's lives, due to her lack of physical agency, allowed others to feel entitled to direct the lives of her children as well as to constrain her children's agency. Ultimately, Jacobs had to relinquish Ellen to Mr. Sands's family and allow them to send Ellen to Brooklyn as Mr. Sands legally owned her children.[66] Through Mr. Sands's role in facilitating the taking of Ellen while Jacobs was unable to intervene, he attempted to forcefully transfer any remaining agency Jacobs had over her children's lives to himself, ultimately leaving her powerless as a mother. Jacobs was frustrated about this development because part of the reason she had initially run away was to help facilitate Mr. Sands's purchase of her children to get them away from Dr. Flint's control, only to have Mr. Sands not free her children.[67] Therefore, Jacobs's lack of physical agency in the garret created the opportunity for others to threaten the success of Jacobs's overarching goals of removing her children from the control of slave owners for good and re-establishing agency over her children's lives.

60 Green-Barteet. "'The Loophole of Retreat,'" 54
61 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 305
62 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 305
63 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 307
64 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 307
65 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 307
66 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 307
67 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 305

Fugitivity

After Jacobs was forced into fleeing the garret in her grandmother's house because she was afraid that her location had been revealed, Jacobs felt that she had no choice but to escape to the North if she wanted to continue to preserve her future agency and prevent re-enslavement.[68] Once Jacobs left the captivity of the garret that she had been in for seven years, she endured living in a fugitive state in the North for the next several years and experienced all of the impacts this had on her ability to exercise her agency.[69] However, even before Jacobs had entered the garret she would live in for seven years, Jacobs got a glimpse of being in a fugitive state as well. This section will endeavor to answer the questions of how the experience of fugitivity both constrained and created opportunities for Jacobs to exercise agency, and how this influenced the role that agency played in Jacobs's life. Although fugitivity gave Jacobs new avenues of agency she did not have while in captivity, fugitivity was also often accompanied by new restrictions on Jacobs's agency that made it hard for her to have authority over the direction of her life. This resulted in agency playing a relatively elusive role in Jacobs's life as a fugitive.

Fugitivity allowed Jacobs the ability to temporarily explore identities beyond being an enslaved person, a captive, a mother, and a woman which allowed her to exercise agency in a very different yet empowering way compared to her past avenues of agency. When Jacobs first entered a fugitive state after escaping the control of Dr. Flint, before she lived in the garret, she had to disguise her identity to make it safely to her grandmother's home.[70] Jacobs dressed up as a darker-skinned male sailor by putting on a sailor's outfit and using charcoal to alter her complexion.[71] She described how she walked by people that she knew including her own children's father who did not recognize her in her disguise.[72] Christopher S. Lewis proposes that Jacobs was able to pursue her goal of being a free person by using her disguise as a way to portray a "masculine" appearance.[73] Fugitivity allowed Jacobs to resist infringements on her agency in a different way than, for example, taking on her identity as a woman and having children to protect herself from Dr. Flint. The act of dressing up as a sailor offered Jacobs control over her body and agency by rejecting the previous identities she held in the past. Consequently, fugitivity allowed Jacobs the ability to resist being pushed into acts of agency out of desperation by allowing Jacobs to step out of the social structures and realities that governed her existence as an enslaved woman. This allowed Jacobs to experience a new realm of power and agency by inhabiting

68 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 335

69 Griffin, Farrah Jasmine. "Introduction," in Jacobs, Harriet. *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (New York: Barnes & Noble Classics, 2005), 18-19

70 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 259

71 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 261

72 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 261

73 Lewis. "Neuter-Bound/Neuter-Freed," 345-346

the role of a free man where neither a lack of bodily autonomy nor re-enslavement were immediately at stake. While Jacobs's newfound agency from exploring alternate identities was empowering, it wast not a permanent solution to her constant struggle for agency.

Consequently, Jacobs escaped to the North where she lived as a fugitive slave. Jacobs' newfound physical agency that accompanied her fugitive state severely constrained her ability to lead her life without constant fear. Jacobs recalled how she was scared of going outside because someone could possibly recognize her and tell Dr. Flint of her whereabouts.[74] This was especially anxiety-inducing since part of her employment entailed taking care of a child and occasionally taking her outside.[75] However, Jacobs's fugitive state really constrained her agency when she learned that Dr. Flint was coming to the North, forcing her to leave the job she had just secured and find a replacement while she went into hiding.[76] Jacobs's acquisition of the ability to move freely only made it more likely her location would be revealed and heightened the chance that she would be caught and re-enslaved in comparison to her time in captivity in the garret. Furthermore, though Jacobs was in the North, where she could now get paid for labor, her ability to earn money to support herself was limited as she had to immediately put a pause on working toward her goals of stability and earning income to buy a home so that she could simply preserve her future agency. In this way, Jacobs's physical agency in the North played the role of a threat to her ability to have agency over her life in the future since every moment she spent free in the North was a moment someone could recognize her and alert Dr. Flint of her location.

At one point, Jacobs's location was divulged to Dr. Flint, and she was forced into making a decision to preserve her newfound physical agency, freedom, and larger goals of creating a unified life with her children. After Jacobs's daughter, Ellen, informed Jacobs that a relative of the family she had been staying with had written Dr. Flint and disclosed her whereabouts, Jacobs expressed her distress:

> It was evident I had no time to lose; and I hastened back to the city with a heavy heart. Again I was to be torn from a comfortable home, and all my plans for the welfare of my children were to be frustrated by that demon Slavery![77]

Although Dr. Flint no longer had his greatest source of power, which was control over Jacobs herself, fugitivity still allowed him to legally claim ownership over Jacobs. In this way, fugitivity allowed the shadow of slavery to follow Jacobs into freedom and restrict her ability to use her physical agency in the way she desired to. As the quotation illustrates, Jacobs wanted to be able to lead a steady and productive life so that she could provide for her children with money she earned from a job that she enjoyed. Constrained by her

74 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 375
75 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 375
76 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 372
77 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 385

existence as a fugitive slave, she had to use her physical agency to flee from the life she so desperately wanted to cultivate. Jacobs was also worried that her employer would develop a negative opinion about her since this newest development would mean that Jacobs would have to take time away from her job yet again and regretted not informing her employer that she was a fugitive.[78] Consequently, Jacobs's necessary act of agency of going into hiding to avoid Dr. Flint, had the potential to uproot the seeds of stability she planted in her life which could later derail her dream of having herself and her children under one roof.[79] Therefore, physical agency while in a fugitive state played the important role as a way to resist immediate attacks on Jacobs's freedom, but it also threatened Jacobs's larger dreams and goals.

Similarly, fugitivity did not give Jacobs complete agency to control the narrative of her life nor how others would perceive her. When Jacobs first arrived in the North after fleeing the garret, a man who was to help Jacobs with her transition to freedom named Mr. Durham, told Jacobs to be careful of who she told her story to because "It might give some heartless people a pretext for treating you with contempt."[80] Jacobs noted that "That word contempt burned me like coals of fire."[81] Despite the physical agency Jacobs had as a fugitive, she did not have the agency to tell her story freely for fear of negative treatment from strangers nor control the way she was perceived by others. Green-Barteet argues that Jacobs acknowledged that she had to still be wary of how others treated her regarding the fact she had children out of wedlock and her existence as a Black woman now that she was no longer enslaved nor living in the garret.[82] Additionally, as a fugitive, Jacobs's lack of control over her narrative threatened her in more severe ways. When Jacobs learned that Dr. Flint had been given the location of her whereabouts in the North, she resolved to tell her employer, Mrs. Bruce, her story and the fact that she was a fugitive slave because Jacobs was afraid of jeopardizing her job by leaving without an explanation again.[83] In this way, Jacobs's fugitive status took away her ability to decide who she was and was not comfortable sharing her life story with. Fugitivity did not significantly help Jacobs have agency over the narrative of her life and exposed her to situations in which she could be judged harshly by others as well as have her freedom threatened.

Furthermore, fugitivity also failed to give Jacobs full agency as a mother to make meaningful decisions in her children's lives as well as to protect their ability to exercise agency in the future. Since Jacobs's daughter, Ellen, was living with Mr. Sands's cousin, Mrs. Hobbs, and was also still enslaved, Jacobs did not have much of a chance to be a

78 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 385
79 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 397
80 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 351
81 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 351
82 Green-Barteet. "'The Loophole of Retreat,'" 65
83 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 385

mother to her.[84] At one point, Mrs. Bruce offered to house Ellen for Jacobs, but Jacobs was too afraid of upsetting the Hobbs family by taking her own daughter away from them.[85] The Hobbs family knew Jacobs was a fugitive and Jacobs expressed that "Their knowledge of my precarious position placed me in their power."[86] Fugitivity, especially if others had the knowledge of Jacobs's fugitivity, restricted Jacobs's ability to make decisions about her children's lives because despite the fact that Jacobs was no longer enslaved, she and her daughter were still seen as property that could be owned in the North. This was evident when Mrs. Hobbs casually informed Jacobs that Mr. Sands had given Ellen to Mrs. Hobbs's daughter and that Ellen would make a "nice waiting-maid for her when she grows up."[87] In denying Jacobs's humanity and treating her as if she were still enslaved by choosing to keep Ellen at the request of Mr. Sands, Mrs. Hobbs reinforced the uncertainty and lack of control in Jacobs's life as a fugitive in some ways similar to when she was a slave. Therefore, Jacobs's fugitive status could not make up for the fact that her daughter was not free, and therefore, Jacobs's fugitivity was limited in its ability to provide her the agency necessary to actively combat encroachments on her daughter's freedom and future agency.

In the same vein, Jacobs's fugitivity also restricted her agency in maintaining her most dearly held relationships. As a fugitive, it was imperative that Jacobs keep a job so that she could continue working toward her goals of providing a stable life and a home for her and her children. Therefore, when Jacobs was asked to go to England to watch over her employer's child, she had little agency to say no.[88] However, after returning from England after 10 months, she was informed that her son had a negative experience in his trade, experienced violent racist attacks, and consequently left to go on a whaling expedition to escape this treatment.[89] Jacobs responded to this news, writing, "I […] bitterly reproached myself for having left him so long."[90] As a fugitive slave dealing with insecurity in her life, Jacobs did not have the agency to choose both a reliable and well-paying job as well as the ability to be near her son and comfort him when he needed it most. Therefore, fugitivity often only allowed Jacobs to prioritize what was most at stake in the moment and instead, oftentimes did not allow her to prioritize her emotional and relationship needs. Winifred Morgan argues that Jacobs's relationships with others in *Incidents* benefited her wellbeing and offered her an alternate experience compared to the restrictive nature of slavery.[91] However, fugitivity did not always offer Jacobs a true alternative to the confines of slavery because Jacobs was not always able to successfully maintain her relationships with others.

84 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 367
85 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 366
86 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 366
87 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 361
88 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 390
89 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 394, 396
90 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 396
91 Morgan. "Gender-Related Difference," 77

Fugitivity constrained Jacobs's agency and did not allow her the luxury to always put her feelings as well as the feelings of her family above all else, forcing her to sacrifice having a close connection with her family in the process.

Although fugitivity constrained Jacobs's agency in numerous ways, fugitivity did create opportunities for Jacobs to stand up for herself in ways she never was able nor empowered to do as an enslaved person and a captive. During one of the trips that Jacobs accompanied Mrs. Bruce on, Jacobs experienced blatant racism. When she was supposed to go to dinner on a train with Mrs. Bruce's daughter, she was told by a worker to seat the child, who was white, in the chair and stand behind her to feed her and that Jacobs would get her dinner afterwards.[92] Jacobs refused to go along with this situation:

> This was the climax! I found it hard to preserve my self-control […] However, I said nothing. I quietly took the child in my arms, went to our room, and refused to go to the table again […] I staid a month after this, and finding I was resolved to stand up for my rights, they concluded to treat me well.[93]

As a fugitive living in the North, Jacobs was given the agency to push back against intolerable treatment without jeopardizing herself in the process and even was able to succeed in receiving better treatment. This was unlike the agency that Jacobs exercised as an enslaved mother and as a captive in which Jacobs had to violate her own moral principles as well as live in extremely inhospitable conditions for several years to resist mistreatment. Although Jacobs was not legally free at this point, fugitivity sometimes allowed Jacobs to inhabit the role of a free person and express agency in a way that did not always reflect a constant fear of being caught and re-enslaved. In this manner, fugitivity sometimes did allow Jacobs the opportunity to step out of her anxiety and fear and demand better treatment for herself.

Conclusion

The role of agency in *Incidents* is complex. At times, Harriet Jacobs was able to exercise agency and use motherhood, captivity, and fugitivity to her advantage in an attempt to access power and control over her circumstances from a marginalized position. At other times, the exercise of agency in one situation directly resulted in a future restriction of agency in another situation as a consequence of Jacobs living under the institution of slavery or with the threat of slavery looming close. Additionally, the ability for Jacobs to exercise agency in parts of her life did not necessarily mean that she would have agency over all aspects of her life. However, in all of the incidents that Jacobs encountered as a mother, captive, and fugitive, she was still able to find opportunities to access power and take control of her life, no matter how small.

92 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 378, 379
93 Jacobs. *Incidents*, 379

Furthermore, the ways in which Jacobs exercised agency, its role, and the consequences of its presence and absence in Jacobs's life, exemplify how the constant tension between being human while being viewed as property was prominent in the life of an enslaved woman. The many opportunities that Jacobs took advantage of to exercise agency in her life and the lives of her children illustrate attempts by Jacobs to reassert herself as a person with the power of self-determination and the ability to control her own destiny. In contrast, when opportunities for the exercise of agency were scarce or risky, this was often a direct result of Jacobs dealing with the fact that throughout most of her narrative, she was considered an object that could be re-claimed at any time. Therefore, the exploration of agency in *Incidents* illustrates that acts of agency in the life of an enslaved woman were often connected to an insistence upon being recognized as human, whether intentional or not.

The Life and Legacy of Flo Hyman: U.S. Women's Olympic Volleyball and Marfan Syndrome

Will Spillman

Abstract. In 1974, Flo Hyman joined the struggling U.S. women's volleyball team. Having failed to qualify for the 1972 Olympics, the team was desperate for a star. In Flo Hyman, the U.S. team gained a star large enough to exert gravitational pull toward the entire sport. Standing at six feet and five inches, her thunderous spikes boomed across the country and drew attention to the women's national team. With her help, the U.S. finally attained Olympic success in 1984. Two years later, however, Hyman fell dead in competition. The sudden collapse of volleyball's biggest star illuminated the "silent killer" known as Marfan Syndrome, a genetic connective tissue disorder that, if left untreated, can lead to premature death from aortic rupture. Hyman's death, though tragic, drastically increased awareness of Marfan Syndrome, which saved the lives of both athletes and non-athletes around the world.

"*Flo Hyman fell dead on the court Flo dead the Captain*
Flew up and crumbled into history that remembers only
The living and the medalists in Olympiad glory."[1]

The Making of a Star

From an early age, Flo Hyman possessed the ideal physique for volleyball. Exceptionally tall with disproportionate limbs, she was noticeably different from her peers. As an adolescent, Hyman lacked self-confidence and tried to hide her most defining qualities. Slouched sitting and hunched-over walking, habits that served to minimize her stature, characterized her appearance in school. Her avoidance of the public eye would not last though, and with her mother's avid encouragement, she decided to join the local volleyball team in high school.[2] Later in her career, Hyman would tell a reporter, "When I was in ninth grade, I

1 Davis, Thadious, et al. "Poetry: News Clips: Black Women Today," *Black American Literature Forum* 20, no. 3 (1986): 299

2 Woolum, Janet. O*utstanding Women Athletes: Who They Are and How They Influenced Sports in America* (Phoenix: Oryx Press, 1998)

found out they [the Olympic Games] would be our [the United States'] Olympics in 1984. So, I looked into sports to try to find one I would be suited for."[3]

It was not a long road for Hyman from high school to a full ride volleyball scholarship at the University of Houston. Towering over her opponents at six feet and five inches, it seemed as if nobody could stop her. Similar to high school, collegiate volleyball proved to be no challenge for Hyman. As the first female scholarship athlete at Houston, she led the team to two top-five national finishes and built an impressive resume that included the inaugural Broderick Award, given to the top female volleyball player in the country. The fact that she reached this level of success while also competing part-time for the U.S. women's national team, which she joined in her freshman year of college, made her an awe-inspiring figure to those that knew her. At this point in Hyman's career, however, this fame was limited to the volleyball community. It was only after she chose to pursue U.S. women's volleyball full-time in 1977 that she would gain national acclaim.[4]

Searching for Success

In 1964, women's volleyball made its debut in the Olympic program. Though national associations of volleyball had existed in the U.S. for decades, before the International Olympic Committee's (IOC) decision, little focus was placed on establishing a cohesive and highly competitive national team. Instead, the U.S. formed its Olympic teams by hosting quick tryouts before the Games, and those selected for the team were not given adequate time to practice.[5] Such unpreparedness manifested itself when the U.S. women's volleyball team competed in the 1964 and 1968 Olympics. A *New York Times* reporter lamented after the U.S. women's team finished second-to-last in Tokyo's 1964 Games that "although volleyball was introduced in the United States…69 years ago…Americans still play the game poorly by the standards of the Tokyo Olympics."[6] Unfortunately for the U.S., the next Games were not much different. In 1968, even the U.S. players understood their international inferiority. Reflecting on the team's upcoming schedule in the 1968 Games, Barbara Perry mused, "It's really rough playing the Japanese right off. We don't expect to win, just be respectable. What makes it tough is that we play Czechoslovakia tomorrow and we might beat them."[7] Perry's self-defeating predictions were correct. The Japanese "roll[ed] over" the U.S. according to the IOC's Official Report on the 1968 Games, while

3 Shook, Richard. "When Flo Hyman Found Out the Olympics Would Be…," *United Press International (*August 9, 1984)

4 Woolum. *Outstanding Women Athletes*

5 *Los Angeles Times*, July 31, 1981

6 *The New York Times*, October 24, 1964

7 *Greensboro Daily News*, October 14, 1968

other sides had "little difficulty" with the U.S. team.[8] The downward trajectory of U.S. women's volleyball continued in the leadup to the 1972 Olympic Games, and the team hit rock-bottom when it failed to qualify.

These international humiliations forced the U.S. women's volleyball community to re-examine its practices. This period of self-reflection led the United States Volleyball Association to dedicate more resources to fielding a competitive national team. One of the first steps in this direction was hiring the first full-time U.S. women's volleyball coach, Arie Selinger, in 1975.[9] Committed to Olympic aspirations, Selinger moved the newly-formed national team to Pasadena, Texas, where they began training for the 1976 Olympics. Selinger was not able to complete the one-year turnaround, however, and U.S. women's volleyball failed to reach the 1976 Games.[10] With over a decade-long record of defeat, many questioned whether the U.S. could ever vie for an Olympic medal in women's volleyball.

