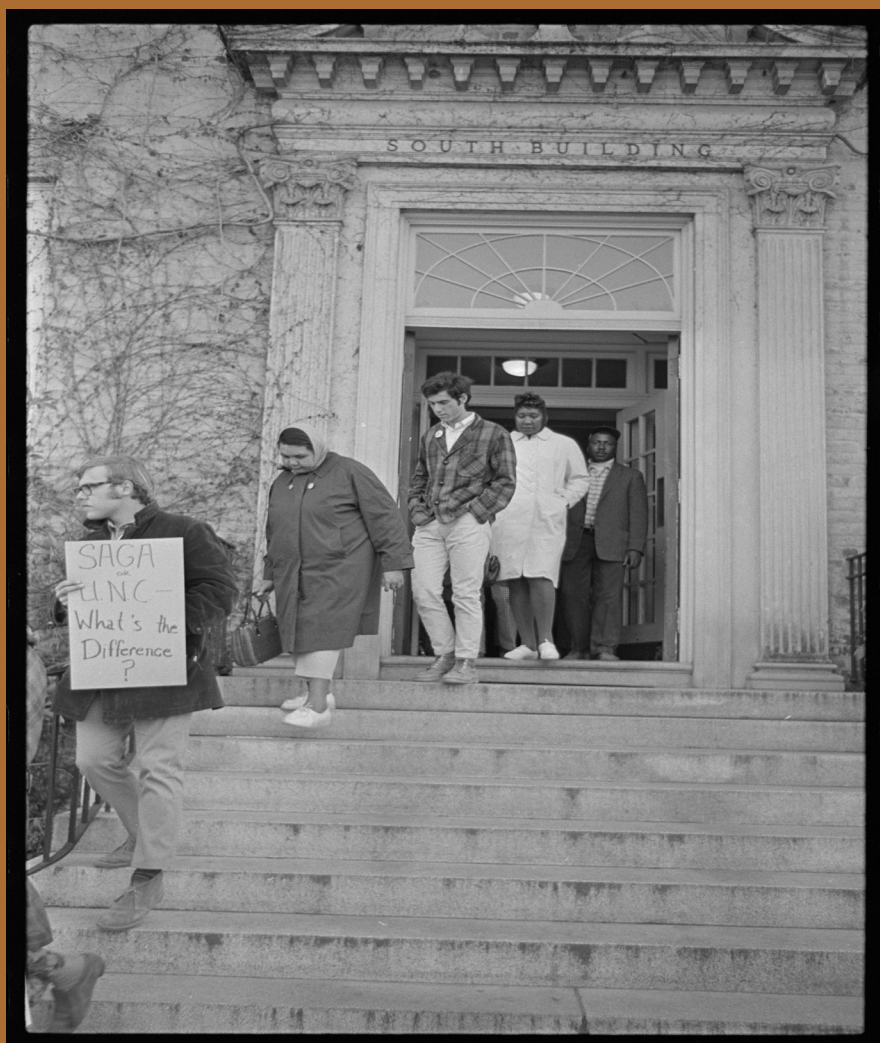# Traces

The UNC-Chapel Hill Journal of History

Volume 12

2024

Traces

The UNC-Chapel Hill Journal of History

Volume 12

2024

A Letter from the Editor

The editorial staff of *Traces: The UNC-Chapel Hill Journal of History* is pleased to present the publication of its 12th volume. We would like to first thank our authors for their diligence and dedication throughout our revision process. Many thanks are also owed to our former Managing Editor Javier Etchegaray, who made the transition process a breeze and helped answer my questions throughout the year. We would also like to thank Dr. Kathleen DuVal, whose work as our Chief Faculty Advisor helps make Traces a reality each year. Many thanks, also, to the History Department for offering administrative support whenever needed. A special thanks is owed to the best Undergraduate Coordinator around: Sam Louie-Meadors. Sam not only answered many emails about how things worked behind the scenes, but also worked alongside of Dr. DuVal and Dr. Matt Andrews to ensure that our incredible assistant editors received credit for their work. Thank you to Sam, Dr. DuVal, and Dr. Andrews for their care for the journal and the team that produces it. We would like to thank John McLeod and Samuel Dalzell from the Office of Scholarly Publishing Services at UNC Press and Matthew Turi from the Special Collections at Wilson Library for making every part of the publication process easier. For her last-minute help in answering my questions about InDesign, thank you to Lynn Eades at the Undergraduate Library's Media and Design Center. We are also very grateful to our donors. They make it possible for everyone involved in this project to hold a physical journal at the end of the year, and we cannot thank them enough!

Last, but certainly not least, thank you to our excellent assistant editors and the edito-rial board. *Traces* is a completely student-run and managed publication, from the editor selection to paper selections to revisions to typesetting the journal. I could not be prouder of the team we have assembled, and each editor has been a joy to work alongside of in the production of this volume. I look forward to producing more excellent volumes with returning editors, and congratulations to our graduating staff members as they end their time at Carolina as undergraduates and begin their post-graduate careers! I can confidently say that they are going to do great things.

Our cover image is a reminder that the service workers who make UNC-CH function have long demanded higher wages and better work conditions, and ongoing efforts by UNC-CH's housekeepers to demand a living wage and free parking indicate that this work has not ended. The University itself would grind to a halt without their labor. Inside, readers will find 14 excellent articles and two superb book reviews that explore a variety of topics and time periods. Our call for papers was distributed throughout the UNC system, and we are proud to publish work from undergraduate students at a variety of UNC system schools, further broadening our reach to help undergraduates in North Carolina publish their important and exciting historical research. *Traces*, therefore, is a vital hub for promoting and publishing undergraduate research, and we hope this volume serves as a testament to the immense value of this research. Our two book reviews, written by graduate students at UNC-Chapel Hill, demonstrate the importance of cultivating spaces where undergraduates and graduate students can be published alongside of one another, and it is our pleasure to make this possible.

With gratitude for all,

Aaron Pattillo-Lunt

Traces

The UNC-Chapel Hill Journal of History

Articles

Book Reviews

The Effects of Alcohol on Violence in Native North America, 1500–1800

Emiko Andrews

Abstract: Early North American literature is rife with the promotion of the "drunken Indian" stereotype, in which Native peoples, in particular Native men, are depicted as violent, unpredictable drunks, making them a threat to the safety of colonists. In this article, I assess the origins of the stereotype and the extent to which alcohol affected the tribal nations of North America from its introduction in the 16th century until the end of the 18th century. Guided by the understanding of early North American primary sources as largely produced by and biased in favor of Europeans, I compare pre- and post-contact North American conflict patterns and substance use and assess the European understanding and depiction of the effects of alcohol on Indigenous communities. This is supported by firsthand European and Native American accounts of alcohol use, colonial literature, and modern historical scholarship. This analysis upholds the conclusion that, contrary to the image projected by colonists, the drinking habits of Native peoples were not a significant threat to Europeans. Rather, they increased interpersonal conflict within Native communities and negatively affected social cohesion within and between tribal nations. As such, the stereotypes perpetuated by white Americans served only to deepen their own fears and biases towards neighboring Native peoples.

Introduction to a Stereotype

Throughout colonial North America, European colonists held the belief that Indians were, as a whole, unable to control themselves when drinking.[1] The fear that resulted from the image of the "drunken Indian" became pervasive by the 18th century, leading to widespread colonial legislation prohibiting the trade of alcohol to Native Americans.[2] American popular culture absorbed the stereotype held by early American colonists thereafter, in both the 19th and 20th centuries. One famous example from the 19th century is the Native American character in Mark Twain's famous 1876 novel, *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, who is a violent, drunken character named "Injun Joe." Joe represents an American social outcast, a mixed race, white and indigenous "half-breed," made to live on the margins of society due to his behavior and lack of racial uniformity.[3]

---

1 Peter C Mancall, *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), 21.

2 Mancall, *Deadly Medicine*, 26.

3 Tanis Thorne, "Liquor Has Been Their Undoing: Liquor Trafficking and Alcohol

Thus, Twain reinforced the preexisting stereotypes and fears surrounding the American Indian, particularly Indian men, as violent and unpredictable drunks. His presence in a novel by Twain also suggests the familiarity the white American reader would have had with such a characterization. In many senses, white American culture feared the Indian man and the violence they associated with him, both on a tribal and, increasingly, on an individual level, particularly when fueled by alcohol. The stereotype remains in the collective consciousness today.

This brief review suggests two questions. First, to what extent did Native peoples' alcohol consumption truly increase interpersonal and organized violence? Second, who was most affected by their drinking? This paper will examine changes in reports of conflict among Native American peoples prior to European contact up to approximately the nineteenth century. The latter date represents a point at which the United States became a unified nation with a monopoly on violence that was significantly superior to that of eastern Native American tribes and was beginning its westward expansion beyond the Appalachians.

Prior to describing Native peoples' post-contact drinking habits and their consequences in greater depth, I wish to take time to acknowledge that much of the recorded material on this matter originates from European traders, travelers, and missionaries, as Native American history is traditionally preserved orally rather than through written documentation. Further, these sources have been interpreted by non-Native historians, who, as will be discussed, often perpetuate the narratives and attitudes held by early colonists with deep biases towards the indigenous population. With that said, I will argue that the consumption of European alcohol negatively affected eastern North American peoples from first contact with Europeans to 1800, leading to—in some tribal nations—a breakdown of social cohesion, increased violence between Indians, and disruptions to systems meant to control violence in Native societies. I aim to achieve this end by first reviewing pre-contact customs for violence and war-making in North America to which post-contact, alcohol-influenced violence can be compared. I will also compare pre-contact European alcohol culture with Native American substance use to better explain the impact of the introduction of alcohol to Native American society before explaining its effect on violence between Native peoples and the resulting reactions from Europeans.

Pre-Contact Native American Violence

A complete understanding of the effect of alcohol on Native violence patterns requires an examination of the kinds of violence that existed throughout pre-contact North America and the ways they were traditionally conducted. Similar to states and cultures outside early-modern Indigenous America, discourse and expectations for proper behavior surrounding war-making and combat between individuals and tribes differed across regions and diverged from European convention. However, by examining the

Abuse in the Lower Missouri Fur Trade," *Gateway Heritage* 13, no. 2 (September 1, 1992): 5.

traditional customs of violence among tribes who made contact and traded with Europeans in the early-modern period, I will illuminate patterns and similarities to which one can compare post-contact intra-Native conflict.

The first example of pre-contact Native violence patterns comes from the Osage, a hugely influential Native American tribe during the early days of European contact. This group, like the Europeans they would encounter, were an "expansionist" people in that they aimed to control trade in strategic areas by conquering lands between the Missouri, Arkansas, and Red rivers.[4] These Europeans organized war parties in alliance with Osage diplomats, conquered land, and subsequently maintained significant control over American trade west of the Appalachians.[5] The Osage standards for acceptable violence extended beyond customs for expansionist war; the Osage had a loosely-enforced custom for seeking controlled justice in the case of a murder. The victim's relatives were expected to seek justice by killing and scalping the murderer or "an alien enemy," with the scalp serving as a tribute for the victim's grave.[6] Alternatively, the murderer or a related party could seek forgiveness through words and gifts, thus eliminating the need for retributive violence.[7] However, whether the offended party chose to seek revenge or accept a diplomatic solution, retributive justice could could serve multiple purposes for the family and tribe; they might obtain a sense of justice for the victim, aid in tribal war efforts, improve diplomatic ties with surrounding parties, and obtain material goods or a captive for the family and tribe while, ideally, ending cyclical violence. This example, taken from the Osage tribe, reflects wider patterns of violence, known as blood feuds, found throughout the Native North American world.[8] The "blood feud" necessitated killing to make up for slain relatives, thereby establishing the concept of "blood debt."[9]

However, the possibility of war was further by custom; the entire community had to agree to take military action without being coerced.[10] Another important aspect of pre-contact Native American organized violence includes the use of careful rituals designed to purify and protect the warriors entering battle.[11] For example, southeastern Native warriors would sequester themselves for three days while fasting and drinking

---

4   Kathleen DuVal, "Cross-Cultural Crime and Osage Justice in the Western Mississippi Valley, 1700-1826," *Ethnohistory* 54, no. 4 (October 1, 2007): 697–8.

5   DuVal, "Cross-Cultural Crime and Osage Justice in the Western Mississippi Valley, 1700–1826," 698.

6   DuVal, "Cross-Cultural Crime and Osage Justice in the Western Mississippi Valley, 1700–826," 699–700.

7   DuVal, "Cross-Cultural Crime and Osage Justice in the Western Mississippi Valley, 1700–1826," 700.

8   Wayne E. Lee, "Peace Chiefs and Blood Revenge: Patterns of Restraint in Native American Warfare, 1500–1800," *The Journal of Military History* 71, no. 3 (2007): 713–4.

9   Lee, "Peace Chiefs and Blood Revenge," 714.

10   Lee, "Peace Chiefs and Blood Revenge," 716.

11   Matthew Jennings, *New Worlds of Violence: Cultures and Conquests in the Early American Southeast* (Knoxville: University Of Tennessee Press, 2011), 63.

potions to achieve this end.[12] Further north, tribes might partake in a feast, dance with their community, or partake in days of mandatory preparation rituals, all with the aim of harnessing the spiritual power which would protect them in battle.[13] Thus, it appears that careful preparation, consensus, reflection, and restraint were all key in controlling and restraining wider-scale conflicts, such as war between peoples.

However, in the case of intra-Native violent conflict, Indian objectives in battle were rather different than those of Europeans. War was characterized by an emphasis on taking enemy captives for individual and community glory rather than the indiscriminate killing of men from "the other side."[14] This would result in one of two outcomes for captives. First, a captive could be tortured to death by the community—including women and children—perhaps as a means of expressing anger and grief at the victim and their people for the losses inflicted on the captors.[15] Captives could, alternatively, be kept alive. Usually reserved for women and children, this option resulted in the incorporation of the prisoners into the community, either in a subordinate role as a slave, a servant, or as fully-equal kin.[16] Among the Iroquois, for example, a prisoner might "replace" a deceased individual, serving to fill a vacant social role and to maintain the family's lineage and spiritual strength.[17] Given this preference for prisoners over lethality, war between North American peoples was less deadly than its European counterpart.[18]

To summarize, tribal communities often settled conflict between two individuals without escalation, though not without consequence. Native American peoples carried out wide-scale conflict intentionally and customarily, typically with a focus on seeking justice rather than mass killing or conquest. However, like many other aspects of Native American life, close contact with Europeans would change many such war-making customs. In some cases, intentional strategic changes emerged from military and trade alliances. However, the evolution did not always take this intentional strategic form, nor was it always to betterment of the community. By the 17th century, changes to interpersonal conflict between Native individuals arose as well. As reported by both Native community leaders and European observers, such changes, particularly those driven by the consumption of alcohol, were to the detriment of tribal nations and their members.

Initial Contact and the Clash of Cultures

Upon the meeting of Native Americans and Europeans on the North American East Coast, cultures collided, creating significant consequences for both continents.

---

12   Lee, "Peace Chiefs and Blood Revenge," 720.
13   Lee, "Peace Chiefs and Blood Revenge," 720–1.
14   Lee, "Peace Chiefs and Blood Revenge," 730.
15   Lee, "Peace Chiefs and Blood Revenge," 731.
16   Lee, "Peace Chiefs and Blood Revenge," 730.
17   Daniel K Richter, "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 40, no. 4 (1983): 530–1.
18   Lee, "Peace Chiefs and Blood Revenge," 728.

Customs surrounding alcohol consumption were one such dramatic difference between European and Native American cultures. Alcohol was consumed widely, often, and occasionally in large quantities across Europe, whereas much of North America had no experience whatsoever with the substance. In this portion of my research, I will give an overview of both drinking cultures to convey their differences in greater detail, thereby providing context for the consequences of European colonization of the Americas.

In early modern Europe, alcohol was the "ubiquitous social lubricant," usually consumed in the less concentrated forms of beer, ale, and wine.[19] It also served roles in ritual and celebratory settings, and in some situations, as an indicator of the host's wealth.[20] Further, alcohol was widely considered a form of medicine and could be prescribed as a remedy to an ailment or simply as a means of maintaining good health.[21] Thus, alcohol consumption was commonplace in Europe and highly normalized. European drinking culture, however, was highly critical of drunkenness. Sources like prescriptive literature and sermons warned of the dangers of excessive drinking and a drunk individual was a target for scorn and mockery.[22] While social stigma kept drinking cultures relatively moderate, with most individuals able to restrain their consumption to meet the moral standards of their societies, excessive consumption persisted. Heavy drinking occurred most frequently in male-dominated social spaces like taverns and pubs.[23] Additionally, the expansion of European maritime culture, particularly in the case of months or years-long voyages with limited or no access to clean water, both necessitated and encouraged heavy drinking among sailors and traders.[24] The threat of excessive alcohol consumption increased in the early modern period as distilled spirits became more widely available to Europeans, particularly throughout the 17th century.[25] Its consequences would soon extend far across the Atlantic, as liquor and the European men who enjoyed it reached the eastern shores of North America.

The traditional narrative regarding drinking behaviors in the pre-contact Americas suggested that Native peoples had limited experience with alcohol and therefore no existing cultural expectations surrounding its use. However, this was not universally true.

---

19   A. Lynn Martin, *Alcohol, Sex, and Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 1–2.

20   Martin, *Alcohol, Sex, and Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, 2–3.

21   Martin, *Alcohol, Sex, and Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, 4–5.

22   Martin, *Alcohol, Sex, and Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, 14.

23   Martin, *Alcohol, Sex, and Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, 61.

24   Elena Lesley, "Cultural Impairment and the Genocidal Potential of Intoxicants: Alcohol Use in Colonial North America," *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 13, no. 1 (April 2019): 92.

25   Martin, *Alcohol, Sex, and Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, 8.

One such exception can be found in cultures of the American southwest, to which the Aztec and Maya peoples introduced wine.[26] However, this pre-contact alcohol consumption was not comparable to recreational European alcohol consumption. The imbibing of this wine was highly regulated, both culturally and legally, due to its expectation for exclusive use in southwestern ceremonial settings.[27] However, the use of psychedelics for ritual purposes is better documented. One such example is the consumption of peyote, a kind of cactus that contains the psychedelic compound mescaline, which was used throughout the Americas to induce an altered state of consciousness for spiritual experiences.[28] Peyote use dates to prehistoric Texas and South America, evidenced in part by dried peyote that was radiocarbon-dated to approximately 4000 BCE.[29] Spaniards first documented psychedelic use of peyote in the 16th century upon their first encounters with Mexican tribes. Along with documentation through Indigenous oral histories, these recorded customs established historical precedent for the use of the substance.[30] However, the practice remained localized until it was incorporated into spiritual ceremonies by Plains Indians in the 19th century and later adopted by the Native American Church.[31] Prior to the adoption of peyote for spiritual use, Plains peoples utilized mescalbean seeds, also thought to have first been used in modern-day Texas and New Mexico, for their psychoactive properties.[32] However, the majority of Native American cultures, particularly those who first encountered Europeans in the 16th and 17th centuries, did not use these drugs, nor did they drink any alcoholic beverages.

Most Native American cultures did, however, have experience consuming a particularly popular stimulant substance: tobacco. The earliest archeological evidence for its use is evident in several North American sites dating to approximately 1500 BCE.[33] The preferred variety of tobacco was *Nicotiana rustica*, known for its high nicotine content.[34] In Eastern nations, the practice of mixing other plants with mind-altering potential into smoking mixes demonstrated the preference for a strong and mind-altering

26   Kevin P. McPherson and Peter Wakefield, "The Perfect Colonizer: Understanding Alcoholism and Its Treatments in Native America through Humanistic Inquiry," *Journal of Student Research* 4, no. 1 (2015): 174.

27   McPherson and Wakefield, "The Perfect Colonizer," 174.

28   Fred Beauvais, "American Indians and Alcohol," *Alcohol Health & Research World* 22, no. 4 (1998): 253–59, 256–7.

29   Giorgio Samorini, "The Oldest Archeological Data Evidencing the Relationship of Homo Sapiens with Psychoactive Plants: A Worldwide Overview," *Journal of Psychedelic Studies* 3, no. 2 (June 1, 2019): 71.

30   Mike Jay, *Mescaline: A Global History of the First Psychedelic.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), 25.

31   Jay, *Mescaline*, 127.

32   Samorini, The Oldest Archeological Data Evidencing the Relationship of Homo Sapiens with Psychoactive Plants," 71.

33   Samorini, The Oldest Archeological Data Evidencing the Relationship of Homo Sapiens with Psychoactive Plants," 71.

34   Theodore M. Godlaski, "Holy Smoke: Tobacco Use Among Native American Tribes in North America," *Substance Use & Misuse* 48, no. 1–2 (November 15, 2012): 2.

effect from tobacco.[35] Whether pure or adulterated, the tobacco and the pipes through which it was smoked were considered sacred, and thus recreational use was unheard of prior to European contact.[36] Through this use of tobacco in ceremonial and sacred contexts, mind-altered states were associated with positive spiritual experiences, healing, and learning through dreams.[37] By contrast, alcohol creates effects including lowered inhibition, reasoning and motor impairment, and mood alteration. Thus, given the vast differences between the effects of the two substances, alcohol was largely incompatible with the existing framework of substance use in Native America.

The dramatic differences between the customs and expectations surrounding ritualized American tobacco smoking and recreational European alcohol drinking began to reveal themselves as trade between the continents began on the Atlantic coast. The northern fur trade was one of the earliest paths that European alcohol flowed through. Trade documentation suggests that the distribution began around the 1640s and was not initially monetized, though as northern peoples developed a taste for liquor, it was often traded for pelts.[38] Historian Elena Lesley suggests that cultural exchange and imitation within early American trading came to characterize Native American drinking culture.[39] Indigenous sources, too, blamed early traders for their drinking culture and the violence that often resulted from it. According to a Frenchman's account, the Indians they encountered would claim that traders taught them to drink upon introducing alcohol to them for the first time.[40] The French were also known to provide strong liquor during trade negotiations, encouraging Indians to consume alcohol as to undermine their bargaining abilities, thus providing a practical explanation for the introduction of spirits to the previously sober Native nations.[41]

However, this is not to undermine Native peoples' self-determination and autonomy when drinking alcohol following its introduction to North American. According to historian Peter Mancall, there were three key reasons for drinking among eastern Indian populations: a sense of personal or spiritual power, for incorporation into hospitality rituals, and for times of celebration or mourning.[42] Almost universally, however, observers of both primary and secondary sources claim that once liquor had been introduced to an Indian community, its partakers drank to total inebriation.[43] Further, the custom of aspiring to achieve a mind-altered state, whether through tobacco, psychedelics, or other spiritual rituals, stretched across Native North America. By drinking

---

35   Godlaski, "Holy Smoke," 3.
36   Godlaski, "Holy Smoke," 3.
37   Lesley, "Cultural Impairment and the Genocidal Potential of Intoxicants," 92.
38   Mancall, *Deadly Medicine*, 42.
39   Lesley, "Cultural Impairment and the Genocidal Potential of Intoxicants," 92.
40   Mancall, *Deadly Medicine*, 96.
41   Smart and Ogborne, *Northern Spirits: A Social History of Alcohol in Canada*, 108–9.
42   Mancall, *Deadly Medicine*, 67–8.
43   Mancall, *Deadly Medicine*, 68.

excessively, individuals were able to access such a state, thereby achieving temporary spiritual, social, and personal fulfillment. Finally, the alcohol supplied to the Shawnee in particular was received as a gift. Based on the reciprocal nature of alliance and trade found across Native America, the reception and consumption of alcohol demonstrated of friendship between the parties.[44] Ultimately, the resulting drinking culture would come at the cost of the health and integrity of many tribal nations.

Effects on Native American Violence

The early effects of the 17th-century French-Indian alcohol trade were recorded through the *Jesuit Relations*, in which missionaries documented Indian drinking habits. One individual wrote that, "every night is filled with clamors, brawls, and fatal incidents, which the intoxicated cause in the cabins."[45] At least to the Jesuit observer, there was a causal relationship between the heavy drinking in Indian communities and an increase in conflict, accidents, and ultimately fatalities. Later, one New Netherlands act from 1643 claimed that "many Indians are daily seen and found intoxicated, and being drunk and fuddled, commit many and grave acts of violence."[46] These are only a few of countless examples of European complaints of Indian drunkenness. Recall, however, preconceived European associations, especially among the clergy, between drunkenness and sinful, uncontrolled behavior.

As claims of alcohol-fueled interpersonal violence among eastern Native American societies increased, rituals surrounding interpersonal vengeance and justice were reported to have been affected as well. In the mid-17th century, Jesuits recorded that tribes such as the Oneidas exempted individuals who committed acts of violence—including murder—while drunk from punishment.[47] In the case of murder, rather than placing the blame on the killer, Indians would blame the alcohol for a death. This opened a loophole in traditional feud structures; in an 18th-century Montreal account, a group would get a single "executioner" drunk, who could then kill widely-disliked individuals who needed eliminating (according to those responsible for such plots) without fear of punishment.[48] This practice stood in stark contrast with the same account's description of the usual treatment of a murderer, in which "[Indians] calmly punish cold-blooded murderers with a speedy death, neither proceeded nor followed by any formalities."[49] Hence, the disruption of normal structure of Native American violence by misuse of alcohol began to reveal itself to Europeans, who unknowingly observed incidents in

---

44   Sami Lakomäki, Ritva Kylli, and Timo Ylimaunu, "Drinking Colonialism: Alcohol, Indigenous Status, and Native Space on Shawnee and Sámi Homelands, 1600–1850," *Native American and Indigenous Studies* 4, no. 1 (2017): 1–29.

45   Reginald G. Smart and Alan C. Ogborne, *Northern Spirits: A Social History of Alcohol in Canada*, 2nd ed. (1996; repr., Toronto: Addiction Research Foundation, 1997) 2.

46   Mancall, *Deadly Medicine*, 103.

47   Mancall, *Deadly Medicine*, 79.

48   Mancall, *Deadly Medicine*, 81–2.

49   Mancall, *Deadly Medicine*, 81.

which alcohol was incorporated into traditional forms of violence.

      Whether or not European Americans were aware of the extent to which Indians were at risk for being victims of alcohol-related violence at the hands of fellow Indians, many Native American communities were aware of the effects of drunken violence and responded to it through political action.[50] In 1738, in correspondence to British colonial authorities, Shawnee tribal leaders attested to increased interpersonal violence among members of their community. They claimed excessive liquor consumption led to unprecedented levels of violence within their communities, including the killing of two Haudenosaunee visitors.[51] The Shawnee nation thereafter took on a brief prohibition campaign that ended on account of the tribe's widespread resentment of the interference in their trading and drinking.[52] There are many such accounts of temperance activism from the early 18th century by Native peoples across the eastern American region, from Iroquois to Choctaws, who would provide firsthand accounts of the violence caused by liquor consumption and their efforts to end the liquor trade.[53] These calls were at their loudest by the middle of the century, though at this time most colonial officials seemed to have given up efforts to end or even limit liquor supply to tribes, especially given the demands of colonial traders to continue the exchange.[54]

      From a later European account, following one mourning ceremony among a Native American group in 1753, an English missionary named Gideon Hawley described how a group of men became very drunk on rum, causing the women and children to retreat in the "adjacent bushes" and hide the tribe's weapons so "that murder or harm might not be the consequence." Despite their efforts, one drunk man obtained a gun and reportedly nearly shot an Englishman by accident.[55] This example reveals that Native Americans themselves, particularly the more vulnerable women and children, expected an increase in disorder, violence, and death when men were drunk. Hawley would continue to report similar situations, suggesting the pervasiveness of alcohol-fueled violence among Native American communities, even when alcohol was used in community-sanctioned settings. While alcohol, and more specifically drunkenness, certainly influenced interpersonal violence, it did not seem to directly affect or increase warfare. This does not indicate that Indians did not consume alcohol while at war; in one example, French-allied Indians were reported to have become "raging mad" when they drank brandy, causing them to "fight each other and kill each other."[56] This continues the pattern seen in accounts of Indian alcohol-related violence in which violence was strictly interpersonal, perhaps attributable to a lack of personal accountability. Warfare, however,

---

50   Mancall, *Deadly Medicine*, 128.
51   Lakomäki, Kylli, and Ylimaunu.
52   Lakomäki, Kylli, and Ylimaunu.
53   Mancall, *Deadly Medicine*, 100.
54   Mancall, *Deadly Medicine*, 101.
55   Mancall, *Deadly Medicine*, 76–7.
56   Mancall, *Deadly Medicine*, 54–5.

was a communal effort that had to be agreed upon by the majority and carefully prepared for. The collective nature of tribal government limited the possibility for a single drunken tribal leader to take men into a conflict on a whim. This did not stop alcohol from being incorporated into warfare preparation rituals, though this too would precipitate interpersonal, rather than intrapersonal conflict.[57]

When comparing the traditional structures of and restraints surrounding violence among Native American peoples to the descriptions of conflicts which emerged following the introduction of alcohol and how and if this challenged such structures, a pattern of excessive, destructive drinking emerges, accompanied by increases in interpersonal violence and disruptions to Native communities' social cohesion. This violence was observed by both European and Native American observers and worsened by British traders' refusal to restrict alcohol imports upon tribal leaders' efforts to amend the issue. However, settlers living outside of Native communities and common colonists would come to fear the drunken Indian man.

European Perceptions vs. Realities

The increase in violence and the social disruptions within Native communities attracted the attention of legislators, visible in the ways they justified legislating the consumption of alcohol among Native peoples. In response to complaints of the liquor trade inspiring "unruliness" among Native Americans, English, French, and Dutch American colonies crafted regulations which reduced or prohibited the trade of liquor to Indians.[58] Some state governments imposed these rules as early as 1633. However, Davis describes the prohibition as having "failed to curtail the perceived problem of drinking among Native Americans."[59] New England Puritans responded to this failure with racially-discriminatory legislation restricting individuals' drinking behaviors, with Native people facing harsher penalties for drunkenness than their white counterparts. Puritan leaders justified this prejudicial policy with claims that the former group's drinking inspired various other crimes.[60] Such laws indicate colonists' discomfort with Indian drinking habits, paired with frustration, as it became increasingly clear that alcohol would find its way to Native communities regardless of legislative attempts to the contrary, given limited law enforcement in the fledgling colony.[61]

Perhaps reflective of European fears surrounding the inability to restrict Native American drinking habits, Indian-on-European violence sparked salacious publications in colonial magazines, such as *The American Magazine*. The first edition, published in Philadelphia in 1741, contained an article about a murder of an Englishman committed

---

57   Mancall, *Deadly Medicine*, 63.
58   Davis, "Firewater Myths," 33.
59   Davis, "Firewater Myths," 34.
60   Davis, "Firewater Myths," 34–5.
61   Lakomäki, Kylli, and Ylimaunu.

by an Indian in a "drunken Fit."[62] As for warfare, the threat to the average colonist, especially on the East Coast, was more likely to decline than to increase throughout the early modern period. Many of the Native American polities in this region had weakened substantially by 1800, increasingly overpowered by United States military strength and civic authority. Evidence from crime records suggests this was true of interpersonal violence as well. According to records from Middlesex County, Massachusetts between the late 17th and mid-18th centuries, there were only two recorded incidents of alcohol-related violence; in both cases the victim was another Native person.[63] Considering the fact that Anglo-American law enforcement would have been much more concerned with preventing and recording violence among their own population rather than that of that between neighboring Indians, this data suggests that alcohol-fueled violence perpetrated by Native Americans in Middlesex County overwhelmingly affected other Native people rather than European colonists. Matthew Jennings goes so far as to argue that violence, specifically in the form of warfare between tribal nations and Europeans, "did not disrupt any sort of broadly defined social order" in the American southeast.[64] However, the average European colonist was surely more concerned with threats to their own safety than that of the emerging American social order, though these incidents appear to be very rare.

The threat of violence from intoxicated Native Americans was important to what historian Randall Craig Davis refers to as the "epic war narrative."[65] This kind of narrative was utilized, for example, by Puritan preacher Increase Mather, who suggested it was in part the trade of liquor to Indians which precipitated the King Philip's War, a conflict between a coalition of northeastern tribal nations and a separate coalition of English colonists and their Native allies.[66] However, evidence suggests that alcohol failed to affect Indian objectives for warfare, particularly the taking of captives. Further, the same European sources responsible for narratives that decried the sinfulness of Indian drunkenness and the increase in violent behaviors that resulted from drinking crafted narratives about the terrors of Indian captivity.[67] If anything, these kinds of survivor narratives may have revealed increased caution and hesitance in warfare, given that the prisoners lived to tell the tale of their captivity. Native peoples were especially likely to preserve the lives of European prisoners in accordance with European prisoner-of-war culture and the incorporation of release through ransom into the possibilities for captives.[68] With that said, there were certainly changes to customs of warfare precipitated by the arrival of Europeans to North America, but evidence suggests that these changes were not linked to alcohol.

---

62   Mancall, *Deadly Medicine*, 95.
63   Mancall, *Deadly Medicine*, 105.
64   Jennings, *New Worlds of Violence*, xxviii.
65   Davis, "Firewater Myths," 45.
66   Davis, "Firewater Myths," 45–6.
67   Randall Craig Davis, "Firewater Myths: Alcohol and Portrayals of Native Americans in American Literature" (Ohio State University PhD Dissertation, 1991), 54–5.
68   Lee, "Peace Chiefs and Blood Revenge," 730.

Rather, increases in interpersonal violence between Native individuals caused Europeans to fear that this phenomenon would evolve into warfare against colonists.

As such, it seems colonists' fears of alcohol-fueled Indian violence were unjustified. Given the evidence of the disruption to and subsequent increase in Native interpersonal violence and the observations and judgements that Europeans drew from this phenomenon, it is unsurprising that they, already weary of their "savage" neighbors, might believe they themselves were likely to be the targets of violence. Further, many of the accounts which depicted drunk Indians as a threat to European colonists were highly moralistic in nature and were likely exaggerated to emphasize the sinfulness of excessive alcohol consumption. Finally, given the intrigue of the violent, drunken Indian caricature, the American press would find and sensationalize accounts in which Native American men would attack Europeans, further popularizing the image in the minds of colonists. Regardless of this depiction's inconsistency with the underlying reality, the stereotype would remain pervasive beyond the 18th century.

Conclusions

Following a review of evidence surrounding the history and consequences of the introduction of alcohol to Native Americans, I return to the questions I first posed. First, what was the true extent to which Indian alcohol consumption increased violent behavior? According to European sources from the early-modern period, there was a definite increase in interpersonal violence attributable to drunkenness following the intro-duction of alcohol to a Native community. However, this violence was small in scale and tended to remain within Native communities as indicated by countless associations from Europeans and Native peoples alike between drunkenness and increased violent behavior, combined with alcohol's function as a loophole for Native feud traditions grounded in the concept of retributive justice. Accounts from tribal leaders affirm this was an issue among their communities to the extent that advocacy for legislation preventing the trade of alcohol and temperance within Native communities grew as such increases and changes in interpersonal violence became untenable in the 18th century.

Colonists may have been correct in stating that Native Americans typically did not consume alcohol in a safe or restrained way, and that this style of drinking resulted in an increase in violent behaviors, but it was not accurate to assume that this phenomenon regularly resulted in European victims or significantly disrupted colonial ways of life. The nature of the sources that reported otherwise limits the accuracy of these portrayals given that accounts promoting this narrative tended to come from preachers condemning the sin of drunkenness or from magazines who were likely to publish more salacious or exaggerated materials to turn a profit. More reliable sources like crime records, by contrast, do not suggest Native men typically attacked Europeans when drunk. Rather, the effects were most evident in the disruptions to traditional violence structures, in particular those surrounding feuds, and in the reactions of fellow Indians, usually women and chil-

dren, to drunk Native men and the violence they expected to result from such drinking. As such, I conclude that the effect of Native peoples' drinking habits undoubtedly affected other Native peoples far more than they did Europeans, as reflected by Native leaders' accounts and the disparity between European crime reports and sensationalized accounts involving alcohol-fueled violence by Native perpetrators against colonists.

The traditional narrative surrounding Indian drinking habits seems to originate from the attitudes of North American colonists, rather than a careful analysis of the history of Native American drinking habits and the way they increased violence or changed behaviors therein. It is more accurate to state that many Native American communities' drinking cultures were affected by a sudden introduction of alcohol to the eastern Americas. This cultural shift and the resulting practice of drinking with the aim of intoxication led to an increase in interpersonal violence for said communities. This is not, however, a validation of the harmful stereotypes that originated from European fears and judgements based on outsider observations. While increases in interpersonal violence surely had negative consequences for Native American communities based on available evidence, this did not justify Europeans' weaponization of the phenomenon into exaggerated and offensive stereotypes Such stereotypes and their resulting sensationalized stories were often meant to inspire an unreasonable fear of Native peoples and the sins associated with drunkenness in colonists, rather than to warn of any real threat.

Moreover, it is important to recognize Native efforts to, upon confronting the increase in interpersonal violence and resulting disruption among their communities, advocate for temperance or outright prohibition of alcohol. In doing so, these advocates preserved the North American culture of integrity, cooperation, and respect within their tribes. This stands in contrast to the European perspective of Native drinking habits, based on a strict moral code and perception of "civilization" to be universally applied, even to the culturally distinct Native communities they neighbored and eventually displaced. Simultaneously, the failure of British officials to respect Native peoples' desire for intercultural cooperation prevented British enforcement of the alcohol trade restrictions Native leadership desired, and European traders continued to enrich themselves through the alcohol trade at the expense of Native peoples. Thus, the cultural difference between Native community empowerment and the European emphasis on both personal enrichment and projecting moral and cultural superiority shows up once more in the communities' respective reactions to the effects of excess alcohol consumption among Native peoples. Such values among Europeans bring us back to the salacious publications that popularized the "drunken Indian" stereotype. Colonists enriched themselves through such publications, enforced the conception of Native peoples as "savage" and "uncivilized," and failed to address their own culpability in introducing alcohol to North American peoples. Ultimately, it was Native peoples, not European colonists, who suffered the consequences of alcohol-related interpersonal violence and the dehumanizing stereotypes that emerged from it.

Currency Stability: Monetary Sovereignty and the Irish Free State

Andrew Arthur

Abstract: After achieving independence in 1922 as a Dominion within the British Empire, authorities of the Irish Free State delayed the creation of a sovereign currency until 1928. During that time, British authorities at the Bank of England and the British Treasury largely supported this decision and even helped the Irish government in the eventual development of the Irish pound. This raises questions about how and why, after a tumultuous struggle for independence, British officials chose to support the Irish during the currency transition period, and further, whether an independent currency is needed to established sovereignty. Using government correspondence and scholarly research, this article argues that by supporting the continued use of the British pound in the Irish Free State, and later the establishment of the Irish pound, British economic authorities, especially the Bank of England, hoped to continue its influence in global financial policy and maintain dominance in monetary affairs. Moreover, Irish officials were able to avoid immediate economic difficulties by continuing the use of the British pound as the government stabilized.[1]

The Irish Free State, established in December 1922 as a semi-autonomous Dominion within the British Empire, faced challenges in creating a national identity while remaining heavily linked to the United Kingdom.[2] Citing the need to promote stability, Irish leaders chose to delay the creation of an independent currency and continued using the British pound until 1928.[3] In hoping to maintain economic influence, the Bank of England and the British Treasury supported and assisted the Irish Free State in delaying the creation of an independent currency.

This article will answer several questions. Why did the Irish Free State not immediately establishment a sovereign currency after independence? How did the Bank of England and the British Treasury support the decision of the Irish Free State to post-

---

2   James Meenan, *The Irish Economy since 1922*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1970), 30.
3   Maurice Moynihan, *Currency and Central Banking in Ireland, 1922-1960*, (Dublin: Central Bank of Ireland, 1975), 13-15.

pone the creation of a new currency? What does the delay in the creation of an indepen-
dent currency reveal about sovereignty and national identity?

Literature Review

A small number of scholarly works exist that specifically address the reasoning
behind the delay in creating an independent Irish currency. This includes an analysis by a
former governor of the Central Bank of Ireland from 1960 to 1969, Maurice Moynihan,
as he looked at the period in question with greater scrutiny based on four decades of
hindsight since the creation of the Irish Free State. More recent work from Eoin Drea, an
economic historian, assessed Anglo-Irish banking relations from the 1920s with a modern
analytical approach by using economic data in conjunction with central bank documents.

Articles and books of a more broad-reaching approach provide an ample amount
of information and analysis of Irish, British, and overall European financial conditions
throughout the twentieth century. These invaluable sources contain data and archival
records that support the foundation and background of the events related to the establish-
ment of an independent Irish currency. Lastly, though focusing minutely on the Irish Free
State, Paul Wilson's book *Shades of Sovereignty: Money and the Making of the State* uses
history to instrumentally frame when and why currencies are essential for the determina-
tion of statehood.

Moynihan argued from his experience on the inside that the Irish Free State
acknowledged the need for its own currency, but only if it "should command no less
confidence than sterling, which had been the currency of Ireland as well as of Great
Britain since 1826."[4] Moynihan pointed to the violence and instability that followed
independence and asserted that "the political future was still a matter of some doubt and
anxious speculation" in order to provide an understanding of the reasoning behind the
delay in creating a currency.[5] Further, Moynihan highlighted the Government's "intent on
creating stability and promoting economic progress" while practicing "caution regarding
any innovations that would affect the system of banking, currency and credit."[6]

Many scholars echo Moynihan's assessment that the new Irish Free State was
content to delay the creation of an independent currency in order to, at least temporarily,
maintain some stability. Eoin Drea highlighted a confusing currency establishment at
the time of independence and asserted that the lack of an immediate departure from the
arrangements did not come from anything ideological but rather that the Government
wanted to maintain sterling as a kind of economic safety net. Further, Drea argued that
the banking system "doubted the actual demand for distinctive" currency.[7]

---

4   Maurice Moynihan, *Currency and Central Banking*: 13-14.
5   Maurice Moynihan, *Currency and Central Banking*: 13-14.
6   Maurice Moynihan, *Currency and Central Banking*: 13-14.
7   Eoin Drea, "The Bank of England, Montagu Norman and the
Internationalisation of Anglo-Irish Monetary Relations, 1922-1943," *Financial History Review* 21,

In a later publication, Drea argued that the Irish Free State wanted to establish "monetary autonomy" but that this was "circumscribed by almost total trade dependence on Britain."[8] In additional work with Frank Barry, Professor of International Business and Economic Development, they posited that "the birth of an independent Ireland could not have occurred at a more difficult time," as the period of 1921-1922 saw the "largest drop in British employment levels since the Napoleonic Wars," coupled with a decline in demand for Irish agricultural products and uncertainty surrounding the political situation following a conflict.[9] These issues support the argument that Irish economic conditions warranted maintaining the current arrangements.

John Kelly, writing as a part of the Central Bank of Ireland, argues that stability is a "theme running through the history of the Irish pound" and that by the time the Irish Free State came into being, the "fixed link with sterling had been in existence for nearly a century."[10] Additionally, Kelly agreed with most of the consensus from scholars that trade with Britain contributed to the delay in creating a separate currency, as establishing a new currency "was not uppermost among the tasks of the newly independent state."[11]

The economic historian Cormac Ó Gráda asserted that some hesitation existed at the Bank of Ireland (the largest bank in operation on the island) regarding the creation of a new currency, especially since the bank "had not prepared for the creation of the Irish Free State."[12] Further, delegates were sent to the Bank of England for advice on dealing with the new economic situation, furthering the consensus that "the hallmark of Irish monetary policy after independence was caution."[13]

Conversely, efforts to maintain the status quo in exchange for stability were not universal. Mike Cronin argued that "the dreamers of revolutionary republicanism… wanted to sever all ties with Britain and advance a new economic structure based on self-sufficiency and a policy of protectionism."[14] Cronin continues by emphasizing that the "revolutionary" ideas of Sinn Féin (the left-wing anti-British republican party) were not economic in their focus but solely intent on the creation of an independent state, regardless of the cost. Additional analysis by Cronin revealed that in the years following

no. 1 (2013): 59-62.

8   Eoin Drea, "The Impact of Henry Parker-Willis and the Federal Reserve on the Institutional Design of the Irish Currency Act 1927," *The Historical Journal* 58, no. 3 (2015): 856.

9   Eoin Drea and Frank Barry, "A Reappraisal of Joseph Brennan and the Achievements of Irish Banking and Currency Policy, 1922-1943," *Financial History Review* 28, no. 1 (2021): 47-51.

10   John Kelly, "The Irish Pound: From Origins to EMU," *Central Bank Quarterly Bulletin*, (2003): 89-91.

11   John Kelly, "The Irish Pound": 89-91.

12   Cormac Ó Gráda, *Money and Banking in the Irish Free State 1921-1939*, Center for Economic Research, Working Paper Number WP92/3: 1,5.

13   Cormac Ó Gráda, *Money and* Banking: 1,5.

14   Mike Cronin, "Golden Dreams, Harsh Realities: Economics and Informal Empire in the Irish Free State," in *Ireland: The Politics of Independence, 1922-1949*, ed. Mike Cronin and John M. Regan (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000): 144-146.

the treaty signing that created the Irish Free State, the "ideologies of the revolutionary era" had to be "tempered" since "Ireland was a small country in an increasingly competitive and globalised market." Finally, Cronin highlighted that a pragmatic approach to currency creation would become the reality.[15]

Paul Wilson, in his survey of currencies in relation to the notion of national sovereignty, echoed Cronin's focus on the lack of consensus surrounding the issue of creating an independent currency immediately following independence. Wilson did agree that the Irish Free State, "in recognition of the fact that Britain remained Ireland's main trading partner," chose continuity to maintain the British pound initially, but asserted that, after the introduction of new Irish coins, the Republicans "opposed the compromise agreement with Britain," and believed that this meant that "Ireland remained an economic dependency of Britain."[16]

Despite differences discussed by some scholars about whether a consensus initially existed within the Irish Free State to create an independent currency, the economic and social researcher John Pratschke summed up the prevailing thought to argue that "the overall impression one gets of the changes which occurred…is one of careful adaptation to the needs of the new State," and that "to have attempted more… might have caused public unrest or uneasiness."[17]

Irish Rebellion

The roots of contention between England and can be traced back over centuries. Sean McIntyre argued that when asking at what point "did England firmly [establish] dominion over Ireland," the answer will range "from '800 years ago' to 'never.'"[18] James Meenan summarized the start of the conflict as "the English engagement in Ireland commenced with the Norman invasion as far back as 1169," but emphasizes that the conquest initiated with Henry VIII, who ultimately subjected the Irish to the English crown.[19]

In 1707 the English and Scottish Parliaments passed unification acts to form The United Kingdom of Great Britain.[20] However, this did not include Ireland, which maintained independent houses of parliament and status as a separate kingdom until the

15   Cronin, "Golden Dreams": 144-146.
16   Paul Wilson, *Shades of Sovereignty: Money and the Making of the Modern State* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2021): 90.
17   John L. Pratschke, "The Establishing of the Irish Pound: A Backward Glance," *Economic and Social Review*, no. 1 (1969): 74.
18   Sean McIntyre, "In a Short Time There Were None Almost Left: The Success and Failure of the Tudor Conquest in Ireland" (senior honors project, University of Rhode Island, 2006): 5.
19   Meenan, *The Irish Economy*: 3.
20   Act of Union 1707, UK Parliament, https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/evolutionofparliament/legislativescrutiny/act-of-union-1707/#:~:text=The%20Acts%20of%20Union%2C%20passed,first%20time%20in%20October%201707.

passing of the Act of Union in 1800. The intent behind the Act was to "strengthen and consolidate…in order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire.[21] Even though the Parliaments combined, the banking system in Ireland remained largely separate.

The Bank of Ireland, established in 1783, operated as a pseudo-central bank by managing the Government account and the issuance of national debt.[22] Indeed, the Bank of England often treated the Bank of Ireland as a subordinate extension of itself.[23] This included the exchange rate between the Irish and British pound, which, throughout much of the eighteenth century, was fixed at a ratio of 13:12. During the Napoleonic Wars, however, the exchange rate became much more volatile until 1826, when it unified in value with sterling.[24]

During this time, however, pressure built against British control of Ireland. Years of resistance ultimately led to the Easter Rising in 1916, followed by a period of turmoil that ended with the signing of the Anglo-Irish treaty in December 1921 and the subsequent creation of the Irish Free State in December 1922.[25] Though a peace agreement was reached with the U.K., internal disagreements about the treaty led to a civil war within Ireland lasting until April 1923.[26]

The Irish Free State and Currency Continuity

In the period between the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty and the creation of the Irish Free State, correspondence began to circulate around the British Government pertaining to the currency situation within Ireland. At the Bank of England in particular, archival evidence indicates a willingness from senior staff, including the governor, Montagu Norman, to work with the newly independent nation. Indeed, Drea argued that "the Bank of England [was] at the forefront of central bank cooperation and development" and that understanding this policy toward international regimes explains their stance on Irish currency relations, in that it was the norm to interact with other central banks.[27] This is supported by the abundant amount of correspondence between Irish officials, the Bank of England, and the British Treasury.

In a letter addressed to Otto E. Niemeyer at the British Treasury from The Royal

---

21   Act of Union (Ireland) 1800, UK Parliament, https://www.legislation.gov.uk/aip/Geo3/40/38.

22   Meenan, *The Irish Economy*: 213.

23   Ó Gráda, *Money and Banking*: 7.

24   Patrick Honohan, *Currency, Credit and Crisis: Central Banking in Ireland and Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019): 29.

25   Meenan, *The Irish Economy*: 29-32.

26   Eric Badertscher, *Irish Nationalism & the Easter Rising*, (Great Neck Publishing, 2017): Overview.

27   Drea, Norman 60

Mint, concerns are raised about whether the Irish realized that "they could not immediately mint their money at home" and that there may be some willingness for the new state to give that business to "France or the United States" as there was doubt they would give it to "the hated English."[28] However, the primary concern was focused more on what the British Government may do, in that "these dangers are not very real, but one does not know what the Churchill Committee may be agreeing to…[and] that they must not rush into concessions about coinage without consulting."[29] Niemeyer assured his colleague to not be concerned, stating that he doubted "the Irish will be in any great hurry to pay the heavy cost of minting," and that his impression of the Irish finance ministers was that "they are by no means inclined to do foolish or unreasonable things."[30] This speaks to an initial confidence in the new Irish regime.

In continuation of the discussion on coinage, an internal memorandum by Niemeyer sought to address some of the questions arising in 1922. "The setting up of the Free State in Ireland with Dominion status brings up…the numerous anomalies prevailing in the currency relations of the British Empire."[31] He then analyzed the relationship with other Dominions, such as New Zealand, South Africa, Australia, and Canada, and argued that the situations in those places "do not trouble us much because we are separated from them by long distances: and our trade relations…are more really those of foreign than of internal trade."[32] He argued that "Ireland is in a very different position, geographically and economically," and that "the workings of an independent currency authority in Ireland…are therefore likely to be of immediate and possibly painful interest to us."[33]

Niemeyer ultimately foreshadowed the coming relationship, speculating that "it may be that the Free State will elect to continue as she is and make no change in the present state of affairs" and that "there would be much to be said for such an attitude [as] trade would no doubt suffer…from a currency differing not only from that of Great Britain but, so long as Ulster remains out, from that of Northern Ireland."[34] Additionally, he considered whether it would "be difficult for the Free State to continue [accepting] legal tender…in Ireland of British Treasury Notes."[35] He left this question unanswered in the memorandum.

Simultaneously, in the Irish Free State, Joseph Brennan, a chief financial figure and later Governor of the Central Bank of Ireland, agreed that it was of "practical neces-

28   R.A. Johnson, The Royal Mint, Letter to O.E. Niemeyer, British Treasury, Jan 26, 1922, The National Archives (UK), T 160/507.

29   Johnson Letter to Niemeyer, Jan 26, 1922.

30   O.E. Niemeyer, British Treasury, Letter to R.A. Johnson, The Royal Mint, Jan 27, 1922, The National Archives (UK), T 160/507.

31   O.E. Niemeyer, Internal Memo within the British Treasury, 1922 (?), The National Archives (UK), T 160/507.

32   Niemeyer Memo, 1922.

33   Niemeyer Memo, 1922.

34   Niemeyer Memo, 1922.

35   Niemeyer Memo, 1922.

sity" that the current system of banknote issuance be "maintained."[36] Brennan would later assert that "during the early years" any legislation about "so vital a matter as currency would probably have created public alarm." He maintained that it was an "unsatisfactory" situation in terms of national identity but that "there was no serious practical inconvenience in a temporary continuance of the status quo."[37] Meenan supports this by arguing that "in theory the position was unacceptable" but that "in practice, remarkably little difficulty arose."[38] A committee, though informal in nature, was set up in October 1923 to discuss whether a unique coinage should be established, but the prevailing opinion supported that this should be postponed until a later date.[39]

In 1924, some discussions about currency independence were still taking place. In a letter to Niemeyer, Brennan sought information pertaining to the feasibility of the British Mint manufacturing Irish coins, stating that "the Free State Government have under consideration the question of…introducing…a token coinage to replace the existing silver and bronze coins."[40] He indicated that, most likely, the Irish would not take on this task internally, but rather, they "would like, if practicable, to get the services of the British Mint for this purpose."[41] In his reply, Niemeyer stated that there shouldn't "be any difficulty at all" in using the British Mint to strike coin, and that it "could quite easily be arranged."[42] Though it doesn't appear that this was pursued further.

By April 1925, however, Irish officials were ready to begin the process toward a new currency. Winston Churchill, British Chancellor of the Exchequer during this time, announced a return to the gold standard as a means to tackle high unemployment that was plaguing the U.K.[43] This raised concern within the Irish Free State due to the fact that, with no currency of its own at the time, "Ireland found itself automatically back on the gold standard with the United Kingdom."[44] Patrick Honohan argued that this was fortuitous, given that "Ireland largely escaped the currency turbulence" faced by many countries.[45] Nonetheless, with sentiment rising for an independent currency, Irish officials, concurrent with Churchill's gold standard reinstatement, introduced a Banking Commis-

---

36   Joseph Brennan, "The Currency System of the Irish Free State," *Journal of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland* 15, no. 1 (1930): 23.
37   Brennan, "The Currency System": 23, with original emphasis.
38   Meenan, *The Irish Economy*: 217.
39   Moynihan, *Currency and Central Banking*: 21
40   Joseph Brennan, Letter to O.E. Niemeyer, British Treasury, July 10, 1924, The National Archives (UK), T 160/507.
41   Brennan Letter to Niemeyer, July 10, 1924.
42   O.E. Niemeyer, British Treasury, Letter to Joseph Brennan, July 14, 1924, The National Archives (UK), T 160/507.
43   S.B. Clough, T. Moodie, C. Moodie, "Britain's Return to the Gold Standard," in *Economic History of Europe: Twentieth Century*, ed. S.B. Clough, T. Moodie, C. Moodie (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1968): 148-149.
44   Pratschke, "The Establishing of the Irish Pound": 52.
45   Honohan, *Currency, Credit and Crisis*: 26.

sion to initiate discussions and consider changes for the Irish currency regime.[46]

The Banking Commission and Currency Proposals

Andrew Jameson, a Director at the Bank of Ireland and Senator in the Irish Free State, began corresponding frequently with both Norman and top Bank of England officials following the announcement to launch the Banking Commission, apparently assuming he would be appointed the Commission's head. In one letter, Jameson stated that the "Free State Government are appointing a Commission to inquire into our Irish Banking and Note issuing systems" and that "it seems probable I may find myself Chairman of it."[47] He then sought assistance from Norman and told him that "you have great experience in these matters and you will understand that a little guidance [and] advice would be of great help to me."[48]

Ultimately, despite Jameson's campaign for himself to be appointed, Professor Henry Parker-Willis of Columbia University, a former Governor of the Federal Reserve System, was appointed to chair the Commission. Drea argued that it was the wish of the Government that members of the Commission be "foreign experts" and that they "be strictly of a non-British variety." Further, it was clear that there was a "reliance on British economic structures," but that, similar to South Africa only a few years prior, the Irish Free State wanted "nationalist forces to shape their approach to monetary policy."[49] The recruitment of Parker-Willis, according to Drea, "fitted Irish requirements perfectly" in that "he was not British [and he] was available."[50] The Commission also included seven other members from both Government offices and private financial institutions, foreign and domestic. In addition, the Banking Commission had the following terms of reference: "To consider and to report to the Minister for Finance what changes, if any in the law relative to banking and note issue are necessary or desirable, regard being had to the altered circumstances arising from the establishment of Saorstát Éireann." The Committee began work following the arrival of Parker-Willis in the first week of March.[51]

Despite not being appointed, Jameson continued attempting to influence currency relations with Britain by seeking as much assistance as possible from the Bank of England. However, private meetings were already taking place between Parker-Willis and Norman. Analysis of Norman's now public diaries indicates two meetings in April 1926. The first was marked as "unofficial and private," with the note to discuss an

46   Moynihan, *Currency and Central Banking*: 42.
47   Andrew Jameson, Letter to Montagu Norman, Jan 16, 1926, Bank of England Archive, G1/341: Eire Currency Commission.
48   Jameson Letter to Norman Jan 16, 1926.
49   Eoin Drea, "The Impact of Henry Parker-Willis and the Federal Reserve on the Institutional Design of the Irish Currency Act 1927," *The Historical Journal* 58, no. 3 (2015): 862.
50   Drea, "The Impact of Henry Parker-Willis": 860.
51   Dáil Éireann Debate, Wednesday, February 3, 1926, https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1926-02-03/29/.

"agreement" along with "vague plans" and "want cooperation in Whitehall."[52] This was followed by a subsequent meeting five days later marked as "Parker Willis…Irish Curr. Com" along with the initials "OEN."[53] This was likely with Niemeyer at the British Treasury. Coincidentally, Norman indicated a meeting the next day with Jameson.[54]

The initiation of the Banking Commission's work ruffled feathers within the financial establishment and, according to Drea, "marked the beginning of a gradual process of greater state supervision of the activities of Irish commercial banks." This was an issue particularly for the Bank of Ireland, which "struggled…to come to terms with the realities of Irish monetary independence, a viewpoint shared with the other traditionally unionist, and solidly Protestant, Irish commercial banks."[55]

With the Banking Commission underway, the Irish Free State took another step toward establishing sovereignty over currency operations by passing the Coinage Act in 1926, known colloquially as "The Free State Coinage Bill." This Act enabled the Irish Government to issue bronze, nickel, and silver coins, and of particular interest, the new silver coins would "contain 50 per cent more pure silver than that existing in British tokens of the same value." Equally important to note was that the Act enabled the Government to mint coins with symbols of relevance to Irish culture and society.[56]

Though seen as a move in the right direction for those intent on the creation of a currency to assist with national identity, Ernest Blythe, serving as Minister of Finance, argued for continued caution regarding a move toward currency autonomy: "I recognize fully that any change in the currency position at the present time would have serious reactions…I believe that this State, struggling to get on its feet economically, struggling to get going, would be hindered and handicapped by any change in the currency position or by any departure from the state of affairs that exists at the present time, in which we have British currency as our real legal tender."[57] However, the move to establish a new currency was already well underway with the Banking Commission, which published five reports in 1926.

The first report maintained that the Irish Free State should take action to create a sovereign currency since the State was "now responsible for its own financial future and vested with the power to establish its own currency system as well as with the responsibility for maintaining that system." It was additionally noted that the presupposition already existed within the Irish Free State Government, and recommended by the

---

52   Montagu Norman, Diary Entry, Apr 7, 1926, Bank of England Archives.
53   Norman, Diary Apr 12, 1926.
54   Norman, Diary Apr 13, 1926.
55   Drea, "The Impact of Henry Parker-Willis": 865.
56   "The New Free State Coinage: Existing Denomination to be Retained; New Designs and Gaelic Lettering," *The Northern Whig and Belfast Post*, January 21, 1926.
57   Mr. Blythe, Dáil Éireann Debate, January 27, 1926, quoted in Moynihan, *Currency and Central Banking*: 24.

Commission, that "the acceptance and continuance of the British sterling as a standard of value" and that a new currency should be at par with sterling so that "no development of exchange rates, charges or depreciation in the trade between the two countries" would exist.[58] Additionally, the first report cited the need for new banknotes to be issued by a Currency Commission, backed by sterling, with income from the assets held by the Currency Commission being paid to the Government.[59]

The first report also addressed the question of whether to establish a central bank. While there was indication of strong support initially for a central bank, the conclusion was reached that the Irish Free State "already had a sound banking system and that the banking business of the Government was being dealt with in a manner that was satisfactory on the whole."[60] Further, access to a money market was already available to the banks through offices in London, and therefore, with these matters addressed "there appeared to be no urgent need for a central bank."[61]

The second and third reports by the Banking Commission discussed issues of agricultural and trade finance respectively. The fourth report, larger than the preceding two, dealt with the issue of allowing the Bank of Ireland to continue having a monopoly on managing the Government's accounts (the recommendation was to disperse this business instead) as well as the oversight of savings and deposits (with a recommendation to appoint oversight to the proposed Currency Commission).[62]

The final report consisted primarily of a summary of the first four reports along with a further recommendation to establish a Currency Commission to issue and maintain a sovereign currency linked to the British pound. In addition, the Banking Commission chose to highlight alternatives. They were: "To take no action regarding banking or the monetary standard; to select some currency unit other than sterling; to adopt an entirely new unit of value; to make British gold and paper currency legal tender; or, finally, to…maintain the present unit of value…yet should none the less provide for separate administration and control of the circulation and of the administration of banking."[63]

After the publication of the Banking Commission reports, Jameson shared concerns about the report's contents with the Bank of England, stating that "the recommendations of the majority of the Banking Commission…cause me much anxiety."[64] He then belittles his own Government and people by asserting that "I doubt if any member of the Government has seriously studied the subject, or if as a whole they understand it,"

58   First Interim Report, Commission of Inquiry into Banking and the Issue of Notes, cited in Moynihan, *Currency and Central Banking*: 42.
        59   Moynihan, *Currency and Central Banking*: 45.
        60   Moynihan, *Currency and Central Banking*: 50.
        61   Moynihan, *Currency and Central Banking*: 50.
        62   Moynihan, *Currency and Central Banking*: 60-63.
        63   Moynihan, *Currency and Central Banking*: 61-64.
        64   Andrew Jameson, Letter to H.A. Trotter, Jan 18, 1927, Bank of England Archive, G1/341: Eire Currency Commission.

and that "they probably trust to the apathy and ignorance of the people on such an intricate subject…leaving the chickens to come home to roost later on."[65]

In response, Norman recognized that Jameson was "in doubt whether the Bill should be helped or strangled," but believed himself that "the scheme could be made to work."[66] He states that the Irish "seemingly mean soon to pass an Act and give it trial," and that "we should all try and make it work."[67] Norman further declared support, stating that "I am a well-wisher of the Free State" and that "the Bank of England are perfectly willing to be the Agent of the Currency Commission."[68] In a private and confidential letter two days later marked "secret," Jameson thanks Norman and insisted he had "always felt that you were as willing to help Ireland as you have been to help the Bank of Ireland and nothing could make this clearer than your letter."[69]

Upon consideration of all the Banking Commission reports, the Irish Government ultimately decided to establish a Currency Commission and a sovereign currency and presented this for parliamentary debate, culminating in the Currency Act of 1927, which became law in August of that year. Largely resembling the recommendations of the Banking Commission, Parker-Willis expressed his satisfaction with the Act, stating that "the Bill, as now formulated, complies with the spirit of the [Banking] Commission's Report; and I believe, it embodies a workable scheme for its application in practice."[70]

After the passage of the bill, Jameson again wrote to Norman and asked for recommendations of someone who could chair the Currency Commission, but clarified that "it would be desirable of this individual could lay claim to some Irish ancestry" and that "this appointment is really a vital one and…nothing should be left to chance."[71] Norman responded with a "regretful inability to make a suitable suggestion" due to the "difficulties inherent in the choice…by the stipulation of Irish ancestry…and the probability of compulsory residence in Ireland."[72] It's significant that an Irish Senator was seeking advice from the Bank of England for the appointment of an Irish Government official, though this was consistent with the Bank's view that it should operate as the core monetary authority for the Dominions.[73] Drea added credence to this by emphasizing the "embedded element" that the British financial market had within Ireland more so than

65   Jameson Letter to Trotter, Jan 18, 1927.

66   M. Norman, Letter to Andrew Jameson, March 25, 1927, Bank of England Archive, G1/341: Eire Currency Commission.

67   Norman Letter to Jameson, March 25, 1927.

68   Norman Letter to Jameson, March 25, 1927.

69   Norman Letter to Jameson, March 25, 1927.

70   Henry Parker Willis Letter to Ernest Blythe, cited in Drea, "The Impact of Henry Parker-Willis": 870.

71   Andrew Jameson, Letter to Montagu Norman, Sept 10, 1927, Bank of England Archive, G1/341: Eire Currency Commission.

72   Montagu Norman Letter to Andrew Jameson, Sept 13, 1927, Bank of England Archive, G1/341: Eire Currency Commission.

73   Drea, "Internationalisation": 61

any other Dominion.[74]

Niemeyer, having transitioned to the Bank of England from the Treasury in 1927, was happy to shepherd the new Irish Currency Commission, stating his belief that they were "extremely ill equipped" and would "require a good deal of bottle holding… if they are to conduct their operations without being a nuisance both to themselves and to us."[75] Drea related this to the Bank of England's adherence to the principles of being the central authority on monetary policy, and that "the Irish authorities sought constant advice and guidance from Threadneedle Street."[76]

On September 10, 1928, more than a year after the passage of the Currency Act, the new Irish pound, pegged to sterling, became effective.[77] The new currency, through the control of the Currency Commission, was fully backed through a mixture of British pounds, gold, and British Government securities, with the value pegged at a one-to-one ratio to sterling. Wilson argued that this was necessitated in order to "guarantee its acceptability among the Irish population and make the transition simple to handle."[78] In addition, the Bank of England would act as an agent of the Irish Free State through the Currency Commission. The new banknotes included the statement "Sterling payable to bearer on demand in London."[79] These measures enabled the Irish economy to withstand the transition with relative ease.