For Flo Hyman, there was never a question. Reminiscing on the 1976 setback, she told a reporter in 1984: "We were all very young then, but we finally had a place to play and had a goal in mind. We started working toward the Olympics."[11] That work was not easy. The team's yearly training program consisted of eight hours of practice a day for six days a week, and a *Sports Illustrated* writer humorously observed that "the players have studied and practiced volleyball with a dedication that would have made them doctors by now if they'd been in med school."[12] When practice courts filled during basketball season, the team would wait until 11:45 p.m. to begin training and continue until three in the morning. Hypnosis and mind control sessions were interspersed in the routine for the purpose of instilling a mindset of "think[ing] only of the team in all situations."[13] The team did everything together. Leading the charge was the endlessly motivated Flo Hyman, who emerged as the star of the team the moment she joined in 1974. In a 1980 article titled "Making the U.S. a Volley Power Is a Two-Woman Job," Elliot Almond of *The Los Angeles Times* described Hyman's importance to the team, ranging from her 100 mile per hour spikes to her all-around ability that made her the "ultimate weapon for the U.S. national team."[14] Hyman's star power combined with the team's intense work ethic to produce rapid improvement. Two years after failing to qualify for the 1976 Games the U.S. finished fifth at the 1978 World Championships, its best ever performance. By 1979, the team was ranked third in the world.[15]

8 "Official Report of the 1968 Olympic Games," *The International Olympic Committee* 3 (1968): 440.

9 *Los Angeles Times*, July 31, 1981

10 *Los Angeles Times*, August 19, 1982

11 *Afro-American*, June 9, 1984

12 Ackerman, Joan. "The Waiting Is Over," *Sports Illustrated* (July 23, 1984)

13 *The Washington Post*, January 24, 1980

14 *Los Angeles Times*, January 9, 1980

15 Ackerman. "The Waiting Is Over"

In April 1979, the U.S. women's volleyball team qualified for the 1980 Moscow Olympics. Even more, the U.S. women were considered among the favorites for the gold medal.[16] The team's intense practice and dedication while "secluded for five years" at a "Marine Corps-style boot camp training" had paid off, and they were ready to claim their spot in Olympic history.[17] As a national team, they had the opportunity to bring glory to the United States during a decisive phase of the Cold War. Instead of becoming heroines of the Cold War, however, the members of the 1980 women's volleyball team fell victim to its effects. On March 21, 1980, President Jimmy Carter told a group of Olympic athletes and officials gathered in the White House that the United States intended to boycott the 1980 Games in Moscow, a response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan that began in 1979.[18] The announcement started a bitter back-and-forth between the U.S. government and U.S. Olympic Committee (USOC), which had the final say on whether U.S. national teams would attend. In the end, the USOC voted to support the President's wishes. Many athletes felt as though the USOC had disrespected their efforts to compete. They accused the organization of caving into political pressure and ignoring their concerns. A profound feeling of disappointment swept over the Olympic community as athletes who had sacrificed so much were denied the opportunity to compete. Years of rigorous boot camp training suddenly amounted to nothing; Hyman and her teammates were frustrated at the sudden blow to their efforts.[19]

"I've only given up seven years of my life and my whole future," Hyman said bitterly, "If there are no Olympics, what have I done with my life?"[20] After years of learning and growing from failure, Hyman's Olympic dreams were shattered in an instant. Twenty-five years old at the time of the boycott, she would be thirty by the 1984 Olympics. There was no guarantee she would have another shot. In this moment of despair, some team members quit. Others left because they were too old to continue. Hyman had the option to retire, but she stayed. In a testament to the cohesiveness of the team, seven out of fourteen players made the same choice.[21] They would continue working toward the 1984 Olympics. The team's 43-hour per week routine commenced once again, but there was a lingering anger that prevented them from returning to top form. Daily meetings offered players a chance to vent, but three months after the boycott announcement, Hyman admitted that "things haven't been exactly easy around here."[22] Though things were not easy for the team, they were accustomed to hard work. After some time, a reporter observed that "the frustration has turned to optimism recently […] and Hyman, her coach and her teammates

16 *Los Angeles Times*, June 28, 1983
17 *The Washington Post*, January 24, 1980
18 *The New York Times*, March 22, 1980
19 *The Washington Post*, January 24, 1980
20 *The Washington Post*, January 24, 1980
21 *Miami Herald*, August 20, 1982
22 *The Atlanta Journal Constitution*, April 5, 1980

believe that America will go to the Olympics, perhaps because it would be impossible to continue practicing if they didn't believe so."[23]

"Selinger's Road Show"

The boycott was a significant setback, but Arie Selinger was no stranger to adversity. During his childhood, he endured horrific conditions as a Nazi prisoner of war and passed his iron will to the team. For the three years before the end of World War II, Selinger and his mother were prisoners at the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp in northern Germany. His father died in Auschwitz. There were no gas chambers at the camp, but prisoners still died at shocking rates due to starvation, illness, and lack of shelter. A total of 52,000 prisoners of war and European Jews took their final breaths at Bergen-Belsen over the course of the war, including the famous diarist Anne Frank. According to Selinger, life at the camp "was no picnic."[24] Reflecting on his day-to-day routine, he remembered "we would have to be wakened at 5 a.m. and have to stand around nude for five or six hours. Then they would serve lunch. They'd pour soup over your cupped hands and hand you a crust of bread."[25] Selinger's treatment was inhumane and degrading; what he witnessed was unspeakable. Carts of bodies rolled by him every day. Most were dead, but he watched as some moved, barely clinging to life. He and his mother survived long enough to avoid that fate, but days before the Allies liberated Bergen-Belsen, they were put on a train bound for an extermination camp. The Germans planned to gas and cremate Selinger and his mother along with thousands of remaining prisoners at Bergen-Belsen. On the way there, the train broke down. The Germans were forced to march the prisoners to the camp, and during their treacherous walk, 'the trees started falling over and we saw tanks on both sides of the hill. It was the U.S. 9th Army. The guards bolted the moment they saw the tanks."[26] The Selinger's were rescued and escaped from the clutches of death.

Selinger carried those memories with him throughout his career. He preached perseverance and dedication with rousing passion. The national team's training regimen was designed to push the women to their limits, testing their resolve just as his had. Some players could take it, others decided to leave. Dr. Glen Maw, a University of Utah psychologist who met with two former players after their departure, "asked them if it was like a concentration camp and they nodded their heads."[27] To critics who challenged his methods, he hit back hard. When asked if it was true that he was mean to women, Selinger offered an off the cuff, yet eloquent, perspective of success:

23 *The Atlanta Journal Constitution*, April 5, 1980
24 *Los Angeles Times*, July 17, 1981
25 *Los Angeles Times*, July 17, 1981
26 *Los Angeles Times*, July 17, 1981
27 *Los Angeles Times*, October 27, 1983

> What you must understand is that the work is necessary if you are to get where you want. You cannot eat ice cream and win the Vietnam war. There is a certain correlation between what you put into something and what you get out of it. If you want to lose at something, you go halfway. If you want to win, you go through hell. Don't you see?[28]

For a team that knew his backstory, these were powerful messages. But he also supported his words with action. After the boycott, he rejected an offer to coach the West German national team that would have paid him more than two times his U.S. coaching salary, citing his commitment to the team's mission: "Some of the principles you preach, you have to practice."[29] Selinger's leadership was indispensable in these moments, especially as the U.S. team struggled to regain its footing after the boycott. He kept the team focused on their goals and turned their low-morale into a sense of purpose and confidence.

The United States was the host country for the 1984 Games, so the U.S. women's volleyball team automatically qualified. Before showcasing their talents on the Olympic stage, they had an extensive international slate lined up. In 1981, the team had a string of impressive results. In a tour against the Soviet Union, East Germany, and Romania, which a reporter dubbed "Selinger's Road Show," the U.S. finished with a 47-9 overall record.[30] They also won the North American zone championship for the first time and finished fourth in the World Cup, where Flo Hyman "established herself as the most dominant player in the world."[31]

The following year the U.S. seemed positioned to win the World Championships. Coming in as heavy favorites, the team coasted to the semi-finals with the expectation of an easy win against the host team, Peru. What they did not expect was "an organized plan to disrupt opponents."[32] In games versus Japan and the United States, Peru hired a "a crazy redheaded guy…a maniac" from Panama and connected his microphone to 25 massive speakers in the stadium.[33] The man ran along the side of the court throughout the match, instructing the 17,000 fans to chant and boo during key moments of the game.[34] The U.S. players were unmatched in physical endurance, but they were not prepared for dirty tricks. "We'd put our heads together and turn our ears sideways and we still couldn't hear him [Selinger] shouting," said Flo Hyman, perhaps the best female volleyball hitter in the world, reduced momentarily to mediocrity.[35] The U.S. lost the match to the lower-ranked Peruvian side and protested the outcome, but there was nothing that could be done. The team exited

28 *Omaha World-Herald*, August 1, 1984
29 *Los Angeles Times*, June 28, 1983
30 *Los Angeles Times*, October 8, 1981
31 *Miami Herald*, August 20, 1982
32 *Los Angeles Times*, October 19, 1982
33 *Los Angeles Times*, October 19, 1982
34 *Los Angeles Times*, October 19, 1982
35 *Chicago Tribune*, October 2, 1982

Peru with a third-place finish heading into the 1984 Games, and Selinger vowed never to return to Latin America.[36] A writer for the *Chicago Tribune* light-heartedly remarked on the incident, writing, "they'll recall this and chuckle. They'll remember what it was to be pioneers, to build a program from nothing, to be vilified on the threshold of success."[37]

The 1984 Olympics

The success every member of the U.S. women's volleyball team hoped to attain was an Olympic gold medal. As Flo Hyman revealed weeks before the Games, "I have one dream that keeps me going. It's 1984, at Los Angeles, and all of us are on the top platform with gold medals around our necks and the National Anthem is playing."[38] The team knew there was only one chance to make this a reality. After the 1984 Games, nearly all of the team planned to retire from national play. Their bodies would not be able to take another four years of battering, so they had to perform in Los Angeles. With the 1980 boycott still fresh in their minds, the women had little national pride to motivate them. Bitter feelings remained towards the government that deprived them of their chance four years earlier.[39] The Games were to be a pure test of will and self-determination. Asked about possibilities of "fame and fortune" if the team won gold, Flo Hyman responded, "I don't care…I'm in this because I love the sport and I love my team."[40] Playing for no one but themselves, they were eager to step foot on the court.

Hyman celebrated her 30th birthday a day early during the team's first Olympic match, "spiking the [West] German team into submission."[41] With the three-set sweep, the U.S. notched its first Olympic victory in volleyball since 1968. It was an impressive result, and one that certainly eased some nerves in advance of match two against Brazil. Despite it being a sweep, however, the West Germans played the U.S. close in two of the three sets. This surprised some, including the West German coach, who thought the U.S. could have performed better.[42] Coming in as heavy favorites for the silver or gold medals, people expected routs from the U.S. in group stage. This result did not come in match one, nor did it come in match two. The U.S. team almost found themselves on the other end of a sweep against Brazil. Down two sets to zero, they were a set away from a humiliating defeat. The pressure mounted, but if seven years of nonstop training taught them anything, it was to keep fighting. 12,033 watched from Long Beach Arena and thousands more on TV as the U.S. channeled its stored-up grit and methodically climbed out of the hole. With

36 *Los Angeles Times*, October 19, 1982
37 *Chicago Tribune*, October 2, 1982
38 *Miami Herald*, 29 Jul. 1984
39 *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 15, 1983
40 *Miami Herald*, July 22, 1984
41 *Omaha World-Herald*, August 1, 1984
42 *Philadelphia Daily News*, July 31, 1984

Flo Hyman leading the rally, the U.S. forced a fifth set. Brazil responded, taking a 12-9 lead, but Hyman then "took over" and "made three key spikes sparking her team to its last six points and the match."[43] The improbable win against the Brazilians pushed the U.S. to 2-0 and set the stage for the team's final group play match against undefeated China, the defending world champions and co-favorites for the gold medal.

Ahead of the match against China, a sports writer for the *Omaha World-Herald* posed the question: "If the U.S. women were nervous against West Germany and Brazil, how will they react to what is certain to be the most pressurized match they've ever played?"[44] He was right about the stakes. The winner was guaranteed a spot in the semifinals and likely the gold medal match. The dream crept closer and closer. In the Friday night match at Long Beach Arena, the United States put on a show. They defeated the Chinese three games to one after falling behind in all four games of the match. In the third game, with the match tied 1-1, Flo Hyman uncharacteristically missed repeated spikes. The U.S. still eked out game three, but Hyman's 2-15 spike conversion was reason for concern. Selinger stepped in before the start of game four, saying afterwards that "we made a simple adjustment. We just gave her [Hyman] higher sets and she felt more comfortable. The timing came back."[45] In the final game, Hyman reversed the trend and nailed 12 of 20 spikes, scoring all but three U.S. points. The Chinese coach attempted to blame the loss on the mental fragility of his team, but as an astute observer commented, "Who can blame them? How stable would your emotions be faced with Mt. Flo rearing and wind-milling a foot or less away?"[46] Mt. Flo led the U.S. past the Chinese, and after the U.S. exacted revenge on an inferior Peruvian side in the semifinal; a rematch against China awaited for the coveted gold medal.

In advance of the gold medal match, Arie Selinger claimed that "whether or not we get the gold, our mission is complete […] the No. 1 goal of this program was to expose our game to the rest of the country."[47] He was referencing the fact that the final would be shown live on TV. The implication of his statement was that the U.S. women came to the 1984 Olympics with the primary goal of playing for a live TV audience. He must have been trying to relieve pressure from the team, because this was almost certainly not true. As a reporter concluded the year before, "Above all else, Selinger is a competitor. The one thing driving him is an Olympic goal medal. Although he won't come right out and say it, he would consider anything less to be a failure."[48] For the team, the 'mission accomplished' mentality was even less true. For seven years, the dream of an Olympic gold medal is what

43 Shook, Richard. "The Leader of the U.S. Women's Volleyball Team," *United Press International*, (August 2, 1984)

44 *Omaha World-Herald*, August 3, 1984

45 *Miami Herald*, August 5, 1984

46 *Miami Herald*, August 5, 1984

47 *San Diego Union-Tribune*, August 6, 1984

48 *Los Angeles Times*, June 28, 1983

kept them together. Without the hope of one day standing atop the Olympic podium, the women would not have signed up for four more years of militaristic training that required the sacrifice of their personal, social, and professional lives. It was the promise of ultimate success at Olympics, not TV coverage, that drove the U.S. women's volleyball team. This was well-known, especially among journalists who agreed "the word most commonly used to describe the players' determination to win an Olympic gold medal next summer in Los Angeles is "obsessed."[49] Despite Selinger's claim, the reality was that the gold medal match against China was the biggest moment of the women's lives.

Predictions filled the sports pages of newspapers from around the nation. Some writers saw no other possibility than victory. One particularly enthusiastic reporter warned readers that the team would "make its fans suffer through at least one nerve-racking stretch before it finally wins gold."[50] The first game of the match fulfilled this prophecy. Down 14-9 and one point away from dropping the pivotal first game, the U.S. battled and won six straight set points. The game was tied at 14-14, and the winner would have a massive statistical and psychological advantage over their opponent. It felt like a moment frozen in time, but it was over in the blink of an eye. China found the edge of the sideline for an ace, and quickly won the next point after the U.S. committed an error at the net. The first game lasted 38 minutes, and the rest of the match concluded in 44 minutes. The Americans, badly shaken after falling short in the opener, could not regain composure. China secured the gold medal in a 16-14, 15-3, 15-9 sweep.[51] The U.S. storybook run was over.

For members of the team, Arie Selinger, and the sports press, this defeat was difficult to process. It was simultaneously a success and a failure, depending on the lens through which it was viewed. While an Olympic silver medal represented one of the world's greatest sporting accomplishments, second-place fell short of the team's goal. Conflicting emotions inflicted obvious pain on the team, and reporters struggled to package the team's story into a complete and consistent narrative. Some insisted on framing the result as a resounding success, while others acknowledged the atmosphere of heartbreak.

Many feel-good stories ran in newspapers following the defeat. They used similar strategies to frame the silver medal as a tale of success and redemption. First, the stories adopted Arie Selinger's view that nothing was as important as bringing publicity to the sport of volleyball. With this as the standard for success, reporters could easily conclude that the U.S. women had excelled in Los Angeles. In an article titled "Women Win Recognition, Though Not Gold, In Volleyball," a *Philadelphia Inquirer* sports writer relied on this framing technique from beginning to end.[52] The piece focused on Selinger's perspective that "the team had accomplished its mission: to spread the gospel of volleyball."[53]

49 *Los Angeles Times*, October 27, 1983
50 *Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 7, 1984
51 *Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 7, 1984
52 *Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 8, 1984
53 *Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 8, 1984

By defining the team's mission as spreading the game, the writer implied that winning the gold medal was less of a consideration. This created a framework in which the U.S. women's second-place finish represented an undeniable victory: "It took four more years than expected, but last night they got a dividend for their work – not only the silver medal, but a whole lot of attention, as well. And that attention might mean more to American volleyball than gold."[54]

Other news stories emphasized direct quotes from members of the team to frame the silver medal as a positive outcome. In doing so, this coverage conveniently left out details that supported a more complex interpretation of the situation. It ignored necessary context and provided an incomplete version of events. In an article for the *Daily Breeze* titled "An era ends in volleyball – team happy with silver," a sports writer contrasted the response of the U.S. women's volleyball team to other U.S. teams that did not win gold. According to this reporter, "In these Summer Games, we have seen few Americans sulk over not setting world records and brood about silver medals, but there was no all-or-nothing from Arie Selinger and his players, no cheapening of America's first volleyball medal."[55] Immediately after this passage, the author quotes Flo Hyman as saying, "We did our best, we gave it our all. The competition was intense. We accomplished a lot. We're proud of our silver medal."[56] Hyman's reaction appeared throughout other articles that made the same claims. An article that described the U.S. women as looking upon their silver medal as a "winner's medal" quoted her for support.[57] Hyman believed that "we completed our goal with style and grace," and sports writers seized upon these reactions to craft optimistic narratives.[58] They presented rose-colored views of the loss instead of grappling with all of the facts. In reality, some of the team members did sulk and brood. After all, the silver medal was not what they came for.

Newspaper coverage that accurately reflected the mood of the volleyball community recognized the dual perspectives of the silver medal. Sports writers interested in offering honest appraisals were careful not to categorize the outcome. They understood the history and how the team's long road to the Olympics contributed to a bittersweet ending. Significant details that suggested disappointment were presented alongside prideful anecdotes. In an article titled "Vollersten Fights Tears After Defeat," an *Omaha World-Herald* reporter documented a somber moment between Julie Vollersten, an attacker on the team, and her 30-year-old brother: "She put her head on his shoulder and for the first time let loose all the tension and disappointment, sobbing hard. 'I'm sorry,' she said. 'You don't have anything to be sorry about,' he said, holding her."[59] This brief interaction demonstrated

54 *Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 8, 1984
55 *Daily Breeze*, August 10, 1984
56 *The New York Times*, August 9, 1984
57 *Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 9, 1984
58 *Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 9, 1984
59 *Omaha World-Herald*, August 8, 1984

the ambiguity of the silver medal. While some members of the team felt shame in coming up short, outside observers lauded their efforts. Team members internalized this praise but struggled to reconcile their feelings of pride and regret. As Debbie Green remarked, "I'm disappointed, but I'm proud, too."[60] U.S. spiker Rose Magers told a reporter that she "need[ed] to take some time off to think about things."[61] Unfortunately for reporters that desperately wanted to write a comeback story, these reactions did not show a "team happy with silver."[62] Instead, they showed a "dynasty without a championship."[63]

It is hard to know whether Flo Hyman was truly content with the silver medal. After ten years of nonstop practice, she deserved to be. Her goal was to lead a U.S. women's volleyball team to success at the Olympics, and she did it. As the team paraded through the streets of Washington, D.C. after the Games, it was clear they had brought glory to the sport. The country was proud of them. What more could an athlete wish for? Unfortunately, Flo Hyman may have wished the medal around her neck weighed a little more. The dream she had before the 1984 Olympics of standing on the gold medal podium with the National Anthem playing did not come true. Instead, it was the Chinese anthem and flags that were celebrated after the match. As soon as the U.S. women were defeated, Hyman's family wept from the stands. They knew how much the gold medal meant to her. However, as her sister remembered, "Florie came by and waved. You could see her smile. She had reached her goal. She had played for a gold medal. I thought to myself, 'If she is happy, why am I crying?'"[64] These moments, in combination with her public comments following the match, indicate that Hyman was overwhelmingly pleased with the team's result. She projected happiness, but it is difficult to imagine that she did not harbor feelings of sadness. The state of complete satisfaction that she displayed to the outside world ran counter to her stated goals and dreams. Either way, Flo Hyman was finally an Olympic medalist, and nobody could take that away from her. She had reached the pinnacle of her profession.

The "Silent Killer"

Two years after the 1984 Olympics, Flo Hyman collapsed in a Japanese league match. As word spread throughout the stands, the sold-out crowd went silent. The players stopped, and TV cameras panned away. Medical staff placed a blanket over Hyman's body and carried her out of the arena on a stretcher. She arrived at the hospital with no pulse. Doctors followed procedure. Hyman went on a respirator. Then she was given a cardiac massage.[65] Meanwhile, the match continued in Matsue City. Hyman's teammates finished the game,

60 *San Diego Union-Tribune*, August 8, 1984
61 *San Diego Union-Tribune*, August 8, 1984
62 *Daily Breeze*, August 10, 1984
63 *The New York Times*, August 5, 1984
64 *The New York Times*, February 5, 1988
65 *The Washington Post*, January 25, 1986

not knowing her condition. When Rita Crockett, a member of the 1984 Olympic team, got on the bus, she saw a manager back from the hospital. She asked "Is Flo OK?" and "the manager just started crying and shook his head no."[66] Flo Hyman was declared dead around 9:30pm on January 24, 1986. With no warning, the "Old Lady" of volleyball and the most recognizable name in the sport was dead.[67]

A silver medal finish in the 1984 Olympics allowed Hyman to retire from the national team on a high note. Though the gold medal remained elusive, it was not worth another four years of brutal training at her age. Like many famous athletes who decide to retire, Hyman wondered what the future would hold. Her long-term goal was to end up coaching somewhere, but in the short-term, she still felt as though she could compete and succeed. This line of thinking brought Hyman to the Japanese league after the 1984 Games. Throughout her career, Hyman boosted the fortunes of any team that was lucky enough to have her in the lineup. In Japan, this was no different. She became a "legend" in Japanese volleyball circles as she propelled her team from the third division to the first division with astonishing speed.[68] On the day of her death, she addressed a letter to her former coach, Arie Selinger, to update him on her life. Hyman never got the chance to finish the letter, but it read in part, "I'm feeling so proud, so positive, so strong. I can't wait…"[69] She was referring to the upcoming game for which she had designed a new coaching strategy based on video analysis. The coach approved of Hyman's plan. She was anxious to test her own coaching abilities. Even though she never got the chance to see it, her strategy worked. As Selinger said after receiving the unfinished letter, "She did play like that, and they won the match. And that kind of reflects Flo's spirit."[70]

Reactions to Flo Hyman's death poured in from across the country. Among the major publications that ran news reports and obituaries were *The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Los Angeles Times*, and *The Chicago Tribune*. The headline from *The Washington Post* made sure to include that Hyman was the "Finest Female Player in the World," and other newspapers echoed this sentiment in their reports.[71] *The Los Angeles Times* described her as "perhaps the most recognizable name in international volleyball," while *The New York Times* recognized her as a "professional star" and "the world's best female player."[72] The reports emphasized that her death was unexpected and shocking for those that knew her. The fact that there were no warning signs made it difficult to comprehend. The Japanese team director told the AP that "There wasn't anything strange about her

66 *Los Angeles Times*, January 25, 1986
67 *The New York Times*, August 5, 1984
68 *The Washington Post*, February 3, 1986
69 *The Washington Post*, February 3, 1986
70 *The Washington Post*, February 3, 1986
71 *The Washington Post*, January 25, 1986
72 *Los Angeles Times*, January 25, 1986; *The New York Times*, January 25, 1986

health before the match. She didn't have any health problems."[73] Hyman had "just bought a condo. She had a new car. She was all excited. She was real happy about going back to Japan. She wanted to make it her best year ever over there." It was inexplicable – none of it made sense. A successful, ambitious woman who was thriving and planning for the future was gone. It was a tragic end to a life that, up until that point, seemed guided by destiny.

Early reports indicated that Hyman fell victim to cardiac failure, but an autopsy performed at the request of her family revealed a different cause. Her death was the result of Marfan Syndrome, a rare connective tissue disorder which was largely unknown by the public. At the time, "Often the first person to make the diagnosis of Marfan's [was] the coroner," and Hyman's death was unfortunately no exception.[74] The coroner's ruling provided much-needed closure for family, friends, and fans who did not understand how a prominent athlete could suddenly drop dead. As soon as Hyman's family learned this information, her brother who exhibited similar warning signs was tested for Marfan Syndrome. The results of the test confirmed that Hyman's brother had it as well. He underwent heart surgery two weeks later as a preventative measure, likely saving him from the same fate in the future.[75] On February 17, 1986, *Sports Illustrated* ran an article that appeared on its front-page titled "Marfan Syndrome: A Silent Killer," which offered a thorough explanation of the malady that "claimed the life of volleyball star Flo Hyman."[76] It publicized the warning signs of the deadly disease and connected it to Hyman, showing how her death was the tragic result of years of high-intensity competition. In doing so, the article brought Marfan Syndrome to the attention of its reader base, saving the lives of numerous readers and their family members.

Richard Demak, the author of "Silent Killer," used Hyman's death to raise public awareness of a little-known, yet life-threatening disease. As explained in the article, Marfan Syndrome is a congenital condition first discovered in 1896 that weakens the body's connective tissue. Because connective tissue is crucial to all parts of the body, Marfan Syndrome manifests itself in many ways. People with Marfan Syndrome typically exhibit symptoms that include "tallness, long fingers, deformities of the breast bone, and nearsightedness."[77] Most also have noticeably below-average weight and varying degrees of scoliosis. While these symptoms can lead to chronic pain and have harmful physiological effects on patients, they do not explain the life-threatening nature of Marfan Syndrome. This requires an understanding of how it affects the heart. In weakening the body's connective tissue, Marfan Syndrome reduces the strength of the aorta, the main artery carrying blood from the heart. For this reason, the aortas of Marfan patients expand in diameter quicker

73 *The Washington Post*, February 3, 1986

74 Demak, Richard. "Marfan Syndrome: A Silent Killer," *Sports Illustrated* (February 17, 1986)

75 *The New York Times*, February 5, 1988

76 *The New York Times*, February 5, 1988

77 *The New York Times*, February 5, 1988

than normal, leading to an increased risk of dissection or rupture. Activities that cause rapid spikes in blood pressure exacerbate this process by subjecting the weakened aortic walls to intense stress. In the 2017 issue of The Marfan Foundation's physical activity guidelines, volleyball is listed in the group of activities that "have a high risk of contact and are generally considered very strenuous," which makes them "generally not advised or strongly discouraged."[78] Flo Hyman played volleyball at the highest level for over ten years. She was known as the hardest worker on a team that was pushed to its physical limits. With undiagnosed Marfan Syndrome, Richard Demak correctly stated that "Hyman was probably very lucky to have survived as long as she did."[79]

With *Sports Illustrated*'s unparalleled circulation among sports fans, Demak's article reached the homes of millions of paid subscribers. Over the next weeks and months, letters to the editor appeared in new issues thanking the magazine for its feature on Flo Hyman and Marfan Syndrome. These heartfelt messages demonstrate how Hyman's death saved lives from across the country. The first reader response of this kind appeared in an edition from March 10, 1986. In it, Karen L. Johnson from Fort Wayne, Indiana extended her gratitude:

> Sir: I just had to write and thank you for Richard Demak's article on Marfan Syndrome. It very well may have saved my son's life. Marc read the story and then told me, "Mom, I think you had better read this. It sounds a lot like me."
>
> After reading the piece, I took him to the doctor, who carefully listened to us tell about what we had learned. He also thought there was a chance we were right, so he ordered an ultrasound examination of Marc's heart. Last Friday we learned the results: Marc does indeed have Marfan's.[80]

Nearly two months later, another reader, Diane Wortz from Coldwater, Michigan, replied with personal news:

> Sir: Thank you – and the parents of Flo Hyman – for informing the public about Marfan syndrome (Marfan Syndrome: A Silent Killer, Feb. 17)! Because of your special report by Richard Demak, my husband and two children were diagnosed as having it, soon enough, we hope, to prevent such a tragedy or even surgery. We know that because of the article many lives will be saved.[81]

In June, Barb Credille wrote from Baytown, Texas:

78 "Physical Activity Guidelines," *The Marfan Foundation*, November 2017
79 Demak. "Marfan Syndrome: A Silent Killer"
80 *Sports Illustrated*, March 10, 1986
81 *Sports Illustrated*, May 5, 1986

> Sir: I'm writing to express my sincere appreciation to SI for being instrumental in saving the life of my husband, Bobby J. Credille. Richard Demak's special report, Marfan Syndrome: A Silent Killer (Feb. 17), alerted us to the possibility that Bobby might be a prime candidate for the disease that killed volleyball star Flo Hyman…Throughout his life, Bobby had no pain or indications that would have warned us of this time bomb he had been carrying around inside his chest. He's 6'9" tall, weighs 252 pounds and has always been regarded as a super strong human being. But according to our doctors, he was fortunate to have survived this long. Suffice it to say that had it not been for Sports Illustrated, we would never even have thought about Marfan Syndrome.[82]

These messages only scratch the surface of the impact Flo Hyman's death had on public awareness of Marfan Syndrome and diagnoses of the condition. The tragedy brought Marfan Syndrome out of obscurity and into the pages of *The New York Times, The Washington Post, Chicago Tribune, Los Angeles Times*, and other local papers throughout the country. On February 25, 1986, Marfan Syndrome reached the United States Senate chamber when Sen. Bob Packwood (R-OR) delivered a tribute and "ask[ed] unanimous consent to have a copy of the Washington Post and Sports Illustrated articles about Ms. Hyman represented in the *Congressional Record*."[83] Following the senator's remarks, others rose to speak in agreement, specifically Sen. Bob Dole (R-KS), Sen. Ted Kennedy (D-MA), Sen. Alan Cranston (D-CA), Sen. Lowell Weicker (R-CT), and Sen. Bill Bradley (D-NJ). Sen. Packwood also proposed establishing a "National Women in Sports Day in honor of Flo Hyman," which President Ronald Reagan ordered in Proclamation 5606 the next year.[84] Now called "National Girls & Women in Sports Day," it has been celebrated for 35 years and has informed generations of athletes about Flo Hyman's legacy and Marfan Syndrome.[85] In addition, the organization in charge of the holiday, The Women's Sports Foundation, selected one female athlete every year from 1987 to 2004 who "capture[d] Flo's dignity, spirit, and commitment to excellence" to receive the Flo Hyman Memorial Award.[86] Winners included big-name stars such as Billie Jean King, Chris Evert, and Mary Lou Retton.[87]

The tributes, celebrations, and memorials served to appreciate the life and career

82 *Sports Illustrated*, June 9, 1986

83 *Congressional Record - Senate*, February 25, 1986

84 *Congressional Record - Senate*, February 25, 1986; U.S. President, Proclamation, "National Women in Sports Day, 1987, Proclamation 5606 of February 3, 1987."

85 "Celebrate National Girls & Women in Sports Day on Feb. 3," *NCAA* (February 3, 2021), https://www.ncaa.com/news/ncaa/article/2021-02-02/national-girls-women-sports-day-2021-about-events-history#:~:text=woman%20in%20sports-,Feb.,Women's%20Sports%20Foundation%20(WSF).

86 Nelson, Murray R. *American Sports: A History of Icons, Idols, and Ideas* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2013), 571

87 Nelson. *American Sports*, 571

of Flo Hyman, while simultaneously spreading awareness of the affliction that killed her. The widespread coverage had a clear effect – in 1992, Dr. Lawrence K. Altman estimated in a New York Times health piece that high-profile deaths from Marfan Syndrome, most notably Flo Hyman's, "led doctors to raise to 25,000 the estimated number of men and women in the United States who have Marfan's."[88] In a 1992 interview, the chairwoman of The National Marfan Foundation offered further evidence that coverage of Hyman's death had life-saving effects: "In 1986, Flo Hyman died from Marfan Syndrome, and we got 3,000 letters in response to a television show that didn't even mention the N.M.F. (National Marfan Foundation)."[89] Taken together, these pieces of information tell a powerful story. That story is one of a star athlete whose life inspired millions and whose death likely saved thousands. Just as she "spread the gospel" of volleyball through her Olympic success, Flo Hyman spread awareness of Marfan Syndrome through her tragic end.[90] Both of these legacies continue to live on in the U.S. women's volleyball and Marfan communities.

Conclusion

In the 2021 Tokyo Olympics, the U.S. women's volleyball team won its first ever gold medal. As soon as the final point ended, players fell to the ground and burst into tears, feeling the immense weight of the moment. It was the culmination of multiple generations of athletes and coaches dedicated to a common goal. The players knew the team's history, which went "a long way toward explaining the intensely emotional reaction when the final point was in the books."[91] It was an immense success not only for them, but for those who had worked tirelessly to build a competitive national program.

The drive to win Olympic gold in U.S. women's volleyball began in 1975, when Arie Selinger was hired to turn around a failing team. He brought together the best players from around the country and convinced them to give up everything in their lives apart from volleyball. For the next ten years, these amateur women trained harder than most professionals in pursuit of an Olympic gold medal. To them, volleyball was no longer about having fun. It was about the satisfaction of accomplishment. Though the U.S. women won a silver medal in the 1984 Olympics, they left without fulfilling that elusive desire. The task of winning the gold medal was passed on to a later group of stars. In standing atop the 2021 Olympic podium, the U.S. team finally finished the job.

One player never lived to see this dream come true. Though Flo Hyman tragically died two years after leading the U.S. team to a silver medal, her influence can still be felt at the national level. She embodied the winning spirit that carried the 2021 women to victory.

88 *The New York Times*, September 20, 1988
89 *The New York Times*, March 22, 1992
90 *Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 8, 1984
91 *The Washington Post*, August 8, 2021

The years she spent building up the program increased the popularity of volleyball around the country, and young athletes looked up to her as an awe-inspiring role model. She drew people to the game and generated national coverage. During the span of Hyman's career, U.S. women's volleyball transformed from a national embarrassment into a formidable dynasty. There is no doubt that her presence was a primary factor in this improvement. Together with Arie Selinger and her teammates, Flo Hyman built the foundation for U.S. women's volleyball.

What is amazing about Hyman's story is that it does not end with her death. In fact, the aortic rupture that she suffered on January 24, 1986, was the starting point for a new story, one that had life-saving implications for those afflicted with Marfan Syndrome. Because of Flo Hyman, thousands of people discovered undiagnosed cases that could have cut their lives short. This included her own brother. Her death brought Marfan Syndrome into the mainstream, increasing the likelihood of future detection for anyone afflicted with the condition. Due to increased public awareness, more attention and resources have been devoted to treatment and surgical techniques in Marfan patients, offering them the promise of a full life that Flo Hyman never had.

Qiu 秋 Jin 瑾 Tomb: The Repetitive Reconstructions of Historical Memory in Making a Female Martyr

Shikun "Rinco" Wang

Abstract. The commemorative landscape in China during the 20th century entailed destructions and constructions of historical memories. Among these commemorations, Qiu Jin, a well-known female revolutionary in Modern China, probably went through one of the most repetitive reconstructions of her historical image in her afterlife. From her execution in 1907 to the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1981, her tomb was reburied nine times as China experienced drastically changing political, ideological, and cultural environments. Despite this, such frequent reburials have never been systematically studied, while the reconstructions of Qiu Jin's historical memories ceased after her last reburial. This article looks over Qiu Jin's altering historical images around these reburials throughout the years. As people endowed her death with new meanings, her original identity was twisted and shaped to serve different interests. Whether as a bandit or a victim under feudalism, an exemplary woman or a revolutionary, a feminist or a reactionary bourgeoisie, Qiu Jin was constantly memorized according to altering political environments and societal needs. Tracing through Qiu Jin's nine reburials, this seeming paradox of her historical memory turns out to be a reflection of the turmoil in the 20th century China.

When Mao Zedong 毛泽东, the chairman of Communist China, visited Hangzhou in 1964, the tombs beside the West Lake caught his attention. "There are too many tombs by the West Lake," he said to his secretary, "These tombs can be moved to the suburbs. Why not letting these ancient ghosts lead a collective life?"1 Following Mao's instructions, on January 27th, 1965, the Hangzhou government used explosives to blow up the tomb of Qiu Jin, which was located by the West Lake. Her remains and belongings were transferred to an earthen jar and reburied in a crude pit without a formal grave marker.[1]

This reburial was not Qiu Jin's first. In fact, she was reburied nine times after her death, from 1907 to 1981. Many of the removals involved the destruction of the previous tomb. Additionally, nearly every reburial entailed reconstructed historical memories and drastically different commemorations. Qiu Jin's characters during these successive memorizations shifted. First, she was an anti-Manchu bandit, then an innocent female victimized

1 Mao, Dezhuan. "Hu Qiaomu's Poem and the Demolition of Tombs and Tablets in Hangzhou 胡乔木词与杭州毁墓拆," *Yanhuang Chunqiu* 炎黄春秋, no. 01 (2011): 22–24

by the corrupt government. In 1908 she was depicted as a feminist unrelated to the revolution. Four years later she was honored as a female revolutionary who died for her country. Several decades later, during the Cultural Revolution, she was identified as a reactionary bourgeoisie and her grave was destroyed. A decade and a half later, in 1981, a new Qiu Jin tomb was built by the West Lake, which included her statue standing atop her grave and the four-character marble tombstone "巾帼英雄" (Heroine) inscribed by Sun-Yat Sen 孙中山 at the front and the original epitaphs written by Qiu Jin's friends Xu Zihua 徐自华 and Wu Zhiying 吴芝瑛 at the back.[2]

To trace the saga of the recurring reburials of Qui Jin is to confront the paradox of her historical memory, that of a female revolutionary who was executed after a failed uprising. She was not the only anti-Manchu activist or progressive revolutionary of her era. Unlike Huang Xing 黄兴 or Sun Yat-sen, Qui Jin did not lead any large-scale uprisings or control any sizable armies.[3] Nevertheless, she was repeatedly chosen to be memorized and shaped into different characters. As various groups in Chinese society have sought to align her memory with their favored values and causes, she has been commemorated even while her image has also been repeatedly and drastically altered. Inspecting what Qiu Jin's tomb has gone through can offer valuable perspectives for studying reconstructed historical memories all over the world. For instance, multiple Confederate monuments commemorating American Civil War soldiers were removed over the past year in opposition to racism and white supremacy. Similar to Qiu Jin's reburials, these removals reflect the altering historical memories throughout time.[4] Coming back to the revisions of Qiu Jin's historical memory, we must begin with her first tomb removal in 1907 and then trace the subsequent nine reburials across the twentieth century.