Currency Sovereignty?

The prevailing theme that surrounded the period following the establishment of the Irish Free State and the creation of a currency is the question of sovereignty. Wilson asked this question directly to open his book: "Is monetary sovereignty a vital component of political independence? Or is it something that can be modified or even dispensed with in certain circumstances without compromising political sovereignty?"[80] Once established, the Irish Free State viewed the new Irish pound as "emblematic of sover-eignty."[81] The lack of an independent currency, however, does not automatically diminish the monetary authority of that state. It is quite the opposite. While having a unique currency can support national pride, retaining the power to adopt the currency of choice still represents the independence of the country, as is the case with the Irish Free State in choosing to maintain the status quo immediately after gaining national sovereignty.

The timing of the launch of an independent Irish pound defined how crucial

---

74   Drea, "Internationalisation": 66
75   Drea, "Internationalisation": 66 and quote from Niemeyer
76   Drea, "Internationalisation": 67
77   Brennan, "The Currency System": 24.
78   Wilson, *Shades of Sovereignty*: 91.
79   Reported from the International Banknote Society, cited in Wilson, *Shades of Sovereignty*: 91.
80   Wilson, *Shades of Sovereignty*: 1.
81   Honohan, *Currency, Credit and Crisis*: 29.

stability was to the regime of the new state. This was still prevalent as late as 1927. The Westminster Gazette reports that "there has been at times a widespread feeling of uncertainty and doubt as to present conditions and future possibilities…throughout the territory of the Saorstát, and the opinion is definitely expressed that the retention of the pound sterling as the unit of account and the standard of value…is the wisest policy."[82] Indeed, a more rapid response was warranted had the banking and financial sector not already been sound, but given the circumstances and the strong ties to the London financial markets, it was appropriate to focus priorities elsewhere. Moynihan effectively argued that the time had indeed come to launch "an examination of banking and currency" given that "the new order had been fairly well established [and] a considerable amount of constructive legislation in other fields had been passed."[83] He further emphasized that the Banking Commission "could not have been much longer deferred even if the Government had been disinclined to proceed with it."[84] This solidifies that the timing of the Commission was appropriate.

The international influence was a prevalent theme for monetary operations and considerations within the Irish Free State in the 1920s. Importantly, when it came to appointing members to the Banking Commission, a strong notion was made to ensure that the members were "non-British authorities."[85] Crucially, though, it was specified that this "was not a challenge to the monetary hegemony of the Bank of England."[86] The decision to seek diversity amongst the Banking Commission participants, based on the recommendations of the Commission, allowed the establishment of a currency to be more widely accepted since there was no known or reported British influence in the deliberations. Indeed, the fact that the reports ultimately issued by the Commission called for such a strong connection to London through independent analysis speaks to their legitimacy.

The proposals issued by the Banking Commission represented a fairly substantial undertaking completed in an expedient period of time and, more importantly, indicated the willingness of the participants to act in the best interest of the Irish economy. Through Parker-Willis' guidance, the proposals for the Currency Commission "were designed to prevent the abuse of political power" through the maintenance of "operational and political independence."[87] Further, the decision to transition to a new currency was welcomed by most, with some even applauding the notion that "British Treasury notes…will be banished in Southern Ireland in favour of notes…decided by a Currency

---

82   "Irish Free State Currency," *Westminster Gazette*, Finance and Industry, December 19, 1927.

83   Moynihan, *Currency and Central Banking*: 37.

84   Moynihan, *Currency and Central Banking*: 37.

85   Joseph Brennan, "Minutes of the Irish Banks Standing Committee," *Allied Irish Bank, Munster and Leinster Bank Papers*, April 30, 1925; cited in Drea, "The Impact of Henry Parker-Willis": 862.

86   Drea, "The Impact of Henry Parker-Willis": 862.

87   Drea, "The Impact of Henry Parker-Willis": 873.

Commission."[88]

Despite resistance from some republicans through the process, the decision was still made to maintain the new currency at par with sterling. This was lauded as a way to provide continued stability based on the massive amount of trade that existed with the U.K. Further, given the fact that many Irish finance administrators received their training in the British economic system, coupled with Ireland's participation within the British empire before independence, scholars argue that it comes as no surprise that "Ireland's economic policies…were welded firmly to British principles."[89] Additionally, revenue from the issuance of banknotes along with earnings from British securities held by the Currency Commission would be paid to the Irish Free State, thus increasing the economic standards of the nation and contributing to future stability.[90]

Conclusion

While the evidence is clear that the Bank of England and Treasury both provided support for the transition to an independent Irish currency, the question remains as to why. Drea's argument that the Bank of England wanted to continue its dominance at the center of a monetary network is strong, but this does not address the need to shift to independence. Robert Tombs asserts that following World War I "the British Empire emerged from the war more powerful than ever…but the barbarism of the war had shaken the psychological bondage of the empire's subjects" and that "British paramountcy seemed assured following the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire – an illusion soon dispelled."[91] With the Dominions of Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Canada, already establishing independent currencies with links to London, it was important for Britain to provide support to Irish policy-makers to keep them within the monetary family. Thus, support from the Bank of England and the British Treasury heavily influenced the decision of the Irish Free State to delay the creation of an independent currency.

---

88   "Banishing British Notes," *Larne Times Weekly Telegraph*, April 9, 1927.
89   Drea, Barry, "Reappraisal": 50
90   Wilson, *Shades of Sovereignty*: 91.
91   Robert Tombs, *The English and Their History* (New York: Vintage Books, 2014), 658-661.

The Defense of White Women: How Sexual Assault Allegations Against Black Men Fueled the Wilmington Coup D'Etat

Chloe Baker

Abstract: On August 18, 1898, Alexander Manly published his response to the remarks made by Rebecca Felton during a white supremacist rally in Tybee, Georgia. Manly, the editor of Wilmington's only Black daily newspaper, the *Daily Record*, rebuked Felton's assertions that all Black men were rapists, and that lynching was the only suitable punishment. Three months later, an armed mob of white men burned the *Daily Record* building to the ground and continued on a path of violence and destruction. The chain of events of the 1898 Wilmington Coup D'état did not begin with Manly's editorial. Rather, Wilmingtonian newspapers published accounts of sexual assaults upon white women by Black men in rapid succession after the Civil War. Racist rhetoric used to describe these Black assailants increased simultaneously. White men were no longer able to uphold a strict racial hierarchy, which resulted in the festering rage against African Americans. White men admonished any previously tolerated interracial sexual relationships, particularly between Black men and white women, to regain control over racial boundaries. White Wilmingtonians used escalated fear of Black domination in tandem with the newspaper stories to generate support for the insurrection in November 1898.

Throughout the summer of 1898, racial tensions ran high in Wilmington, North Carolina. White supremacist Democrats sowed conspiracies of African American violence towards the minority white populace. By fall, the fear of an African American seizure of power gripped white supremacists across the city. The Democratic ticket had a sweeping success at the midterm election polls on November 8th, 1898. On November 10th, gangs of armed white men—led by a series of organized conspiracy groups—stalked the city streets in search of Alexander Manly, the African American editor of the sole Black daily newspaper in Wilmington, the *Daily Record*.[1]

White supremacists in Wilmington garnered support for their overthrow of the November 1898 election and the violence of the insurrection by capitalizing on newspaper coverage of sexual assault allegations, racist rhetoric, and the outrage produced by Alex Manly's editorial, published in August 1898. White honor culture, made up of masculinity, virtue, valor, and dignity and underpinned by narratives of racial superiority

---

1 David Zucchino, *Wilmington's Lie: The Murderous Coup of 1898 and the Rise of White Supremacy* (New York: Grove Atlantic Press, 2021), 96-97.

reinforced the insurrection.[2] White men used these stories to categorize all Black men as a threat to white safety, power, honor, and to justify violence against them. In November of 1898, these insurrectionists murdered an unknown number of African Americans, burned down the *Daily Record* building, chased many of the remaining Black people out town, and took control of the city.[3]

The Weaponization of Newspapers

This essay utilizes prints and reprints from Wilmington newspapers like *The Wilmington Messenger*, *The Weekly Messenger*, *The Morning Star*, and *The Wilmington Star* from the 1860s to 1898 to demonstrate how white supremacists used sensationalized stories of sexual assault allegations to scare the white populace in Wilmington. Sensationalized reports of Black assaults on white victims were not unique to Wilmington, as Southern newspapers had been printing and reprinting stories of Black assailants with white, female victims since before the Civil War.[4] After the Civil War, however, the stories multiplied. From 1865 to the 1890s, the words "negro" and "rape" appear within ten words of each other in North Carolinian newspapers, including those in Wilmington, exponentially more than in antebellum North Carolinian newspapers.[5] Brute, beast, and fiend were synonymous with African American men in newspapers. The insurrectionists used these stories to create panic and localize the threat of the Black man to the women in their lives.

White responses to Alex Manly's editorial *Mrs. Felton's Speech* in Wilmington newspapers and public speeches reveal a growing a fear of Black men. These fears were used by leading white supremacists to incentivize other white Wilmingtonians to incite the 1898 insurrection. Manly's editorial, first published in the *Daily Record* in mid-August 1898, claimed that Black men were not the only perpetrators of sexual crimes and that white men raped Black women with little consequence. Further, Manly suggested that white women found Black men "attractive" and voluntarily fell in love with Black men.[6] Wilmington newspapers replied swiftly and vociferously, calling Manly's editorial "vile and villainous."[7] Manly's editorial was later republished in an article in *The Messenger*, "A Negro Defamer of the White Women of North Carolina," on November 2nd, 1898. White people in Wilmington, particularly white men, were infuriated by

2   Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *A Warring Nation: Honor, Race, and Humiliation in America and Abroad* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2014), 47-50, ProQuest eBook Central.

3   Zucchino, Wilmington's Lie, viii

4   "Search Results Viewing results 61-120 containing 'negro, rape.'" Search Results, North Carolina Newspapers, accessed November 8, 2023.

5   North Carolina Newspapers, "Search Results"

6   "A Negro Defamer of the White Women of North Carolina." *The Wilmington Messenger*,
        November 2, 1898.

7   "Vile and Villainous." The Morning Star, August 24, 1898. https://newspapers.digitalnc.org/lccn/sn84026537/1898-08-24/ed-1/seq-4/#words=VILE+VILLAINOUS

Manly's statements. A Black man had undermined white masculinity, and in their eyes, insulted the virtue of white women. Manly's editorial was countered with an increase in lurid stories which fueled the fire of white rage. The original publication of the editorial kindled white supremacist anger, but the republication, just days before the election, burst the dam of total white outrage. On November 9th, 1898, dozens of Wilmington's white supremacists signed "A Resolution by 'White People in Wilmington and New Hanover County'." The Resolution, headed by Colonel Alfred Waddell, demanded that Alex Manly leave the city at once, or "be expelled by force."[8] On November 10th, 1898, the white mob traveled to Alex Manly's publishing office first, before burning it down and turning to ravage the rest of the black population in town.[9] This violence began a Black exodus from Wilmington.[10]

These manipulative narratives around African Americans, as exhibited by Wilmington newspapers, remain present beyond the late nineteenth century. Maintenance of the racial hierarchy in America is dependent upon the vilification of Black Americans by white supremacists. An analysis of sexual assault allegations against Black men provides a deeper understanding of the racial subordination that survives today. Black-owned businesses struggled after the massacre, and over one hundred years later, Wilmington is still facing the repercussions of the coup's damage to the Black community.[11]

The 1898 Wilmington Insurrection

Current scholarship that examines the 1898 coup d'état through a political lens ignores the connection between Alex Manly's editorial and the growing fear of Black men assaulting white women. Karin Zipf's *"The Whites Shall Rule the Land or Die": Gender, Race, and Class in North Carolina Reconstruction Politics* gives depth to the racial and political tensions in North Carolina during the Reconstruction era that serves as context for the 1898 coup. Rachel Marie-Crane Williams's "A War in Black and White: The Cartoons of Norman Ethre Jennett & the North Carolina Election of 1898" examines political cartoons and caricatures that displayed exaggerated African American stereotypes.[12] David Zucchino's *Wilmington's Lie: The Murderous Coup of 1898 and The Rise of White Supremacy* addresses Zipf's and Williams's arguments through an analysis of the political climate in Wilmington before and after the coup. Zucchino acknowledges the consequences of Manly's editorial in a political sense, but he does not consider the roles white honor and sexual assault narratives played in the events preceding the insurrection.

---

8   *Resolution by "White People of Wilmington and New Hanover County".* November 9, 1898. Document. From UNCW, *Center for Southeast North Carolina Archives and History.*

9   Cedric Harrison, Wilmington Color Tour. November 8, 2023.

10   Harrison, WilmingtoNColor

11   Harrison, WilmingtoNColor

12   Rachel Marie-Crane Williams. "A War in Black and White: The Cartoons of Norman Ethre Jennett & the North Carolina Election of 1898." (Southern *Cultures* 19, no. 2 2013): JSTOR.

A review of Andrea Kirshenbaum's *"The vampire that hovers over North Carolina": Gender, White Supremacy, and the Wilmington race riot of 1898* and Leon Prather's *We Have Taken a City: Wilmington Racial Massacre and Coup of 1898* fill in context missing from Zucchino's and Williams's assessments of the coup. Kirshenbaum and Prather analyze gender and race as an aspect of white supremacists' political motives prior to the insurrection.[13] This essay seeks to combine Zipf's and Zucchino's political evaluations of the coup and Kirshenbaum's, Prather's, Williams's focuses of gender and race, and to look beyond a politicized view of the events which lead to the 1898 coup d'état. To be sure, politics are an important factor in the events preceding the coup, however, this essay seeks to consider the psychology behind white honor and racially blurred lines in Wilmington newspapers before the coup.

Race and Gender in the South

Existing studies of nineteenth-century Southern racial dynamics provide insight as to why white supremacists in Wilmington were deeply offended by Manly's editorial and how newspaper reports of sexual assault cases were used to incite the 1898 insurrection. An investigation of Joel Williamson's *The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation* and Richard Rohrs's *The Free Black Experience in Antebellum Wilmington, North Carolina: Refining Generalizations about Race Relations* offer the history of race relations in the South in the nineteenth century. Williamson presents a broad examination of nineteenth Southern race relations while Rohrs provides a case study of freed African American life in antebellum Wilmington, North Carolina.[14] Williamson's and Rohrs's contributions to discussions of nineteenth-century Southern racial dynamics prefaced Martha Hodes's analysis of interracial sexual relationships in Southern culture during the nineteenth century. In *White Women, Black Men*, Hodes argues that interracial sexual relationships have long been a scandalous topic.[15] Documentation of white and black "liaisons" beyond legal court documents are scarce before the Civil War; however, after the Civil War, newspapers and government documents of interracial liaisons were increasingly used as evidence for sexual assault allegations.[16] Further, Hodes argues that white honor culture—as examined in Bertram Wyatt-Brown's *A Warring Nation: Honor Race, and Humiliation in America and Abroad*—fueled additional hatred towards black men after the Civil War. Wyatt-Brown's argument supplements Hodes' thesis with his analysis of white shame and the Lost-Cause movement. After the war,

13   Andrea Meryl Kirshenbaum. "'The vampire that hovers over North Carolina': gender, white supremacy, and the Wilmington race riot of 1898." (*Southern Cultures* 4, no. 3, 1998) Gale Literature Resource Center; Leon Prather. *We Have Taken a City: Wilmington Racial Massacre and Coup of 1898.*
(New Jersey: Associated University Press, Inc., 1998)

14   Joel Williamson. *The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984); Richard Rohrs. "The Free Black Experience in Antebellum Wilmington, North Carolina: Refining Generalizations about Race Relations." (*The Journal of Southern History* 78, no. 3 2012): 615–38. JSTOR.

15   Martha Hodes, *White Women, Black Men* (Hartford: Yale University Press, 1997), 2-4

16   Hodes, *White Women, Black men,* 10-13

the Lost-Cause movement was the "memorialization" of the Confederate Army, the justifica-
tion of the South's secession from the Union, and a denial of slavery as a main catalyst of the
Civil War.[17] White honor culture was paramount to white supremacist ideology and rhetoric.
Hodes and Wyatt-Brown illustrate the change in white reactions to interracial sexual relation-
ships across the nineteenth century. This essay applies Hodes and Wyatt-Brown's scholarship to
Wilmington newspapers from the 1860s to 1898. The increase of sexual assault reports in post-
Civil War Wilmington newspapers was a white supremacist device to assert the insurrectionary
cause in 1898.

The State of the South

The post-Civil War era South left southerners angry and ashamed, which provided
fertile ground for the Lost-Cause movement and white honor culture to emerge as evolutions
of white supremacist ideology. Southerners felt humiliated by the defeat and became deeply
resentful towards newly emancipated enslaved African Americans.[18] White plantation owners
resented the loss of their total control of enslaved African Americans.[19] White supremacy
morphed during Reconstruction, as white Southerners, especially men, felt that the racial hier-
archy had been completely dismantled. Southern honor had been disrespected not only by the
Union's victory, but racial equality of any kind deepened the wounds. White southerners knew
that they had to subdue African Americans in order to reassert their white dominance and return
to pre-war glory.[20] The Lost-Cause movement was a response to those feelings of disrespect.[21]
Lynch mobs grew in popularity as legislature that protected the rights of freedmen and women
were repealed throughout the latter half of the 1800s.[22] The Daughters of the Confederacy, a
whites-only heritage organization and an offshoot of American Revolutionary heritage groups,
served as a reminder of not only white glory and honor, but the purity and sanctity of the white
women.[23] Frustrated and insulted white supremacists were thus thoroughly motivated to restore
Black inferiority through whatever channel necessary.

White Wilmingtonians' attitudes and rhetoric toward the town's Black
population grew more resentful until hostilities exploded during the 1898 insurrection. In the
antebellum period, freedmen, and women from across the South fled to Wilmington as the
town maintained a mixed population of freedmen and enslaved African Americans.[24] Wilm-
ington's Black population established roots, and Black-owned restaurants, barber shops, drug
stores, and artisans flourished after the Civil War. Black Wilmingtonians also voted and held

---

17   Wyatt-Brown, *A Warring Nation*, 115-116
18   Wyatt-Brown, *A Warring Nation*, 114-116
19   Johnathan Levy, *Ages of American Capitalism: A History of the United States*.
(New York: Random House, 2021) chap. 7, Kindle.
20   Wyatt-Brown, *A Warring Nation*, 119
21   Wyatt-Brown, *A Warring Nation*, 115
22   Estelle Freedman, *Redefining Rape* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press,
2013), 92
23   Wyatt-Brown: 121-122
24   Rohrs. "The Free Black Experience," 616

appointed and elected positions in state and local office.[25] By the late 1830s, the North Caro-
lina General Assembly attempted to curb more freedmen and women from entering the state
through strict taxes and residency requirements.[26] Further, the North Carolina legislature placed
some of the harshest restrictions on African Americans.[27] Gerrymandered districts and redlined
neighborhoods, and frequent headlines of African American criminal activity, served to alienate
African Americans from the white population.[28] The competitive job market also pitted poor
white Wilmingtonians against middle-class Black Wilmingtonians.[29] The Fusionist party—the
combined political effort of white and black Republicans—threatened to dominate the local
election ticket in 1898 as it had done so in the 1896 state elections.[30] Black men had been
painted as brute criminals and rapists in Southern newspapers for decades, including Wilm-
ington's papers. White supremacists already feared that a non-white Democratic seizure of
political and economic power loomed over Wilmington, let alone a seizure of power committed
by brutish criminals.

Changing Stories

Throughout the nineteenth century, white Wilmingtonians read growing reports of
sexual assault allegations in Southern newspapers and fed into the hysteria. Newspaper prints
of accusations of Black men assaulting white women predate the late nineteenth century. North
Carolinian newspapers reported the guilty pleas of Black assailants from across the country as
early as the 1790s.[31] Stories of Black assailants were printed to remind white men that Black
men dared to cross racial boundaries. While the accusations did not go unnoticed by white
men, violent reactions, primarily lynch mobs, were not as common in the late eighteenth and
early nineteenth centuries as they were by 1898.[32] White men kept tight control of enslaved
African Americans, as well as white women, so open violence was not always necessary. Black
women were seen as sexually immoral and "would always consent" to white men's advances.[33]
Additionally, interracial relations between white women and Black men were often accepted,
especially if the woman "came from a common rather than an elite family."[34]

After the Civil War, white attitudes towards sexual relationships between Black men
and white women changed.[35] White men could no longer maintain a strict racial hierarchy
after emancipation, therefore vilifying African Americans was imperative to regain control.[36]

---

25   Zucchino, *Wilmington's Lie*, 37-38; Prather, *We Have Taken a City*, 24
26   Rohrs, "The Free Black Experience", 616-20
27   Prather, *We Have Taken a City*, 17-19
28   Prather, *We Have Taken a City*, 20, 32, 52
29   Prather, *We Have Taken a City*, 21
30   Prather, *We Have Taken a City*, 35
31   "The Mail." *Fayetteville Gazette*, November 6, 1792.
32   Hodes, *White Women, Black men*, 4, 38
33   Freedman, *Redefining Rape,* 75
34   Freedman, *Redefining Rape,* 93
35   Hodes, *White Women, Black men,* 125
36   Freedman, *Redefining Rape,* 93

Reports of assaults upon white women increased drastically between 1865 and 1898.[37] Stories of Black men breaking into white homes, and assaulting defenseless white daughters, wives, and mothers were printed and redistributed across the South. Additionally, legal documentation of rape accusations reflected harsher sentences based upon the race of the assailant.[38] White men accused of rape were "individual criminals," whereas Black men accused of rape were fulfilling racial stereotypes.[39] Accusations were printed as glaring examples of what Black men might do with an unprotected white woman, even as white men maintained their stances of the sexual promiscuity and immorality of Black women.[40]

Violent Words

The racist rhetoric used in Wilmington newspapers to describe Black assailants gained traction between 1865 and 1898. The terms brute, fiend, villain, and beast appeared sporadically throughout North Carolinian newspapers before the Civil War. One of the earliest examples of this rhetoric dates to December 1852, in the *People's Press*, Salem, North Carolina.[41]

Wilmington newspapers often shared stories from other North Carolinian newspapers that used racist rhetoric as well as the lynch mobs that often followed. In 1866, Wilmington's *Daily Journal* reported that a negro "villain" assaulted a married woman in her home.[42] On September 3, 1869, T*he Wilmington Journal* published an article, "Our Washington Letter: Radicalism Wayning—Ku-Klux Again Stalking Abroad," that claimed that white women and girls were "frequently" and brutally "ravished" by negro "scoundrels" throughout the South.[43] In 1882, the Raleigh *News and Observer* reported that the "negro brute….will undoubtedly be lynched if caught" for assaulting a white woman.[44] Printed stories of the assaults of Southern white women reminded white Wilmingtonians of their wives, daughters, sisters, and mothers. Wilmington might have been the site of the next attack if white men were not careful to protect their women. Violence as a necessary means to an end became increasingly clear to Wilmington's white population.

Violent Actions

Stories of violent responses to Black assailants grew in Wilmington newspapers by the late nineteenth century. Depictions in newspapers of the lynch mobs were graphic and frequent, perhaps to send the message to white readers that lynching Black rapists was the only acceptable response. White men responded with increasing fury to defend the increasing encroach-

37   North Carolina Newspapers, "Search Results."
38   Freedman, *Redefining Rape,* 20
39   Freedman, *Redefining Rape,* 95
40   Freedman, *Redefining Rape,* 75-76
41   "The New York Slave Case Decision." *The People's Press*, December 3, 1852.
42   "State News: A Terrible Outrage." The Daily Journal, August 9, 1866.
43   "Our Washington Letter: Radicalism Wayning—Ku-Klux Again Stalking Abroad." *The Wilmington Journal*, September 3, 1869.
44   "Telegraph Debriefs." *The News and Observer*, October 26, 1882.

ments upon white honor. Ironically, Black men's characters were routinely defamed in stories of assaults and lynchings. In December 1867, the Wilmington *Daily Journal* reprinted a story from Augusta, Georgia, in which the accused Black man was "tied to a stake and burned" by a mob of both white and Black men.[45] *The Morning Star*, another Wilmington newspaper, reported that a black man who had raped a white teenager was hanged by a mob in Kentucky, in 1868.[46] In 1876, *The Morning Star* reported that a white mob in Jefferson, South Carolina, hanged a Black man accused of rape "till he was dead," and the mob outwardly expressed "their feelings of revenge" towards "men who were determined [of] that crime, in its vilest form." The newspaper determined that lynch mobs should act "speedily in order to insure protection to the people of the community." [47] White women were to be shielded from Black men, for there were no limits that a Black man would not cross to fulfill the brute stereotype. Black men were almost entirely labeled as ill-intentioned and undeniably responsible for any accusations levelled by white women. A Black man's assumption of guilt allowed white men to respond harshly, as they often did.

In the 1890s, stories of Black men raping white women—and white men lynching the accused—peaked in Wilmington newspapers. In May 1891, *The Morning Star* reported: "A brutal negro…. raped the daughter of Mr. Long…. The negro was arrested, and an angry mob had surrounded the guard house. The probabilities are…. the negro, who name was Hayward McAdams, is swinging in the breeze."[48] The same 1891 edition of *The Morning Star* further reported that another "black brute" in Monroe, North Carolina, broke into a white woman's home and "laid violent hands upon [her]," before the woman's husband grabbed the Black man "in his hellish and revolting design."[49] The *Wilmington Messenger* stated that white mobs must continue to lynch "so long as black brutes assault the unprotected" in August 1893.[50] In February 1894, *The Morning Star* reported that a Black man broke into a white woman's home and "the fiend" tried to assault her, "but she fought the brute…. a posse is in pursuit, and if the negro is caught an obituary notice will be in order."[51] On October 21, 1898, the *Wilmington Messenger* reported that a white woman "of as good family as there is" valiantly protected herself against a "black brute" who tried to beat her with a stick.[52] White men, including those who organized the insurrection, regularly read these stories. Black men were a "constant, and monstrous threat," who routinely attacked a white woman's character and virtue.[53] Printed stories enhanced the white lynch mobs' efforts to preserve white honor and further alienate

45   *Raleigh Register, and North-Carolina state gazette*. November 4, 1825.
46   "Negro Lynched." *The Morning Star*, February 1, 1868.
47   Charlotte Observer, "Rape and its Punishment" *The Morning Star*, August 19, 1876.
48   "Spirits Turpentine: Durham Globe." *The Wilmington Star*, April 16, 1891.
49   "Another Attempt at Rape." *The Morning Star*, August 19, 1876.
50   "Snaps." The Wilmington Messenger, August 24, 1893.
51   "A Negro Brute: Foiled in Attempt at Outrage—A Possee in Pursuit. By Telegraph to the Morning Star." *The Morning Star*, February 6, 1894.
52   "A Young Negro Boy Beats a White Lady." *The Semi-Weekly Messenger*, October 21, 1898.
53   Estelle Freedman Redefining Hope 89

Black men. White men used Wilmington's newspapers displays of derogatory verbiage, manipulated narratives, and physical violence as their weapons in which they defended their women from the impending danger of Black men.

The Final Blow

Manly's editorial, *Mrs. Felton's Speech*, first published on August 18, 1898, countered the popular ideas and rhetoric displayed in Wilmington newspapers in the late nineteenth century. The editorial was a response to Rebecca Felton's speech at a white supremacist rally in Tybee, Georgia, in the summer of 1897. Felton urged poor, white farmers to better educate and protect their white daughters, who were afraid of being left alone in the isolated countryside, away from masculine protection.[54] Felton continued, "if it needs lynching to protect a woman's dearest possession from the ravening beasts—then I say lynch; a thousand times if necessary."[55] In the 1890s, lynchings were a common response to accusations of rape against Black men. Felton reminded white men that lynching Black men must be done to protect white women. News of Felton's speech did not spread outside of Georgia until the following year when The Morning Star republished the speech without discerning the original date of the speech.[56] Alex Manly's response noted that newspapers frequently printed stories of rape allegations and the lynchings of the Black accused together.[57] Manly claimed that white men failed to protect their women and that "every negro lynched is called a 'big, burly black brute,' when in fact many…. were sufficiently attractive enough for white girls of culture and refinement to fall in love with them."[58] Manly suggested that white men were to blame for the rape of white women because they had failed to protect them. Further, Manly asserted that white women voluntarily fell in love with Black men. The idea that white women and black men could have consensual relationships infuriated white men—it negated the white honor that white supremacists fought so desperately to defend.