From a Bandit to Victim

Qiu Jin, whose original name was Qiu Guijin, was born in a political family in southern Fujian in 1877. Even as a child she was different from her peers. At the age of seven, she refused .to have her feet bound, a feudal custom in which the bones of women's feet were broken as a symbol of beauty.[5] She displayed little interest in traditional embroidery but loved reading, composing poems, drinking wine, and sword dancing.[6] When Qiu Jin

2 Guo, Yanli. *Qiu Jin Nian Pu* (Jinan: Qi lü shu she, 1983)

3 Qiu Jin yan jiu hui; Qubing, Wang, ed. *Qiu Jin Chronicle (detailed)/ Qiu Jin Nian Biao (Xi Bian)*, Di 1 ban. 第 1 版, "Qiu Jin Yan Jiu Cong Shu; Di 2 Ji 《秋瑾研究丛书》 ; 第 2 辑 (Beijing Shi : Hua wen chu ban she, 1990. 北京市 : 华文出版社, 1990)

4 Evans, Sara Z. "The Removal of Confederate Monuments: Reflections on Power and Privilege in Shared Spaces," *Social Science Quarterly* 102, no. 3 (2021): 1044–55

5 Hongxing, Gao. 缠足史 / *Chan Zu Shi*, Di 1 ban. 第 1 版., Zhongguo She Hui Min Su Shi Cong Shu 中国社会民俗史丛书 (Shanghai: Shanghai wen yi chu ban she, 1995. 上海: 上海文艺出版社, 1995)

6 Chen, Dehe; Qiu, Zhongying and Zhou, Feitang eds. *Liu Liu Si Cheng***六六私乘** *from Qiu Jin Shi Liao* (Changsha Shi: Hunan ren min chu ban she: Hunan sheng xin hua shu dian fa xing, 1981)

was 22, she was forced into an arranged marriage with Wang Zifang, a stranger she had never met before. Qiu Jin was deeply worried that she was ill-fitted to her era and the expectations for her. In her poem *Chanting*, she wrote: “But I’m afraid the things I like are so special that I could not get anyone to appreciate me.”[7]

Qiu Jin did not enjoy a satisfying marriage. She compared her marriage to the experience of “prisoners going to jail,” or “phoenix following a crow.” She spent her time in her room reading and refusing to meet guests.8 During that time, China was experiencing dramatic changes both from inside and outside. Not only did Qiu Jin witness wars, such as the siege of the International Legations in Peking, but also, she got access to the “Novel □ Thinkings 学” sweeping through China during the turn of the twentieth century. In 1898, the first feminist magazine “女学报” (*Journal of Women*) was founded, promoting the idea of gender equality and campaigning against foot-binding.[8] Meanwhile, multiple anti-Manchu organizations were established with the purpose of expelling the Qing dynasty, fighting off foreign invaders, and restore China.8 In Peking, Qiu Jin became friends with many feminists, such as Wu Zhiying, Shigeko Hattori 服部繁子, and Tao Dizi 陶荻子..She discarded the traditional clothes associated with the Qing dynasty, dressed up in men’s suits, and decided to leave her husband and study abroad in Japan.[9]

While in Japan, Qiu Jin actively participated in politics, advocating democratic revolution and the women’s emancipation. She publicly spoke against foot-binding and arranged marriages, comparing women in marriages to slaves, and encouraged women to gain their independence.[10] At the same time, she joined several anti-Manchu organizations, including TongMenghui 同盟会, Guangfuhui 光复会, and Gongaihui 共爱会, and supported underground resistance activities against the Qing dynasty.[11]

At the end of 1905, Qiu Jin dropped out of school and went back to China to prepare for the uprising against the Manchu government.[12] On July 6th, 1907, Xu Xilin, an active member of Guangfuhui, initiated an uprising in Anqing, Zhejiang province, but failed.[13] Xu Xilin’s prosecution implicated Qiu Jin. Despite the danger, she refused to flee,

7 Translated from 但恐所好殊，不遇知音赏. Qiu Jin; Junxi, Guo ed. **秋瑾詩文集** / *Qiu Jin Shi Wen Ji*, Di 1 ban. **第1版**., Zhejiang Wen Cong **浙江文叢** (Hangzhou Shi: Zhejiang gu ji chu ban she, 2013. **杭州市**：**浙江古籍出版社**, 2013),

8 Qubing, ed. *Qiu Jin Chronicle (detailed)/ Qiu Jin Nian Biao (Xi Bian)*

9 Qubing, ed. *Qiu Jin Chronicle (detailed)/ Qiu Jin Nian Biao (Xi Bian)*

10 Qiu Jin; Junxi, Guo ed. *To the 20,000 female compatriots in China***敬告中国二万万女同胞** *from* **秋瑾詩文集** / *Qiu Jin Shi Wen Ji*, Di 1 ban. **第1版**., Zhejiang Wen Cong **浙江文叢** (Hangzhou Shi: Zhejiang gu ji chu ban she, 2013. **杭州市**：**浙江古籍出版社**, 2013)

11 Yabin, Li and Changhai, Guo ed. R*esearch on Qiu Jin’s Deeds / Qiu Jin Shi Ji Yan Jiu*, Di 1 ban. 第1版 (Changchun Shi: Dongbei shi fan da xue chu ban she: Jilin sheng xin hua shu dian fa xing, 1987. 长春市：东北师范大学出版社：吉林省新华书店发行, 1987)

12 Qubing, ed. *Qiu Jin Chronicle (detailed)/ Qiu Jin Nian Biao (Xi Bian)*

13 Archives of the case of Qiu Jin handled by Zhejiang Province in the 33rd year of Guangxu. *CNKI*. Accessed July 7, 2021.

stating, "If I were afraid, I would not have become the revolutionary."[14] On July 13th, governmental officials arrested Qiu Jin. She refused to say anything during the trial. Nevertheless, Qing governmental officials forged her confession and sentenced her to death.[15] Two days later, on July 15th, she was beheaded near Xuantingkou 轩亭口, a place where bandits and robbers were customarily executed.

After the execution, her body was left at the site for several days. Her family was too afraid to claim it. In Qiu Jin's official case record, she was identified as a bandit.[16] According to Qing court laws, the heaviest death sentence for women was hanging.[17] Beheading Qiu Jin, thus, showed that the officials regarded her as a heinous criminal who could not be treated as an ordinary woman. Two days after her execution, two washerwomen covered Qiu Jin's corpse with a blanket and later, a charity organization helped bury her at the back of a temple on Wo Long Mountain 卧龙山.[18]

Being identified as a bandit, Qiu Jin did not receive a formal funeral. According to her brother Qiu Yuzhang 秋誉章, the body "was buried hastily by Shantang, at the foothills of Fushan. There is nothing to cover [her body], so [her body] get exposed to the wild."[19] Three months later, her brother managed to gather Qiu Jin's remains and moved her back to Yanjiatan 严家潭, Shaoxing. However, Qiu Yuzhang did not bury Qiu Jin's body. According to traditional notions, married women belonged to their husband's families. However, since Qiu Jin had already separated from Wang Zifang, and furthermore, because Qiu Jin was officially classified as a criminal, Wang Zifang's family refused to bury Qiu Jin.[20] Qiu Jin's body was left unburied at Yanjiatan.

Public opinion differed markedly from the attitudes of Qing officials and their families. Many Chinese sympathized with Qiu Jin, perceiving her trial as unjust and marred by corruption. *Shen Bao* 申报, one of the biggest newspapers of the time, published several articles, stating that Qiu Jin was unjustly killed:

> (Qiu Jin) was died of conviction. There was no evidence nor confession. Everybody would feel unjust for her. From the start, [her case] is to afflict the innocent as a plan to get promotion and make money. In fact, Mrs. Qiu was killed due to the false accusations from Hu 胡 and Yuan 袁. These two secretly communicated with Xu Xilin before. Hearing Xu Xilin was killed, they were afraid that they might be

14 Guo. *Qiu Jin Nian Pu*

15 Qubing, ed. *Qiu Jin Chronicle (detailed)/ Qiu Jin Nian Biao (Xi Bian)*

16 Archives of the case of Qiu Jin handled by Zhejiang Province in the 33rd year of Guangxu. *CNKI*. Accessed July 7, 2021.

17 Yonghao, Huang. "Local Society and the Contest over the Remains of Qiu Jin, 1907-1915," *Chengda Lishi Xuebao*, 45 (December 1, 2013): 1–5

18 Guo. *Qiu Jin Nian Pu*

19 Yuzhang, Qiu. *Liu liu Sicheng Buyi From Qiu Jin Shi Liao* (Changsha Shi: Hunan ren min chu ban she : Hunan sheng xin hua shu dian fa xing, 1981)

20 Yonghao. "Local Society and the Contest over the Remains of Qiu Jin, 1907-1915," 1–5

> implicated. So, they lied to the government officials that Mrs. Qiu was Xu Xilin’s partner. Without evidence or confession, Mrs. Qiu was executed unjustly.[21]

In fact, Qiu Jin did partner with Xu Xinlin. They communicated extensively via letters before the uprising, and Qiu Jin originally planned to initiate another uprising following Xu.[22] The newspaper’s unawareness of Qiu Jin’s revolutionary activities might not be deliberate. Most of Qiu Jin’s revolutionary activities were carried out underground. To the public, Qiu Jin was just “a weak woman working at school who had no reason to collude with the bandits.”[23]

Even though the public did not intend to make Qiu Jin a victim, they unconsciously shaped her into this role. In feudal China, “weak woman” (弱女子) was a prevalent gender description for females.[24] Thus, Qiu Jin’s female identity let people assume that she was weak and incapable of initiating an uprising. Additionally, the public’s dissatisfaction with the “incompetent and weak Qing government” led to the conclusion that Qiu Jin was another victim of this corrupt authority.[25] Therefore, instead of memorializing her as a revolutionary, people compared her to Dou E 窦娥, from the famous play Dou E Yuan, another typical “weak woman” character who was executed because of corrupt government officials. When Dou E died, snow covered her body in the middle of summer. In many of pieces of literature memorizing Qiu Jin at the time, the allusion of “Snow in June” 六月飞霜 was mentioned consistently, suggesting that Qiu Jin, like Dou E, was the victim of corruption.[26]

Thus, under the feudal dynasty, Qiu Jin’s female identity led her to be commemorated in a drastically different way than her compatriot Xu Xilin, a male who was also killed by government officials but memorialized by revolutionaries. By disconnecting Qiu Jin from the revolutionaries, the public rejected Qiu Jin’s reputation as a bandit from the Qing authority but reshaped her as a victimized weak woman under the impact of feudal feminine stereotypes.

However, Qiu Jin’s image as a weak woman was quickly replaced within one year. In 1908, two of Qiu Jin’s close friends, Xu Zihua and Wu Zhiying, raised money and hosted Qiu Jin’s first formal funeral, commemorating her as a Lie Nv 列女 (exemplary woman) advocating female independence. For the first time, a feminist, rather than a virtu-

21 “Refuting Zhejiang Officials’ Trial of Qiu Jin”, *Shen Bao*, August 11, 1912, no.2

22 Qubing, ed. *Qiu Jin Chronicle (detailed)/ Qiu Jin Nian Biao (Xi Bian)*

23 “Refuting Zhejiang Officials’ Trial of Qiu Jin”, *Shen Bao*, August 11, 1912, no.2

24 Xizhu, Li. “The Historical Construction of Qiu Jin’s Female Revolutionary Image,” *CNKI* , accessed July 7, 2021.

25 Guo. *Qiu Jin Nian Pu*

26 Dan, Deng and Zhiguo, Li. ““Qiu Jin’s Narrative in the Legend of “Snow In June”——Also on the “Xuan Ting Yuan” and the “Snow In June” Novel,” *Journal of Teachers College Qingdao University* 02 (2007): 70–73

ous woman who held her chastity to death, was memorialized as a Lie Nv.[27] Reconstructed from a victim to a feminist, Qiu Jin was remembered as a dedicated "revolutionary", not against Qing dynasty but rather against patriarchy in the family.

The Redefinition and Boundary as a Lie Nv 列女 (Exemplary Woman)

When Qiu Jin was hastily buried in Wo Long Mountain, her friends never ceased to attempt to rebury her. Back in 1906, when Xu Zihua, Qiu Jin's close friend, traveled with Qiu Jin on the shores of Xiling Qiao 西泠桥, West Lake, in Hangzhou, they agreed that their bones would be buried together under the bridge crossing the lake.[28] In June 1907, Qiu Jin visited Xu Zihua, informed her of the incoming uprising and asked Xu to promise to bury her bones at the West Lake if she died.[29] That was the last time they met. One month later, Qiu Jin was executed in Shaoxing.

With Wu Zhiying, Qiu Jin's other close friend, Xu Zihua decided to fulfill Qiu Jin's last wish. Via letters, they agreed on burying Qiu Jin's remains at West Lake and managed to buy a graveyard there. In December 1907, Qiu Jin's coffin was buried under Xiling Qiao as a plain mound. The tombstone inscribed by Wu Zhiying read: "Alas! Here is the grave for Qiu Jin, a woman from Shanyin."[30] In February 1908, Xu Zihua held a memorial service by West Lake, where more than 400 people gathered at the memorial. They decided to change the tombstone from 'Qiu Jin, a woman from Shanyin' to "Qiu Jin, the Nv Xia 女 侠 of Mirror Lake" (Figure 1).[31] They established the Qiu club, elected Xu Zihua as its president, and decided to hold commemorations for Qiu Jin every year.

The 1908 burial and subsequent memorial service made it clear that Qiu Jin's image was no longer that of a victimized and weak woman. The phrase "Nv Xia" literally translates to heroine, distinguishing Qiu Jin as an exemplary woman 列女. Through the epitaph Xu Zihua wrote for her, Qiu Jin was reconstructed as a non-revolutionary feminist:

> [Mrs. Qiu] always takes promoting feminism as her own responsibility, advocating with every effort……In this May, there was uprising in Huanzhong 皖中. But at that time [Qiu Jin] was returning from Shanghai and lived in Datong School. Datong School was founded by Xu Xilin, Qiu Jin's friend. Thus, the government officials wrongly accused Qiu Jin as revolutionary and killed her. How miserable! Tracing back to Mrs. Qiu's life. She was self-confident, did not stick to trifles, loved wines, and good at swords. However, she was good from the inside. Even though she loved freedom, she did not cross any moral boundaries. [I] felt sorry for the unjust sufferings she went through and lamented for the ambitions she

27 Xizhu. "The Historical Construction of Qiu Jin's Female Revolutionary Image"
28 Yabin and Changhai, eds. *Research on Qiu Jin's Deeds / Qiu Jin Shi Ji Yan Jiu*
29 Qubing, ed. *Qiu Jin Chronicle (detailed)/ Qiu Jin Nian Biao (Xi Bian)*
30 Translated from '呜呼！山阴女子秋瑾之墓。,' from Guo. *Qiu Jin Nian Pu*
31 Translated from '鉴湖女侠秋瑾之墓.,' from Guo. *Qiu Jin Nian Pu*

did not fulfill. Thus, together with Zhiying from Tongcheng 桐城, we buried Qiu Jin’s body at the side of Xiling bridge 西泠桥. This epitaph would serve as the memorization to tell the public the injustice Mrs. Qiu endured.[32]

Figure 1. The Memorial Service in 1908 (Wang, Jingzhi. *Zhonghua Min Guo Shi Hua*, Chu ban (Taibei Shi: Li ming wen hua shi ye gong si, min guo, 1984), 73

It is worth noting that before Qiu Jin’s third reburial, the definition of exemplary 列 woman 女 was limited to traditional female values and had nothing to do with feminism. The concept of exemplary women dated back to 18 BCE when the western Han dynasty scholar, Liu Xiang 刘向, compiled a list of biographies on the characteristics of exemplary women, including maternity, sage, benevolence, chastity, filial piety, and so on.[33] Throughout The following centuries, the idea that a “female should be absolutely obedient to her husband” became ingrained. During the Ming and Qing dynasties, chastity 贞节 became the only criteria for evaluating exemplary women, with 92% of the recorded “exemplary women” dying chaste. For instance, in one of these bibliographies, an author recorded an exemplary woman named Wang Yuan, who held her chastity throughout her life even after her husband died.[34]

32 Zihua, Xu. “Table of the Tomb of Jianhu Heroine Qiu Jin,” in *Qiu Jin Shi Liao*

33 Xiaorui, Dong and Shumei, Li. “The Change of Women’s Status from ‘Lie列 nv女 zhuan传to ‘Lie烈nv女zhuan传,” *Journal of Handan Teachers College*, no. Z1 (1994): 29-31, 36

34 Qubing, ed. *Qiu Jin Chronicle (detailed)/ Qiu Jin Nian Biao (Xi Bian)*

At the end of the nineteenth century, China's feudal ethics collapsed and Chinese intellectuals began to challenge long-standing values surrounding chastity. They chose Qiu Jin, who opposed nearly all traditional female values while advocating female independence, as a symbol to break the limited definition of exemplary women. Qiu Jin's close friends, as well as famous feminist newspapers like *China Women News* and *Zhejiang Women News*, began to publish articles memorializing her as a symbol of feminism.34 Thus, Qiu Jin's image as a weak victim quickly became outdated. The 1908 reburial, by transforming Qiu Jin from a weak woman to a feminist, allowed feminists in China to act against traditional values on chastity through her memorialization and commemoration.

However, this transition left one thing unchanged. Even if Qiu Jin was no longer a weak woman, her case was still unjust. In Wu Zhiying's article, *Mrs. Qiu's Legacy*, she stated:

> [Mrs. Qiu] ways said: 'Women should go to schools and become independent. Now everyone is saying revolution. For me, revolution should start from family. That is, we should achieve equalities for men and women first.' I [Wu Zhiying] asked her: 'If the officials accused you as a female revolutionary, what would you do?' Mrs. Qiu answered: 'Revolution differs from each other. You know I am not like those [anti- Manchu] revolutionaries.' So please don't make up crimes to accuse Mrs. Qiu again, making her soul underground uneasy.[35]

Both the aforementioned passage, as well as the epitaph Xu Zihua wrote, emphasized that Qiu Jin's connection with Xu Xilin was misunderstood. They argued Qiu Jin only supported the revolution in "family" 家族革命 but not the revolution in the "nation" 种族革命. By framing the idea of family revolution, they limited Qiu Jin as a feminist unrelated to the anti-Manchu revolution. There are probably two reasons for this limitation. First, Qiu Jin was still widely regarded as a political criminal at that time. Qiu Jin's third burial and the memorial service in 1908 actually involved great danger. Along with Xu Xilin's failed uprisings, there were at least 11 anti-Manchu uprisings from the late 1890s to the early 1910's.[36] While opposition to the Qing dynasty provoked severe repression, feminism was tolerated and even encouraged by government authorities. In order to show their openness, Qing authorities advocated feminism several times and promoted female independence during the early 1900's.[37] Therefore, it is probable that Qiu Jin's close friends separated her from anti-Manchu revolutionaries deliberately. Identifying Qiu Jin as a misunderstood feminist not only promised a measure of protection for Qiu Jin's tomb but also promised protection for themselves.

35 Zhiying, Wu "The legacy of Qiu's heroine," in *Qiu Jin Shi Liao*

36 Denton, Kirk A. *Exhibiting the Past, Exhibiting the Past* (University of Hawaii Press, 2013)

37 Xiaohong, Xia. "The Death of Qiujin and the Literature of Qiujin in the Late Qing Dynasty," *Journal of Shanxi University* (Philosophy and Social Science Edition), no. 02 (2004): 1–8

The chaos around the tomb at the end of 1908 showed how distancing Qiu Jin from revolutionaries protected her grave and the people involved. In October 1908, a government authority visited West Lake and became enraged by Qiu Jin’s tomb, submitting the following request to the emperor: “After the execution of Qiu Jin, her remains were reburied by Xu Zihua and Wu Zhiying. This bandit’s tomb was near the tomb of the national hero Yue Fei 岳飞 […]How lawless and indecorous! Thus, it is necessary to destroy Qiu Jin’s tomb and investigate Xu and Wu.”[38] However, his request met with opposition not only from the public but also from the authorities. Later that month, Zhang Zhidong 张之洞, one of the most important officials in the late Qing dynasty, telegraphed the following to the local government: “Feminism is only at the beginning stage. Investigating the people who buried Qiu Jin would endanger feminism.”[39] Instructed by Zhang Zhidong, the local government did not interrogate Xu and Wu, nor did it destroy Qiu Jin’s tomb. To some extent, Qiu Jin’s reconstructed identity as a non-revolutionary feminist protected her tomb and friends from of danger.

The second reason, on the other hand, stemmed from Qiu Jin’s gender. There was a clear boundary for Qiu Jin to be a national revolutionary **民族英雄**. Xu Zihua mentioned this boundary in the epitaph he wrote for Qiu Jin, stating “Even though she loved freedom, she did not cross any moral boundary.”[40] Here, freedom referred to Qiu Jin’s activities as a feminist. The reference to a moral boundary implicitly suggested that Qiu Jin did not participate in the anti- Manchu revolution, thereby limiting her activism to gender and familial roles.

Celebrating Qiu Jin as a feminist limited her inside this moral boundary. This historical memory of her could oppose the traditional gender values, but she could not cross the line and become a revolutionary. The tomb’s position also reflected this moral boundary. In Xu Zihua’s letter to Wu Zhiying, she did not mention anything related to revolution but said: “The planned grave will be beside the tomb of Su Xiaoxiao 苏小小, connecting to Mrs. Zheng 郑节妇 (a virtuous widow holding her chastity till death.) The triangle balance of beautiful woman, virtuous woman, and chivalrous woman would add luster to the scene of West Lake.”[41]

Similar attitudes were expressed by contemporary revolutionaries. When Guangfuhui **光复会**, the famous anti-Manchu organization Qiu Jin was affiliated with, held memorial services for Qiu Jin and others who died in the uprising, they titled the service “Three martyrs Xu [Xu Xilin], Ma [Ma Zonghan], Chen [Chen Boping] and Mrs. Qiu’s memorial service.”[42] While Xu, Ma, and Chen, like Qiu Jin, actively participated in

38 Guo. *Qiu Jin Nian Pu*

39 Guo. *Qiu Jin Nian Pu*

40 Zihua. “Table of the Tomb of Jianhu Heroine Qiu Jin,” in *Qiu Jin Shi Liao*

41 Zihua, Xu. “Correspondence between Xu Zihua and Wu Zhiying about Qiu Jin Tomb,” in *Qiu Jin Shi Liao*

42 Guo. *Qiu Jin Nian Pu*

revolutionary activities, Qiu Jin could not be recognized as a martyr like them, indicating she was not considered as a person who died for the revolution. While commemorating Xu, Ma, and Chen's death as a tragic loss of revolution, they were vague about Qiu Jin's revolutionary activities, instead emphasizing her feminist identity in those commemorative events.[43] In this case, being identified as a feminist narrowed down Qiu Jin's image and cut her off from the revolution by deliberately overlooking her achievements in the uprisings. In short, the 1908 reburial reconstructed Qiu Jin as an exemplary woman to serve certain purposes. Her feminist thinking was advocated for and used to criticize traditional chastity values instilled in Chinese women. On the other hand, her revolutionary activities were overlooked, both because of pressure from the authorities, and also because of the gender bias evident in her commemoration.

Nevertheless, this image of Qiu Jin did not last. Even though Qing authorities did not destroy the Qiu Jin tomb with violence, they instructed the removal of the tomb. At the end of 1908, Qiu Yuzhang (Qiu Jin's brother) moved her tomb from West Lake back to Yan Jiatan. Later, her body was moved to Hunan, the home of her husband's family. After resisting patriarchy throughout her life, Qiu Jin ended up being buried with her husband Wang Zifang.[44] However, her corpse did not remain there for long. In 1911, revolutionaries overthrew the Qing dynasty and announced the end of feudalism in China. During this time, Qiu Jin's tomb was again remembered, her image revisited, and her memorialization reconstructed yet again.

Becoming the Symbol of Revolution: From Exemplary Woman 列女 to Female Martyr 烈女

On January 1st, 1912, after four months of successive anti-Manchu revolutionary movements, Sun Yat-sen was elected as the interim president of the Republic of China. The collapse of the imperial regime paved the way for commemorating anti-Manchu revolutionary heroes. On January 13th, Xu Zihua telegraphed Sun Yat-sen, requesting to move Qiu Jin's remains back to West Lake, stating:

> Now that the revolution purpose was fulfilled, China is again led by our people. Long live the congratulations! Nevertheless, if we are going to commemorate the deaths, the chivalrous woman 侠女 Qiu Jin could serve as the symbol. Years before, [I] built a tomb for her by the West Lake but it was removed by the tartar [referring to the Qing dynasty]. Now I am wondering if you could help rebuild her tomb there and move her body back to the West Lake.[45]

43 Yonghao. "Local Society and the Contest over the Remains of Qiu Jin, 1907-1915," 1–5

44 Guo. *Qiu Jin Nian Pu*

45 Yabin and Changhai, eds. *Research on Qiu Jin's Deeds / Qiu Jin Shi Ji Yan Jiu*

The change of narratives in this telegraph was apparent. Although Xu Zihua still did not identify Qiu Jin as a revolutionary, she explicitly connected Qiu Jin to the commemoration of anti-Manchu revolutions. In a poem Xu Zihua wrote for Qiu Jin later that month, she regarded Qiu Jin’s death as “a sudden unprovoked misfortune from the revolution.”[46] This notable transformation represented the political environment of the period. Criticized as “tartar,” the Qing dynasty was no longer the obeyed authority. It thus became unnecessary to be cautious about Qiu Jin’s relationship with the anti-Manchu revolution. Besides, because China was now governed by revolutionaries, connecting Qiu Jin to the revolution would help bring her tomb back to the West Lake and link her to China’s new governing regime.

In the following Republican years, Qiu Jin’s connection with the anti-Manchu revolution became closer and closer. In April 1912, Qiu Jin, together with Xu Xilin, was added to the pantheon of Zhejiang.[47] In the memorial service later held that month, thousands of people came, memorizing Qiu Jin as a martyr. “Mrs. Qiu did not die for herself, nor did she die for feminism,” Qiu Jin’s eulogy read, “Instead, she died for our nation, the nation owned by 400 million males and females!”[48] At this time, her image became altered once again. Her identity as an exemplary feminist was downplayed, while her identity as a revolutionary, once deliberately overlooked or suppressed, was emphasized and became the dominant theme throughout Qiu Jin’s fifth and sixth reburials. Unlike Qiu Jin’s first four burials, which were plain and secretive, her fifth reburial drew national attention. Xu Zihua and the members of “Qiu Club” advocated bringing Qiu Jin’s body back to the West Lake, Zhejiang, the place where Qiu Jin had been both born and executed.

During this period, Wang Yuande 王沅德, Qiu Jin’s son, argued that Hunan, the place Qiu Jin lived after marriage, was the appropriate site of her tomb. As the fifth anniversary of Qiu Jin’s death approached, both places held large-scale memorial activities to commemorate Qiu Jin. According to *Shen Bao*, when “Qiu Club” held the memorial service at Feng Linsi 风林寺, multiple government officials from Zhejiang attended, while in Changsha, Hunan, thousands of people showed up in Qiu Ci 秋祠 (Ci, a temple memorizing the heroic figure), commemorating the death of Qiu Jin.[49]

Reflecting the unresolved plans for her reburial, Qiu Jin’s body was first moved to Yuelu Shan 岳麓山, Hunan in July. Four months later, as a result of persuasion by members of “Qiu Club,” Wang Yuande agreed to move his mother’s remains back to the West Lake.[50] In October 1912, Qiu Jin’s tomb was carried from Hunan to Zhejiang. Whereas she had died a civilian, she now received the funeral of a soldier. Her coffin was “mounted on a gun cart, dragged by white horses, and led by the army,” and at the site of reburial,

46 Chen, Qiu, and Zhou. *Qiu Jin Shi Liao*
47 Guo. *Qiu Jin Nian Pu*
48 Yabin and Changhai, eds. *Research on Qiu Jin’s Deeds / Qiu Jin Shi Ji Yan Jiu*
49 “Hunan People Worship Martyrs,” *Shen Bao*, June 16, 1912, no. 6
50 Guo. *Qiu Jin Nian Pu*

she was "greeted and paid tribute.by the government representatives."[51] The new tomb, a six-cornered and exquisitely crafted square tower, was much more elaborate than the 1908 tomb (Figure 2).

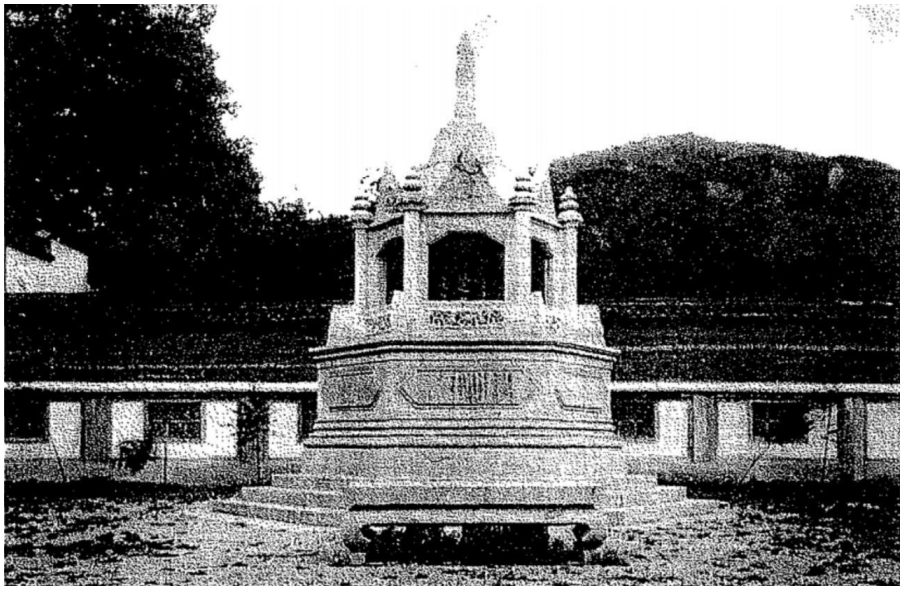

Figure 2. Qiu Jin's Sixth Reburial by the West Lake (Wang, Eugene Y. "Perceptions of Change, Changes in Perception - West Lake as Contested Site/Sight in the Wake of the 1911 Revolution," *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture* 12, no. 2 (2000): 73

As a result of the commemorative activities before, during, and after this reburial, Qiu Jin's image completed the transformation from an exemplary feminist to a female martyr. In contrast to the previous reburial, Qiu Jin's life and death now assumed a grander purpose serving nationalism rather than just serving feminism.The contemporary political and social environment played a significant role in promoting this transformation of Qiu Jin's memory. China experienced extreme political unrest during the extended campaign to rebury Qiu Jin. In March 1912, Yuan Shikai 袁世凯, a former military officer from the Qing dynasty, sought to exploit the tumult and displace Sun Yat-sen, becoming the president of the Republic of China.[52] The revolutionaries, previously poised to assume control, were either forced to go underground again or were limited locally by Yuan Shikai's ascendant power.

For many anti-Manchu revolutionaries, it was unacceptable that Yuan Shikai, previously a leading figure in the late Qing dynasty, became the leader of the Republic.

51 "Delivery of Heroines and Spirits," *Shen Bao*, October 27, 1912, no. 7

52 Qubing, ed. *Qiu Jin Chronicle (detailed)/ Qiu Jin Nian Biao (Xi Bian)*

Against the backdrop of Yuan Shikai’s seizure of power, Qiu Jin, remembered as someone who had “died for revolution,” became a perfect symbol of protest. Memorial services for Qiu Jin provided an opportunity for public expressions of opposition to Yuan’s authority. This opposition was reflected throughout the reburial process, in which Qiu Jin’s membership in the underground revolutionary party, once overlooked, was emphasized. The eulogy Sun Yat-sen wrote for Qiu Jin at her reburial read: “I am so grateful that you [Qiu Jin] were among the first ones supporting Tong Menghui and died serving the revolution course.”[53] Yuan’s government tolerated this reburial probably trying to maintain the partnership with the revolutionaries at first. Nevertheless, in order to establish the authority to exclude revolutionaries, Yuan’s government still implicitly suppressed Qiu Jin’s commemorations by shrinking the size of her tomb and reducing the scale of her memorial services in the following years.[54]

It is worth noting that once again, this transformation ignored the complexity of Qiu Jin’s life and beliefs. Whereas society accepted her commemoration as a feminist instead of a revolutionary in 1908, now revolutionaries focused on her revolutionary nationalism while downplaying her concern for female independence. For instance, the new epitaph of her tomb read: “[She] discarded jewelry, held the sword; [She is] willing to dye for the revolution, solely went through the danger, [and] committing her life.”[55] Discarding jewelry symbolized how Qiu Jin gave up her carefree life as a married female. Then, through “going through the danger and committing her life,” the epitaph finished depicting her as a fearless martyr who regarded revolution as the only course. This was vastly different from Xu Zihua’s epitaph in 1908, in which Qiu Jin’s feminism was emphasized, not to mention the previous memorials before 1908, which portrayed Qiu Jin as a weak and victimized woman.

In the process of transforming Qiu Jin into a martyr, revolutionaries thus both ignored and rejected her gender. This sense of de-gendering was reflected in her reburials in various ways. For example, she was buried as a soldier, and during that time, only males could fight in wars, and usually only males received military funerals. Honoring Qiu Jin in this sense commemorated her as if she was a man. In the eulogy “Shen Bao” wrote for her reburial from Hunan to Zhejiang, Qiu Jin’s promotion of a radical transformation in gender roles was ignored:

> She [Qiu Jin] died for nation, a revolutionary tycoon, a treasure of our country, and originally should not be privately owned by family. As a martyr, she died for the nation. Everyone in the country admires her. Thus, it is appropriate for her to

53 Translated from 感君首赞同盟会，轩亭撒碧血, in Guo. *Qiu Jin Nian Pu*

54 Yonghao. “Local Society and the Contest over the Remains of Qiu Jin, 1907-1915,” 1–5

55 Qiji, Liu “A Preface to the Tombstone of the Heroine of Jianhu Qiujun,” 1912

be buried besides the West Lake.[56]

It is notable that the author rationalized this reburial as a progression from the privacy of the family to the public realm of the nation. Demonstrating that Qiu Jin should not be memorialized inside a family the writer refused her character as a feminist but advocated her as a representative for revolution. In this way, Qiu Jin was masculinized and homogenized into the symbol of revolution with her gender identity suppressed. After the grand 1912 reburial, Qiu Jin's body lay in peace for more than fifty years. With the outbreak of two World Wars, and the following civil war between the Communist Party and the Nationalist Party, Qiu Jin seemed to become forgotten throughout the years.[57] She was again remembered in 1965, in a completely different way, as the country underwent its infamous cultural revolution.