White supremacists used Manly's claims to demonstrate to the rest of the white populace that Black Wilmingtonians were the threat the newspapers warned them about. On November 2nd, 1898, in a scathing review of Manly's editorial published in the *Wilmington Messenger*, white supremacists deemed Manly's claims an "outrageous attack on white women."[59] The review "ask[ed] the white men…. what they think of such dirty defamation, such a sweeping insult to all respectable white women."[60] A call to action had been made to Wilmington's white male populace. No respectable white man would let a Black man openly defame a white woman's character. Manly crossed the racial line that white Wilmingtonians

---

54   J.A Holman. *Mrs. Felton Speaks*. Transcript. *The Morning Star*, August 18, 1898. Accessed
        November 10, 2023.
55   Holman. Mrs. Felton Speaks.
56   Zucchino, Wilmington's Lie, 84
57   "Editorial That Shook the State." The 1898 Election in North Carolina, UNC Library. Accessed October 30, 2023.
58   "Editorial That Shook the State."
59   "Editorial That Shook the State."; *Wilmington Messenger* "A Negro Defamer."
60   *Wilmington Messenger* "A Negro Defamer."

had prepared for. The article reiterated that "negro rapists are brutal and savage and deserve hanging."[61] For good measure, the *Wilmington Messenger* printed Joseph Gore, a prominent white Wilmingtonian's, encounter with his daughter's attempted rapist below the review of Manly's editorial.[62] The article insinuated that Manly's editorial echoed the thoughts of every Black man in Wilmington. Even though Black Wilmingtonians released statements against Manly's editorial, their fate had already been decided.[63] A Black man had spread slanderous lies to the readers of *The Daily Record*, the only Black daily newspaper in town.[64] If one Black man felt that way about white people, then all Black men must feel the same way—white supremacy was in imminent danger.

Wilmington's white supremacists—armed with festering white anger that would peak after Alex Manly's editorial was republished—had the ammunition they needed to incite the insurrection. The white populace immediately called for Manly's lynching in August 1898.[65] When the *Wilmington Messenger's* article was published in November, cries for retribution only grew. White supremacist groups, like the Secret Nine, had planned for an insurrection following the November election.[66] During a white supremacist gathering, "A Resolution by 'White People in Wilmington and New Hanover County'" was drafted and signed by dozens of notable Wilmingtonians on November 9th, 1898.[67] The first six proclamations of the resolution declared that Black rule needed to end and that the white community was "prepared now and immediately to force what we know to be our rights."[68] Further, the resolution warned Manly that if did not leave town in twenty-four hours, he would be forcibly removed.[69] On November 10th, 1898, the Wilmington coup d'état took place. African Americans fled Wilmington—and did not return—as the white mob approached Brooklyn.[70] White supremacists had successfully reinstated white rule over Wilmington. The Messenger reported that every "white republican…. rejoice[d] at the expulsion of the negro editor Manly from Wilmington."[71]

The 1898 Wilmington insurrection was a result of nearly fifty years of sensationalized stories about Black men and unchecked white anger. Wilmington newspapers that depicted Black men as brutes and rapists repeatedly reminded white people that the white supremacy which had thrived before the Civil War was under siege. The Black populace had the potential to thrive in Wilmington for decades to come but was cut short by white supremacists. The insurrection serves as an example of the power that printed stories wielded in the nineteenth century. White supremacists used printed stories to justify their recurring violence against

---

61   *Wilmington Messenger* "A Negro Defamer."
62   *Wilmington Messenger* "A Negro Defamer."
63   Zucchino, Wilmington's Lie, 93-95
64   *Wilmington Messenger* "A Negro Defamer."
65   Zucchino, *Wilmington's Lie*, 178
66   Zucchino, Wilmington's Lie, 137
67   *Resolution by "White People of Wilmington and New Hanover County."*
68   *Resolution by "White People of Wilmington and New Hanover County."*
69   *Resolution by "White People of Wilmington and New Hanover County."*
70   Prather, *We Have Taken a City,* 147
71   "The Negro Out of Politics." *The Wilmington Messenger*, November 11, 1898.

African Americans. White Wilmingtonians were deeply insulted after the Confederacy was defeated in 1865. By 1898, white honor had been insulted beyond repair and quick action was imperative to restoring white glory. The insurrection successfully subdued the threat of Black people and reinstated white domination.

Power, Profit, and Policy: Conflicts in the Early American Film Industry

Marissa D'Alessio

Abstract: In early twentieth-century America, the newborn film industry swiftly gained popularity across the nation. This research begins by tracing the earliest stages of the film industry and then explores the different uses of the film screen over the course of the early twentieth century. Beginning with politicians' and governmental use of the movies for propaganda purposes and continuing with film studios' reliance on controversial content to make a profit, this paper highlights the changes and policies created within the industry to account for the public outcry over the unfair power of the screen.

The role of movies as a symbol of American culture became apparent with the nation's entrance into the twentieth century. When movie theaters started to emerge around the turn of the century, Americans spent hard-earned wages to attend a film in theaters. Fascination and curiosity drew people to the screen. Movies displayed intriguing ideas, themes, and situations in ways viewers had never experienced before, thus bolstering the attendance of the moving pictures. Politicians partnered with film companies to reach constituents they failed to connect with previously. Moving pictures that depicted political figures on the campaign trail made them appear more familiar to voters, a phenomenon that prevailing print media could not replicate. Hollywood studios like Universal and Paramount, which emerged in the early years of the industry, created dramatic movies depicting things like gang battles and whirlwind romances. These movies, which critics of the period deemed "immoral films," prompted concerns about studios' reliance on the marketing of inappropriate content to children to make money.[1] Governmental and Hollywood producers of both political and "immoral" films took advantage of the general public's interest in the burgeoning film industry to influence public opinion and make a profit, respectively. In this context, the phrase "general public" refers to film viewers and the population of American people separated from the glamor and mystery of the Hollywood scene. From 1900 to 1940, unchecked use of the screen by politicians and film studios to exercise political influence and boost profits led to censorship of the films emerging from Hollywood during the formative years of the American

---

[1] N.A., "Moving Pictures Immoral?" *Charlotte Observer,* December 25, 1908.

film industry.

In an era where films that went against moral standards faced censorship, the American society that influenced the standards of morality offered insight into why some films faced censorship while others did not. Anti-Semitism often influenced critics' fears about controversial content depicted on screen.[2] Joseph I. Breen, who became the chief enforcer of censorship through the Hays Code in the 1930s, was strongly anti-Semitic and believed that Jewish Hollywood producers blatantly disregarded the Catholic standards of morality in their films to spread an anti-Catholic agenda.[3] Popular films, however, frequently contained more taboo depictions of sex and violence because those images attracted audiences and brought in profits.

Typical Catholic values pervaded the moral standards that censors expected motion pictures to uphold. Through their depictions of themes like violence, sex, or crime, censors believed that motion pictures had the power to mold the character of their viewers, most notably children.[4] Many Catholic religious leaders contributed to the production codes of the 1920s and 1930s to determine the standards of morality that they expected film studios to adhere to. Rev. Daniel A. Lord, a Jesuit priest, worked with Will Hays on the creation of the Hays Code starting in 1929. Lord's previous works all held strong Catholic ties, including contributing to Cecil B. DeMille's film about the life of Christ in 1927 and assistant editing the *Queen's Work* Catholic magazine.[5] Protestant and Catholic groups most outwardly criticized "immoral films," and the Catholic hierarchy heavily played into the development of the censorship codes of the 1920s and 1930s to appease those critics.[6] Catholic standards can be seen in the Legion of Decency's belief that motion pictures should enforce ideas of "murder is wrong; stealing is wrong; perjury is wrong."[7] Thus, Jewish Hollywood producers were meant to adhere to a Christian-based standard of morality despite the public expressing interest in more graphic depictions of things like violence, drinking, sex, and crime.

Through the early development of movies, films grew from short reels to full-length feature productions. The American public became increasingly fascinated with Hollywood, movie stars, and the advancing art of moving pictures. American movies had a considerable impact on the nation's culture, and yet previous historians have only

2   Stephen Vaughn, "Morality and Entertainment: The Origins of the Motion Picture Production Code," *The Journal of American History* 77, no. 1 (1990): 40.

3   Vaughn, "Morality and Entertainment," 62-63.

4   Vaughn, "Morality and Entertainment," 47.

5   Vaughn, "Morality and Entertainment," 49.

6   Vaughn, "Morality and Entertainment," 41, 45.

7   Gerald B. Donnelly, "The Motion Picture and the Legion of Decency," *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 2, no. 1 (1938): 42.

studied one perspective on early American film. Numerous studies have focused on the filmmaker's perspective, specifically the development and transformation of the movie-making process and production techniques. Authors Charlie Keil and Ben Singer traced the origins of American movie production in their book, *American Cinema of the 1910s: Themes and Variations*.[8] In their writing, the two authors highlighted how the movie production and distribution business evolved into how it remains today. M. Keith Booker similarly studied the industry and presented a timeline of technological advancements in the film industry where he focused primarily on the technology rather than any public perception of the art form.[9] The ways in which the movies targeted the public to fuel political propaganda production and film studio profit remain largely unexamined in historical research. Even more so, the changes that resulted from public outcry against that targeting find hardly any room for discussion in previous studies on the history of American film.

By 1914, a newspaper in Washington D.C. illustrated the immense reach of the movies when it reported that about 16 million Americans attended the movies each day.[10] The prominence of the film industry in the early twentieth century made it a tantalizing partnership for politicians who hoped to influence public opinion. Film studios also took advantage of new interest in the film medium to produce "immoral" films that boosted profits. Public fascination with the new film technology meant that Americans from all age groups and backgrounds found their way to the movie theater. Upon doing so, viewers contributed to the film industry that political actors used for propaganda campaigns and film studios relied on for profit.

The earliest experiments with moving pictures took place in the late nineteenth century with the works of Eadweard Muybridge who discovered how flashing a series of images across a screen in rapid succession gave the illusion of a single, smooth motion.[11] From Muybridge's rudimentary design sprang Thomas Edison's Vitascope which premiered the first motion picture at New York City's Koster and Bial's Music Hall in 1896.[12] From there, movie theaters spread to both big cities and small towns. The new theaters created a link between Americans in urban city centers and the more rural towns by exhibiting the same films to every viewer regardless of where they lived.[13] At the time, a trip to the movie theater meant viewing numerous short-reel films that lasted an average of fifteen minutes each.[14] The "variety show" format meant that moviegoers saw

---

8   Charles Keil and Ben Singer, *American Cinema of the 1910s: Themes and Variations* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2009).

9   M. Keith Booker, *Historical Dictionary of American Cinema* (Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2011).

10   N.A., "16,000,000 See Movies Each Day," *The Bee,* June 6, 1914.

11   Gerald Mast and Bruce F. Kawin, *A Short History of the Movies,* 11th ed, (Boston: Longman, 2010), 19.

12   N.A., "Edison's Vitascope Cheered," *New York Times,* April 24, 1896.

13   Keil and Singer, *American Cinema of the 1910s*, 2.

14   Keil and Singer, *American Cinema of the 1910s*, 14.

many genres of film with every visit to the theater. By facilitating the flow of information between communities, the movies fostered a deeper connection between urban and rural America that had not existed under the prevailing print media of the time. People with limited reading abilities, notably young children, absorbed information spread through film regardless of whether parents deemed the content appropriate.

As audiences continued to grow, politicians and government officials recognized the potential benefits of the film industry. Throughout the formative years of the film industry, political actors used the screen for two main purposes: elections and wartime propaganda. Politicians used movies to connect with voters and win elections at both the national and local levels.[15] By World War I, the film industry had become a hub for government propaganda that attempted to sway the public in favor of joining the European conflict.[16] The government created an entire propaganda agency tasked with the production of films intended to influence the American people in favor of joining the war.

While this advancement in the film industry brought good things, like the connection between voters and politicians, it also raised several concerns. Skeptics expressed issues with some of the content depicted in movies.[17] The term "immorality" became synonymous with motion pictures, referring to "stories that lowered traditional moral standards, that persuaded people, and especially the young, to accept false principles of conduct."[18] Hollywood studios like Paramount and Universal relied on the popularity of "immoral" films to drive profits.[19] Americans also became concerned with how depictions of violence on screen impacted young viewers.[20] Censorship of motion pictures became a topic of debate as more and more public outcry developed in response to inappropriate content in the movies.[21] The U.S. film industry became a powerful force in American society. The power of the screen radiated through the nation, fostering major interest in the art while also raising concerns over the unchecked political figures and controversial film studios that benefited from the industry.

Campaigns and elections presented an untapped market for the use of film. Up until movies became widespread, speeches and newspapers achieved politicians' goals of earning public approval and votes to win elections. However, both speeches and newspapers came with their own drawbacks. Speeches only effectively impacted the limited number of people who attended the speech in person. Alternatively, written news failed

---

15   N.A., "Movies in the Campaign," *The State,* August 13, 1912.

16   Nick Fischer, "The Committee on Public Information and the Birth of U.S. State Propaganda," *Australasian Journal of American Studies* 35, No. 1 (July 2016): 55.

17   N.A., "Moving Pictures Immoral?"

18   Donnelly, "Legion of Decency," 42.

19   N.A. "Better Movies for Children and for Adults." *Charlotte Observer.* July 4, 1916.

20   William Sheafe Chase, "Bad Motion Pictures," *New York Times,* December 14, 1912.

21   N.A., "Censorship of Moving Picture Films as an Interference with the Freedom of the Press," *Virginia Law Review* 2, No. 3 (December 1914): 216.

to account for Americans who could not read, but whose voices still mattered in elections. With the rise of film in the twentieth century, a new frontier of American political campaigning emerged. After a film of Governor Woodrow Wilson accepting the 1912 Democratic nomination for the presidency "brought hearty applause from the audience" it became clear that "moving pictures of all the presidential candidates will become a feature of the campaign, enabling many thousands of people to witness the life-like representations of the party leaders."[22] Sure enough, Wilson worked with the Universal Film Manufacturing Company to produce a film called The Old Way and the New meant to be shown in theaters across the country during his campaign.[23] While no records exist to suggest that the film actually made it to theaters, the Wilson administration utilized the movies again in 1916, which suggests that other campaign films proved to be successful.[24]

Other short films of election candidates like Wilson's entered rotation in theater variety shows across the nation, offering a realistic depiction of candidates so voters felt more inclined to vote for or support them. Mayor Knotts, who ran for re-election in the city of Gary, Indiana in 1913, partnered with The Industrial Moving Picture Company to produce films for distribution during his campaign.[25] Political films represented how a trip to the movie theater by an average American became the vessel by which the screen pushed political propaganda. Public fascination with the emerging technologies of the film industry meant that movies guaranteed an audience, thus political films shown in theaters always found that very same audience. In 1924, Governor Smith of New York took political films one step further when he integrated the power of speech with the power of moving pictures. While running for re-election, Smith created the first "talking movie" to be used in a political campaign with the rudimentary designs and imperfect technology of Dr. Lee de Forest.[26] Other politicians across the nation, including President Coolidge, followed suit after they saw the impact of the "talking movies" on the electorate.[27] Politicians, recognizing the power of film, the number of people they reached at once, and the emotional responses they elicited, began to depend on the industry for larger-scale public issues, rather than just campaigns and elections. The many films produced by the U.S. government during World War I show how politicians recognized the power of the film screen.

At the onset of America's involvement in World War I, President Wilson created the Committee on Public Information in an attempt to influence public opinion in favor of the war.[28] The Committee's job entailed producing propaganda of all forms, including

22   N.A., "Movies in the Campaign."
23   Mark Benbow, "Wilson's Cartoonist: Charles R. Macauley and the 1912 Election," *Journalism History 37,* no. 4 (2012): 224.
24   Benbow, "Wilson's Cartoonist," 224.
25   N.A., "Feature Film News," *The Motion Picture News,* October 11, 1913.
26   N.A., "Gov. Smith Snapped for Talking Movie," *New York Times,* June 18, 1924.
27   N.A., "Politicians Try Talking Movies," *The Crimson,* October 9, 1924.
28   N.A., "Publicity Board Created by Wilson," *The Atlanta Constitution,* April 15,

motion pictures, and censoring negative information about the war so it could not be released to the public.[29] The Committee on Public Information (CPI) also censored U.S. war information coming from Europe before releasing it to the public to prevent other countries from gaining too much information about America's strength in combat.[30] The CPI also hoped offering transparency of war issues to the American public would make the country feel collectively involved in the conflict.[31] Essentially, the CPI wanted the American people to see successful American involvement in Europe to generate support for the war effort. Films created by the CPI covered topics such as "Food Conservation", "Why We Are Fighting", and "Unmasking German Propaganda," all meant to encourage a unified American home front against the enemies in Europe.[32] The CPI exhibited its films to Americans every time they attended the movies, giving the government film-makers significant influence over public opinion of the conflict. In an official report of its activities, CPI Chairman George Creel, reported to President Wilson that the Committee "prepares moving-picture films showing our war progress and exhibits them to hundreds of thousands of people daily."[33] Later, Creel reported that "the films are shown at public meetings of all sorts to half a million people a week."[34] Creel's report highlighted the scale of the organization and the immense number of people the propaganda reached every day. The government filmmakers under the CPI and the film companies hired by political candidates during campaigns and elections enjoyed widespread influence over American public opinion. The unchecked political power of these filmmakers brought about early concerns over how powerful the film industry could be. These concerns, combined with more public outcry over inappropriate content in movies, culminated in the 1930s with the emergence of Hollywood's Hays Code.

By 1913, the film industry brought in an estimated "three hundred million dollars worth of business a year."[35] Emerging film studios such as Paramount and Universal knew that they had to release movies that engaged viewers to keep audience attendance high once the novelty of the new technology wore off. The movies that reliably attracted viewers tended to be the ones dubbed "immoral." Immoral films typically consisted of "stories that lowered traditional moral standards," with traditional standards referring to things such as "murder is wrong; stealing is wrong; perjury is wrong," etc.[36]

1917.

29   Fischer, "The Committee on Public Information," 55.

30   United States Committee On Public Information and Woodrow Wilson Collection, *The activities of the Committee on public information,* Washington, Govt. print. off, 1918, 5.

31   United States Committee, *The activities of the Committee,* 5.

32   United States Committee, *The activities of the Committee,* 12.

33   United States Committee, *The activities of the Committee,* 4.

34   United States Committee, *The activities of the Committee*, 15.

35   John Wertheimer, "Mutual Film Reviewed: The Movies, Censorship, and Free Speech in Progressive America," *The American Journal of Legal History* 37, No. 2 (April 1993): 171.

36   Donnelly, "Legion of Decency," 42.

Films deemed inappropriate by the public typically depicted themes of unnecessary violence, crime, or sexual conduct. Despite the controversial content in those movies, tickets continued to sell, and studios continued to make money.

Young people made up a significant portion of attendees at the movies. By 1934, an estimated 77 million Americans attended the movies each week with 11 million being viewers under the age of fourteen.[37] Studios released uncensored films with little regard for the fact that their viewership consisted so largely of children. After requests for more appropriate films for juvenile exhibition increased in Charlotte movie theaters in 1916, the *Charlotte Observer* wrote that Paramount and Universal assured them that "the pictures of this type are available, and nothing remains except for the public to indicate its preference for them."[38] An assertion like this from the film studios suggested that they released "immoral" films because they continued to bring in an audience and that they would have distributed more appropriate films if they felt that they would bring in the same amount of profit. Thus, film studios continued to release "immoral" films to large audiences of young people, which led to concerns over how the films impacted them. Film studios that released "immoral" films remained unchecked until concerns became so potent that conflict erupted between them and their audiences during the 1910s and 20s.

Concerns over the content depicted in movies coincided with the increase in attendance at the theaters. As early as 1907, the city of Chicago founded a censorship board tasked with viewing and approving films coming out of Hollywood before their release to the general public.[39] In 1909, Hollywood founded the National Board of Censorship, later referred to as the National Board of Review, to get ahead of public censorship of their films. *The New York Times* described the review board as "an independent body of volunteer citizen reviewers to examine all films submitted to them by producers."[40] However, movies the National Board deemed acceptable tended to be rejected by local boards, undermining National Board's effectiveness.[41] Debates over how films should be censored came to a head in 1915 when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Mutual Film Corporation v. Industrial Commission of Ohio* that "the exhibition of moving pictures is a business pure and simple, originated and conducted for profit… not to be regarded… as part of the press of the country or as organs of public opinion."[42] The Supreme Court decision barred the moving picture industry from protections under the First Amendment and thus made it acceptable for more states to create censorship

---

37   Henry James Forman, *Our Movie Made Children* (New York: Macmillan, 1934), 10.

38   N.A., "Better Movies for Children and for Adults," *Charlotte Observer,* July 4, 1916.

39   Laura Wittern-Keller, "The Origins of Governmental Censorship," *Freedom of the Screen: Legal Challenges to State Film Censorship, 1915-1981* (Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 2008), 22.

40   Gabriel L. Hess, "Censoring the Movie," *New York Times,* December 28, 1919.

41   Wittern-Keller, "Governmental Censorship," 23-24.

42   Mutual Film Corp. v. Ohio Indus'l Comm., 236 U.S. 230 (1915).

boards like the one in Chicago. Censorship boards sprouted around the country through the 1910s and 20s, hindering the power and profit machine that political and "immoral" filmmakers enjoyed.[43] By the 1930s, frustrated and left with nowhere to turn, Hollywood looked inward for ways to clean up their productions and get them back in front of audiences uninterrupted by the censorship boards that placed limits on what they depicted in their films.

In 1930, Will H. Hays, president of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America (MPPDA), created The Motion Pictures Production Code (MPPC), commonly referred to as the Hays Code.[44] Whereas state and local censorship boards set up barriers between the distribution of films and their exhibition to audiences, the Hays Code worked in the production side of the industry to clean up films before they ever even reached the state boards.[45] Film production required significant investments of money and resources, which producers lost when censors blocked a film from release. The Hays Code hoped to limit the number of films rejected and money lost. However, a Charlotte newspaper in 1931 expressed frustration with the failure of the Code by saying, "any one who has seen a considerable number of the pictures released since the publication of the Hays code knows that, whatever its intentions, it has turned out to be a fraud."[46] The Hays Code's ineffectiveness could have been due to the same reasons producers made no changes under the National Board, fear of losing influence and money. However, the public placed much of the blame on its lack of enforcement mechanism. Thus, in 1934, the MPPDA added the Production Code Administration (PCA) which became responsible for "effective enforcement machinery" and was meant to "ensure adherence to the code."[47] Once added, the PCA marked a notable step in limiting the previously unchecked political influence and inappropriate content exhibited to the American public through film.

The massive reach of the film industry in the first half of the twentieth century led political actors to use the screen for influence and Hollywood film studios to use the public's fascination with "immoral" content to gain profit. Audience frustration with the unchecked power of these movie producers led to the emergence of several different censorship tactics. Beginning with local and state censorship boards and developing into official organizations created by the film industry, film censorship continued through most of the twentieth century. Notably, *Burstyn v. Wilson*, the Supreme Court decision that overturned *Mutual Film Corp. v. Ohio Indus'l Comm.*, reinstated First Amendment protections for the film industry in 1952. Today, the public expects to see campaign ads

43   Wittern-Keller, "Governmental Censorship," 25-26.
44   Geoffrey Shurlock, "The Motion Picture Production Code," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 254, (November 1947): 140.
45   Shurlock, "The Motion Picture Production Code," 141.
46   Robert E. Sherwood, "The Moving Picture Album," *Charlotte News,* July 12, 1931.
47   Shurlock, "The Motion Picture Production Code," 141.

on TV during election cycles, a modern-day use of the screen for political influence. Discourse about inappropriate content on screen and how that content impacts children also remains today. Specifically, concerns exist around how violence in movies and video games impacts the minds of young boys as opposed to young girls who grow up playing with things like baby dolls and tea sets. Censorship boards no longer exist but evolved into the MPAA rating system in the late-1960s.[48] After many revisions, that rating system became recognizable as G, PG, PG-13, R, and NC-17.[49] Now, rather than censorship being left up to a state or city board, individuals themselves get to decide which movies they do or do not watch. Today, Hollywood creates blockbusters and franchises that connect with fans around the world. Movies no longer simply connect urban and rural America but communities from all over the planet.

---

48   Thomas Doherty, "Not the Breen Office," *Hollywood's Censor: Joseph I. Breen and the Production Code Administration* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 334.

49   Doherty, "Breen Office," 335.

"We must go among them, wherever they are": The Regional Vanguard Legacy of the North Carolina Black Panther Party

Michael Dennis

Abstract:[1] Following the death of Martin Luther King Jr. and the end of the Civil Rights Movement, the Black Panther Party led a revolution of young Black people against American capitalism and imperialism. Between 1968 and 1977, the North Carolina Black Panther Party was the vanguard of Black Power in the southeast, supporting a broad range of causes across the region that received praise nationwide both inside and outside of the Party. This paper aims to assert the North Carolina branch's effectiveness for its broad reaching activism, as well as their incredible local impact in Winston-Salem where the Party was headquartered. The North Carolina branch has received some recognition from other scholars and historians of the Black Panther Party, but often with a more narrow focus on Winston-Salem. This paper is heavily driven by electronic sources not previously available to scholars. While the events of the Winston-Salem branch still feature prominently in this paper, a narrow view on Winston-Salem excludes important events such as the High Point Four, Joan Little, student protests at NC A&T, and the short-lived Charlotte Black Panther Party. This paper highlights more broad reaching actions to demonstrate why the North Carolina Black Panthers deserve recognition as the state chapter and an important part of North Carolina Black History.

Scholars of North Carolina's vibrant Black Power movement have largely failed to acknowledge the North Carolina Black Panther Party's immense contributions to the Black

---

Power movement both in-state and nationwide. Originally founded in 1968 as a group called the Organization for Black Liberation (OBL), the party was primarily concerned with issues facing its community at the end of the Civil Rights movement.[2] At the same time, the Black Panther Party was sweeping national news for its armed protest of the Mulford Act, a piece of legislation intended to outlaw the public carrying of loaded weapons in direct response to the Panthers' armed confrontations with police, at the California State Capitol.[3] In addition, the rhetoric and goals of the Black panther Party resonated with many Black Americans who saw minimal change in their standard of living after the end of the Civil Rights Movement.[4] After receiving an issue of the Party's newspaper, *The Black Panther Intercommunal News Service*, the OBL recognized that the national Black Panther Party represented their local concerns and sought to unite a broad coalition of Black Americans into an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist revolutionary force.[5] Formed in response to issues of institutional racism, Klan violence, and concern for its community's standard of living, the North Carolina Black Panther Party focused primarily on the communities its members lived in, which remained the Party's guiding principle. This idea of community extended beyond the city where the Party was headquartered, as the group provided much of the Southeast with a broad range of services. Despite its dedication to fighting institutionalized racism, its contributions to the state's impressive Black Power movement, and its efforts to improve the lives of community members in cities across the Southeast, the North Carolina Black Panther Party has received little scholarly or official recognition for its work.

In the July 4, 1970, issue of the *Black Panther Intercommunal News Service*, Winston-Salem Panther Doug Miranda wrote an article titled, "[o]ne of our main purposes is to unify our brothers and sisters in the North with our brothers and sisters in the South."[6] Miranda described how "[t]he favorite historical tactic used by the exploiter against the exploited… has been and continues to be the age-old tactic of divide and conquer."[7] Miranda further argued that the dispersion of the Black diaspora across America had led to Black Americans not seeing themselves as a whole, but rather as multiple communities with individual, separate problems. As an out-of-state member of the North Carolina Chapter from New Haven, Connecticut, Miranda had experience in making this revolutionary connection between North and South and argued that the struggle must include the South.[8] At the end of the article, Miranda expanded upon a quote by the Party's leader,

2   Charlie McGeehan, "Getting to the Hospital: An Overview of the Winston-Salem Black Panther Party" (Honors Essay, University of North Carolina Dept. of African and Afro-American Studies, 2009), 13-15.

3   Joshua Bloom and Waldo E. Martin, *Black Against Empire: The History and Politics of the Black Panther Party* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016), 57.

4   Bloom and Martin, *Black Against Empire*, 61.

5   McGeehan, "Getting to the Hospital," 15-6.

6   Doug Miranda, "One of Our Main Purposes is to Unify Our Brothers and Sister in the North with Our Brothers and Sisters in the South," *Black Panther Black Community News Service* 5, no. 11, July 4, 1970, [pg 14], https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/pubs/black-panther/05%20no%201%201-24%20jul%204%201970.pdf.

7   Miranda, "Main Purposes," [pg 14].

8   Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Black Panther Party,* part 13, December 5, 2010,

writing that "[o]ur Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton has said 'The Black Panther Party is the people's party, and we are primarily interested in freeing man.' If we are after the complete and total liberation of our people, then we must go among them wherever they are."[9] This article perfectly encompassed the broad activism of the North Carolina branch, which included drawing members from out-of-state and addressing issues that went beyond the local community to further the Black Power revolution. The Party's broad activism garnered a wide base of community support and distinguished it as the first established Southern branch and last-standing East Coast branch of the Black Panther Party.[10]

The North Carolina Black Panther Party's success seems almost paradoxical. How did the radical Black Power Movement come to thrive in North Carolina, possibly more so than in cities like New York and Chicago that had more established, politically radicalized populations? Were the communities that the Panthers served truly radicalized by their interaction with the Party, or were they simply beneficiaries of the branch's extensive social programs? And why has the North Carolina Black Panther Party been largely forgotten by scholars despite its extensive activism and unique position in North Carolina state history? This paper will aim to assert how the North Carolina Black Panther Party was able to effectively radicalize the communities it served through extensive and dedicated community service coupled with revolutionary Black Power politics.

Primary Sources

One of the most remarkable aspects of the story of the North Carolina Black Panthers is the heavy surveillance and suppression they survived under the FBI's Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO). In 1969, J. Edgar Hoover declared that "the Black Panther party, without question, represents the greatest threat to the internal security of the country."[11] This assertion marked the beginning of a period of intense government harassment of the party nationwide, including phone tapping, undercover agents, and targeted police raids, resulting in the death and imprisonment of many Panthers. The North Carolina Chapter was subject to constant harassment by law enforcement, and FBI surveillance continued even after COINTELPRO was revealed and ordered to stop its illegal activities in 1971.[12] The actions carried out under COINTELPRO were blatantly illegal and represented a shocking example of the federal government violating the rights of its citizens attempting to organize to assist their communities. The Charlotte FBI Field Office's files relating to the North Carolina Black Panther Party were published as part of a Freedom of Information Act request, and though heavily redacted, contain valuable information

---

p. 54, https://vault.fbi.gov/Black%20Panther%20Party%20.

    9   Miranda, "Main Purposes," [pg 14].

    10   Todd Luck, "Local Black Panthers Roar Again," *Winston-Salem Chronicle,* October 15, 2009, https://newspapers.digitalnc.org/lccn/sn85042324/2010-02-25/ed-1/seq-34/#words=Larry+Medley

    11   Bloom and Martin, *Black Against Empire*, 210.

    12   FBI, *Black Panther Party*, part 34, p. 79.

about the branch's travel and actions, demonstrating the Party's broad organization across the state. Many of the most valuable sections of the FBI files that include identifying information for members and informants, and summaries of FBI actions remain redacted. Much previous scholarship on the Winston-Salem Panthers emphasized information found in the COINTELPRO files, which paints only a partial picture of the branch.[13] The Panthers and FBI were both heavily focused on secrecy, meaning the FBI rarely had the full picture, and what it gathered was aimed specifically at prosecution and disruption. The COINTELPRO files may also provide clues as to why the North Carolina Black Panther Party has been so underacknowledged.

While the heavy reliance of previous works on FBI files and newspapers often warped the perception of the Party's status and achievements, this paper seeks to empha-size the voices and perspectives of the Panthers to gain deeper primary knowledge of the chapter. *Life After Life: A Story of Rage and Redemption* is the autobiography of Evans Hopkins, who moved from Danville, Virginia, to Winston-Salem to join the North-Car-olina Black Panther Party at 17 years old after being introduced to the party through the *Black Panther* newspaper a year earlier.[14] Hopkins eventually moved to Oakland, California, to write for Bobby Seale's 1974 campaign for mayor and the *Black Panther*, later being promoted to group historian.[15] Hopkins's accounts as a young Panther provide an intimate, familial view of the North Carolina branch. Hopkins fondly remembered travels across the state to sell the newspaper, organizing rallies, and the political education the party gave him and others. Evans Hopkins's story provides crucial evidence of the interstate connections and broad reach the North Carolina branch cultivated.

Web resources have been used extensively in this paper, eased by the evolving nature of digitized primary sources. All newspapers included were accessed through digital collections, which allows for continued referencing and digitally aided word searching. All FBI files for the North Carolina Chapter are available through the FBI's digital vault categorized under the "Gangs/Extremist Groups" section and are some of the only publicly available files from COINTELPRO on the Black Panther Party.[16] Since oral histories could not be completed for this project, speeches and lectures posted to YouTube function as oral and visual primary sources, providing first-hand accounts of experiences in the party. In 2018, Appalachian State University hosted discussions with four former Black Panthers, including two former members of the North Carolina Chapter, Ras John and Rev. Dr. Bradford Lilley. In 2020, Bradford Lilley returned to give a lecture on

13   Benjamin L. Friedman, "Picking Up Where Robert F. Williams Left Off: The Winston-Salem Branch of the Black Panther Party," in *Comrades: A Local History of the Black Panther Party*, ed. Judson L. Jefferies (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007): 47-88, https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1zxz1hv.5.

14   Evans Hopkins, *Life After Life: A Story of Rage and Redemption* (New York, NY: Free Press, 2005) 23-4.

15   Hopkins, *Life After Life*, 59, 69.

16   See: FBI, *Black Panther Party*, December 5, 2010, https://vault.fbi.gov/gangs-extremist-groups?b_start:int=20.

his time in the party and his experience as a member of the High Point Four.[17] Another member of the High Point Four, Larry Medley, was interviewed as part of a show called *Extreme Passions*, along with two former High Point Police officers. In the videos, Larry Medley, along with former High Point police officers Jim Robbins and Tommy Bryan, retell their sides of the 1971 Information Center shootout and how they reunited many years after the fact. While not much is known about *Extreme Passions*, other sources corroborate the information it offers.

These videos offer unique information that can only be gained from first-hand accounts and memories, allowing for a deeper understanding and examination of the High Point Information Center. Websites help to demonstrate the lasting impact of the North Carolina Chapter, providing evidence of their successes and memorialization's in the modern day. This paper uses materials published by the cities of High Point and Winston-Salem to show the ways in which the cities they serve have recognized the North Carolina Chapters efforts in recent years. Similarly, this paper utilizes the Carter G. Woodson School's website as an example of the continuing activism of party members. In studying more recent events, using online resources is necessary for accessing primary sources not posted with academic purposes in mind and for fully examining the impacts of relatively recent events.

It is also crucial to acknowledge the problems and biases of these primary sources. The most important information contained within the COINTELPRO files is censored, likely for the best, and there is almost no way to compensate for the immense persecutory bias of the entire project. As a party newspaper, *The Black Panther Intercommunal News Service* did not include stories of the same failures that the FBI was all too ready to document and instead sought to elevate the party image. The reflections of former Panthers took place between 30 and 40 years after the end of the North Carolina Chapter, and all members experienced profound changes in their later lives that shaped their memories of their time as Black Panthers. However, none of them regretted their work as Panthers even after what they experienced.

Historiography

Secondary sources on the North Carolina Civil Rights and Black Power movements have covered the WSBPP, but in a very limited manner. *Black Against Empire: The History and Politics of the Black Panther Party* provides likely the most comprehensive history of the Black Panther Party and offered crucial insight into party rhetoric, background, and context for this examination of the North Carolina branch. Chapter seven

---

17   ."Free the High Point Four," *Black Panther Intercommunal News Service* 6, no. 15, May 8, 1971, [pg 13], https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/pubs/black-panther/06%20 no%2015%201-20%20may%208%201971.pdf. The High Point Four was the name given by the Black Panther party to the Four Panthers arrested as part of the High Point Information Center Shootout. The Black Panthers often referred to cases with multiple defendants this way.

covered the successful transition of the Winston-Salem Panthers from armed confrontations with housing inequality to their successful community programs.[18] Christina Greene's *Free Joan Little* addressed the case surrounding Joan Little's freedom and provided important details on case specifics. Greene only mentioned the North Carolina Black Panthers on four pages, and failed to acknowledge almost all of their work in the movement for Joan Little's freedom.[19] Greene also falsely listed Larry Little as a founding member of the Organization for Black Liberation and mostly highlighted the repression the branch faced under COINTELPRO.[20] Jess Alan Usher's doctoral dissertation, "An Uneasy Peace: The Struggle For Civil Rights and Economic Justice in Winston-Salem North Carolina, 1960-1969," provided a detailed summary of the Civil Rights Movement in Winston-Salem. Unfortunately, as this project evolved, its focus shifted away from Winston-Salem and lost the scope for analyzing the conditions that fomented the OBL's foundation, as such the body of this thesis does not use Usher's work. Usher's dissertation does briefly address the founding of the Winston-Salem Black Panthers. It states that on the birthday of Malcolm X, May 16, 1969, "Robert Greer, Nelson Malloy, and Larry Little formed a local chapter of the Black Panther Party in the basement of Holmes Methodist Church."[21] However, Larry Little actually joined an existing chapter of the Black Panthers in Winston-Salem on this date.[22] Clearly, the historiography of North Carolina and its Black freedom struggle has neglected the importance of the North Carolina Black Panther Party, and misinformation still remains from COINTELPRO. This paper seeks to remedy this failure by acknowledging the Panthers' official title of "North Carolina Branch of the Black Panther Party" and by highlighting predominantly Panther accounts.[23]

In 2007, Judson L. Jeffries released *Comrades: A Local History of the Black Panther Party*, a collected volume on the local chapters of the Black Panthers which included Benjamin Friedman's account, titled *Picking Up Where Robert F. Williams Left Off: The Winston-Salem Branch of the Black Panther Party*. Friedman explored the party in depth, discussing preceding events in Charlotte and Greensboro, as well as the tumultuous early years of the Winston-Salem branch. Additionally, Friedman connected the

---

18   Bloom and Martin, *Black Against Empire*, 179-198.
19   Christina Greene, *Free Joan Little: The Politics of Race, Sexual Violence, and Imprisonment* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2022), 91-3, http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5149/9781469671338_greene. Joan is referred to by both Joan, JoAnne, or Joann, this paper consistently uses "Joan" but sources may use Joanne or JoAnne.
20   Greene, *Free Joan Little*, 91-3.
21   Jess Alan Usher, "An Uneasy Peace: The Struggle for Civil Rights and Economic Justice in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, 1960-1969" (PhD Dissertation, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 2015), 422.
22   Larry Little, "Panther Leaders Tell the Impact of Party," *Winston-Salem Chronicle,* March 24, 1979, https://newspapers.digitalnc.org/lccn/sn85042324/1979-03-24/ed-1/seq-5/#words=Black+Panthe%20r.
23   "High Point Racists Take Three Out of Four: Three of the High Point Four Convicted," *Black Panther Intercommunal News Service* 7, no. 26*,* February 19, 1972, [pg 17], https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/pubs/black-panther/07%20no%2026%201-10%20feb%2019%201972.pdf.

legacy of Robert F. Williams, the North Carolina NAACP leader and armed self-defense advocate, to the Winston-Salem Panthers and their call for organized self-defense in their community.[24] While this work does provide a good overall coverage of the earliest years of the Winston-Salem branch, *Picking Up* highlighted mostly early occurrences of police harassment in Winston-Salem. This paper differs by taking a wider view, examining events with an emphasis outside of Winston-Salem. Friedman also concluded that "Larry Little resigned from the party in early 1976. His resignation, for all intents and purposes, marked the end of the Winston-Salem Black Panthers."[25] This assertion ignored almost two years of important activities and portrayed the branch as a monolith of Larry Little.

This paper owes a huge debt to Charlie McGeehan's *Getting to the Hospital: An Overview of the Winston-Salem Black Panthers*. McGeehan's thorough examination of local perspectives on the Winston-Salem Panthers provided probably the deepest scholarly examination of the party and should be recognized as the historiographical apex of work on the Winston-Salem Panthers. Getting to the Hospital fully examined the entire lifespan of the Winston-Salem branch and provided intricate details of almost every event, many not previously available to scholars conducting limited research. The incredible use of oral history interviews with former Panthers and community members provides this intimate view of the Party not possible through an examination driven solely by FBI files and newspapers. Many aspects of the North Carolina Black Panthers' story would be untold without the oral histories included in Getting to the Hospital and the incredible work of Charlie McGeehan. This paper differs by choosing to look outside of Winston-Salem and by examining broader effects of the Party on communities across the state, building on McGeehan's work to look at areas less covered in Getting to the Hospital to further expand the story of the North Carolina Black Panther Party, expanding the view of it from a highly successful local service organization to a powerful regionwide force in revolutionary Black Power.

Main Body

The Black Panther Intercommunal News Service was the backbone of the Party, and a valuable national news source. It had been one of the very earliest elements of the party, from when Huey Newton and Bobby Seale first organized a rally for Denzil Dowell in April 1967.[26] The OBL first pursued membership with the Black Panthers after reading a copy of the *Black Panther* brought to them by a New York Panther named Eric Pasha

---

24   Friedman, "Picking Up," 49-50, 61. Robert F. Williams was the president of the NAACP in Monroe, North Carolina. In response to heavy Klan activity and threats against him in the 1950s, Williams, a former marine, encouraged armed self-defense among the Black community. Due to his radical beliefs, the NAACP expelled Williams. In 1961, Williams fled the country in the face of fraudulent charges. Williams' book *Negroes with Guns* was a significant inspiration for Huey Newton in the creation of the Black Panther Party.

25   Friedman, "Picking Up," 79.

26   "Why Was Denzil Dowell Killed," *Black Panther Black Community News Service* 1, no. 1, April 25, 1967, [pg 1], https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/pubs/black-panther/01n01-Apr%2025%201967.pdf ; Bloom and Martin, *Black Against Empire,* 56.

Brown.[27] Sales from the newspaper provided the seller of the paper, the branch, and the party its most reliable funding. More importantly, it spread the news of the Black Power movement to huge cities such as New York and Los Angeles as well as to local communities like Winston-Salem. Readers could expect to get the latest news from the Central Committee, articles on local issues written by Panthers across the nation, news of international anti-imperialist struggles in Africa, Vietnam and South America, and writings by key party theoreticians.[28] Thus, the *Black Panther* served to educate the entire party and the communities that purchased and read the newspaper to the revolutionary philosophy of the Party as well as to salient local and national issues.

       The Panthers in Winston-Salem took the spread of information very seriously, selling newspapers in Greensboro, High-Point, Durham, Raleigh, Chapel Hill, and Charlotte.[29] When selling newspapers at schools, the Panthers were often permitted by students to stay in their dorms and use their meal cards.[30] The Panthers sold many newspapers to servicemen in Fayetteville, directly aiding in the international movement against the war in Vietnam. Evans Hopkins recalled selling newspapers to second-generation Russian immigrants who were living in a trailer on the edge of Winston-Salem's projects, demonstrating that the Panthers' ultimate service was to impoverished peoples, regardless of race.[31] The *Black Panther* also enabled issues in Black communities to be put on a national stage, creating a valuable Black national consciousness. The North Carolina Panthers wrote articles on issues across the region, highlighting causes such as prison activism in Raleigh and Wilmington, migrant workers in Johnston County, and police violence in Lumberton, NC, and Memphis, TN.[32] These articles highlighted nearby areas where discrimination ran rampant, but for any number of reasons Black Power organizations did not exist. By providing direct coverage of events that may not have been widely publicized, the North Carolina Panthers increased awareness of issues of injustice to both

---

27   McGeehan, "Getting to the Hospital," 16; FBI, *Black Panther Party*, part 1, p. 36.

28   "World Scope," *Black Panther Intercommunal News Service* 11, no. 13, March 23, 1974, [pg 18], https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/pubs/black-panther/11%20no%20 13%201-24%20mar%2023%201974.pdf; "Africa in Focus," *Black Panther Intercommunal News Service* 11, no. 13, March 23, 1974, [pg 17], https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/pubs/black-panther/11%20no%2013%201-24%20mar%2023%201974.pdf ; "In Search of Common Ground," *Black Panther Intercommunal News Service* 11, no. 13, March 23, 1974, [pg 11, 22], https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/pubs/black-panther/11%20no%2013%201-24%20mar%2023%201974.pdf.

29   Hopkins, *Life After Life,* 46.

30   Hopkins, *Life After Life*, 46; McGeehan, "Getting to the Hospital," 55.

31   Hopkins, *Life After Life,* 53.

32   "Memphis Tennessee: City of 300,000 Oppressed N*****s," *Black Panther Black Community News Service* 5, no. 8, August 21, 1970, p. 2, https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/pubs/black-panther/05%20no%2008-Aug%2021%201970.pdf; "Lumberton, North Carolina: Southern City of Racist Exploitation and Oppression, *Black Panther Black Community News Service* 5, no. 16, October 17, 1970, [pg 2], https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/pubs/black-panther/05%20no%2016%201-24%20 oct%2017%201970.pdf; "Squalor, Filth and Disease Greet Migrant Workers in North Carolina," *Black Panther Intercommunal News Service* 14, no. 2,, September 29, 1975, [pg. 9], https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/pubs/black-panther/14%20no%202%201-28%20sep%2029%201975.pdf.

a local and national audience. To the communities that received it, the *Black Panther* Intercommunal News Service was likely an incredible resource, providing valuable news, medical, political, and legal information, and extensive discussions by the party's central theoreticians. In turn, the Black Panther educated the Panthers' supporters on ways to participate in the struggle for liberation and party rhetoric while simultaneously raising funds for the Party's programs.

Spreading information was a key aspect of the Black Panther Party's goal, as its leaders and members saw education as the first step in priming the masses for revolution. The branch's leadership regularly gave public speeches at hosted survival days, and Panthers also traveled to speak at nearby universities for classes or rallies.[33] These speeches helped to generate support and funding more directly for the Party around the state. Visits by key theoreticians and prominent party members to Winston-Salem highlighted the importance of the branch. In May of 1970, before the Winston-Salem branch had even achieved full membership, it hosted a speech by Dhoruba Bin Wahad, a member of the New York 21, at a "Free Bobby Seale" rally that attracted over 300 people.[34] This shows remarkable faith in the Winston-Salem Panthers by the Central Committee and shows that they were recognized as an important branch for speakers to attend. Visits by other prominent members including David Hilliard, June Hilliard, Masai Hewitt, and Geronimo Pratt, did not feature public speeches, but instead were likely intended to inspect and educate the members of what was then the Winston-Salem National Committee to Combat Fascism.[35]

On November 14, 1971, the Winston-Salem branch hosted a speech at Winston-Salem State University by Bobby Seale, co-founder and then-chairman of the party. The speech attracted a crowd of 3,000, and despite an intrusion by the bomb squad to check the room after a bomb threat, the crowd all returned to hear Seale speak. A full transcript of this speech as well as photos of the event and Chairman Seale and the Winston-Salem Panthers visiting local families appeared in the November 29, 1971, issue of the *Black Panther*.[36] Once again, in March of 1974, fresh from his campaign for mayor of Oakland, Bobby Seale returned to North Carolina to give a speech at UNC Chapel Hill, and transcripts of the speech were prominently featured across four issues of the *Black Panther*.[37]

---

33   FBI, *Black Panther Party*, part 6, p. 30.
34   Bloom and Martin, *Black Against Empire, 213-4;* FBI, *Black Panther Party*, part 6, 5-7.
35   FBI, *Black Panther Party*, part 11, p. 18.
36   "Racists' 'Bomb' Scare Fails to Keep People from Hearing Bobby," *Black Panther Intercommunal News Service* 7, no. 14, p. 10-11*, November 29, 1971, [pg #], https://www.marxists.org/ history/usa/pubs/black-panther/07%20no%2014%201-24%20nov%2029%201971.pdf.
37   "Bobby Seale: 'There is No Dropping Out of the System,'" *Black Panther Intercommunal News Service* 11, no. 11, March 9, 1974, [pg 5,6, 21], https://www.marxists.org/ history/usa/pubs/black-panther/11%20no%2011%201-24%20mar%209%201974.pdf ; "Bobby Seale: 'It's the Masses of People Who Are Really Radical,'" *Black Panther Intercommunal News Service* 11, no. 13, March 23, 1974, [pg 4, 14, 18], https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/ pubs/black-panther/11%20no%2013%201-24%20mar%2023%201974.pdf; "Bobby Seale: 'The American Dream Has Been Corrupted," *Black Panther Intercommunal News Service* 11, no. 14,

In July 1976, Winston-Salem received a visit by another Chairman of the Black Panthers when Elaine Brown came to raise funds for the Winston-Salem Panthers' Ambulance Service at a unity rally.[38] The importance placed on the Winston-Salem branch by national leaders demonstrated its status in the national organization of the Black Panther Party. Any time Panther leaders traveled, they risked their lives and their freedom and used precious party resources. Clearly, the Central Committee viewed the North Carolina Chapter as sufficiently important to warrant regular visits.

Other times, the Panthers sought to include community members in the envisioning of revolutionary ideas. The best example of this is the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention (RPCC), an attempt by the Black Panthers to draft a new, more representative constitution. The Winston-Salem Panthers started a Constitutional Convention information center in the home of Louise Ames, a 104-year-old resident of "the pond," an impoverished area of Winston-Salem. The placement of the information center here was highly intentional, as this area exemplified failures on the part of the US government, with many houses lacking heating, electricity, and hot water.[39] The Panthers set up an additional information center in Lumberton, which they saw as a particularly important area. In the October 17, 1970, issue of the *Black Panther*, the Winston-Salem Panthers described how Lumberton's Black community suffered under racism and capitalism, being paid minimum wage by Goodyear Rubber and Burlington Mills while living in housing "not fit for the shelter of human beings" and experiencing brutality at the hands of an unjust police force. At the end of the article, the Panthers vowed "to mobilize the people of Lumberton, N.C., and get to the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention to write a document that will guarantee all people their human rights and assure them justice and peace…"[40] Lumberton was not the only place through which the North Carolina Chapter spread information for the RPCC, but it exemplified the conditions that the Panthers saw as necessary to address with a more equitable constitution. Panthers traveled across the region to High Point, UNC Chapel Hill, Johnson C.

March 30, 1974, [pg 7, 10 18], https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/pubs/black-panther/11%20no%2014%201-24%20mar%2030%201974.pdf. Due to a website error, only three newspapers are digitally available, but all three mention the speeches as part of four.

38   Art Eisenstadt, "Panther Chief Calls for Unity," *The Sentinel,* July 12, 1976, https://www.newspapers.com/image/937478644/?terms=panther%20rally%20&match=1.The Joseph Waddell's Free Ambulance Service has been recognized by previous scholars as the Winston-Salem Black Panthers greatest achievement, a one-of-its-kind free medical service offered to anyone in Winston-Salem. The story of Joseph Waddell and the Free Ambulance is one of the most intriguing stories of the NCBPP but is consciously excluded here for the sake of brevity in a thesis with limited scope. For the full story of the Joseph Waddell's Free Ambulance Service, see: Charlie McGeehan, "Getting to the Hospital."

39   "The People of Winston-Salem Demand a Constitution that Guarantees the Right to Live," *Black Panther Black Community News Service* 5, no. 9, August 29, 1970, [pg 1,2], https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/pubs/black-panther/05%20no%209%201-24%20aug%2029%201970.pdf.

40   "Lumberton, North Carolina."

Smith University in Charlotte, and Atlanta, Georgia, to spread information on the RPCC.[41] About thirty five Panthers and community members left for the RPCC together, as well as members of the Students for a Democratic Society, New University Conference and Young Socialist Alliance from UNC Chapel Hill who had been recruited from speeches at local universities and left in their own cars.[42] This dedication to recruiting both impoverished Black community members and predominately white, radical college students shows an immense dedication to radical community building and interracial inclusion. The ability to recruit from these two very different groups for the deeply political mission of rewriting the American Constitution speaks volumes about the effectiveness of the North Carolina Chapter's outreach and political education and about its ability to recruit for the Black Power movement as a whole.

Unfortunately, the RPCC was a disaster for multiple reasons. On November 27, 1970, shortly after the main group had left, a fire started at the Winston-Salem headquarters under suspicious circumstances. This fire destroyed the headquarters, and although it is impossible to know the fire's origin, it gave police the opportunity to confiscate and scan documents from the Panthers' office. In addition, the fire inflicted significant financial harm on the branch.[43] As the group drove towards the Convention in Washington D.C., the rental truck they were driving broke down, and shortly thereafter police and FBI agents arrived to search the Panthers' persons and vehicles. The FBI also advised local mechanics and Hertz, who the truck had been rented from, not to repair the vehicle, though it was ultimately repaired in time for the Panthers to attend.[44] The Convention itself had been poorly planned and failed to achieve any of its goals.[45] While the goals of the RPCC were likely unachievable to begin with, the Panthers' effort to include the community in the process of drafting a new constitution reflected their dedication to the goal of reforming governing institutions to be truly representative of the people. Additionally, the act of bringing community members together from across the United States to assist in doing so was a direct realization of the Panthers' goals of creating a political system separate from the United States Government.[46] While the Convention was ultimately a failure, the heavy repression that the North Carolina Panthers underwent demonstrated the extent to which the FBI and the US government perceived both this Convention and the North Carolina Chapter's participation in it as a threat in 1970.

---

41   FBI, *Black Panther Party*, part 17, p. 50.
42   FBI, *Black Panther Party*, part 11, p. 50.
43   McGeehan, "Getting to the Hospital," 35-6.
44   McGeehan, "Getting to the Hospital," 33-4.
45   McGeehan, "Getting to the Hospital," 33.
46   Bloom and Martin, *Black Against Empire*, 71-2. Points one and ten of the Black Panthers' Ten Point Program state: "We Want Freedom. We Want Power to Determine the Destiny of Our Black Community," and "We Want Land, Bread, Housing, Education, Clothing, Justice And Peace," respectively. Point number ten is followed by the preamble to the Declaration of Independence. The Ten Point Program served as the foundation of the Black Panther Party's beliefs and its guiding principles.

Furthermore, the North Carolina branch served a greater area than just the city of Winston-Salem by directly extending resources into other local communities. Before joining the North Carolina Chapter, Evans Hopkins organized a local group at his high school in Danville, VA, based around student activism and selling the *Black Panther*, which he got from Winston-Salem.[47] When Hopkins arrived in Winston-Salem during political education classes, "the entire membership of the North Carolina Chapter was there, which included not only the Winston-Salem branch but those who staffed the Party's outpost in the nearby city of High Point, and three community workers all the way from Wilmington as well."[48] With Winston-Salem serving as a central hub, the Panthers were able to extend resources across a large area. The Panthers started community houses across the region in cities such as Fayetteville, Lumberton, and Richmond, Virginia, but probably the most successful community information center was in nearby High Point.[49] Founded on Christmas Day in 1970, the opening ceremony was attended by over two hundred and fifty community members. Four of the first Panthers assigned there were George Dewitt (seventeen), Randolph Jennings (seventeen), Bradford Lilley (nineteen), and Larry Medley (sixteen). Dewitt and Medley were both from High Point and had been expelled from school after trying to politically educate their classmates. Jennings was from South Carolina and had moved to Winston-Salem; after attending the RPCC, Jennings decided to join the party. Bradford Lilley grew up in Hobbsville, N.C., and attended Fayetteville State University, where he began to organize for the RPCC and eventually dropped out to join the party.[50]

By February of 1971, the High Point Panthers had begun operating a free breakfast program feeding fifty children as well as a Liberation School and Angela Davis Day Care Center, and had planned a free clothing drive for February 13.[51] At 5:30 on the morning of February 10, officers of the High Point Sheriff and Police departments and agents from the FBI and State Bureau of Investigation arrived to deliver an eviction notice at the High Point Information Center.[52] Although the raid took place early in the morning and was likely designed to surprise the Panthers, George DeWitt, coordinator of the Free

---

47   Hopkins, *Life After Life,* 30.

48   Bloom and Martin, *Black Against Empire*, 38.

49   McGeehan, "Getting to the Hospital," 99.

50   "Free the High Point Four," *Black Panther Intercommunal News Service* 6, no. 15, May 8, 1971, [pg. 13] , https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/pubs/black-panther/06%20no%2015%201-20%20may%208%201971.pdf.

51   "Attack on Black Community Information Center, High Point, N.C.," *Black Panther Intercommunal News Service* 6, no. 5, February 27, 1971, p. 12, https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/pubs/black-panther/06%20no%205%201-20%20feb%2027%201971.pdf.

52   Bradford Lilley, "A Black Panther Speaks: The 'High Point Four' and Struggles Against Racism

          and Police Brutality in 1970s North Carolina," February 11, 2020, Lecture at the Center for Judaic, Holocaust, and Peace Studies at Appalachian State University, YouTube Video, 31:33-31:52, https://holocaust.appstate.edu/library/center-lectures-and-testimonies/black-freedom-struggle-programs/rev-dr-bradford-lilley-20.

Breakfast Program, had already spotted the police amassing and warned those inside.[53] The warning allowed Rickie Hooper, a pregnant Panther, to escape so that she was not injured in the shootout the other Panthers expected to die in.[54] When police arrived, Sheriff Laurie Pritchett went to the front door to serve the eviction notice and ask the Panthers to come out to talk.[55] Those inside told Pritchett they had nothing to talk about, and the Sheriff retreated to cover. After nobody emerged, the police forces fired tear gas twice before gunfire broke out, wounding Lt. Shaw Cook and Panther Larry Medley. After a brief shootout, the four Panthers emerged from the house and were made to lay in the street, handcuffed in the February cold where they were beaten by police.[56] A year later, Bradford Lilley, Larry Medley, and Randolph Jennings were all sentenced to seven to ten years for assault on a policeman. George Dewitt was acquitted in a compromise verdict because evidence proved he had not touched a weapon that day. The trial also showed that only one shot had been fired from the house, the shot that wounded Shaw Cook.[57]

During his time incarcerated at Raleigh Central Prison, Bradford Lilley worked to politically organize the inmate population around communal living, political education, and mutual aid. This incident did not destroy the High Point information center, which continued to run, including the Angela Davis Day Care Center. When the day care was raided on January 4, 1972, under the pretext of looking for a member of the Black community, neighbors and community members gathered around the house to protest the police presence. When police returned two days later under the same context of looking for a community member, the result was the same with neighbors arriving to verbally confront the police and their actions.[58] Clearly, the community of High Point appreciated the presence of a Black Panther Information Center, despite neighborhood complaints being the supposed reason for the February eviction.[59] The community was likely both defending a local resource and acting on political education they may have received from the Panthers and from protests for the High Point Four, showing a deep community interest in the Panthers' issues and mission.

The Winston-Salem Panthers acted as an official arm of the Black Panther Party even in their earliest days, illustrating their deep connection with Party leadership and status in the state. In 1969, Black Panther activity exploded across North Carolina. The FBI spent many of the earliest days of COINTELPRO observing actions of suspected

---

53   proteem13, "Police Shootout 1," YouTube Video, February 20, 2011, 12:00-13:00.

54   Lilley, "A Black Panther Speaks," 32:40-33:00.

55   Lilley, "A Black Panther Speaks," 33:40-34:08; Ray Rollins, "High Point Officer is Hurt in Shootout," *Winston-Salem Journal,* February 11, 1971, https://www.newspapers.com/image/936544346/?terms=%22Nelson%20Malloy%22&match=1.

56   Lilley, "A Black Panther Speaks," 42:30-43:33.

57   "High Point Racists."

58   "Angela Davis Day-Care Center Raided," *Black Panther Intercommunal News Service* 7, no. 23, January 29, 1972, [pg 9], https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/pubs/black-panther/07%20no%2023%201-16%20jan%2029%201972.pdf.

59   proteem13, "Police Shootout 1," 7:00-7:47.

Black Panthers in Greensboro and Charlotte, giving Winston-Salem relatively low prior-ity.[60] The activities in Greensboro were mostly focused on the campus of North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University (A&T), where student protests had become more militant in the wake of the death of Dr. King. It was through Eric Pasha Brown, an A&T student with connections to the Black Panthers in New York, that the OBL was first introduced to the *Black Panther*.[61] Brown was active in student protests at A&T as well as in leading political education classes. In late 1968, Brown was expelled over a distur-bance in the dining hall of A&T, and on March 30, 1969, he was arrested for stealing from Sid's Curb Market.[62] Rallies for Brown's freedom were some of the first causes the future members of the North Carolina Black Panthers participated in.[63] A year later, one of the earliest articles the Winston-Salem N.C.C.F. wrote to the *Black Panther* dealt with a rival organization in Greensboro called the Southern Vanguard Revolutionary Party. In the article, the central staff of the Winston-Salem branch labeled the leader of this organization as "an agent provocateur" and asserted that "[t]he Winston-Salem National Committee to Combat Fascism (which is a political bureau of the Black Panther Party) is the only organization in the state of North Carolina that is affiliated with the Black Panther Party."[64]

A similar situation developed in Charlotte, North Carolina, with the founda-tion of the Afro-American Unity Organization (AAUO) by Benjamin Chavis, which, in a similar fashion as the OBL, sought eventual affiliation with the Black Panther Party. Problems arose in Charlotte when members of the AAUO became increasingly involved in events that brought heavy police attention.[65] In August of 1969, AAUO members were involved in a violent confrontation at a local restaurant in which five people were injured.[66] This was the exact type of activity that the Black Panthers were hoping to avoid in 1969, with a moratorium on new memberships amid problems with violence in new branches. It fell to the Winston-Salem Panthers as the only official arm of the Black Panther Party in the state to shut down the AAUO, with members traveling to secure their weapons and officially disband the group.[67] This was not a violent or hostile event, and the North Carolina Black Panthers continued to support Ben Chavis in his activism as a member of the Wilmington Ten.[68] Significantly, the group in Winston-Salem was still

60   FBI, Black Panther Party, part 1, p. 36.
61   McGeehan, "Getting to the Hospital," 16.
62   FBI, Black Panther Party, part 1, p. 52.
63   McGeehan, "Getting to the Hospital," 16.
64   "To the People of North Carolina," *Black Panther Black Community News Service* 4, no. 17, March 28, 1970, [pg 12], https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/pubs/black-panther/04%20no%2017%201-20%20mar%2028%201970.pdf.
65   FBI, *Black Panther Party*, part 1, 1-35.
66   FBI, *Black Panther Party*, part 5, p. 4.
67   McGeehan, "Getting to the Hospital," 56.
68   The Wilmington Ten were ten activists falsely convicted for arson and conspiracy following racial upheaval surrounding desegregation in Wilmington NC. Chavis advocated for armed self-defense and black power, echoing many of the tenets of the Black Panther Party. Additionally, the NCBPP traveled to Wilmington to speak and otherwise support the

considered a National Committee to Combat Fascism during both incidents. The events
in Greensboro and Charlotte demonstrated that even from its earliest days, the Winston-
Salem Panthers were an official part of the Black Panther Party and carried out the desires
of the Central Committee in the state. Though still seeking full membership, Central
Committee recognized the Winston-Salem Branch as the only official chapter in the state,
showing an early level of national-local cooperation.