A Bourgeoise under the Socialist "New China"

During the 1960s, Chairman Mao Zedong launched the Socialist Education Movement, also known as the Four Cleanups Movement 四清运动 to get rid of reactionary elements within the Communist party.[58] Around Autumn in 1964, Hu Qiaomu 胡乔木, Mao's secretary, informed government officials in Zhejiang that Mao was extremely upset about the fact that West Lake was surrounded by graves. Under Mao's instruction, on January 1st, 1965, *People's Daily* published Hu Qiaomu's political poem **沁园春. 杭州感事** with Mao's modifications, emphasizing the need to remove all tombs by the West Lake.[59]

The sentence Mao modified went read: "The soil puppet deceives the mountain; The demon's bones make trouble to the lake, and Xizi [referring to the West Lake] is embarrassed by covering half of her face. Who comes and join me, using the sword, to sweep this absurdity!"[60] The "soil puppet and demon's bones" had a very general range. According to Hu Qiaomu, it included not only temples or tombs, but also all the skeletons from the "old culture."[61] Identified as "soil puppet and demon's bones," Qiu Jin's tomb was demolished by the government on January 27th, 1965. Her belongings and bones were

56 "Qiu Jin, the heroine, get her remains back to the West Lake." *Shen Bao*, June 24th, 1912, no 6

57 Yonghao. "Local Society and the Contest over the Remains of Qiu Jin, 1907-1915," 1–5

58 Anlin, Dai. "A Review of the Four Cleansing Movements in Hunan," *Party History Research and Teaching*, no. 03 (2004): 51– 62

59 Mao. "Hu Qiaomu's Poem and the Demolition of Tombs and Tablets in Hangzhou 胡乔木词与杭州毁墓拆碑"

60 Mao. "Hu Qiaomu's Poem and the Demolition of Tombs and Tablets in Hangzhou 胡乔木词与杭州毁墓拆碑"

61 Mao. "Hu Qiaomu's Poem and the Demolition of Tombs and Tablets in Hangzhou 胡乔木词与杭州毁墓拆碑"

gathered and hastily moved to Ji Longshan 鸡笼山, Ma Poling 马坡岭 without a formal grave, just like how she was first buried in 1907. Her remains were put in an earthenware pot and buried beside a cypress.[62] A few months later, Prime Minister Zhou Enlai 周恩来 instructed to rebuild Qiu Jin’s grave in the West Lake.[63] Nevertheless, one year later, another wave of tomb desecration took lead in China. Qiu Jin’s tomb was again destroyed and moved back to Ji Longshan.[64]

When Qiu Jin was beheaded in 1907, she was identified by the Qing government as a bandit. Fifty-eight years passed before she was again attacked by national authorities whereas now she was not a revolutionary but rather as a reactionary symbol that needed to be removed from the new socialist China. Considering the political environment at the time, it was not unexpected that Qiu Jin’s tomb would be targeted. During the years of leftist movements in China, only Qiu Jin’s, as well as other people’s temples and graves were destroyed. Su Xiaoxiao, the famous prostitute buried near Qiu Jin, was denounced as a “stinky taint besides the heaven lake” and her tomb was demolished.[65] Xu Xilin, Qiu Jin’s revolutionary companion, was also identified as “a ghost from the old society” had his tomb demolished 1964.[66] Qiu Jin’s reburial exemplified the frantic atmosphere in Communist China during the 1960s. Nevertheless, the fact that Qiu Jin’s tomb was moved back and forth during those years demonstrated the Communist government’s unresolved attitude towards her. She was among the few figures who had her grave finally moved back in 1981, while other famous revolutionaries like Su Manshu 苏曼殊 never got his grave relocated back to the West Lake again.[67] For the Communists, Qiu Jin’s complex identity as a symbol of the anti-Manchu revolution and a martyr of the Republic was problematic. Her image as a martyred revolutionary predated the foundation of Communist China. Whereas she was viewed as a progressive figure during her life, Communist authorities during the Cultural Revolution dismissed her as a “reactionary bourgeois.”[68] The authorities quickly replaced her with other female Communists such as Zhao Yi Man 赵一曼, who died in the Second Sino-Japanese War, and Sister Jiang 江姐, who sacrificed her life during the

62 Qubing, ed. *Qiu Jin Chronicle (detailed)/ Qiu Jin Nian Biao (Xi Bian)*

63 Guo. *Qiu Jin Nian Pu*

64 Ying, Hu. “Qiu Jin’s Nine Burials: The Making of Historical Monuments and Public Memory,” *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture* 19, no. 1 (2007): 138–91

65 Mao. “Hu Qiaomu’s Poem and the Demolition of Tombs and Tablets in Hangzhou 胡乔木词与杭州毁墓拆碑”

66 Qubing, ed. *Qiu Jin Chronicle (detailed)/ Qiu Jin Nian Biao (Xi Bian)*

67 Su Manshu and other six people’s remains are still on Mapoling after the 1964 reburial. Most of their remains were difficult to locate and thus unable to recover. In 2005, the Hangzhou government decided to build up the ‘West Lake Cultural Celebrity Cemetery Monument’ to commemorate them. From “West Lake Cultural Celebrities Tombs Completed and Opened,” *Xinhuawang*, December 13, 2015

68 Qubing, ed. *Qiu Jin Chronicle (detailed)/ Qiu Jin Nian Biao (Xi Bian)*

Chinese Civil War.[69]

Although her revolutionary credentials were dismissed by the Communist authorities during the Cultural Revolution, Qui Jin's feminist identity, after decades, was again reemphasized. During the 1950s and 1960s, the state began promoting the idea that "Women can top half of the sky," encouraging women to participate in labor during the Great Leap Forward and the period of People's Communes.[70] Qiu Jin, an early feminist, became a suitable symbol of women committed to the nation's progress. However, Communist authorities refused to elevate her to the ranks of the nation's most prominent historical heroes; after all, she was not a communist. Consequently, the government's portrayal of Qui Jin was unstable and subject to frequent changes in tone and emphasis. For instance, when prime minister Zhou Enlai visited the *Wind and Rain Pavilion*, a monument memorizing Qiu Jin besides West Lake, he advocated her feminist identity, stating:

> Qiu Jin is a new woman. Ever since she broke the feudal boundaries of 'Three obedience and four virtues' towards women, she helped changing the social atmosphere. Her last word: 秋风秋雨愁煞人, fully expressed her dissatisfactions with the evil feudal rule, resistance to the ethics limiting females, and her deep love for the nation.[71]

In change, when Zhou met Wang Qubing, one of the important members in 'Qiu Club,' he emphasized Qiu Jin's bourgeoise identity instead, arguing:

> Qiu Jin is a bourgeoise revolutionary, while what we are doing now is a socialist revolution. Each stage of revolution has its own task. Therefore, it is now not enough to study Qiu Jin. We should know that time has developed, and situation has been different. Studying her must be established from the Marxist-Leninist thinking.[72]

What Zhou Enlai said represented the Communist government's shifting views towards Qiu Jin. When her tomb was demolished, she denounced as a ghost from the bourgeoisie. However, when her tomb was moved back to the West Lake, she was instead portrayed as a progressive feminist. It did not take long for a second removal, possibly indicating that her identity as a bourgeoise overshadowed her identity as a feminist. Throughout these years, her identity was interpreted selectively and utilized by the authorities to make it compatible with Communist ideology.

69 Edwards, Louise. *Women Warriors and Wartime Spies of China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016)

70 Translated from 妇女能顶半边天. Geng, Huamin, & Zhang, Leilei. "A research on the notion of women can hold up half the sky" *Beijing Guancha*. no 3 (2015): 74-75

71 Tianfeng, Cao. "Dear Premier Zhou in Shaoxing," 29

72 "Zhejiang people love the beloved Premier Zhou," *People's Daily*, January 18, 1977

After the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976 and the reforms and opening-up in 1979, the zealous environment gradually faded away and those “ancient ghosts”, once attacked, were able to get their reputation cleared up. In 1981, on the 70th anniversary of the Anti-Manchu revolution, Qiu Jin’s tomb was rehabilitated beside the West Lake. The newly constructed grave was made up of white marble, with the upper statue depicting her dressed in traditional Tang dynasty-era female attire and holding swords, with the lower tomb seat inscribing Sun Yat-sen’s 1912 four-character comment, Heroine 巾帼英雄, as well as the original epitaph written by Xu Zihua in 1908 (Figure 3).

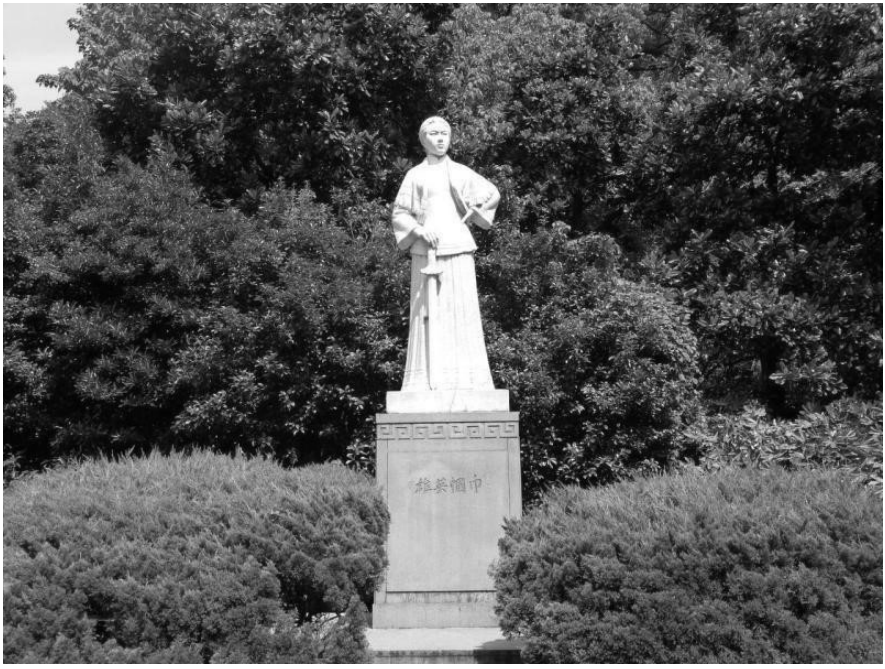

Figure 3. Qiu Jin Tomb, established in 1981 (*Zhejiang Provincial Bureau of Cultural Relics,* accessed July 28th, 2021. http://www.zjww.gov.cn/unit/2006-02-21/50916096.shtml4224)

At the date of Qiu Jin’s ninth reburial, *People’s Daily* 人民日报, an official newspaper from the Communist Party, identified Qiu Jin as “a female martyr of the modern democratic revolution and one of the earliest feminists in feudal China.”[73] The term “female martyr” admitted her revolutionary credentials, while the phrase “modern democratic revolution” and the Sun Yat-sen’s inscription limited her inside a certain range of time. Similarly, Qiu Jin was identified as “feminist,” but the traditional female clothing, as well as Xu Zihua’s epitaph echoed her past images and set up the boundary. The Communist

73 “The rebuilt of Standing Qiu Jin Tomb is completed.” *People’s Daily*, October 13, 1981

government maintained a balance between different images of Qiu Jin, constructing an appropriate historical memory within its ideology. The 1981 reburial was Qiu Jin's last burial. Alterations and disputes centered around her image ceased after decades of chaos. Now, her body lay in peace beside the West Lake, as she had wished before her death.

Conclusion

Throughout the 20th century, dramatic social and political changes shaped China. Qiu Jin, sacrificing her life in a tragic way, became a suitable object for the public and state authorities to construct certain historical memories.Every time Qiu Jin was reburied, her image was altered to give new meanings, either as a bandit, a victimized weak woman, a feminist, a revolutionary martyr, or a reactionary bourgeoisie. These repetitive reconstructions of historical memories were influenced by contemporary political and social contexts, influencing the ways her tombs were treated. At the same time, identity also became twisted into this reshaping process. The fact that Qiu Jin was a married woman running away from her husband, a feminist promoting equal rights for women, and an anti-Manchu revolutionary organizing underground activities, all helped shape the way she was memorized.

These identities were all facets of her personality, and Qiu Jin did not perceive them to be in opposition to one another. However, not all of them were consistently compatible with the contingent national, political, or social environments throughout the twentieth century. Parts of her identity agreeing with the environment tended to be selectively emphasized and advocated by contemporaries, while parts of her identity opposing, or irrelevant with, the environment would be downplayed or overlooked. Thus, Qiu Jin's historical memory was reconstructed repeatedly through the recurrent reburials across the twentieth century, with biased images during each period fulfilling certain significance. Groups of different interests exploitatively manipulated her historical memory to legitimize ideologies such as feudalism, feminism, nationalism, and socialism.

What Qiu Jin's tomb went through was not a singular case. Reconstructions of historical memories were quite common not only in China but also all over the world. For instance, Leopold II of Belgium was celebrated by nationalists for his accomplishments in bringing civilization to Congo during the early twentieth century, but now is widely criticized by the public as a murderer who carried out a brutal genocide in Africa. Thus, several of his statues were removed on June 6th, 2020 to symbolize popular opposition towards colonialism.[74] A similar case can be found in Eastern Europe, multiple statues of the Soviet leader Joseph Stalin were erected during the 1940's and 50's to advocate for socialism. However, as de-Stalinization took place after Khrushchev's Secret Speech, Soviet

74 Monika Pronczuk and Mihir Zaveri, "Statue of Leopold II, Belgian King Who Brutalized Congo, Is Removed in Antwerp," *The New York Times*, June 9, 2020, sec. World, https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/09/world/europe/king-leopold-statue- antwerp.html

authorities removed thousands of Stalin monuments, including the largest one in Prague.[75] Contested historical memories around those historical figures reflected how memorials and commemorations shaped them to advocate various ideologies. Coming back to Qiu Jin, we can see that as her tomb still stands beside the West Lake, Communism is still rooted in China, with its ideology shaping Qiu Jin as a female martyr of modern democratic revolution.

75 Kabachnik, Peter, Alexi Gugushvili, and David Jishkariani. "A Personality Cult's Rise and Fall: Three Cities after Khrushchev's 'Secret Speech' and the Stalin Monument That Never Was." *Region: Regional Studies of Russia, Eastern Europe, and Central Asia* 4, no. 2 (2015): 309–326

Community of Invisible People: The Role of the Lesbian Periodical in the Formation and Acceptance of the Modern Lesbian Identity

J. Foster Williamson

Abstract. Print media, in the form of newsletters, pulp fiction, and periodicals, was an instrumental pillar in the formation of an out and culturally accepted lesbian community in the twentieth century. The intimate nature of print in its consumption, combined with advances in cheap and mass production methods at the turn of the twentieth century made print a perfect avenue for an otherwise closeted and criminalized population to share their experiences and engage with one another. Through a thorough analysis of interviews with leading figures of some of the era's most prominent and influential lesbian activist groups, in conjunction with secondary literature documenting the processes by which lesbian print media was created, this article explores the growth of lesbian print and hopes to contextualize its direct relationship with the establishment of the collective lesbian community we see today. I argue that the rise of pulp fiction inspired periodicals such as Lisa Ben's Vice Versa and The Daughters of Bilitis' The Ladder, and further explore how those works, alongside many others, found and engaged with a previously undiscovered population of lesbians and created a public discourse that allowed lesbians to redefine their identities in their own terms through their own words.

The Ever-Present Lesbian

The existence of lesbians, that is, women attracted to women, is not a novel concept. The term "lesbian" itself comes from the Greek island of Lesbos, wherein Sappho, perhaps the most famous Greek poet, and most infamous lesbian, called home.[1] Sappho lived more than two and a half millennia ago, and yet her sexuality is still debated to this day amongst scholars. While the modern consensus pertaining to Sappho's sexual orientation generally recognizes her attraction to the same sex, for centuries scholars mistranslated, mistreated, and heterosexualized Sappho's work.

Until the turn of the twentieth century, lesbianism, as we understand it today, existed in a field outside of sexuality.[2] Pre-Edwardian Western scholars regarded sexuality

1 "Lesbianism," *New World Encyclopedia*, https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/p/index.php?title=Lesbianism&oldid=1048579 (accessed March 18, 2022).

2 "Lesbianism," *New World Encyclopedia*

as a uniquely masculine trait. What women possessed was merely *affection*. Affection of course is hardly exclusive to lovers. A kind smile or a warm embrace shows a positive disposition towards someone, but is, on its own, not explicitly an expression of lust or sexual desire. You show affection towards those who you admire, those you agree with, friends and family members. There are a myriad of ways and social situations in which one can display affection without harboring sexual intent. Through this reasoning then, through the late nineteenth century, it was perfectly acceptable and not all that uncommon to find a house shared by two unmarried women. For much of history this was wholly inoffensive! Their kisses on cheeks and hands around waists were interpreted not as demonstrations of their love for one another, but as a symbol of admiration between two close friends. This dismissal of sexuality among women allowed now-called lesbians to live their lives somewhat freely and without fear of persecution (as a gay man of the time would), however, it also negated any possibility for discourse. There could be no lesbian community because the Western societal understanding of lesbianism did not exist.

Much like the works of Sappho, for centuries the topic of lesbianism as a sexuality and as an identity has found itself decidedly absent from public discourse. Let it be known and understood that this lack of attention does not negate the existence of lesbians throughout our history. Sappho's sexuality will not change just because the scholarship has, rather what this truly illustrates is the absence of a historical lesbian community. In order to share and connect with others over a common identity, you first require a society which is understanding of it. If there is no word to describe your identity, if how you feel exists outside your society's lexicon, there can be no discussion, there can be no community, there can be no recognition of your identity, and you are alone.

For the bulk of our history, the lesbian has remained silent and alienated. It was only at the turn of the twentieth century that lesbianism began to be contextualized into the field of homosexuality. The advent of psychology at the end of the nineteenth century opened the door into the scrutinization of perverse human behavior, with sexuality at the forefront. Through these studies, scholars began to redefine the concept of sexuality as an agendered trait, capable of being possessed and expressed by both men and women. It was only through this reclassification that relationships between women were accepted as a form of homosexuality.[3] Only recently, then, have we granted that population of ever-present, invisible people the understanding necessary to acknowledge lesbianism as an identity. The twentieth century finally reopened the potential for a dialogue surrounding the lesbian identity, but it opened into a vacuum. Lesbians of the twentieth century found the previously nonexistent possibility of not only recognition of their sexuality, but also acceptance by society; they now had to uphold the insurmountable task of creating a dialogue where none previously existed.

It bears to be addressed that, although the turn of the twentieth century saw the

3 "Lesbianism," *New World Encyclopedia*

recognition of lesbianism as a sexuality, it was by no means a landscape conducive for the conversation. From its classification, homosexuality was understood by the broader society as deviance. While lesbianism opened as an adoptable identity, it was publicly shunned and criminalized, hardly escaping medical discourse, much less entering that of the public. The early twentieth century saw lesbians as an unknown demographic, their members craving connection and community but not knowing they should even be looking for one. The strain of society in its initial perception of lesbianism was threatening. To those few even aware their so-called "condition" had a name, they could scarcely share the sentiment for fear of serious public persecution.

The role in which print media played in facilitating the dialogue among the lesbian population of the twentieth century cannot be overstated. Print is an intimate medium. It can be consumed personally and privately, and so, in a setting where your values risks persecution, print media acts as an invaluable and safe vehicle to share and engage with stories and morals that the greater societal discourse held no place for. The advancement of cheap and mass-produced print media at the turn of the century not only enforced that sentiment, but it also brought the medium to the forefront of the public's mind. It made print both accessible to consumers and to creators. There is a power and a liberation in the act of creation. It allows for the individual to present their own values and definitions in their image.[4] For a closeted and subjugated population, like the lesbians of the early twentieth century, that ability was invaluable as proof that other like-minded individuals were out there. It served as a beacon to identify with, to share, and circulate. The physical nature of the medium meant that the circulation of lesbian print had to be done by hand. A single publication passed between lesbian to lesbian. weaving a web of secret solicitors, creating a sort of social network of likeminded individuals.[5] These networks lay the foundation for community.

The advent of the lesbian finding power in print in the twentieth century not only served to connect like-minded individuals, but also to create a public forum for those individuals to share as a hub for social discourse.[6] Through this, the relation, creation, and circulation of print media heralding lesbian themes and ideas was instrumental in the formation of a unified and socially recognized lesbian community in the twentieth century, because all of these facets of their relationship amended the societal restrictions discussed previously. The purpose of this paper is to analyze this relationship. Print served as an intimate and private way to communicate lesbian themes to readers, allowing for people

4 Rentschler, Carrie. "Making Culture and Doing Feminism." Oren, Tasha and Press, Andrea, eds. *The Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Feminism* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2019),132

5 Beins, Agatha. *Liberation in Print: Feminist Periodicals and Social Movement Identity* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2017), 2; McKinney, Cait. *Information Activism: A Queer History of Lesbian Media Technologies* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2020), 27

6 Beins. *Liberation in Print*, 8

who would not have known otherwise to identify with lesbianism. It acted as a way to connect with others and create a sense of community when mainstream society would not allow for one. Print media helped fill the vacuum that was the lesbian dialogue. It served both as an introduction to the lesbian identity for those discovering themselves, as well as a forum in which the community could share and discuss their own issues. It also developed an understanding of lesbianism and eventually broadcast that truth to society at large. The growth and success of the Lesbian Print Movement is indicative of the growth and success the lesbian community found with it. The two are intertwined, with the spread of one only furthering the understanding and growth of the other. To fully and appropriately understand the struggle lesbians faced to find acceptance in the United States, one must follow analyze the growth of the Lesbian Press Movement of the mid-twentieth century. To say that without the press, Lesbians would not have achieved their solidarity is absurd, for the two concepts are one and the same. The success of the Lesbian Print Movement was the success of the lesbian community. It was a labor of love and a picture of passion.