Because of the high level of FBI and local police harassment they faced, the
Winston-Salem Panthers spent a significant amount of time in court battling fraudulent
charges. Frequent prosecution was likely meant to drain the Party of funding and support,
but instead led to the development of a close working relationship with the North Caro-
lina Civil Liberties Union.[69] In January of 1971, a stolen meat truck arrived in front of the
Winston-Salem Black Panther Party's headquarters, likely delivered by someone working
under FBI coercion.[70] After more than 50 police officers surrounded the house and received
no answer to their demands for the occupants to exit, they opened fire. In the forty-five
second barrage of bullets, the police completely destroyed the Party's headquarters before
the two occupants, Carry Coe and Grady Fuller, emerged. Police officers proceeded to
remove all of the furniture and documents from the house and bring them to police head-
quarters, where they were likely examined and copied.[71] Six days later, Julius Cornell and
Larry Little were arrested as accessories after the fact. Coe was only fifteen and was not
charged, but was placed in a foster home, from which he ran away less than a year later.[72]

In the trial, three lawyers working on a pro bono basis, Jerry Paul, James
Ferguson, and James Keenan, defended Cornell, Fuller and Little. The Panthers continued
to work with Paul, Ferguson, and Keenan, as the three lawyers defended the Party against
multiple criminal charges in its lifespan.[73] Paul worked extensively with the ACLU and
organized the chapter in Greenville, close to where he was born and raised in Beau-
fort County.[74] The Panthers' legal team filed seven pretrial motions, two of which were
granted. One motion sought to suppress evidence gained illegally and the second sought
to overturn the meat truck robbery indictment due to Forsyth County's biased jury selec-
tion process. By passing this motion, the Party and its legal team forced Forsyth County
to adopt a more representative jury selection process and allowed anyone who had filed a

---

Wilmington Ten as well as writing to The Black Panther. For more on the Wilmington Ten, see: Kenneth
Robert Janken, *The Wilmington Ten: Violence, Injustice, and the Rise of Black Politics in the 1970s*,
    (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016), muse.jhu.edu/book/42415.

69   McGeehan, "Getting to the Hospital," 59.
70   McGeehan, "Getting to the Hospital," 38.
71   Jim Gray, "Police Say Occupants Fired First: 2 Arrested After Shooting at House,"
Winston-Salem Journal, January 13, 1971, https://www.newspapers.com/image/936523906/.
72   "Panthers' Attorneys Subpoena Jury Files," *Winston-Salem Journal,* May 7, 1971,
https://www.newspapers.com/image/936552031/?terms=%22Julius%20Cornell%22.
73   McGeehan, "Getting to the Hospital," 59.
74   Greene, *Free Joan Little,* 32.

similar motion to appeal.[75] Forcing a Southern court system to be truly representative of the community was a huge step towards realizing the Panthers' national goal of judicial equality and had a truly immeasurable impact.

In August of 1974, Joan Little killed her white jailer in self-defense after he sexually assaulted her at the jail in Beaufort County, North Carolina.[76] The North Carolina Black Panthers immediately recognized this case as a cause that reflected their goals, as the right of a Black woman to defend herself against sexual violence with deadly force was a manifestation of the right to self-defense against systems of power. While on the run following her escape from jail, it was the North Carolina Panthers who sheltered Little, a fugitive who could be shot on sight.[77] The Panthers immediately set to organizing a rally for Joan, and wrote to The Black Panther to request letters and donations for the cause.[78] The Winston-Salem Panthers regularly organized rallies throughout Little's trial, usually led by Larry Little (no relation), who served as the head of the Joan Little Defense Committee and regularly traveled with her to speaking events and rallies.[79]

Although Little's case attracted widespread support from feminist and prison abolition groups and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Joan Little Defense Fund and Winston-Salem Black Panther Party were declared the only official donation sources after funds raised by the SCLC were not turned over.[80] It was because of previous work with the Panthers that Jerry Paul was introduced to the case as Little's defense attorney.[81] Paul successfully filed a very similar pretrial motion as in the meat truck trial, arguing that Beaufort county's grand jury selection procedure was racially prejudiced, based on its inclusion in the Civil Rights Act as having less than fifty percent of eligible Black residents registered to vote and therefore for jury duty.[82] This move likely played a huge role in Little's acquittal, as it moved the trial to an area with

---

75   "No More Trials in Winston-Salem?" *Black Panther Intercommunal News Service* 7, no. 8, October 16, 1971, [pg 21], https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/pubs/black-panther/07%20no%208%201-24%20oct%2016%201971.pdf.

76   Greene, *Free Joan Little,* 1-4.

77   Bryan Shih and Yohuru Williams, *The Black Panthers: Portraits from an Unfinished Revolution,* (New York: Nation Books, 2016), 171; Greene, *Free Joan Little,* 2.

78   "Imprisoned North Carolina Sister Attacked," *Black Panther Intercommunal News Service* 12, no. 17, November 16, 1974, https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/pubs/black-panther/12%20no%2017%201-24%20nov%2016%201974.pdf.

79   "'A Revolutionary Born in Jail': Oakland Welcomes Joanne Little," *Black Panther Intercommunal News Service* 13, no. 28*,* September 1, 1975, p. 1-2, https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/pubs/black-panther/13%20no%2028%201-28%20sep%201%201975.pdf; "Winston-Salem B.P.P Holds Rally for Jo Ann Little," *Black Panther Intercommunal News Service* 13, no. 10, April 28, 1975, [pg 8], https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/pubs/black-panther/13%20no%2010%201-28%20apr%2028%201975.pdf.

80   "State OKs Joann Little Trial Change," *Black Panther Intercommunal News Service* 13, no. 11, May 5, 1975, [pg 7], https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/pubs/black-panther/13%20no%2011%201-28%20may%205%201975.pdf.

81   McGeehan, "Getting to the Hospital," 59.

82   "Winston-Salem B.P.P Holds Rally," [pg 8].

more progressive views and a biracial, predominantly female jury.[83]

The Black Panther Party as a whole recognized the importance of Joan Little's case and mobilized behind her. A July 14 rally hosted at California's Oakland Community Learning Center attracted 500 people and included speakers such as Angela Davis, Elaine Brown, Ron Dellums, and representatives of prison and women's rights organizations.[84] Congressman Dellums, well known for his connection to the Black Panther Party, also asked the US Attorney General to launch an investigation into whether Little's civil rights had been violated.[85] In June 1975, the Winston-Salem Black Panther Party named Little "Woman of the Year," an honor that demonstrated the extent to which her case reflected party ideology.[86] On August 15, 1975, Little was found not guilty, becoming the first woman acquitted of self-defense against sexual assault in the United States.[87] The Black Panther featured Joan Little regularly in the months before and after her acquittal. Additionally, Little's victory rally in Oakland attracted a crowd of 1200, with speakers, musical performances, and a message from Huey Newton, then in exile in Cuba. At this rally, Little thanked the Black Panther Party and the people for their tireless dedication and role in mobilizing wide support.[88] Joan Little's case represented the belief that a Black man or woman should be able to use deadly force to defend himself or herself against abuse from racist systems of power. Without the Winston-Salem Panthers, Little's trial likely would have played out much differently, as they helped publicize her case, arrange her defense, and led the coalition for her freedom.

Unlike more traditional non-violent civil rights organizations such as the SCLC, the North Carolina Black Panthers were ready, willing, and called upon to combat extreme racial violence in their state, echoing the legacy of Robert F. Williams. The Ku Klux Klan was stronger in North Carolina than in any other state, boasting fifty two percent of total KKK membership across the Southeast.[89] The Klan displayed itself publicly, hosting nightly rallies with live music, posting billboards across the eastern part of the state, and holding daytime marches in Klan regalia.[90] Formal membership in the United Klans of

---

83   Greene, *Free Joan Little*, 70.
84   "'Free JoAnne Little' Rally Draws 500 to Learning Center," *Black Panther Intercommunal News Service* 13, no. 22, July 21, 1975, [pg 3,12], https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/pubs/black-panther/13%20no%2022%201-28%20jul%2021%201975.pdf.
85   "Federal Probe of Joanne Little Case Demanded," *Black Panther Intercommunal News Service* 13, no. 1, February 22, 1975, [pg 9], https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/pubs/black-panther/13%20no%201%201-24%20feb%2022%201975.pdf.
86   " B.P.P Names JoAnn Little 'Woman of the Year,'" *Black Panther Intercommunal News Service* 13, no. 19, June 30, 1975, [pg 1, 14, 15], https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/pubs/black-panther/13%20no%2019%201-28%20jun%2030%201975.pdf .
87   Greene, *Free Joan Little*, 4.
88   "Oakland Welcomes JoAnne Little," [pg 1-2].
89   David Cunningham, *Klansville, U.S.A.: The Rise and Fall of the Civil Rights-Era Ku Klux Klan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 4.
90   Cunningham, *Klansville, U.S.A.*, 6; Lilley, "A Black Panther Speaks," 11:35-12:00.

America dropped significantly between 1964 and 1968, as members went underground and formed their own Klaverns due to the intense scrutiny the organization was under from law enforcement.[91] The Ku Klux Klan did not disappear following the disintegration of the United Klans of America and remained an opponent to the North Carolina Black Panthers through and beyond their lifespan. Some Panthers first became radicalized in response to Klan violence, such as Bradford Lilley, who recalled being shot at as a child hiding in a church by Klansmen looking to harm the children of civil rights activists.[92] Later, when Lilley attended Fayetteville State University, he was shocked by a large billboard welcoming them to "Klan country."[93] The Panthers' advantage over more traditional organizations in fighting the Klan was their willingness use any means necessary to protect their community, whether legal or not. In an oral history for the Carolina Law Oral History Project, Hazel Mack, a long time Panther in charge of communications recounted how the Winston-Salem Panthers stole a bus to protect schoolchildren after Klansmen trapped Black students attempting to desegregate North Forsyth high school.[94] Few other organizations were willing to break the law in service to their community, demonstrating the commitment of the Party to defending local interests.

Moreover, during the campaign for Joan Little's freedom, the Klan held a cross burning 15 miles outside of Winston-Salem, where members brandished ice picks engraved with "KKK".[95] In *Portraits from an Unfinished Revolution*, a collection of interviews with former Panthers, Larry Little remembered how the North Carolina Chapter dealt with the Klan in multiple ways:

> One time the KKK said that black children had lice and that they were going to stop all black kids who got off the bus and inspect them before they could go to the white school. We told them they were not going to do any such thing. They arranged for a meeting, and we met them and told them that it would not happen. We also tried to educate them. We talked about how we were both oppressed; they were white trash with nothing, and we were black people with nothing, while the Rockefellers and Howard Hughes owned every damn thing. In the end they agreed not to do it. As we were getting out of the meeting, the head of the KKK said to me, "Larry, I heard you say black is beautiful several times. I want to show you black beauty." He tells this white lady behind the counter at the store we were in to show me black beauty. She brought out a black

91   Cunningham, *Klansville, U.S.A.,* 184.

92   Lilley, "A Black Panther Speaks," 2:01-6:17.

93   Lilley, "A Black Panther Speaks," 11:35-12:00.

94   Hazel Mack, "Interview with Hazel Mack," by Katrina Walker, Southern Oral History Program at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, , interview no. J-0077, October 5 1995, p. 18, https://dc.lib.unc.edu/cdm/ref/collection/sohp/id/12575; FBI, *Black Panther Party*, part 27, p. 23.

95   "No. Carolina B.P.P Head Threatened by K.K.K.," *Black Panther Intercommunal News Service* 4. no. 5, October 18, 1975, [pg 1,12], https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/pubs/black-panther/14%20no%205%201-29%20oct%2018%201975.pdf.

AK-47. He said, "Larry, if things get out of hand, we're going to show you black beauty." Now the following is the honest to God truth. I told him, "Look out the back window of this place, and you'll see a white van filled with black men and women armed to the teeth. Look out the front door. You'll see a white Mercury Montego and a blue station wagon comfortably armed with brothers and sisters. If I'm not out of here in the next minute and a half, then you're going to see what kind of power we have." We just left like that, and afterward, when the KKK reared its head in Winston-Salem, its members knew we were prepared to deal with them with a method and a language they understood."[96]

This quote illustrates the complex relationship between the KKK and North Carolina Black Panthers. The Panthers' ability to sit down and talk with the KKK, protected by the promise of retaliatory violence, showed their strength in mediation as well as the power of armed self-defense. In a strange twist, it was Joe Grady, the Grand Dragon of the North Carolina Klan, who found the Black Panther Party's files in a trash can behind a medical supply store following the organization's demise in 1977.[97] When asked about how he discovered the files, Grady stated that he had done so through "[t]he eyes and ears of the invisible empire."[98] In 1979, when members of the Communist Workers Party organized a "Death to the Klan" march, their flyers pointedly denounced Joe Grady. The November 3, 1979, Death to the Klan march became known as the Greensboro Massacre after members of the KKK and American Nazi Party killed five marchers.[99] While many organizations could have done some of the community activism the North Carolina Black Panthers did, few were able to balance extensive community programs and effective armed opposition to the Klan. The Panthers' strength here lay in their anti-government status. While other groups, such as the Communist Workers Party, were unable to fight an organization willing to resort to violence for fear of legal retribution or real violence, the Black Panthers were protected by their own disregard for legal repercussions and willingness to defend themselves.

In the final years of the Black Panther Party, Central Committee moved members from local branches to party headquarters in Oakland, California, to assist with Bobby Seale's mayoral campaign. Later, leadership closed branches and moved the members to bolster an organization that, by the late 1970s, resembled an organized crime syndicate, as

---

96   S h i h and Williams, *Unfinished Revolution*, 170.
97   Cunningham, *Klansville U.S.A.*, 3. In the hierarchy of the Ku Klux Klan, the Grand Dragon is the state leader.
98   Guy Williams, "From Rage and Riots into Obscurity," *Winston-Salem Journal*, January 1, 1978, https://www.newspapers.com/image/936523906/.
99   Nelson N. Johnson, "An Open Letter to Joe Grady, Gorrell Pierce, and All KKK Members and Sympathizers," October 22, 1979, Civil Rights Greensboro, UNC Greensboro Libraries Gateway, from Blanche Mcary Boyd Papers, 1957-1984, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University, https://gateway.uncg.edu/islandora/object/duke%3A65; Larry Little participated extensively in the organization of the rally and in campaigns for justice following the massacre, likely because of his experience dealing with the Klan and Joe Grady.

Huey Newton used the armed security of the party to extort businesses and sell cocaine.[100] The members of the Winston-Salem branch were not excluded from this pull, and their tragic stories of the final days of the party highlight their dedication to the people, but simultaneously demonstrate the ultimate betrayal they experienced by the party they served. Evans Hopkins was one of the first Panthers from Winston-Salem to be sent to Oakland in August of 1972. While there, Hopkins became a writer for the party, covering the Panther's political campaigns and other events in addition to serving as party librarian and historian.[101] Hopkins described the party's shift towards authoritarianism after the failure of Seale's campaign for mayor, with members required to drill every morning and vicious beatings increasing in frequency.[102]Rather than being sent back to their home branches, more and more members were brought to Oakland, including Nelson Malloy, Julius Cornell and Hazel Mack.[103] When Cornell was severely beaten while working at The Lamp Post, a Panther-run restaurant, Hopkins used some of his last money to send his former mentor back to Winston-Salem.[104] On November 16, Nelson Malloy was found shot and left for dead in the Nevada desert because of his knowledge of an assassination attempt against Raphaelle Gary, a witness in Huey Newton's 1974 murder trial.[105] The shooting left him paralyzed for life.

This was the end of the North Carolina Black Panthers, but not the activism of its members. Larry Little, who first ran for alderman during his time in the party in 1974, won a seat in 1977, which he held for thirteen years.[106] Nelson Malloy ran for the same position in 1994 and held it for twenty years.[107] Larry Little used many of the connections he had formed during his time in the North Carolina Black Panthers to lead the defense fund for Darryl Hunt, a Winston-Salem man who was wrongfully accused of rape and murder in 1984, whom Larry Little had known from playing basketball together. Little recruited James Ferguson, who represented him during the meat truck robbery, to work on Hunt's case. Ferguson stayed on Hunt's case until he was ultimately acquitted in 2003.[108] Hazel Mack became the lead attorney for Legal Aid of Northwest North Carolina, working there for thirty-five years. In 1997, Hazel Mack founded the Carter G. Woodson School in Winston-Salem. Named for the famed Harlem Renaissance historian Carter G. Woodson, the school was specifically aimed at "educating the whole child."[109] In the

---

100   Hopkins, *Life After Life, 77.*
101   Hopkins, *Life After Life*, 60-77.
102   Hopkins, *Life After Life*, 75.
103   Hopkins, *Life After Life*, 77; McGeehan, "Getting to the Hospital," 82.
104   Hopkins, *Life After Life, 84.*
105   Wallace Turner, "Coast Inquiries Pick Panthers as Target," *New York Times*, December 14, 1977, https://www.nytimes.com/1977/12/14/archives/coast-inquiries-pick-panthers-as-target-murder-attempted-murders.html?searchResultPosition=1.
106   Luck, "Local Black Panthers."
107   McGeehan, "Getting to the Hospital," 87.
108   McGeehan, "Getting to the Hospital," 88.
109   "About Us,"
Carter G. Woodson School, copyright

1972, the city of High Point demolished most of Hulda street where the Information Center was.[110] According to the city of High Point, the Fairview Family Resource Center "...now sits in its place serving the local community and echoing the Panthers' efforts and legacy of service."[111] In 2012, the state dedicated a historic marker to the Winston-Salem Black Panthers, recognizing the Panthers' survival programs and later careers. While some local recognition has been given, the North Carolina Black Panther Party deserves to be exalted as one of the state's most important civil rights organizations and recognized for its unwavering commitment to local and national activism.

2024, https://cartergwoodsonschool.org/about-us-school-history/ .

110   Teyah Glenn, "Vault Visit : Hulda Street homes demolished in 1972" WFMY News 2, February 14, 2024, https://www.wfmynews2.com/article/entertainment/television/wfmy-history/wfmy-history-vault-visit-hulda-street-homes-demolished-feb-14-1972/83-04f37509-cbc0-4787-af70-5da7763de55d .

111   Marcellaus Joiner, "The Heritage Research Center and Black History Month: The 'A-Files' African Americans-Civil Rights Movement-1971," City of High Point, February 3, 2021, https://www.highpointnc.gov/Blog.aspx?IID=43&ARC=47.

Factionalizing a United Front: How Umkhonto weSizwe's Leadership Stymied Success

Karina Dick

Abstract: This paper analyzes the pernicious practices of the leadership of Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) at the Tanzanian transit camp, Kongwa, during the first decade of the exiled external mission of the African National Congress (ANC) (1960-1969). Transit camps aimed to train, drill, and temporarily house soldiers prior to their deployment in the guerrilla movement. However, self-serving camp leadership like Ambrose Makiwane and Joe Modise fomented division over deep-rooted ethnic hostilities to jockey for power and promotion within the organization. They also perpetuated racism, corruption, and brutality and undercut the efficacy of MK and the ANC. Furthermore, these actions were contradictory to the ANC's central doctrine of African nationalism. MK and ANC accountability was limited; frustration peaked in 1969, prompting a period of self-reflection and reform beginning with the Morogoro Conference. Memoirs of Kongwa soldiers, like Amin Cajee and Thula Bopela, best exemplify how this conduct promulgated disastrous inefficiency, waste, and suffering.

Perverted Justice

"You are guilty of high treason and the penalty is death."[1] These words chilled the South African tribunal, as the People's Court of Umkhonto weSizwe, the African National Congress's militant wing, sentenced soldier Amin Cajee. According to the leadership of the ANC, the young recruit and four co-conspirators had colluded to depose the current ANC leadership by utilizing material support from the Chinese embassy in Tanzania.

As a relatively poor second-generation Indian immigrant, overtones of Nationalist Party racism and repatriation dominated Amin Cajee's early life. In 1955, thirteen-year-old Cajee and his family confronted forced relocation from their community of Fordsburg to an Indian slum, Lenasia, under the Group Areas Act of 1950.[2] Emboldened by mounting propaganda, protests, and activism, the sanguine teenager immersed himself

---

1   Amin Cajee and Terry Bell, *Fordsburg Fighter: The Journey of an MK Volunteer* (Muizenberg: Face2Face, 2016), 136.

2   Cajee and Bell, *Fordsburg Fighter,* 21.

in the liberation movement and formally joined MK in 1962.[3] Less than a decade later, 24 year-old Cajee faced execution at the hands of the very movement he joined to facilitate equality, peace, and democracy in South Africa. The allegations were ludicrous; the Dar es Salaam embassy was 150 miles from Kongwa, and recruits lacked any access to transportation or lines of communication outside of the camp. Cajee's co-defendants and companions, notably, represented an increasingly popular faction within Kongwa that threatened the current camp command structure. Determined to maintain the status quo, the leadership speculated that falsified charges were the most expeditious – and nefarious – method to derail the opposition; Amin was merely a casualty by association.

The leaders of the Umkhonto weSizwe organization were engaged in constant power struggles, which undermined the effectiveness of these camps; Archie Sibeko, Joe Modise, and Ambrose Makiwane were the primary offenders at the Kongwa camp. Tensions reflected South Africa's ethnic distinctions during the period, which resulted from a host of social, political, and economic factors throughout the country. Ethnically, South Africa was divided into the Nguni people and the Sotho people. The former group included Zulus, Xhosas, Ndebeles and Swazis, whereas the latter was divided into the Northern and Southern Sothos and the Tswanas. Additionally, each tribe maintained their own dialect.[4] As hostilities mounted, Kongwa fractured along these ethnic faults. The cadres at Kongwa were immensely disillusioned due to the deplorable behavior of their leadership. Furthermore, the African National Congress, focused on maintaining the movement's unity, ignored this corruption and abuse of power. By failing to address substandard behavior, the ANC essentially provided tacit approval, which emboldened camp commanders and caused further disassociation among the rank-and-file. This ultimately stymied MK success and prompted historical judgements ridiculing the group as "the most quixotic guerrilla organization of modern times" and "the most useless and incompetent guerrilla army in history."[5] Ultimately, it was the ruthless pursuit of power within the Umkhonto weSizwe command structure at camps like Kongwa in Tanzania, fueled by the exploitation of ethnic and tribal tensions, that most significantly undermined the success of the militant wing.

Escalating Tensions: The Nationalist Party and the African National Congress

In 1948, the South African Nationalist Party rose to power, seizing control from the liberal United Party. Although both factions reinforced white supremacy and subjugation of the large Black majority and various non-white minorities in the region, the Nationalists escalated colonial oppression to unforeseen levels. A relentless barrage of legislative policies sought to institute systemic segregation in all facets of South African

---

3   Cajee and Bell, *Fordsburg Fighter,* 37.
4   "Race and Ethnicity in South Africa," South African History Online, [https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/race-and-ethnicity-south-africa#:~:text=The%20largest%20ethnic%20group%20in,Province%20and%20Western%20Cape%20Province.] (accessed February 28, 2024).
5   Thula Simpson, "Mandela's Army: Urban Revolt in South Africa, 1960–1964," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 45, no. 6 (2019): 1093–1110, 1094.

life, a process dubbed "apartheid," or "apartness." When legislative channels failed to provide absolute control, the Nationalist Party resorted to force.

The African National Congress, founded in 1912, emerged as the key opposition party to Nationalist persecution in the 1940s and led the anti-apartheid struggle throughout the twentieth century. Since the ANC's inception, non-violence had been the group's hallmark. However, escalating federal violence in response to peaceful demonstrations in the 1950s and '60s led the oppressed to question the viability of the ANC's non-violent approach, with the Sharpeville Massacre serving as the primary catalyst. As a result, Umkhonto weSizwe (MK), the militant wing of the ANC, was established in 1961.

Sources

This paper interprets two main memoirs of soldiers at the Kongwa liberation camp to support the aforementioned claim that the middle tier of leadership tore down the institutions of MK. The first memoir, *Fordsburg Fighter: The Journey of an MK Volunteer*, is written by Amin Cajee. Cajee was one of the first South Africans of Indian descent to join MK in 1962, and he faced frequent discrimination and prejudice as a minority. He chronicles his experience in the organization, devoting much time to his training in Europe, as well time at the Kongwa liberation camp in Tanzania. Cajee unleashes harsh criticism on the ANC and MK and highlights extensive corruption, tribalism, racism, and violence within the organization. Ultimately, he removed himself from the organization in the early 1970s, as he was immensely disillusioned and felt that MK no longer represented the anti-apartheid struggle.[6]

The second key primary source text examined in this paper is a joint autobiography, *Umkhonto weSizwe: Fighting for a Divided People*, written by Thula Bopela and Daluxolo Luthuli. Luthuli, the son of ANC Chief Albert Luthuli, became one of MK's youngest members after joining the organization in the 1960s when he was just fourteen. He met Thula Bopela during their training in the Soviet Union, and the two spent extensive time in the Kongwa camp during the 1960s, where their friendship continued to evolve. Luthuli was ultimately arrested and spent 21 months on death row on Robben's Island before his sentence was commuted in 1969. Bopela was also arrested and spent thirteen years in prison before going into exile in the Netherlands.[7] Similar to Amin Cajee, the duo highlights the systemic and structural issues that were pervasive at Kongwa. In conjunction with each other, these two works reinforce the larger pattern of MK mismanagement and provide insight into how these shortcomings were perceived by the rank-and-file of MK.

---

6   Cajee and Bell, *Fordsburg Fighter*.
7   Thula Bopela and Daluxolo Luthuli, *Umkhonto weSizwe: Fighting for a Divided People* (Alberton: Galago, 2005).

Historiography

Before the end of apartheid, few sources about the Umkhonto weSizwe militant group were circulated. This can be attributed to the apartheid government's ongoing ban of the African National Congress, as well as the clandestine nature of the organization's operations. Among the sources available were internal publications, including the ANC's *Sechaba* journal, MK's *Dawn* journal, and the South African Communist Party's (SACP) *African Communist* newspaper; the sole reliance on internally published sources poses the challenge of likely biased narratives and limits critical outsider reflection.[8] In the post-apartheid era, literature discussing the movement began to emerge as a part of the broader effort to document South Africa's apartheid liberation movement, yet the sensitivity of the MK organization and fresh scars of the apartheid era continued to limit discourse on the group.

In the past three decades, much of the discussion of Umkhonto weSizwe has centered around strategy and tactics as explanations of failure. In her book *Spear of the Nation: Umkhonto weSizwe*, Janet Cherry attributes MK's military deficiencies to its deference to the political bodies of the ANC and its resolute adherence to international law and democracy — overt revolution was never its intention. Furthermore, she highlights MK's limited ability to establish a united base.[9]

However, scholarly discourse fails to adequately address the role of tumultuous daily life in camps, such as Kongwa, in MK's shortcomings. This claim is recognized by Gregory Houston. When mentioned, these camps are only tangentially referenced in relation to the broader liberation movement.[10] Failure to assess the conditions at these camps obscures the delineation of on-the-ground problems that perpetuated dysfunction, disillusionment, and MK's inability to coalesce a coherent base; cadres severely lacked basic necessities, as well as stable leadership. However, first-hand accounts like those of Amin Cajee and Thula Bopela are crucial in this analysis. Both of these men were at Kongwa in the 1960s and harped on the poor leadership, tribalism, and corruption that plagued the command structure of the militant wing.[11,12] Unfortunately, such accounts are limited, as MK veterans often faced socio-economic marginalization in the post-liberation period.[13] Studying these lived experiences highlights systemic issues, particularly within the camp command structure.

This paper argues that it is this middle level of leadership, who were vying

---

8   Arianna Lissoni, "Umkhonto weSizwe (MK): The ANC's Armed Wing, 1961–1993," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History*, 2021, 1–36, 22.

9   Janet Cherry, *Spear of the Nation: Umkhonto weSizwe* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2012), 70-75.

10   Greg F. Houston, "Military Bases and Camps of the Liberation Movement, 1961-1990," (Pretoria: National Heritage Council, 2013), 4.

11   Cajee and Bell, *Fordsburg Fighter*.

12   Bopela and Luthuli, *Umkhonto weSizwe*.

13   Lissoni, "Umkhonto weSizwe (MK)," 23.

for self-promotion, that exerted the most significant negative impact on the Umkhonto weSizwe movement. Some scholars, like Stephen Ellis, emphasize the implications of the toxic rivalries between commanders like Makiwane and Modise.[14] However, Ellis offers little analysis of the implications of such tensions. The investigation of these camp leaders is essential, as they played a crucial role in the everyday functions of the movement. Scholars like Luli Callinicos analyze those at the highest ranks of the ANC leadership, like Oliver Tambo.[15] She suggests that Tambo was charged with an impossible task of balancing numerous class, race, socioeconomic, and geographic factors. Therefore, Callinicos contends that a hands-off, passive disciplinary approach was necessary in preserving the liberation movement and promoting unity. This claim holds validity; however, it is crucial to examine the impacts that this lack of oversight had on the rank-and-file opinions of MK and ANC leadership.

Overall, scholars have rarely sought to allocate responsibility for the shortcomings of Umkhonto weSizwe. This paper seeks to intersect these scholarly discussions, and argue that the MK command structure within individual liberation camps should bear responsibility for the limited success of MK. To pursue this aim, this paper comments on the ANC's commitment to African nationalism, the poor conditions at the Kongwa camp, and Kongwa MK commanders' roles in promulgating division and distrust within these camps, primarily examining the period from 1962-1969.

The Formation of Umkhonto weSizwe and Transit Camps

The Sharpeville Massacre exemplifies the Nationalist escalation in violence during the 1950s and '60s. Pass laws, instituted in 1709, required non-whites to carry identification booklets intended to restrict their movement in white areas, and these laws became significantly more restrictive in the 1950s.[16] In response, on March 21, 1960, 20,000 Blacks congregated near a Sharpeville police station to surrender their passbooks in an act of peaceful defiance. After claiming that protestors pelted them with stones, the government-controlled police force opened fire on those in attendance. The Sharpeville Massacre resulted in 69 deaths and hundreds more casualties, many of whom were shot in the back while fleeing.[17]

The justifications for the formation of MK were threefold. First, the Sharpeville Massacre and ensuing state of emergency was a pivotal juncture. Following this murder of 69 Pan-African Congress (PAC) civilian supporters, the ANC and PAC were

---

14   Stephen Ellis, *External Mission: The ANC in Exile, 1960-1990* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2022).

15   Luli Callinicos, "Oliver Tambo and the Politics of Class, Race and Ethnicity in the African National Congress of South Africa," *African Sociological Review* 3, no. 1 (1999): 130–151.

16   "Pass Laws in South Africa 1800-1994," South African History Online, [https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/pass-laws-south-africa-1800-1994] (accessed February 28, 2024).

17   Imran Garda, "Sharpeville: Legacy of a Massacre," Al Jazeera, [https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2010/3/22/sharpeville-legacy-of-a-massacre] March 22, 2010.

forced into exile, stoking anti-apartheid resentment and further silencing their revolutionary voices. In his speech from the docks following the Rivonia Trial, Nelson Mandela contended that the banning of the ANC and the accompanying total exclusion from parliamentary spheres placed the ANC in a position "in which we had to accept a permanent state of inferiority, or to defy the government."[18] Therefore, a rupture with non-violent policy was necessary.

The second precursor to Umkhonto weSizwe's formation was escalating uncontrolled violence. Under the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951, rural communities in Native Reserves were relegated further outside the white government. In response, communities in Lehurutshe, Sekhukhuneland, and Mpondoland launched violent attacks.[19] Similar anti-apartheid incidents occurred at pass protests in Zeerust and Cato Manor. These demonstrations challenged the government's passport-like identity card system that sought to limit the movement of non-whites and further segregate the population. Rural violence escalated so drastically, that Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd was shot in the face by a white farmer during the state of emergency.[20] Mandela warned that these unconstrained attacks could launch an all-out race war. He cautioned that civil war would further stymie the fight against apartheid and retard decades of ANC progress and the organization's international reputation. Senior South African Communist Party (SACP) member JB Marks remarked that, "Young people are impatient and angry, but it's the role of leaders to stop them flying off the handle."[21] Umkhonto weSizwe, therefore, sought to fill this void and hence prevent an escalation of conflict by placating solo radicals and employing violence in cautiously regulated manners.

Lastly, in the face of brutal government suppression, competing political organizations were endorsing violent resistance to appeal to frustrated Blacks, and the ANC worried that a failure to adapt to the will of the people would result in a loss of popular support. After Sharpeville, the PAC, having gone underground and rebranded as Poqo, began planning for an armed uprising to begin in 1963. The National Committee of Liberation also focused on sabotage, and the student led Yu Chi Chan Club instigated armed resistance in 1963. Turning to violence reflected the desires of the masses, inspired hope, and increased the membership base of these groups. Nelson Mandela worried of a shift in the revolutionary tide and warned the ANC that they would "soon be latecomers and followers to a movement."[22] The culmination of this triad of forces birthed Umkhonto we Sizwe, and eager individuals signed up to join the cause.

Nelson Mandela, a dominant and versatile ANC leader and later South African

---

18   Nelson Mandela, "Statement from the Dock," in *South Africa Reader*, eds. Crais and McClendon (Durham, NC: Duke Press), 346.

19   Lissoni, "Umkhonto weSizwe (MK)," 3.

20   Stephen Ellis, "The Genesis of the ANC's Armed Struggle in South Africa 1948–1961," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 37, no. 4 (2011): 657–76, 665.

21   Bopela and Luthuli, *Umkhonto weSizwe*, 35.

22   Lissoni, "Umkhonto weSizwe (MK)," 3.

president (1994-1999), was at the helm of the organization and emphasized that the group must only utilize sabotage tactics. Acceptable targets were infrastructural, including strategic roads, railways, and power stations.[23] Guerrilla groups would receive substantive training, much of which happened in sympathetic communist countries like China, the Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc, and a myriad of African nations. After this training, cadres were sent to transit camps, like Kongwa in Tanzania, where they would continue to train before being deployed to South Africa.[24]

Kongwa was one of an extensive network of MK transit camps outside of South Africa, where cadres were to be briefly stationed after their guerrilla training before deployment. Kongwa was established in Tanzania following Oliver Tambo's negotiations with the nation's government. Soldiers began arriving at the run-down site in 1964, which was located 400 km from Dar es Salaam and 200 km south of the ANC headquarters in Morogoro.[25] According to MK Chief of Logistics, Isaac Makopo, "Kongwa was a very dry, hot, dusty place with lots of funny diseases, especially eye diseases."[26] The only building at Kongwa was a decrepit former railway station, which forced the cadres to live in tents for years at a time.

The Importance of African Nationalism to the ANC

South Africa's apartheid government, keenly aware of the rebellious threat posed by a unified Black majority, attempted to invoke ethnic and racial hostilities through legislation and propaganda. After assuming power in 1948, the Nationalist Party's slew of new legislation sought to surreptitiously exacerbate historical animosity between ethnic groups. For example, the Group Areas Act of 1950 strictly subjugated racial groups to "separate but equal" style neighborhoods. This reinforced racial differences and effectively institutionalized residential apartheid. The apartheid state, fearing a potential rebellion from unified Blacks, consistently aimed to worsen racial and tribal tensions. They propagated extensive propaganda against nationalism, dismissing it as "narrow, barbarous, uncultured, devilish, etc."[27]

The African National Congress was cognizant of the power of unity, as well as the state's fear of it, and therefore, the movement solidified African nationalism as a key doctrine in the anti-apartheid fight. Prior to colonization, South Africa had been ruled by many tribal groups, differing in language, kinship, modes of subsistence, and cultural beliefs.[28] These differences persisted into the colonial period, as Nelson Mandela noted in

---

23   Clifton C. Crais and Thomas V. McClendon (eds.), *The South Africa Reader: History, Culture, Politics* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 351.

24   Arianna Lissoni, "Transformations in the ANC External Mission and Umkhonto weSizwe, c. 1960–1969," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 35, no. 2 (2009): 287–301.

25   Houston, "Military Bases and Camps of the Liberation Movement", 5.

26   Houston, "Military Bases and Camps of the Liberation Movement", 29.

27   Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom*, 97.

28   Elijah M. Baloyi, "Tribalism: Thorny Issue towards Reconciliation in South

his memoir, *Long Walk to Freedom* (1995). While attending school at Wesleyan College in Fort Beaufort in 1937, he recalls the day he learned that his zoology teacher, Frank Lebentlele, a Sotho-speaker, was married to a Xhosa woman. He and his classmates were shocked, as inter-tribal marriages were highly taboo. Mandela determined this encounter to be a catalyst towards viewing himself as African, instead of Xhosa, and he would go on to promote national over tribal identifications within the ANC.[29]

Another significant proponent of African nationalism, or Africanism, was Anton Lembede, the leader of the movement's Youth League. This branch of the ANC aimed to involve the younger generation in the liberation movement and plant the seeds of political activism. The manifesto of the Youth League reflects Lembede's passion for nationalism, stating, "We believe that the national liberation of Africans will be achieved by Africans themselves… The Congress Youth League must be the brains-trust and power-station of the spirit of African nationalism."[30] Lembede heralded unity as pivotal to anti-apartheid success, suggesting that tribal synthesis would create a "homogenous nation out of heterogeneous tribes."[31] He spoke extensively on the subject, justifying Africanism on historical, economic, democratic, ethical, philosophical, and scientific grounds.

The Origins of Tribalism at Kongwa

While the ANC leadership preached African nationalism, tribal tensions often flared at Umkhonto weSizwe liberation camps, like Kongwa, due to power struggles within the military command structure. Leaders in the camps invoked tribalism to an extreme degree, a term defined by University of South Africa professor Elijah Bayoli as "the attitude and practice of harboring such a strong feeling of loyalty or bonds to one's tribe that one excludes or even demonizes other tribes that do not belong to that group."[32] They exploited the distinction of these groups to further and consolidate their own authority. The camp leadership was pugnacious, corrupt, and hostile, with key offenders being Joe Modise, Ambrose Makiwane, and Archie Sibeko.

Inter-camp relations and decision making at Kongwa were dictated most significantly by the intense rivalry between MK leaders Joe Modise and Ambrose Makiwane, who were vying for control of Umkhonto weSizwe. Modise was a Tswana from the townships of Johannesburg and was notably one of the only Setswana-speakers at the camp. As a politically active eighteen-year-old, Joe Modise joined the ANC Youth League, where he protested the Bantu Education Act in 1953 and the Sophiatown removals a year later. The latter of these acts of resistance resulted in Modise's arrest, and he was known for his Sophiatown gangster milieu roots. When Umkhonto weSizwe was formed, he took

---

Africa – a Practical Theological Appraisal," *HTS Theological Studies* 74, no. 2 (2018): 1-7.
     29   Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom*, 38.
     30   Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom*, 99.
     31   Anton Lembede, "African Nationalism," in *Freedom In Our Lifetime* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1996).
     32   Baloyi, "Tribalism," 2.

an active role in recruitment and training coordination. While he visited communist bloc countries like Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union to oversee training, he was one of the only non-communist MK leaders.[33]

Ambrose Makiwane presents a stark contrast in every respect. Makiwane was a well-to-do Xhosa from the eastern Cape, and he attended the prestigious Fort Hare, a Western-style university. He was a devout SACP member and had conducted his guerrilla training in Cuba. Furthermore, he was deeply connected in the ANC's external mission.[34] According to one source, the two men had trained together in Odessa and butted heads, which laid the groundwork for their intense rivalry and mutual animosity.[35]

In 1964, a national executive contingent consisting of Oliver Tambo, Moses Kotane, Moses Mabhida, and Mzwai Piliso arrived at Kongwa to officially establish the command ranks. Kongwa housed 400-500 MK members, which was the most significant concentration of exile personnel. Therefore, control over the camp correlated with control over the entire militant wing.[36] After some deliberation, the body confirmed Ambrose Makiwane as the camp commander; under him was a Xhosa entourage, including Jack Gatieb, Archie Sibeko, and Chris Hani.[37] This perceived entrenchment of Xhosa tribal domination, compounded with a long-standing rivalry with Makiwane, infuriated Joe Modise. Modise raised concern with the leadership, and ultimately a deal was hashed out that elevated Modise to MK commander-in-chief, replacing ANC president Oliver Tambo. After his appointment, Modise conveniently forgot his qualms about Xhosa favoritism.[38]

While this squabble was formally resolved by the ANC leadership, the tribal implications were not addressed, and this event foreshadowed ethnic divisions that undercut unity. Cadre Amin Cajee noted that the atmosphere of the camp rapidly darkened, and three main groups emerged. Modise's group, composed of Sesotho/Setswana speakers from Johannesburg, was the least solidified. The Zulu-speaking group had Natal origins and revered Moses Mabhida as their ultimate leader. The Xhosas, led by Makiwane, Sibeko, Hani, and Gatieb, identified themselves with Tambo. As one of a handful of Indian soldiers, Cajee identified with none of these contingents and felt alienated.

The ethnically dominated system that emerged greatly reflected the structures imposed by the Nationalist Party's Bantu Authorities Act of 1951. This act abolished the Native Representative Council, which Nelson Mandela labeled the "one indirect form of national representation for Africans", replacing it with a tribal system.[39] The apartheid

---

33   Ellis, *External Mission*, 51.
34   Ellis, *External Mission*, 51.
35   Ellis, *External Mission*, 52.
36   Ellis, *External Mission*, 55.
37   Cajee and Bell, *Fordsburg Fighter*, 114.
38   Cajee and Bell, *Fordsburg Fighter*, 114.
39   Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom*, 122.

government announced that the system aimed to institute levels of Black authority, yet the government appointed conservative tribal chiefs to exploit existing ethnic tensions. These "divide and conquer" tactics ultimately undercut African unity.

The ethnic divisions invoked by the command trickled down into the rank-and-file, irrevocably altering their relations. Thula Bopela, a Zulu, related an encounter in which a group of Zulus from the Natal province cautioned him to cease his association with Xhosas at Kongwa. They explained that Xhosas perceived history as being dominated by the Zulus, despite the Xhosa role in South African independence. This perceived slight stoked their tribal animosity and awoke a desire to rule over the Zulus after the revolution, according to these Natal soldiers. These hostilities dictated relations at the camp, and Bopela recalled one of his Xhosa friends abandoning their friendship, apologetically admitting, "If I continue to associate with someone from another province, I'll be excluded from their political caucuses."[40] Evidently, tribal tensions were stoked by the camp higher-ups, and the soldier relations suffered, whether they embraced such notions or not. The aforementioned Natal group claimed, "Tribalism is alive and well. The [ANC] leadership pretends it doesn't exist, because they don't know how to deal with it."[41] This turning of a blind eye incited a power vacuum in which camp leaders further exploited and perpetuated tribalism; this division harmed African unity and drew attention away from the anti-apartheid cause.

Furthermore, the division within the composition of the Kongwa rank-and-file facilitated the exploitation of differences. Amin Cajee recounts a slew of conversations about camp life with a cadre from the Transvaal region, Mogorosi. Mogorosi's assessment concluded that only 60% of Kongwa soldiers were political activists. 35% were motivated by the prospect of free education post-military training, and the remaining 5% were wanted criminals.[42] After a period of keen observation, Cajee validates this hypothesis. These figures suggest that many cadres lacked passion for and commitment to the ANC and the broader liberation cause. Because of this, the soldiers were susceptible to manipulation by the commanders.

These tribal divisions extended outside of just the Kongwa camp. In 1964, Joe Modise was visiting a training camp in the Soviet Union when Johannesburg cadet Vincent Khoza tried to stab him. The man missed, instead injuring another man, Alfred Khombisa. Khoza accused Modise of being a South African government spy and asserted to MK political commissar, Moses Mabhida, that he had proof. Mabhida, the most senior official present for the incident, vowed to bring the treasonous claim before the National Executive in Dar es Salaam. However, no investigation of the claims or punishment of Khoza ensued.[43] This lack of action suggested that either the political commissar failed

---

40   Bopela and Luthuli, *Umkhonto weSizwe*, 43.
41   Bopela and Luthuli, *Umkhonto weSizwe*, 42.
42   Cajee and Bell, *Fordsburg Fighter*, 116.
43   Bopela and Luthuli, *Umkhonto weSizwe*, 40.

to bring the case to the National Executive, or the group failed to respond. These rumors rapidly spread to Kongwa and infuriated the troops. Kongwa soldier Thula Bopela affirmed, "We believed that the NEC should have told us their findings and not left the matter hanging. It was the beginning of a cancer of suspicion and doubts that began to cloud Joe Modise's position as MK chief."[44] This event became a catalyst in a series of events drawing Modise's motives and tribalism into question.

Attempting to Address Transgressions

When Joe Modise later visited Kongwa, camp commander Ambrose Maki-wane convened a general meeting to discuss rumors surrounding the leader. The camp assembled in The People's Hall, where cadre Boysie Buciko presented the accusation that Modise had convened a clandestine meeting urging the unification of Batswana, Pedis, and Basotho groups in an attempt to take over the struggle. Two others, Comrade Lambert Moloi and Comrade Moema corroborated the event. Shockingly, Joe Modise, Umkhonto weSizwe's commander-in-chief, did not refute the allegations. Instead, he began sobbing and sputtered, "I see now that my moment of death has arrived."[45] Thula Bopela and others in the rank-and-file were appalled that the militant wing's commander-in-chief had been pitting tribal factions against each other. Such behavior was counter-productive to the entire apartheid movement, as well as efficiency and trust in the camp itself. The uneasy cadres urged that the matter be taken to the NEC, as they believed the high-ranking official should be judged by his peers, rather than those he commanded.

A week later, JB Marks addressed the camp regarding the leadership's verdict on Modise's tribalist transgressions. However, instead of condemning the MK commander-in-chief, Marks reported that the NEC had found *Ambrose Makiwane* to be "unclean". Makiwane was hence removed from his position as camp commander. Modise, however, retained his position, and Marks did not clarify Makiwane's judgment of being "unclean", nor did he elaborate on Modise's exoneration. The Kongwa cadres were baffled. Maki-wane did not accuse Modise, nor was he the subject of the trial. The soldiers, left to extrapolate on the available evidence, deduced that "either they are condemning Joe's tribalism or Tambo has come up against strong opposition in the NEC that is preventing him from removing Joe. It's possible that OR [Tambo] failed to get to the bottom of this."[46] Anger and tribalist sentiments immediately fermented in the ranks. The guilty party was not punished, and the entire process was shrouded in mystery.

Other Responsible Parties at Kongwa

Archie Sibeko, who replaced Makiwane as MK's Kongwa camp commander, also capitalized on the ANC's ambivalence towards punishment to advance his career through tribal exploitation. Sibeko was a former trade union secretary from Kwezana,

---

44   Bopela and Luthuli, *Umkhonto weSizwe*, 40.
45   Bopela and Luthuli, *Umkhonto weSizwe*, 47.
46   Bopela and Luthuli, *Umkhonto weSizwe*, 48.

Western Cape, and cadres described him as "Xhosa first, ANC second."[47] Thula Bopela and other cadres recall that Sibeko would hold frequent meetings strictly for Kongwa soldiers from the Eastern Cape. Irate cadres from Transvaal, Natal, and the Free Orange State responded by organizing their own exclusive meetings, which heightened animosity and dysfunction.[48] The leadership of Sibeko led cadres to question the ANC's decision-making capabilities. Thula Bopela harped on the idea that "the leadership should have ensured the appointees had the respect of the people they would be controlling."[49] This disillusionment with camp commanders deepened rifts in the ranks. It also distracted and prevented the undertaking of united action in the fight against apartheid.

In addition to being an outspoken tribalist, Sibeko displayed racist tendencies, as recalled by Amin Cajee. Cajee noted an episode where he made a dietary request specific to his Indian ethnicity and Sibeko condescendingly replied that this was an "African revolution."[50] Such actions eroded the liberation movement's progress and stimulated a lack of respect in the ranks. Ostracizing those who did not fit within racial or ethnic categories at Kongwa is reflective of apartheid system, as well. For example, the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration Bill of 1925 classified Indians as "aliens" and suggested the need for repatriation.[51] The marginalization of "other" groups was further entrenched by the Population Registration Act of 1950, codifying the labels of "Black", "White", and "Colored". Colored populations were alienated in a middle group, being neither Black nor White.[52] The parallels between apartheid legislation and the actions of Sibeko highlight his hypocrisy. In many ways, Sibeko was perpetuating the very system that the African National Congress aimed to dismantle.

Sibeko promoted harsh and often disproportionate discipline, for which he was not held accountable. At Kongwa, his capricious, violent punishments earned him the nickname "Zola Zembe". Inspiration for this name stemmed from the word "zembe", meaning "ax", as Sibeko taunted that his punishments would "come down on [the cadres] like an ax."[53] One soldier, charged with stealing a blanket, received a sentence of ten strokes, which was fiercely contested by other rank-and-file members. However, Archie "Zembe" Sibeko ignored the objections, subjecting the forty-year-old man to this beating in front of the entire detachment the following morning; Zembe viciously lashed his soldier 25 times until the man collapsed, covered in blood. Yet, no one voiced their disgust, as they might be labeled "rebellious" or a "doubted freedom fighter."[54] This unchecked exercise of power generated a culture of fear. Wary of retribution, cadres

47   Ellis, *External Mission*, 51.
48   Bopela and Luthuli, *Umkhonto weSizwe*, 46.
49   Bopela and Luthuli, *Umkhonto weSizwe*, 46.
50   Cajee and Bell, *Fordsburg Fighter*, 110.
51   "Apartheid Legislation 1850s-1970s," South African History Online, [https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/apartheid-legislation-1850s-1970s] (accessed December 2, 2023).
52   "Apartheid Legislation 1850s-1970s".
53   Cajee and Bell, *Fordsburg Fighter*, 114.
54   Cajee and Bell, *Fordsburg Fighter*, 114.

were silent about injustice, which only served to eternalize the cycle. Furthermore, these questionable leadership tactics fostered resentment towards the ANC and their appointee process, which was immensely opaque. Bopela suggested, "There seemed to be an invisible entity who decided on these appointments and once they occurred, they wouldn't be removed, even if they turned out to be abysmal failures."[55] These abuses and lack of transparency furthered cadre disillusionment, which sparked rebellious ideas.

The punishment of this cadre was not an outlier, but rather part of a much larger pattern in the People's Court. Soldiers were frequently brought before this inter-camp body on trumped up charges aimed to invoke a culture of submission. Comrade Columbus, a Kongwa cadre, was charged with the seemingly minor offense of "violating camp regulations" for leaving the camp without permission. However, the suggested punishments were disproportionate: fifty lashes, three days without food and water, or being left in the blazing sun for five hours without water.[56] Additionally, the cadres were forced to erect a prison cell that would house their fellow soldiers, or possibly themselves.[57]

Xhosa tribalist tendencies were also perceived in deliverance of punishment, which disenfranchised Zulus. One Zulu Kongwa soldier recounted that "there was less pressure and more hesitation in taking disciplinary action when the Xhosa-speaking people are involved than is the case with Zulu-speaking people."[58] The perception of injustice fueled hatred and resentment, as soldiers felt as though they were being slighted and personally attacked. Another irate camp member suggested that it would be "better to take a gun and shoot Zulus because they are not wanted."[59] This animosity undermined the movement's unity, and thus its effectiveness.

The Role of Geopolitics in Punishment and Strategy

Rapidly evolving geopolitics became a guise for enacting punishment and eliminating anti-Soviet thought. After the Sino-Soviet split in the early 1960s, the ANC aligned with the Soviet Union, who aimed to maintain peaceful coexistence with the West. As a result, China, Chairman Mao Zedong, and Maoism were condemned within the ANC and Umkhonto weSizwe, and Chinese materials and affiliations were banned within the Kongwa camp. However, these regulations were not explicitly addressed at the rank-and-file level. Amin Cajee recounts that a fellow cadre was hereafter found in possession of a Chinese periodical and brought before the People's Court on the grounds of a "most serious" allegation. Furthermore, those who had been trained in China were treated with an air of suspicion and even sent to the Soviet Union for retraining, which further divided the camp.

---

55   Bopela and Luthuli, *Umkhonto weSizwe*, 47.
56   Cajee and Bell, *Fordsburg Fighter*, 108.
57   Cajee and Bell, *Fordsburg Fighter*, 122.
58   Cajee and Bell, *Fordsburg Fighter*, 53.
59   Cajee and Bell, *Fordsburg Fighter*, 53.

In addition to perpetuating a submissive culture void of authoritative account-ability, leaders used punishment as a tool to advance their standing and dethrone compe-tition. Archie Sibeko used geopolitics as a pretense for this career advancement. In September 1966, these accusations peaked when Amin Cajee, along with "Pat" (Patrick Molaoa), "Mntungwa" (Vincent Khumalo), "Ali" (Hussain Jacobs), and "Mogorosi" (Michael Thomolang) were charged with high treason, punishable by death. According to Joe Modise, the group had conspired with a foreign power (China) to overthrow the ANC government. He suggested that the group had initiated contact with the Chinese embassy in Dar es Salaam, who would provide the means necessary to launch a coup. However, these allegations were clearly a farce, as cadres were in a state of isolation at Kongwa, with no postal or radio communications. While on trial, the leadership suggested a reduced sentence for Amin should he turn on Pat and Mntungwa. It was at this moment that he realized Joe Modise's ulterior motives. The duo, well-established and respected within the ANC, MK, and Kongwa, presented a challenge to his senior command position. Therefore, Modise aimed to eliminate them on false pretenses. Amin Cajee recounted, "I realized I had been dragged into a power struggle that seemed to be based on language lines."[60] This deplorable abuse of power suggests the lengths that Kongwa leaders would go to preserve and elevate their status. While none of the accused were subjected to the death penalty, Modise repeatedly taunted Cajee's brutal execution, at one point suggesting leaving him at a game park where he would be "torn to bits" by wild animals.[61]

The harsh, geopolitically motivated "Treason Trial" at Kongwa presents many parallels with the Rivonia Trial, also nicknamed the "Treason Trial". Leaders at Kongwa undoubtedly drew explicit inspiration from the latter. Following a 1956 raid at Lilies-leaf Farm, the South African police arrested key ANC members, including Mandela and Walter Sisulu, claiming that they violated the Suppression of Communism Act.[62] Just like the Kongwa cadres, they were charged with high treason, punishable by death. While the Kongwa soldiers were accused of attempted subversion of the ANC government along-side the Chinese, the Rivonia Trial defendants were accused of plotting to overthrow the Nationalist government and implement a Communist system. Protecting the respective movements from hostile geopolitical threats provided the ideal facade for achieving the groups' desired ends. Both of these trials were attempts to eliminate political competition and threats to the status quo. The Nationalist Party believed that the imprisonment of key ANC figures like Nelson Mandela, Moses Kotane, and Albert Luthuli would derail the anti-apartheid movement. Similarly, Modise thought prosecuting Pat and Mntungwa would preserve his authority. This example highlights the trend of MK's power-hungry middle tier of leadership reverting to the policies that the anti-apartheid movement sought

---

60   Cajee and Bell, *Fordsburg Fighter*, 11.
61   Cajee and Bell, *Fordsburg Fighter*, 10.
62   Lissoni, "Transformations in the ANC External Mission and Umkhonto weSizwe", 293.

to destroy.

The Sino-Soviet split also affected Umkhonto weSizwe's military strategy in other ways. The ANC was far better versed in methods of political struggle, and some, like Chris Hani, suggested that the leaders were "professional politicians rather than professional revolutionaries."[63] Therefore, the leadership looked to its allies for military strategy and tactics. After the Sino-Soviet split, this entailed an embrace of Soviet strategy. The Soviets, hesitant to anger the West, embraced conventional warfare as opposed to the underground struggle that China supported.[64] However, this presented a dilemma, as there were inconsistencies with training across countries and MK was originally founded as a guerrilla group.

The recruits sent to Eastern bloc nations were trained in conventional warfare, rather than guerilla fighting. MK soldier Amin Cajee was trained in Czechoslovakia, and recounted that he engaged in guerrilla training that included lessons on small arms, explosives, topography, anti-tank grenade launchers, and howitzers. However, he also spent significant time "driving T54 Soviet-built tanks, shooting stationary and moving targets, learning how to repair the tank tracks, drive heavy-duty military vehicles and Jeeps in snow, and place chains on tires to travel through mountain roads."[65] These skills were utterly irrelevant to the warm climate and urban settings in which the cadres would fight in South Africa. The absurdity was evident to the cadres, and some even tried to broach these concerns with superiors. When Thula Bopela raised questions about the applicability of such practices, his training leader, Rudolph, merely shrugged and said all training was relevant.[66]

This incompatibility surfaced upon arrival at Kongwa, where strife around tactics and strategy ensued. Archie Sibeko noted the contentious discourse surrounding tactical planning, recounting that heated debates frequently erupted between Chinese- and Soviet-trained soldiers.[67] Eventually, Archie Sibeko, Chris Hani, and Jack Gatieb convened a panel to discuss action, composed of representatives from Moscow, Odessa, Tashkent and Czech training contingents. During these conversations, the dominance of conventional warfare training emerged, specifically from the Soviet-trained members. The Umkhonto weSizwe struggle was fundamentally that of a guerrilla movement, yet Amin Cajee recounts that those present at the meeting overwhelmingly suggested receiving T54 tanks and heavy armor from the Soviet Union to engage in conventional warfare.[68] They outlined a strategy in which they would proceed into South Africa through Botswana in conventional formation. Cajee confronted Hani about the implausi-

---

63   Lissoni, "Umkhonto weSizwe (MK)," 8.
64   Cajee and Bell, *Fordsburg Fighter*, 10.
65   Cajee and Bell, *Fordsburg Fighter*, 86.
66   Cajee and Bell, *Fordsburg Fighter*, 89.
67   Archie Sibeko, *Freedom in Our Lifetime* (North York: Ontario Public Service Employees Union, 1996), 82.
68   Cajee and Bell, *Fordsburg Fighter*, 129.

bility of this plan, yet the discord only silenced conversation. The plan was not discussed further.[69]

Stagnation at Kongwa

Archie Sibeko argued that mobilization delays were inevitable and foreseeable, as the apartheid regime tightened security and the Rivonia arrests demobilized essential leaders and underground structures.[70] However, when early MK recruits signed up for service, there was a generally held belief that "they would be back home, gun in hand, after a few weeks of training," according to Stephen Ellis.[71] Therefore, when Kongwa's ranks swelled and months of stagnation dragged on, cadres became immensely frustrated. The passage of time reinforced the belief of the soldiers that the leadership had no intention of deploying them.

Amin Cajee and his fellow cadres pondered the reasoning for the camp's delay in moving south. The group deduced that the Soviet Union was attempting to maintain peace with the West. As they already openly supported revolution in Angola and Mozambique, erupting in 1961 and 1964, respectively, involvement in another conflict would be detrimental to their global image. In short, Cajee emphasized "that the ANC leadership had put political priorities above military strategy."[72] This idea is further supported by scholar Stephen Ellis's assertion that the SACP was the singular most significant influence on the formation of MK.[73] These factors demonstrate the influence of the SACP and the Soviet-ANC connection in military planning.

In response, Kongwa cadres attempted to address their gripes with the camp leadership, to no avail. Thula Bopela recalled one instance in which he confronted Joe Modise, inquiring why they had not yet mobilized. Modise danced around an answer, indicating he was scared to engage in conflict. He finally claimed, "It's not a wise strategy to expose the leadership to unnecessary risk". Instead, Modise suggested, "Technology, especially communication technology, has made it possible for commanders to conduct wars far from the battlefield. That's why some of you were trained in advanced communication technology."[74] This hesitation to further the movement degraded the troops' respect for their leaders, as they viewed them as weak and not committed to the cause of liberation.

Aggravated by the ambivalence of Kongwa's leadership, the soldiers began to question the role that the ANC played in hindering the guerrilla's deployment. Those at Kongwa viewed the ANC leadership as disconnected from the rank-and-file and felt as

---

69   Cajee and Bell, *Fordsburg Fighter*, 120.
70   Sibeko, *Freedom in Our Lifetime*, 84.
71   Ellis, *External Mission*, 51.
72   Cajee and Bell, *Fordsburg Fighter*, 129.
73   Lissoni, "Umkhonto weSizwe (MK)," 3.
74   Bopela and Luthuli, *Umkhonto weSizwe*, 49.

though they were merely pawns of these officials. Cadres were disillusioned, believing they were suffering in squalor while the leadership lavished in the city. The soldiers heard stories about leaders indulging at fancy hotels and restaurants and even courting white South African and Rhodesian women. The soldiers concluded that "the lives they were leading certainly didn't give the impression that they were laying the foundations for a hard struggle to wrench power from an immensely strong enemy."[75] The cadres did not necessarily have evidence to support these claims; however, this perceived injustice perpetuated anger and resentment towards all levels of leadership.

Therefore, some soldiers addressed their concerns with the ANC leadership. Bopela and a group of fellow cadres approached Oliver Tambo about deployment back to South Africa during a visit at the People's Hall. Tambo was defensive and insisted that the revolutionary plan was not yet ready. The cadres further prodded their leader, suggesting he had no military leadership training, and they, therefore, had no confidence in Tambo. The meeting ended without a resolution and an uneasy tension clouding the room.[76]

Inaction sowed the seeds of discontent, and this resentment often spilled over into acts of resistance. Heavy drinking was rampant among cadres, and this compounded with lackluster nutrition further promulgated medical issues.[77] Desertion also became commonplace. One of the most referenced examples of this occurred in early 1966 when a group of soldiers from Natal commandeered camp trucks and left Kongwa. Eventually, they were captured and returned to Kongwa by the Tanzanian authorities. While they were motivated by the aggravation of stagnation, their end goal was unclear; Ariana Lissoni noted that either they wanted "to make their own way home" or "to discuss their grievances with the leadership.[78] The MK National Commissar, Moses Mabhida and MK commander-in-chief Joe Modise disagreed on their punishment, with the former arguing they were not deserters, and Modise advocating for harsh punishment. Presumably, Modise was ethnically motivated, as these men were not affiliated with his group. When the leadership eventually handed down a lenient punishment, tribal tensions boiled over in the form of a firefight between Xhosas and Zulus. The responsibility parties were implicated, but Modise used this as an excuse to persecute Patrick Moloa, whom he viewed as a threat to his power.[79] This laid the groundwork for Moloa's implication in the Treason Trial.

When soldiers at Kongwa finally mobilized, they experienced a similar disheartening reluctance from their commanders. In 1967, Amin Cajee and the Luthuli Detachment joined the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA), the armed wing of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), in their liberation campaign in Rhodesia.

---

75   Bopela and Luthuli, *Umkhonto weSizwe*, 45.
76   Bopela and Luthuli, *Umkhonto weSizwe*, 50.
77   Cajee and Bell, *Fordsburg Fighter*, 128.
78   Lissoni, "Transformations in the ANC External Mission and Umkhonto weSizwe,", 297.
79   Ellis, *External Mission*, 54.

This offensive is now referred to as the Wankie Campaign. Instead of fighting along-side his detachment, Joe Modise resigned himself to direct operations and the deploy-ment of reinforcements from Zambia. Cajee condemned this behavior, stating, "Field commanders who send their men into battle and stay behind themselves will never be respected by their men. The soldiers rightfully concluded that their senior officials were scared to fight."[80]

Evidently, the MK leaders stationed at Kongwa were chiefly concerned with ascending the hierarchal ladder. While they expected the soldiers under them to be willing to sacrifice their lives for liberation, they were unwilling to do so themselves.