A Reclassification

The turn of the twentieth century saw the reclassification of lesbianism as a form of homosexuality across the Western world. Whereas previously, it was widely understood and agreed upon that sexuality was a uniquely masculine trait, medical circles of the 1900's and 1910's began to dispute such a claim and offer sexuality as a trait harbored regardless of gender. While this lent itself to a more modern, and less sexist, standard for understanding sexuality, this reclassification also intertwined the lesbian identity with homosexuality.

Just as in ancient Greece, this new understanding of lesbianism only proves offensive if it is perceived in a society holding ideals against it. In a liberal state, like Weimar Germany, such reclassification could, and did, lend itself to not just the recognition of lesbianism as an identity, but its tolerance as a practice. This is visible in the nearly half-dozen of the world's first lesbian magazines the Weimar Republic boasted in its short existence during the 1920's and early 1930's. This was the first, however brief and doomed, re-opening of a public lesbian dialogue during the twentieth century. Unfortunately, the Weimar government was short lived, and their successor, the Third Reich, notoriously shifted Germany's political landscape to the far right, nullifying any potential for lesbian dialogue.

The United States was, likewise, hardly sympathetic to lesbianism in the years following its classification. The overwhelming majority of the discourse concerning homosexuality followed its 1926 classification in the United States., comprised of medical and psychological studies. The conclusion these came to, which defined the United States' perception of lesbianism, constituted it as "sexual deviance," and was to be condemned by the whole of mainstream society. In society's lexicon, homosexuality became synonymous with illness. It was a defect that needed to be cured. Lesbianism existed, in the early twen-

tieth century, only inside the medical realm. Society recognized its existence and gave it a name, but that name was unknown to the public. Potential lesbians who inquired as to their uncertain feelings, found lesbianism not as an identity, but as a diagnosis. The curious lesbian fell into a dialogue that gave her no sense of community, it only told her she was "illegal, immoral, and sick," a quotation which was troublingly present across multiple anecdotes.[7] Kay Lahusen, a figurehead in lesbian history, who would go on to become the first openly lesbian photojournalist, recalled of the early lesbian identity, saying that, "the going theory… was that you were sick and you should go to a doctor and get turned around. Deep analysis, find out what went wrong in your childhood and so forth."[8] Of course, as it is now understood, homosexuality is hardly a defect, and the insinuation it warrants a cure is insulting, especially when the manner of "treatment" was so inhumane. Identifying as a lesbian was grounds enough for institutionalization. Women under the age of 21 were subject to their parents' discretion, and as such, even as fully-grown adults, could be institutionalized without their consent and against their will.[9] Phyllis Lyon, another figurehead of the Lesbian Movement, co-founder of the Daughters of Bilitis, the first lesbian organization in the US - a topic which shall be discussed later - acknowledged that in several cases which she bore personal witness to through her role in the DOB, "women […] had been abandoned by their families […] had electroshock therapy […] or had been thrown into mental institutions."[10]

It mattered very little, with regards to a prospective community, that lesbianism had been defined and acknowledged into society. This was because the climate facing potential members was so hostile that, for the few who even knew the term, identifying as a lesbian in the early twentieth century was outright dangerous. It is because of this that, even with its reclassification, lesbianism failed to form any sense of community or interconnection in the United States for several years. The risk of persecution was too high to facilitate an open or public dialogue.

Pulp Fiction

The 1920's saw the emergence of a new form of print media. Pulp fiction found a home on drugstore book racks and translation kiosks late in the 1920's.[11] The product of cheaper and easier printing and publication technology, the pulp fiction genre became practically

7 Marcus, Eric. "Phyllis Lyon & Del Martin," *Making Gay History*, November 30, 2017. https://makinggayhistory.com/podcast/phyllis-lyon-del-martin/

8 Marcus, Eric. "Episode 09 - Gittings & Lahusen." *Making Gay History*, June 15, 2021. https://makinggayhistory.com/podcast/episode-01-09/

9 Marcus. "Phyllis Lyon & Del Martin"

10 Marcus. "Phyllis Lyon & Del Martin"

11 Foote, Stephanie. "Deviant Classics: Pulps and the Making of Lesbian Print Culture." *Signs* 31, no. 1 (2005): 169, 179

synonymous with paperback books. As paperback books made the printing and distribution of literature cheaper and more accessible, the medium lent itself to the publication of topics and themes refused by the mainstream, usually attributed as campy or "low-brow." Perfect for lesbianism. Through pulp fiction, authors were given the ability to publish narratives surrounding lesbian themes through mainstream press, under the guise of its perceptive "deviancy" playing into the inherent raciness of the genre.

World War II pushed paperbacks from a fringe medium into the mainstream. During the war, national resources and finances focused on the war effort, and so cheaper products, such paperbacks in the case of literature, took precedence in the public market. The American market responded resoundingly to the influx of accessible literature, sparking a "paperbacking revolution" in the years following the war.[12] This sudden growth in popularity facilitated not only the engagement of a greater audience, but required an increase in publications to support it. The late 1940's, going into the 1950's, saw the campy subgenre of lesbian pulp fiction rise in unprecedented popularity. Lesbian pulp proved surprisingly popular as it owed itself to a market of invisible people.

Whether intended as ironic or sincere, the truth of the matter was the lesbian pulps served as mass-market representations of an identity which had only previously existed in doctors' offices and mental institutions.[13] Recognizing the feelings that you couldn't scramble to put a name to before, contextualized in a narrative, with characters demonstrating their lesbianism through love and adventure, rather than deviancy and illness, transformed lesbian pulp from a cheap and racy paperback into "a public expression of their innermost selves, the secret of who they are."[14] Pulp fiction brought with it, perhaps, the first instance where many of the young girls and women reading it had ever truly heard they were not alone.

Furthermore, lesbian pulp proved so enamoring and valuable to the early lesbians of the mid-century because of the nature of the print medium. Print media, whether it be paperback books, newsletters, magazines, is a uniquely personal and private medium. It is consumed by the reader and the reader alone; the connection, a silent one and the contents of the texts known only to the reader. Print media is small and concealable. It lends itself perfectly to the sharing of otherwise explicit material. In a society where publicly identifying as a lesbian was dangerous, print media, in this case through pulp fiction, served as a means to identify in private.

Beyond the realm of the pages, though, lesbian pulp also provided another, more tangible, proof of validity. One such lesbian, Doris Lunden, would describe in an interview several years later being "moved by the discovery of the novels, [but] even more moved

12 Foote. "Deviant Classics," 10
13 Foote. "Deviant Classics," 179
14 Foote. "Deviant Classics," 178

by the sense that such novels had already been purchased and read by other lesbians."[15] The visible consumption of lesbian media from book racks and kiosks emboldened in those library-lurkers the excitement of community, proof of an invisible people. Lunden described how "I went back to that bookrack, I haunted it, and I found other books, perhaps half a dozen. Before that time I had no inkling how many lesbians there might be. Then I did at least get the idea that there were probably some more in my city."[16]

There was, however, an inherent handicap to the success of pulp fiction as a bastion of lesbian representation. Though the mainstream press allowed for the printing of lesbian themes, which would certainly not be acceptable elsewhere, in pulp fiction, publishers were still strict to adhere to societal standards and treat perspective deviancy as prescribed. Lesbianism, though permitted to print, also came with the caveat that it be treated accordingly; that is, no happy endings for the deviant. Publishers maintained creative control over narratives, and exercised it often, threatening to refuse publishing if the story strayed too far from the low-brow camp the genre was known for.[17] It became a well-known tragic in-joke later on in the lesbian community that the proper way to read a pulp involved neglecting the final twenty pages, lest you be met with the inevitable death of the lesbian protagonist.[18]

Even so, lesbian pulps proved formative in the lives and identities of countless closeted lesbians. Libraries and drugstores became mainstays of the burgeoning lesbian community. Browsing copies countless times and again for further representation, or for proof of another deviant's existence, became isolated yet shared experiences across the lesbian community.[19] The widespread accessibility of pulps laid the groundwork for a lesbian community. It served to educate the uninformed about their identity and showed those identified they were not alone.

Vice Versa

Edythe Eyde was one such lesbian who found herself enamored by pulps, yet with at the difficulty of rooting out other lesbians. In the aftermath of World War II, the United States became taken with a wave of political paranoia known as The Red Scare. This was the first important moment where the American political climate would unintentionally dictate the course of the lesbian movement. The Red Scare saw Americans prophesize the prospective future of a communist takeover, and through it, the massacring of traditional American values. The late 1940's saw a wave of crazed politicians bent on rejecting and

15 Foote. "Deviant Classics," 176

16 Foote. "Deviant Classics," 176

17 Foote. "Deviant Classics," 179

18 Adams, Kate. "Built Out of Books. Lesbian Energy and Feminist Ideology in Alternative Publishing," *Journal of Homosexuality* 34, Issue 3-4 (1998): 122

19 Adams. "Built Out of Books," 122

criminalizing any potential threat to tradition or communist link. Lesbianism fell target to this epidemic.[20] Colloquially referred to as "The Lavender Scare," new anti-gay legislation yielded a threat to outed lesbians, who now risked losing their jobs, being shunned by their families, kicked out of their apartments, or incarceration *on top of* the already present threat of institutionalization.[21] The resulting climate made the public adoption of lesbian identity nearly impossible. The risk was too high.

Some lesbians, who, owing their visibility to pulp fiction, sought haven in bars. These gay bars, often run in some connection with the mob, operated, appropriately, in a sort of similar fashion to the speakeasies of the prohibition era.[22] Their popularity among the early lesbian community cannot be denied, as gay bars served as community hubs, far from the public eye, in which lesbians could meet one another. They were the first real avenue for a lesbian public forum and community in the United States, but they were also notoriously dangerous. Police raided gay and lesbian bars routinely. Lesbians found themselves particular targets of police brutality, often enduring harassment, abuse, arrest, and, tragically, rape, as punishment for the crimes of their sexuality.[23]

Edythe Eyde's frustration came largely in relation to the bar scene. She struggled to socialize in lesbian bars and constantly feared her potential arrest.[24] In 1947, Eyde worked as a typist for RKO Pictures. Her job, and her boss, demanded decidedly little of her, often leaving her finished with work hours before closing. The only stipulation given to Eyde was that she at least look busy. In her own words, "my boss said, '... if you look busy, people will think I'm important… I don't care what you type, as long as you're typing something.'"[25] As a result, Eyde took advantage of her job's free time and resources and facilitated the creation of her own lesbian dialogue. Eyde was undoubtedly touched and inspired by lesbian pulps. Her own literature, attributed to a pseudonym, Lisa Ben (a blatant anagram for lesbian), consisted of various poems and narratives, naturally pertaining to lesbian themes, and basked in the glorious freedom of self-publication. Ms. Lisa Ben's stories were not marred by the hand of the mainstream press. In her stories, lesbians could lead both pure and sentimental relationships *and* survive to a happy ending. No doubt understanding the potential her literature had for outreach within the still-closeted lesbian community, aware of the success of lesbian pulp, Ben began formatting her literature into

20 Whitt, Jan. "A "Labor from the Heart": Lesbian Magazines from 1947-1994," *Journal of Lesbian Studies* 5, Issue 1-2 (2001), 235

21 "Phyllis Lyon, the Daughters of Bilitus and the Homophile Movement," *Anti-Defamation League*, 2011, 3, https://www.glsen.org/sites/default/files/2020-06/Phyllis%20Lyon%20Backgrounder.pdf; Marcus. "Phyllis Lyon & Del Martin"

22 "A History of the Queer Press," *NYPL Podcasts*, The New York Public Library, June 12, 2019, https://www.nypl.org/blog/2019/06/01/history-queer-press.

23 Streitmatter, Rodger. "Vice Versa: America's First Lesbian Magazine," *American Periodicals* 8 (1998), 81

24 Streitmatter. "Vice Versa," 80

25 Streitmatter. "Vice Versa," 80

a magazine. Although it lacked the photographs or advertisements of traditional magazines and was relegated to only a dozen copies per issue (as Ben typed each issue by hand upon layered pieces of carbon copy paper, the resulting quality of which was notoriously), the magazine Ben dubbed as "Vice Versa", so-called as an allusion to sex as a vice and versa being the subversion of the sexual norm (into homosexuality), was undeniably a labor of love.[26]

Ben's compilations of *Vice Versa*, first printed in June of 1947, and then sequentially every month until February of 1948, began their life as little more than passion pieces.[27] Ben refused to sell her magazine, preferring instead to gift them to the few lesbians she knew.[28] Sending deviant content through the mail posed risk of persecution, and so Ben opted to distribute *Vice Versa* by hand, and forewent the inclusion of any credits, even her pseudonym or address.[29] Ben explicitly stated the motivations for Vice Versa came entirely out of a desire to meet lesbians, compounded with a frustration of the bar setting serving as their only haven. In her own words,

> It gave me a way of reaching out to other gay gals-a way of getting to know other girls. I wasn't very comfortable in the bars. But when I had something to hand out and when I tried to talk girls into writing for my magazine, I no longer had any trouble going up to new people. This was the spur. This was the idea that got me to doing this.[30]

Despite the achievement of her humble ambition, Ben continued to print *Vice Versa* through nine issues.[31] In that time, the magazine would evolve rapidly in conjunction with its unexpected popularity. Ben's gifting of each *Vice Versa* issue came with a condition: "when you get through with this, don't throw it away. Pass it on to another gay gal."[32] This contingency unexpectedly created a network through the lesbian underground. Whereas Ben herself knew decidedly few lesbians, each reader of *Vice Versa* would ultimately pass their copy on to another lesbian, previously unknown to Ben. The streets of Los Angeles became a hotbed for young lesbians discovering their own identities for the first time. The result was a large underground readership, the scale of which will likely never be known. *Vice Versa* capitalized on the successes of the print medium as illustrated through pulps (that being its inherently intimate nature and ability to demonstrate a sense of community through its shared readership), while also superseding the communal effectiveness of pulps

26 Streitmatter. "Vice Versa," 78; "A History of the Queer Press," *NYPL Podcasts*; Whitt. "A "Labor from the Heart"," 234

27 Whitt. "A "Labor from the Heart"," 234

28 Streitmatter. "Vice Versa," 82

29 Streitmatter. "Vice Versa," 81; Whitt. "A "Labor from the Heart"," 234

30 Streitmatter. "Vice Versa," 79

31 Streitmatter. "Vice Versa," 92

32 Streitmatter. "Vice Versa," 81

in a number of ways.

Despite being outside Ben's initial intended scope for the magazine, V*ice Versa* embraced the community surrounding it. Later issues included "The Whatchama-Column," a section dedicated to publicizing letters sent in by readers.[33] Every issue consisted of at least one reader submission, eventually growing to more than a half-dozen in later issues, the content of which was generally in line with Ben's own, such as poems, fiction, and anecdotes.[34] Ben also began including bibliographies and reviews of available lesbian media, allowing her magazine to utilize its network through the underground lesbian community to inform others of further lesbian materials to engage with.[35]

Vice Versa, then, superseded the success of the pulp fiction genre through the uninhibited and uncensored narrative power of owning the press, but more importantly, in its engagement with its audience through a direct dialogue. Pulps allowed for an internal recognition, a dialogue with oneself, but their inherent handicap came with their inability to provide a public forum for the community. Lesbian pulps were consumed in private, in secret; he existence of other like-minded lesbians made visible only through the mysterious disappearance of pulps from library shelves. *Vice Versa* supplied the same intimate connection with its readers, even in its small numbers and inconsistent quality, as pulps, providing narratives with themes that lesbians could relate to and identify with not present elsewhere. More importantly, *Vice Versa* actively facilitated the participation of its readership in its publication. The continued production of the magazine, even after achieving its goal, as well as the growing inclusion of reader-submitted content as its popularity grew, demonstrate how *Vice Versa*, provided lesbians with an open avenue for sharing and discussing uniquely lesbian themes in a safe and private environment for the first time. Only print media could lend a much more comfortable and accessible community alternative to the bar setting.

Unfortunately, *Vice Versa* found its own handicap in its instability. The magazine, although it had evolved into a community forum, was entirely drafted, formatted, typed, and distributed by one person, Lisa Ben. *Vice Versa*'s continued production was reliant on Ben's ability to take advantage of her job's time and resources. When RKO was bought out in February of 1948, Lisa Ben lost those resources.[36] The publication was never commercialized and Ben refused to profit off of what she felt the community deserved.[37] Consequently, periodical production could stand as a career or even a full-time job. *Vice Versa*, and its numerous successors, followed this precedent. The nature of the work, combined with the reality of the worker - the lesbian community being comprised entirely of women who had scarce, if any, free time or disposable income - meant that lesbian periodicals

33 Streitmatter. "Vice Versa," 83
34 Streitmatter. "Vice Versa," 87
35 Streitmatter. "Vice Versa," 89
36 Streitmatter. "Vice Versa," 92
37 Streitmatter. "Vice Versa," 82

could exist only as a labor of love meant to build the community, never as a product to profit off it. Notwithstanding, this meant that each publication into the newly born Lesbian Print Movement brought with it an inherent fragility.

The Vacuum

The end of *Vice Versa*'s electric nine-month run was followed by nearly a decade of silence from the lesbian community. *Vice Versa* had demonstrated the potential print media held in supplying a voice for, and creating a network between, the invisible people that resonated with it. However, it existed on such a small scale, and took with it the lesbian community's only real forum of communication, so knowledge of it outside of its distribution hub of Los Angeles may have been limited. Regardless, with no one to pick up the mantle, lesbian dialogue fell once again into a vacuum. Despite the continued success of lesbian pulp fiction into the 1950's, the mainstream societal discourse surrounding lesbianism remained much the same as it had prior to *Vice Versa*'s publication. Criminalization and institutionalization still demanded secrecy and denial of the lesbian identity, and thus bars reverted back to acting as the prominent haven through the midcentury. These bars were no measure safer than they were in the days of *Vice Versa*, in fact, as time went on, they seemed to only harbor an increasing frequency of police raids. Thus, it is of little surprise that the next watershed moment for the Lesbian Print Movement would again be born out of an incongruency and frustration with the lesbian community's dependence on the bar scene.

Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin harbored very much the same sentiments as Edythe Eyde prior to the publication of *Vice Versa*. They found the environment of lesbian bars to be less than conducive for socializing.[38] The persistence of this frustration with lesbian bars, by the time of Lyon and Martin nearly a decade, illustrated an inherent fault within the lesbian community of the midcentury. Lesbians *needed* a safe and private forum to build their community upon. The current climate made it entirely too difficult and dangerous to identify as a lesbian. If ever there was to be a consistent lesbian discourse, let alone societal acceptance, they first needed to be a community, not dissimilar to the likes of the community forum fostered by *Vice Versa*, in which the network introduced new lesbians to their identity, and in which members could privately convene and share ideas in a much safer and more conducive environment for coming out.

The solution, brought by Lyon and Martin in 1955, was the formation of a lesbian "social club."[39] They dubbed their club The Daughters of Bilitis (DOB), in reference to an obscure fictional contemporary of Sappho, the purpose of which was the ability to invoke lesbianism while also remaining secretive and innocuous to those out-of-the-know.[40] Both

38 Marcus. "Phyllis Lyon & Del Martin"
39 Marcus. "Phyllis Lyon & Del Martin"
40 Marcus. "Phyllis Lyon & Del Martin"

Lyon and Martin are insistent that the DOB was formed purely out of a desire to meet more lesbians, with no initial prospects of delving into press or political matters, but again, and as with *Vice Versa*, the emergence of a community forum, an alternative to the bar scene, received rapid and widespread connection and praise from the lesbian community. The DOB filled the necessity for a proper, private forum that had, since the end of *Vice Versa*, been absent.[41]

Early meetings of the DOB took place in the solidarity of the living rooms and kitchens of its members' homes.[42] Small groups of lesbians (the turnout, though, never measuring more than 15 people by both Del Martin and Barbara Gittings' estimates, was unprecedented for the time period), would discuss some civil topic of particular relevance to the plight of the lesbian such as telling their parents, going to the therapist, and legal issues, for example.[43] Although intended purely as a social club, and utilized early on to discuss personal matters and social affairs, the DOB's approach to providing such a comfortable setting to engage with as a community forum, proved very conducive not only into aiding closeted lesbians to come out, but in creating a network of awareness throughout the underground lesbian community.

As the DOB grew, it allowed for discussions and understandings of lesbian issues beyond the personal scale. Soon, discussions shifted focus towards anti-gay laws and the status of the lesbian in American society.[44] In less than a year's time, the DOB accumulated a membership of such unprecedented scale so as to necessitate the creation of the first lesbian mailing list. This coincided with their shift into the political sphere. Illustrative of their adoption of a reformist philosophy, in October of 1956, each copy of their first issued newsletter, titled "The Ladder," was branded with a statement of their platform. The Daughters of Bilitis sought to use the network of lesbians grown by their organization to enter the Lesbian Print Movement as a means to facilitate discourse within the lesbian community and promote "the integration of the homosexual into society by... advocating a mode of behavior and dress acceptable to society."[45]

The Ladder

The significance of *The Ladder* in the evolution of the Lesbian Print Movement came not necessarily from its platform. Although its adherence to reformist ideals did illustrate a growing confidence in the lesbian community and a shift towards more directly political action, *The Ladder* instead proved so wildly successful in the pre-Stonewall era because it inadvertently rectified the follies of *Vice Versa.*

41 Marcus. "Phyllis Lyon & Del Martin"
42 Marcus. "Episode 09 - Gittings & Lahusen"
43 Marcus. "Phyllis Lyon & Del Martin"; Marcus. "Episode 09 - Gittings & Lahusen"
44 "Phyllis Lyon, the Daughters of Bilitus and the Homophile Movement," 3-4
45 Whitt. "A "Labor from the Heart"," 256

The structure and contents of *The Ladder* were remarkably similar to those of *Vice Versa*. Issues consisted of complications of fiction, poetry, book reviews, and reader submissions in the same vein as *Vice Versa* did.[46] *The Ladder* was just as capable of, and successful in, not only publicizing lesbian themes to engage with the community, but in encouraging active participation between readers and the publication. The political climate still mandated discretion, and so while names and addresses were listed within issues of *The Ladder*, unlike in *Vice Versa*, almost everyone involved operated under a multitude of pseudonyms in an effort to protect themselves from prosecution. This is not to diminish the intimate and respected connection *The Ladder* maintained with its readers. Quite to the contrary, *The Ladder* proved just as, if not more, personal and engaging than previous lesbian print media. Historian Marcia Gallo argues, "For women who came across a copy in the early days, The Ladder was a lifeline. It was a means of expressing and sharing otherwise private thoughts and feelings, of connecting across miles and disparate daily lives, of breaking through isolation and fear."[47] It is, however, pertinent to make the distinction that set *The Ladder* apart from and made it more successful than its predecessors: organization.

The Ladder's success as a print commodity could easily be attributed to its direct relationship with the Daughters of Bilitis. Whereas predecessors like *Vice Versa* had to create their own distribution network by hand and word of mouth, the success as the DOB as an organization before becoming a part of the press lent itself an already-established network of lesbians known to be predisposed to, and in agreement with, the content being put forth. *The Ladder*'s first issue distributed 175 copies, more than the entire nine-month run of *Vice Versa*.[48] The organization already had a mailing list, functioning now as a vetted and established distribution network. *The Ladder*'s first issue was not handed out on the street, it was sent to everybody on the DOB's mailing list.[49] *The Ladder* remained not-for-profit, just as *Vice Versa* did. Phyliss Lyon recounts telling recipients of the first issue, "if you would like to continue to get it, send us a dollar," but again, the advantage of using an organization as the foundation for the publication was that there was a pool of resources shared by the membership.

Whereas *Vice Versa* failed to survive Lisa Ben's job change, the membership of an organization like DOB ensured security in its numbers, proven through its nearly 20-year run in the press. *The Ladder* also illustrated a growing shift in the lesbian community towards a political climate. By the issuance of *The Ladder* in 1956, the DOB adopted a platform based around reformist politics. The mainstream societal discourse of the time referred to homosexual women, not as lesbians, but rather, "the variant."[50] "The variant" was a nasty name. It reinforced the prior discourse of lesbianism as deviant or sick. It was

46 "Phyllis Lyon, the Daughters of Bilitus and the Homophile Movement," 4
47 "Phyllis Lyon, the Daughters of Bilitus and the Homophile Movement," 4
48 "Phyllis Lyon, the Daughters of Bilitus and the Homophile Movement," 4
49 "Phyllis Lyon, the Daughters of Bilitus and the Homophile Movement," 4
50 Marcus. "Episode 09 - Gittings & Lahusen"

something unusual, something that did not fit in. The ultimate goal of the Lesbian Print Movement, the achievement of acceptance of the mainstream society, relies on said society understanding and tolerating lesbianism. The idea of "the variant" posed the opposite effect.

The DOB then sought to use their organization, and their press, through T*he Ladder*, to reform the public's perception from "the variant" to "the homophile." The term homophile was adopted for its emphasizing of love (*-phile*) over sex, the idea being that love between the same sex is marginally less deviant than sex between them in the eyes of the public.[51] The idea of *The Ladder* was intertwined with this philosophy in this name. According to an interview by Barbara Gittings and Kay Lahusen, both having served as editors for *The Ladder*,

> The magazine was called The Ladder because you were supposed to climb up the ladder…and into the human race on an okay basis. The first six issues or so had this picture, a ladder, literally… and the little lesbian is beginning to climb the ladder, upgrading herself so that she will become an okay person instead of a variant who has a poor self-image, who doesn't go to work 9:00 to 5:00, who doesn't hold a regular job, who isn't a participating member of society.[52]

In *The Ladder* pages, this ideation appeared as quite a novelty for the Lesbian Print medium. Predecessors of *The Ladder* focused almost entirely on fiction writing and supporting individual discourse within the community. Later issues of *The Ladder*, however, began expanding the scale of its discourse past individual social issues and onto the perception of lesbianism as a whole. Mainstream media hardly covered stories concerning the lesbian or queer communities prior to the Stonewall uprising in 1969, so there was very little traditional news for *The Ladder* to cover.[53] Rather, homophile news focused on non-fiction evaluations of various mainstream print publications, attempting to analyze queer subtexts in an effort to determine shifts in the public's perception of lesbianism.[54]

Although such a practice does admittedly sound unfulfilling, these shifts in the behavior of lesbian periodicals demonstrated shifts in motivations within the lesbian community as a whole. The fact that *The Ladder* began to use itself to redefine the scale of discourse within the lesbian community was indicative of an emboldening of the lesbian community. Prior to the Homophile Movement, the expressed goals of each major lesbian group were uniquely to find other lesbians. This sentiment was shared in the consumption of pulps, the success of *Vice Versa*, as well as the initial formation of the DOB. Pre-homophile lesbians were exclusively seeking community, oftentimes confounded by a desire for privacy when relating to lesbian ideals. The Homophile Movement seemed to change that.

51 "Phyllis Lyon, the Daughters of Bilitus and the Homophile Movement," 5
52 Marcus. "Episode 09 - Gittings & Lahusen"
53 Adams. "Built Out of Books," 117
54 Foote. "Deviant Classics," 175

Moving into the 1960's, *The Ladder* became increasingly political and while still facilitating discourse among the community, began to focus on the perception of lesbianism as an identity within the United States.

This change illustrates two major points. Firstly, the role of Lesbian Print as a community forum has changed. If the forum could afford shifting its view away from personal discussions, such as the topics of DOB meetings, they must have been met elsewhere. This was confounded by the second recognition, the changing of the Lesbian Print Movement's ideals. The focus on lesbianism on a macro scale, coupled with the growing presence of the reformist politics of the Homophile Movement within the publication, indicated that, by the 1960's, the lesbian community was no longer concerned with establishing a community, but rather moved on towards seeking public acceptance. This contextualization of lesbians as a group within mainstream society also defied the desires of the pre-Homophile Movement for privacy.

All things considered, it becomes clear that the rise of the Homophile Movement, and its implementation within lesbian press via *The Ladder*, demonstrated yet another watershed moment, not only within the Lesbian Print Movement, but the lesbian community as a whole. *The Ladder* worked off of the blueprint set and proven by *Vice Versa* to be successful in creating a community, and then superseded it through its relationship with the DOB. The formula *The Ladder* operated upon was successful and supportive enough to achieve the sense of community and understanding lesbianism had been lacking. With that community cemented through the DOB, readers could afford to evolve the discourse into the realm of identity politics, itself an indication of the Movement's newfound desire for acceptance.

Death of the Homophile

The increasing draw towards political activism and societal acceptance only continued to grow into the late 1960's. Here we find yet another example of the American political climate of the time inadvertently affecting the course of the Lesbian Press Movement. By the late 1960's, the United States found itself embroiled in a series of protests and pickets, fueled by the ever-growing counterculture that seemed to eat up the youth and spit them back out as militants. Perhaps sprawled on by the Civil Rights Movement, the Vietnam War, or the outset of Second Wave Feminism.[55] Regardless, this radical behavior found itself present within the Lesbian Print Movement and created a schism in ideology that would explode before the new decade.

Despite *The Ladder*'s continued dive into politics, by the late 1960's their insistence on reforming "the variant" had earned the DOB and unfortunate reputation as "poky"

55 Adams. "Built Out of Books," 114

and "conservative."[56] The growing discourse among the lesbian community began to perceive the Homophile Movement as not only insulting, but counterproductive in achieving societal assimilation. The prospect of shaping one's identity to fit a hypothetical societal standard felt wrong and scolding. Even within the DOB there was infighting surrounding the philosophy and alleged dismissal of those lesbians already existing as contributing members of society.[57] In 1963 Barbara Gittings took control of *The Ladder* in an effort to realign it with more direct and militant politics in line with the growing counterculture. For her efforts she was fired after only three years, with founders Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin retaking control in a desperate attempt to prolong the lifeline of their dying philosophy.[58]

To the wider lesbian community, tensions continued to rise as the counterculture urged a militant and direct response to their subjugation. Faith waned thin in the DOB's attempts to procure mainstream acceptance through reformation. As the late 1960's saw the Homophile Movement move past its tenth year in practice with no immediately visible returns, the lesbian community began to adopt a discourse whereby the perceived failure of reformation politics proved that true societal acceptance could only be achieved through their own means.[59] As a result, the lesbian community began to reject *The Ladder* and the DOB, aligning themselves with the counterculture's ideation of "bringing down the establishment."[60] Their goals now set firmly on broadcasting the truth of lesbianism and forcing society to accept it, rather than attempting to fit the lesbian identity into a societal mold incongruent with it.[61]

All these growing tensions would finally come to a head in June of 1969, with the Stonewall Riots not only acting as a climax and a watershed moment in LGBTQ activism, but, quite visibly, in the Lesbian Press Movement. The change in the political and societal landscape for the queer community in the post-Stonewall era was drastic and unprecedented.[62] The eruption of queer discourse as a nationally televised event finally brought the LGBTQ community into the mainstream. Though not immediately accepted by that mainstream, it brought inescapable attention to the queer communities, finally enlightening the masses and the remaining silent people to lesbianism as an identity. The post-Stonewall era opened up the lesbian discourse to a wider, mainstream public, allowing fronts such as the Lesbian Press Movement to successfully shift focus towards the direct counterculture politics they had been harboring, leading to the greatest and most dramatic shift in the history of the Lesbian Press Movement.

56 Whitt. "A "Labor from the Heart"," 236
57 Marcus. "Episode 09 - Gittings & Lahusen"
58 Whitt. "A "Labor from the Heart"," 237
59 Adams. "Built Out of Books," 123-124
60 Adams. "Built Out of Books," 124
61 Marcus. "Episode 09 - Gittings & Lahusen"
62 Adams. "Built Out of Books," 117

The Power in the Press

Following the Stonewall Uprising, it was as if the progressive landscape had changed overnight. Coverage of feminist issue in *The New York Times*, as well as television news, tripled between 1969 and 1970.[63] Lesbian periodicals, which had only numbered in single digits throughout the entirety of their compiled history, found representation by the hundreds by the early 1970's.[64] The sudden spotlight on, and recognition of lesbianism, among other sexualities existing as an identity, brought an unprecedented amount of support and new members into the Lesbian Press Movement. Stonewall proved to be the boiling point in which tensions finally broke surrounding the politics of the Homophile era.

The rapid influx of a new and radical membership within the Lesbian Print Movement in the immediate aftermath of Stonewall saw the shaping of anti-reformist politics. The incredible growth in numbers allowed for lesbians to split from the DOB and form their own presses in their own organizations. The relevant discourse within the Lesbian Press Movement became that of both rejecting the mainstream media and taking power in the press through self-publication. Lesbians argued that the greater society lacked the proper understanding of the lesbian identity to report on them, and as such, the outset of the post-Stonewall era saw a widespread boycotting and rejection of any and all forms of mainstream press. All media reporting on, and consumed by, lesbians was to be done by lesbians. This mantra inevitably created a massive demand for lesbian periodicals, of which the new influx of members, coupled with the recent severing of ties from the DOB, facilitated.[65]

It is perhaps unsurprising, however tragic, that the death of *The Ladder* coincided with the birth of independent press and the rejection of the reformist politics which *The Ladder* clung so tightly to. The magazine eventually fell to a lack of funding in 1972, illustrative of the post-Stonewall era's emphasis on smaller scale, individual presses, and the mass migration from the ranks of the DOB that facilitated it. The papers that succeeded *The Ladder* were characteristically smaller, regional, yet more diverse and creative in not only their content, but also in their approaches to publication, printing, and distributing. Whereas, by its death in 1972, *The Ladder* had evolved itself into a 45-page publication, circulating nationally in the thousands each issue, the rise of independent press in the post-Stonewall era saw the community starting back from scratch.[66] The lesbian print of the 1970's was almost exclusively regional. Most often they settled in liberal cities or college towns, as they tended to lend themselves as a market for radical or counter-cultural activism, and through their sale, managed to forge a network of community hubs across

63 Adams. "Built Out of Books," 117
64 Whitt. "A "Labor from the Heart"," 232
65 Adams. "Built Out of Books," 118
66 Whitt. "A "Labor from the Heart"," 240

the country.[67]

These new independent print women found themselves inevitably with a lack of resources. Printing was often co-opted in conjunction with other larger alternative presses, or after hours at local print shops.[68] The post-Stonewall era was specifically notable for its demonstration of lesbians participating as a fully-fledged community. Despite running independent presses, the pooling of tools and resources between presses and organizations was markedly common.[69] As mainstream advertisers refused to list in lesbian periodicals, finding no money in a demographic composed entirely of women, even financing became a community effort.[70]

While the lesbian periodicals of the 1970's were far less consistent in quality and circulation than their predecessors such *The Ladder*, or even their contemporaries in the Gay Press Movement, the charm and success of post-Stonewall printing came from their displays of passion and commitment to the community through their remarkable creativity and problem solving when facing hardships.[71] The overwhelming theme of the post-Stonewall era of the Lesbian Print Movement was the "Do-It-Yourself" attitude. Taking the power of the press into their own hands meant taking the brunt of publishing logistics with it. The 1970's saw the hand-made efforts that Lisa Ben pioneered with *Vice Versa* replicated in the hundreds, at nationwide scale. The conglomeration of unconventional places which served as the backdrop for publication observed through numerous anecdotes is endearing. You see activists working out of their kitchens, driving half an hour every day, handing out mimeographs on the streets, and all for no pay.[72]

Legacy

In spite of the overwhelming popularity lesbian periodicals saw with the rise of independent press in the years following Stonewall, the medium would hardly survive past the decade. The death of lesbian periodicals, however, does not denote their failure, but rather their resounding success. The ability for the lesbian community to move past the realm of periodicals and into broader forms of dialogue, such as the bookstores and printing houses they would go on to found, is proof that the lesbian community grew past the need for the lesbian periodical. What had populated the stands and shelves of progressive bookstores and feminist trade stalls in the 1970's dissipated in favor of full-sized books

67 Adams. "Built Out of Books," 118
68 Adams. "Built Out of Books," 122; "A History of the Queer Press," *NYPL Podcasts*
69 Adams. "Built Out of Books," 130
70 Adams. "Built Out of Books," 232
71 Whitt. "A "Labor from the Heart"," 229
72 "A History of the Queer Press," *NYPL Podcasts*; Adams. "Built Out of Books," 115, 126

with fancy hard covers and burgeoning websites by the early 1990's.[73] From the outset of the movement, the purpose of print has always served, in some form or another, to foster a shared sense of community among a disenfranchised people. By the closing of the decade, that sense of community was undeniable and permanent, rooted in the various networks, institutions, and organizations created through the lesbian print movement in order to serve their closeted and subjugated population. The resources and networks forged through the movement showed an immense level of power and pride among the lesbian community. By then end of the 1970's, lesbian authors did away with pseudonyms, which had earlier been required for the entirety of the movement, writing under their real names, with photographs as well.[74] Whereas lesbian press had forever been shipped in brown paper coverings, with innocuous covers to hide the controversial nature of the content within, by the late 1970's not only were the covers shown bare, but innocuous drawings gave way to explicitly lesbian pieces of art: women kissing and in the nude![75] These were demonstrations of pride! These actions represented a *desire* to be contextualized within a form of literature whose themes, just fifty short years prior, were marked as deviant and criminal, having to be consumed in private.

Lesbian Periodicals appealed to, and were instrumental in, the growth, recognition, and emboldening of the greater lesbian community because print media offered an avenue for discourse when there was none elsewhere. Print allowed for a safe and private alternative to the dangerous and hostile environments surrounding it. Print acted as a vehicle for the spread of, and identification with, political rhetoric when one would otherwise be excluded. Ultimately, print gave a sense of pride and independence when one could identify with nothing else. By the end of the 1970's, the lesbian community did not need print anymore. Their success in achieving not only the understanding, but tolerance, required to find acceptance within a society, was no better proven than by their actions in the closing years of the Lesbian Print Movement. What began as a silent, invisible people, neglected by society and barred from their own discourse, turned itself, through its direct relationship with the print medium, into a national community of creators and innovators. Lesbians proved capable of literally redefining the status quo, with a rich and recognizable history, and serving as a point of pride to intertwine with their identity.

73 McKinney. *Information Activism,* 27
74 "A History of the Queer Press," *NYPL Podcasts*
75 Whitt. "A "Labor from the Heart"," 242