Oliver Tambo and the ANC Failures to Address Tribalism

While the ANC was dedicated to anti-apartheid and African unity, deputy presi-dent Oliver Tambo often failed to take decisive action to address historical tribal tension that exacerbated perceived injustice in MK camp leadership and rank-and-file. ANC membership spanned a myriad of populations, making it both a multi-class and multi-ra-cial organization, which birthed frequent dissatisfaction. For example, many newly independent African nations steered away from the ANC in favor of the PAC, as they were weary of the former's multiracial stance; such a wide range of interests and motiva-tions had the potential to stymie the core anti-apartheid mission. With such a precarious balance of interests, Tambo's paramount aim was to prevent "the fragmentation of the movement."[81] Therefore, Oliver Tambo "saw his role as not taking sides, but to chart a course that would be beneficial to all", according to his close friend, Tami Mhlambiso. However, this mediatory role ignited controversy in the tribalist struggle.

Attempting to reach consensus over imposing majority rule, Oliver Tambo's leadership style focused on empathy and listening. SACP leader Joe Slovo describes the president as "one of the greatest listeners that I had ever come across."[82] Empathy also dominated Tambo's approach, as Albie Sachs notes that Tambo was eager to understand "the problems and difficulties of a person's life and all the rest."[83] While these traits broadened the perspective of the leader, they also made him noncommittal. Luli Call-inicos describes his style as "unassertive" and hypothesizes that "he was not made in the mold of the uncontested, charismatic individual leaders such as existed at the time in Cuba, in [Mozambique] or in Vietnam."[84] Callinicos's juxtaposition of Tambo and his contemporary revolutionary leaders is thought-provoking, as the ANC drew significant inspiration from these revolutionary movements and often attempted to model their behavior similarly. While this approach undoubtedly held the movement together, the Kongwa camp leadership exploited this accountability void.

---

80   Cajee and Bell, *Fordsburg Fighter*, 55.
81   Callinicos, "Oliver Tambo and the Politics of Class, Race and Ethnicity" 146.
82   Callinicos, "Oliver Tambo and the Politics of Class, Race and Ethnicity" 146.
83   Callinicos, "Oliver Tambo and the Politics of Class, Race and Ethnicity" 146.
84   Callinicos, "Oliver Tambo and the Politics of Class, Race and Ethnicity" 142.

Corruption Schemes of the Kongwa Leadership

In addition to tribalism, the Kongwa leadership engaged in immense corruption schemes for financial profit. Ambrose Makiwane was widely suspected of shady business deals with local traders, with whom he would haggle while drinking in town. After these meetings, Makiwane would return to camp belligerently drunk and wake the soldiers up at all hours to perform an "emergency military exercise" and sing revolutionary songs.[85] Archie Sibeko suggested the commander's affinity for alcohol, emphasizing that drinking undermined Makiwane's political strength and maturity. Furthermore, Amin Cajee affirmed that Makiwane would sell second-hand clothes on these combined drinking and trading ventures in town, forcing camp prison inmates to wear rags. Evidently, self-promotion and preservation trumped all else for Makiwane.

However, more elaborate corruption also existed. While on rotation in the supply logistics department of Kongwa, Amin Cajee and fellow cadre Omar noticed glaring inconsistencies in supplies and billing. After examining three months of record keeping, the duo discovered that the Organization of African Unity (OAU), a key supplier of numerous items for the camps, had been overbilled by as much as 60%. They noted a myriad of items that the camp had billed the OAU for that were never seen. Among these were basic supplies such as "cold drinks, rice, towels, butter and eggs."[86] As the Kongwa leadership was likely involved in the scheme, Amin and Omar struggled over how to address the discrepancies. They also uncovered a local Asian businessman privy to the operation. Eventually, cadres leaked the revelations, and the matter was brought to the attention of the ANC leadership. They collected all relevant documents, yet Archie Sibeko assured the rank-and-file that no corruption had occurred. The commanders instead assumed the responsibility of oversight. While the perpetrators were not brought to justice, Joe Modise exploited the emergence of this scheme to pursue his vendetta against Ambrose Makiwane. The ANC leadership revoked Makiwane's position as camp commander, and the issue was not addressed further. For Modise, his chief goal had finally been achieved.

However, it was the cadres who ultimately suffered from the emergence of this corruption scheme. In its wake, OAU funding was cut. Daily food deliveries became bi- or triweekly, resulting in poor health and increased frustration among the soldiers. The Soviet Union attempted to fill this sustenance void by shipping in tinned fish and dried biscuits. However, they soon had an alarming revelation: these food tins were from 1942. The Soviet Union had sent the camp its leftover World War II supplies from twenty years prior.[87] The Kongwa commanders, however, insisted that the food was fine, despite its concerning age. Furthermore, a retaliative campaign of persecuting petty offenses followed the corruption scheme.

---

85   Sibeko, *Freedom in Our Lifetime*, 83.
86   Cajee and Bell, *Fordsburg Fighter*, 123.
87   Cajee and Bell, *Fordsburg Fighter*, 126.

Conclusion

By 1969, frustration at Kongwa reached its zenith, and Chris Hani released his controversial Hani Memorandum; notably, the original text of the document is not publicly available. The document was drafted in response to the failed Wankie and Sipolilo Campaigns, after which Hani cited an increasing disorganization and carelessness. Chris Hani, along with six other MK members, signed the document, which "made a political analysis and attributed all the weaknesses we complained of to political and personal failings of some of our leaders."[88] The signatories dispersed the document to members of the executive and selected MK members. Initially, the criticism was not received well by those in charge. The ANC leadership, furious at being challenged, immediately removed the signatories from their MK posts, expelled them from the ANC, and it is speculated that the group was sentenced to death, although follow-up action was not taken.

However, these criticisms ultimately led to the Morogoro Conference, at which the ANC and MK embarked on a journey of self-reflection and growth. At the conference, which hosted 70 delegates, half of whom were MK members, the leadership addressed structural, strategical, and tactical issues.[89] They instituted a Revolutionary Council, which focused on organizing the home front and produced a document entitled, "Strategy and Tactics of the ANC", which emphasized the need to refocus the armed struggle to be more effective. The ANC also aimed to fix critical issues that MK faced, including a dearth of facilities and underground command structure. It was a decision from the Morogoro Conference that also opened up ANC membership to all races.[90] Ultimately, this conference reestablished a relationship between the ANC and MK, giving the former more direct control over its armed wing and eventually revitalizing the militant movement. This self-reflection was key to maintaining the anti-apartheid struggle and boosting morale.

Unfortunately, significant damage had already been inflicted on MK by the careless middle level of leadership. In the eight years since the militant wing's founding, leaders like Joe Modise, Ambrose Makiwane, and Archie Sibeko had created a stiff culture of division and fear as they jostled for power. The fundamental structures and unity of the organization had been attacked by tribalism, corruption, and violence and an entire generation of soldiers was widely disaffected and skeptical of the leadership. Amin Cajee recounted, "I volunteered to serve what I saw as a democratic movement dedicated to bringing down an oppressive and racist regime. Instead, I found myself serving a

---

88   Hugh Macmillan, "The 'Hani Memorandum' – Introduced and Annotated," *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa* 69, no. 1 (2009): 106–29, 108.

89   "Submissions: 12 May 1997," SABC Truth Commission, [https://sabctrc.saha.org.za/hearing.php?id=56410&t=kongwa&tab=hearings] (accessed December 2, 2023).

90   "Submissions: 12 May 1997," SABC Truth Commission, [https://sabctrc.saha.org.za/hearing.php?id=56410&t=kongwa&tab=hearings] (accessed December 2, 2023). (same format here).

movement that was relentless in exercising power and riddled with corruption."[91] Therefore, even after the positive changes of Morogoro, MK never fully recovered enough to become a successful guerilla group. It was the poor leadership of these mid-tier MK leaders that ultimately tore down the organization and inhibited its future success.

---

91   Cajee and Bell, *Fordsburg Fighter*, 198.

God-Given Rights: Suffrage and Anti-Suffrage Use of Religious Rhetoric in the South

Blaire Gardner

Abstract: In 1848, women's rights activists and abolitionists Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott organized the first American women's rights convention called the Seneca Falls Convention. This convention sparked the first wave of feminism in the U.S. in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with the women's suffrage movement at the forefront. A reactionary anti-suffrage movement quickly emerged. This article utilizes the printed works of Southern suffragists and "antis" to reveal the rhetorical tactics of these writers, specifically those with references to Christianity. Due to the lack of deeply researched Southern suffrage and anti-suffrage religious rhetoric, this article aims to fill this historiographical gap and examines the relevance of Christianity in such a religiously conservative region as the American South. This article also seeks to demonstrate the prevalence of various religious interpretations in modern-day political movements and the importance of analyzing previous movements. This article's analysis shows that "antis" and suffragists read the same Christian Scripture and appealed to the same biblical figures, but interpreted them differently to support of their respective causes. Therefore, the suffrage and anti-suffrage movements in the American South in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries exemplify the malleability of Christianity in political rhetoric.

A feminist movement unlike any other made its way through the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although many American women publicly demanded the right to vote following the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention, not until the early twentieth century did suffragists immerse themselves in this mass movement. On the other side, the mostly female members of a reactionary movement emerged to oppose women's enfranchisement and became known as the anti-suffrage movement.[1] Likewise, the Antis, or anti-suffragists, formed their own organizations to push back against suffrage during the 1910s and 1920s.[2] The rise in membership in anti-suffrage organizations, which transpired in the 1910s, occurred in response to debates in local and national politics about women's enfranchisement.

---

1   Susan E. Marshall, "In Defense of Separate Spheres: Class and Status Politics in the Antisuffrage Movement," *Social Forces* 65, no. 2 (1986): 327, https://doi.org/10.2307/2578676.

2   Nancy A. Hewitt and Dawn Durante, eds. *100 Years of Women's Suffrage A University of Illinois Press Anthology* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2019), Introduction, https://doi.org/10.5406/j.ctvsf1p2f.4.

The suffrage and anti-suffrage movements coincided with each other in time and space in the U.S. These two opposing political movements possessed surprising similarities, especially regarding the movements' demographics and locations. Each of these movements consisted primarily of female members, particularly upper-class white women; those who fought for and against women's suffrage lived across the country.[3] Despite its historical conservatism, the Southern United States was home to both suffragists and antis. Activists on each side of the issue of women's suffrage pushed forward their beliefs in numerous ways. Suffragists believed the vote was crucial for women to fully participate as citizens in American democracy. Meanwhile, anti-suffragists believed that women exerted enough indirect political influence through their male family members. Historians and scholars have studied each movement's rhetoric and motives since the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in August of 1920.

Historians have scrutinized the various aspects of the suffrage and anti-suffrage movements, including their membership details and collective histories over the course of the mid-to-late twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The analysis of several characteristics of suffrage and anti-suffrage rhetoric, such as classism, racism, white supremacist views, and religion, revealed the agendas of political parties such as some antis denying women suffrage in order to keep the ability to vote out of the hands of Black people. Religion became one common aspect of suffrage and anti-suffrage rhetoric that very few previous historians and scholars have amply studied, especially regarding the American South.

This article analyzes an important aspect of women's history through the examination of suffrage and anti-suffrage scholarship by previous historians, including the gaps that exist in the general historiography. Few historians have recognized the connection between religion and both movements' rhetoric. Through the analysis of newspapers, books, and propaganda created by suffragists and antis, this article will reveal the connections between the religion and rhetoric of those opposed and those for women's enfranchisement, while also demonstrating the interpretive nature of Christianity in politics. Some suffrage and anti-suffrage rhetoric included biblical narratives like the creation story of Adam and Eve and references to prominent figures such as the Virgin Mary. The written works of suffragists and antis make their religious opinions apparent, prompting the question: How did suffragists and antis each effectively utilize religion in the arguments pertaining to their respective causes? In order to answer this question, this article surveys examples of Christian references from Southern pro-suffrage and anti-suffrage works to demonstrate that Christianity played a prominent role in both movements' rhetoric. The suffrage and anti-suffrage movements in the American South in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries exemplify the interpretive nature of Christianity in political rhetoric. Suffragists viewed Scripture as supportive of women's rights, while antis viewed Christianity as evidence of the role of women in the sphere separate from politics. Christianity acted as a malleable tool for suffragists and antis due to its ability to

---

3   Marshall, "Separate Spheres," 331.

bend and yield successfully towards each respective political movement's arguments.

Suffragists and Antis in the United States

The concept of American women's rights did not arise in the public realm until the mid-nineteenth century. The United States women's suffrage movement began in 1848 with the New York Seneca Falls Convention, the first women's rights convention—held by activists Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott after being excluded from the abolitionist convention.[4] At the Seneca Falls Convention, Stanton and Mott created a document modeled after the Declaration of Independence called "the Declaration of Sentiments."[5] This document listed the rights that Stanton, Mott, and others believed women should possess such as the right to vote, a very controversial opinion at the time.[6] This convention marked the beginning of what would become known as the women's suffrage movement.

By the end of the nineteenth century, upper and middle-class white women had formed organizations such as the 1890 National American Women's Suffrage Association (NAWSA). The upper and middle-class women involved in women's suffrage utilized the technological resources they had access to so that they could disseminate their written works for the public.[7] Throughout the 1910s, women participated in marches and rallies all across the country, especially on the East Coast since, by 1917, many Western states such as Wyoming, California, and Utah had already passed women's suffrage within their respective states.[8] Many of the tactics of these women's rights organizations, such as NAWSA, tried to bring their goals to the attention of politicians. The NAWSA organization attempted to gain the attention of important figures such as President Woodrow Wilson, for example, through a women's suffrage parade in Washington, D.C. in 1913.[9]

The suffrage movement continued to mobilize throughout the United States including in the American South. Southern suffragists distributed leaflets illustrating their beliefs that women must be granted the legal ability "to help elect the officials who set the standards for the health, safety, morality of her community."[10] Southern suffragists attempted to influence the courts at local and national levels. The Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association created and signed a charter for the Tennessee Department of State

4   Lorijo Metz, *The Women's Suffrage Movement* (New York, NY: Rosen Publishing Group, 2014), 5. ProQuest Ebook Central.

5   Metz*, Women's Suffrage,* 10.

6   Metz*, Women's Suffrage,* 10.

7   Mary Chapman, Barbara Green, and Nancy A. Hewitt, "Suffrage and Spectacle," In *100 Years of Women's Suffrage: A University of Illinois Press Anthology*, ed. by Dawn Durante (University of Illinois Press, 2019), 46, https://doi.org/10.5406/j.ctvsf1p2f.7.

8   Metz, *Women's Suffrage,* 16-17.

9   Metz, *Women's Suffrage,* 18.

10   Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, *New Women of the New South: The Leaders of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the Southern States* (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 77, ProQuest Ebook Central.

with the stated purpose of said charter to be "the mental, social and legal enfranchisement of the women of Tennessee."[11] Ultimately, the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, which granted women the right to vote, came down to a decision in the state of Tennessee in 1919. Suffragists emphasized the importance of ratifying the amendment to the Democratic National Committee, sending a telegram to the governor of Tennessee urging him to ratify the amendment, according to a *Charlotte Observer* article published in June 1919.[12]

The final obstacle of women's suffrage being in Tennessee demonstrated the relevance of supporters and opponents of suffrage within the South. The men and women of the suffrage movement worked through the 1890s to 1920 for women to obtain the right to vote. However, suffragists were not the only ones working to ensure that legislation tilted in their favor. Similarly, anti-suffragists rallied and formed organizations in order to promote their agenda. But the day finally came when Tennessee, the final state, ratified the Nineteenth Amendment on August 13th, 1920, allowing women the right to vote in elections.[13] Despite this victory for suffragists, their opponents also had victories prior to the creation of this amendment and delayed Congress's ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment until 1920.

Scholars have described the anti-suffrage movement as a countermovement to the pro-suffrage women's movement, one that began to emerge in the late nineteenth century.[14] Antis' response to the women's suffrage movement began in Eastern states such as New York and Massachusetts, and continued in the Midwest, and finally reached the Southern region by the 1910s.[15] Formed in 1911 by upper-class, prominent women and men, the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage (NAOWS) followed many of the suffragists' own tactics to fight pro-suffrage legislation at the state and federal levels.[16] Like suffragists, antis published printed works such as newspaper articles, propaganda materials, and even books.

During the 1910s, antis won many victories in preventing women's suffrage, particularly in the South. Southern women gave speeches in front of politicians and state committees opposing women's suffrage. Dolly Blount Lamar and Mildred Lewis Rutherford, prominent southern ladies and dedicated antis, gave speeches in front of the House Constitutional Amendment Committee in 1914 at the Georgia state capitol, denouncing

---

        11   Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association, "Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association Charter" (1914), Tennessee State Library and Archives. https://tsla.tnsosfiles.com/digital/teva/transcripts/44461.pdf

        12   "Urge Tennessee to Take Action on Amendment. Democratic National Committee Wire Governor," *Charlotte Observer*, June 26, 1920, 1. *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

        13   Wheeler, *New Women,* 172.

        14   Marshall, "In Defense," 330.

        15   Marshall, "In Defense," 330.

        16   Marshall, "In Defense," 330.

the passage of the suffrage amendment, which, ultimately, did not pass.[17] The Northern U.S. experienced its fair share of antis, who made their own attempts at preventing women's enfranchisement. Although this article focuses on the South, many written anti-suffrage works published in the North circulated throughout the South. To the delight of the antis all across the United States, including Dodge, voters shot down suffrage referenda in six major state committees, but by 1920, enough states had ratified the Nineteenth Amendment for it to become law.[18] As evidenced by Tennessee's status as the final state to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment, the South experienced the most political squabbles when it came to women's suffrage, especially between suffragists and anti-suffragists.

The South has historically been known for its religious conservatism. That is, its traditional values are most commonly linked to Protestant Christianity. According to author Glenn Feldman, the American southern region historically experienced a profound link between religion and "political and social conservatism."[19] Protestantism within the Southern states framed its politics and helped form its ideals. Religion existed within female suffrage politics through the types of women who supported or condemned women's suffrage. According to Elna C. Green in *Southern Strategies: Southern Women and the Woman Suffrage Question*, the majority of anti-suffragists belonged to Protestant denominations such as Presbyterianism and Episcopalianism.[20] Green's book also reveals that Presbyterians and Episcopalians composed the majority in the women's suffrage movement in the southern United States.[21] Because of the previous historians' knowledge of the South's conservative religious leanings, this article will examine the religious and political connections between women's suffragism, Christianity, and Southern and national politics. Common themes within the historiography can be found through the examination of previous suffrage and anti-suffrage scholarship. Examination can also reveal the gaps and under-researched areas of the general historiography.

Historiography

In order to make sense of the relationship between the suffrage and anti-suffrage movement in the U.S., one must study previous works created by historians and scholars on each movement at the national and state levels. Numerous works written and published by historians provide general overviews of the women's suffrage movement such as the timeline of the movement, major events like the Nineteenth Amendment's ratification, and its prominent figures. Historians have written numerous general surveys

---

17   Elizabeth Gillespie McRae, "Caretakers of Southern Civilization: Georgia Women and the Anti-Suffrage Campaign, 1914-1920," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 82, no. 4 (1998): 801, https://www.jstor.org/stable/40583906.

18   Marshall, "In Defense," 330-331.

19   Glenn Feldman, *Politics and Religion in the White South* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2005), 2, https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt2jcjnk.

20   Elna C. Green, *Southern Strategies: Southern Women and the Woman Suffrage Question* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 73.

21   Green, *Southern Strategies,* 187.

of the women's suffrage movement from its origins to the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, utilizing primary sources such as letters, diaries, and propaganda materials. Some works set themselves apart from the general historiography by examining the suffrage movement using different lenses such as analyzing the suffrage movement in conjunction with other women's movements well into the twenty-first century.[22] Other works include analysis of specific tactics and strategies implemented by suffragists and how "public spectacle" contributed towards the suffragist movement's success.[23]

Academic fascination with the women's suffrage movement focuses on the movement, major events, and activism, yet few scholars have analyzed the rhetoric and arguments used by actual suffragists on a small scale with some exceptions.[24] However, the lack of scholarship on a state-by-state level could be a result of different U.S. regions supporting suffrage for different reasons and with different tactics. Diverging from previous scholarship allows for a broader understanding of Christian interpretations. These interpretations can be found through the analysis of suffrage and anti-suffrage published written works, specifically works with references, both explicit and implicit, to Christianity. A relatively recent topic of inquiry for historians, scholars first began examining anti-suffragism in the 1970s, followed by another resurgence of interest in the 1990s. Like suffrage movement scholarship, most sources on anti-suffrage provide overviews of the movement.[25] The few works that deeply discuss the anti-suffrage movement explore the antis' motivations and how their political and social views influenced their opposition to women's suffrage.[26] Racial tensions can even be cited as reasons for suffrage opposition.[27] The Christian South infamously had enormous racial tensions during this time, raising the question of where did Christianity fit in with other anti-suffrage motivations such as racial tensions. Also, scholars usually discuss the anti-suffrage movement as a whole as opposed to a region-by-region or state-by-state basis.

Few historians have written about Southern suffragists, specifically their role within the American suffrage movement in the Southern region. Historian Marjorie Spruill wrote a few works in the 1990s about Southern suffragists. In her book, *New Women of the New South: The Leaders of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the Southern*

---

22   Nancy A. Hewitt, and Dawn Durante, eds., *100 Years of Women's Suffrage A University of Illinois Press Anthology* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2019), https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5406/j.ctvsf1p2f**.**

23   Susan Ware, *Why They Marched: Untold Stories of the Women Who Fought for the Right to Vote* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2019), 179.

24   Aileen S. Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), 1-313.

25   Jane Jerome Camhi, *Women Against Women: American Anti-Suffragism, 1880-1920* (Brooklyn: Carlson Pub., 1973), 1.

26   Susan E. Marshall, *Splintered Sisterhood: Gender and Class in the Campaign Against Woman Suffrage* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), 224.

27   Kenneth R. Johnson, "White Racial Attitudes as a Factor in the Arguments against the Nineteenth Amendment," *Phylon (1960-)* 31, no. 1 (1970): 31–37. https://doi.org/10.2307/273870.

State, Spruill discussed how this area within the suffrage movement has tended to be ignored or overlooked by previous historians and scholars and even argued that Southern suffragists played a vital role in the eventual passage of the Nineteenth Amendment despite Southern anti-suffrage majority.[28] Prior to Spruill, A. Elizabeth Taylor wrote several articles throughout the 1950s surveying the women's suffrage movement on a state-by-state basis in which she chronologically detailed the spread of suffragism within specific Southern states such as Florida, Texas, and Arkansas.[29] Spruill's and Taylor's works are among the few that study the suffrage movement on a regional scale. However, these works fall short in examining the relationship between suffragists and antis.

Much like the lack of historiography of regional suffrage differences, the locality of anti-suffragists in the U.S. remains vastly overlooked and understudied. However, some works examine antis in areas of the U.S. besides the South such as New York state.[30] Some other areas include New Brunswick, Maine and the relationship between the U.S. and Canada during the time of the anti-suffrage movement.[31] Examinations of the anti-suffrage movement within the Southern states also showed analysis pertaining to how antis' Southern upbringing potentially contributed to their eventual political stances. Elna C. Green's 1990 article "Those Opposed: The Antisuffragists in North Carolina, 1900-1920" examines the motives of antis within the state of North Carolina and she argues that class acted as the main influence and factor on antis' stance on women's suffrage since they wanted to prevent working-class women from outvoting upper-class women, who typically made up the demographic of anti-suffragists.[32] If class did act as a major influence for antis, what influence did Christianity have? Although many scholars have explained certain aspects of anti-suffrage rhetoric related to class and race, they have generally failed to acknowledge the influence of religion and religious rhetoric in debates over women's suffrage, specifically in the South.

The few scholars who have discussed religious influence or themes within any part of the suffrage or anti-suffrage movement must be acknowledged for their efforts. Evelyn A. Kirley's 1990 article "'This Work Is God's Cause': Religion in the Southern Woman Suffrage Movement, 1880–1920" analyzes the ways in which Christianity influenced the beliefs of suffragists within the Southern United States.[33] Kirkley examines

28   Wheeler, *New Women,* xiv-xv.
29   A. Elizabeth Taylor, "The Woman Suffrage Movement in Florida," *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 36, no. 1 (1957): 42–60, http://www.jstor.org/stable/30138972.
30   Susan Goodier, *No Votes for Women: The New York State Anti-Suffrage Movement* (Baltimore: University of Illinois Press, 2013), 14, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5406/j.ctt2ttdcb.
31   Shannon M. Risk, "Against Women's Suffrage: The Case of Maine and New Brunswick," *The American Review of Canadian Studies* 42, no. 3 (2012): 384–400. https://doi.org/10.1080/02722011.2012.705862.
32   Elna C. Green, "Those Opposed: The Antisuffragists in North Carolina, 1900-1920," *The North Carolina Historical Review* 67, no. 3 (1990): 315–333.
33   Evelyn A. Kirkley, "'This Work Is God's Cause': Religion in the Southern Woman Suffrage Movement, 1880–1920," *Church History* 59, no. 4 (1990): 522.

manuscripts and letters in order to piece together the ways that Christianity, specifically Protestantism, incorporated itself into suffrage rhetoric and arguments and argues that Protestantism played a significant role within the suffrage movement, even more so than in anti-suffrage rhetoric.[34] On the other hand, Angela G. Tharp's 2019 dissertation "Christianity and Anti-Suffragism: Understanding the Roots Behind the Beliefs and Practices of Active Presbyterian and Episcopalian Anti-Suffragist Women" states that there is an explicit correlation between antis and their religious affiliations since most antis were religious Protestants.[35] Both Kirkley's and Tharp's works analyze religious themes within the rhetoric of both Southern antis and suffragists. But while Kirkley's work makes few mentions of anti-suffrage expression, neither of these two works deeply compares the similarities and differences between the religious references within suffrage and anti-suffrage rhetoric, specifically within the scope of the Southern United States. Essentially, neither of these works discusses the religious themes that permeated both the rhetoric of the suffrage and anti-suffrage movements.

Both scholars argue that religion played an important role in these two movements, but do not recognize how that same religion may have played a different role within each side of the women's issue, nor do they explicitly recognize the malleability of Christianity during this time. By analyzing the printed works of Southern suffragists and antis, this article will demonstrate the different ways in which Southern antis and suffragists promoted their views by utilizing Christian references within their arguments, while simultaneously demonstrating the interpretive nature of Christianity within political arguments. Southern suffrage and anti-suffrage published written works made Christian references from biblical stories to iconic Christian figures. Even vague religious references feature prominently in arguments for and against the separate social and political spheres of men and women in the U.S., specifically the Southern region. The purpose of analyzing and examining the religious references in suffrage and anti-suffrage writings would be not to merely acknowledge that suffragists and antis used them, but to understand what these references meant in the cultural context of the time and the ways that religion can be used in today's political climate.

Biblical Stories: Adam and Eve

The biblical story of Adam and Eve acted as a point of contention between suffragists and antis, since both used their own interpretations in support of their respective arguments. The book of Genesis depicts the creation story of Adam and Eve and the beginning of humankind. Along with other biblical figures, Adam and Eve from the book of Genesis made frequent appearances within suffrage and anti-suffrage related

---

34   Kirkley, "'This Work,'" 507–522.
35   Angela G. Tharp, "Christianity and Anti-Suffragism: Understanding the Roots Behind the Beliefs and Practices of Active Presbyterian and Episcopalian Anti-Suffragist Women," Order No. 29327025, Faulkner University, 2019, http://libproxy.lib.unc.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/christianity-anti-suffragism-understanding-roots/docview/2705428042/se-2.

arguments. The creation story incited many questions for people of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries about how to define the role of women relative to men in general society. Many different pro-suffrage articles appeared in Southern newspapers in the 1910s and quite a few referenced Christian figures such as Adam and Eve.

In 1914, North Carolina suffragist Loula Roberts Platt wrote an article for the *Charlotte Observer* which presented a pro-women's suffrage interpretation of the biblical story of Adam and Eve. A major figure of the North Carolina women's suffrage movement, Platt co-founded the Asheville Suffrage League in 1913 and the National American Woman Suffrage Association labeled her a "soldier of suffrage" in 1922.[36] Platt argued against the notion of women being made for men in accordance with the story of Adam and Eve and declared the story to be untrue. Platt claimed that "this whole theory of the creation is fal[s]e, and has for years proven a delusion and a snare."[37] Platt maintained that it would be incorrect to assume that since the Bible states that the creation of women occurred after men, that "He made her for man."[38] Platt then went on to quote the book of Genesis and stated that "man means the whole creation of man-kind."[39] Platt's article utilized religion not only to argue that women should be allowed to vote, but to promote the idea of equality and equity between men and women in United States politics. Platt's article rebutted the common anti rhetorical tactic which included referencing the story of Eve to show women's innate subordination to men. In order to promote her political beliefs regarding gender equality, Platt utilized iconic Christian stories and figures within her article, much like other suffragist writers. Her use of religious references such as the creation of Adam and Eve implies that the majority of the readers of the *Charlotte Observer* likely identified as Christian or recognized the cultural significance of Adam and Eve, which Platt wielded to her advantage.

The use of Christianity within political rhetorical writing demonstrates the malleability of religion, specifically the Christian religion, within arguments pertaining to suffrage due to its applicable nature. Platt's tactic of utilizing Christian scripture such as the creation story represented the common religious reference made in both suffrage and anti-suffrage written works. Other Southern newspapers published pro-suffrage arguments in official articles and in letters to the editor at around the same time as Platt's article. In December of 1913, a Columbia, South Carolina-based newspaper called The

---

36   Ashley Werlinich, "Biographical Sketch of Lula Roberts Platt," In *Part III: Mainstream Suffragists-National American Woman Suffrage Association* of *Biographical Dictionary of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the United States* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, 2022).

37   Platt, Loula Roberts,"Why I Am a Suffragist," *Charlotte Observer*, November 1, 1914, 21. *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*. https://infoweb-newsbank-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&docref=image/v2%3A11260DC9BB798E30%40EANX-11460D6190882D80%402420438-11460D646F461CA0%4020-11460D6A154F9CB8%40Why%2BI%2BAm%2Ba%2BSuffragist.

38   Platt, "Suffragist," 21.

39   Platt, "Suffragist," 21.

State printed a letter written by a local reader named Woodrow Ward. Ward began his letter by addressing it to the editor of The State and the newspaper entitled it "For Woman Suffrage: Correspondent Calls Attention to Arguments in Favor of Extending the Ballot to the Feminine Half of the Citizenship of This Country." In his letter, Ward responded to a sermon performed by Rev. S. A. Steel which had denounced women's enfranchisement. While Steel's sermon may be lost to time, Ward's arguments reveal much about his and Steel's position on women's rights. In his letter, Ward applied Christian references to his argument in support of women's suffrage, such as the creation story. He began his letter with "I am a Methodist," to indicate that he subscribed to Christian ideology.[40] Beginning his letter with such a profound statement, Ward threaded references to his Christian values throughout the rest of his letter defending women's suffrage. Ward claimed that the idea of women being made for men included helping in politics and that "God made woman for man's helpmate and you cannot limit her companionship."[41] Ward, unlike Loula Roberts Platt, did not attempt to disprove the Christian creation story, but instead used it to his advantage and presented it as evidence for his argument from the stance as a Christian of the Protestant Methodist denomination. However, Ward did not first think of referencing biblical figures in written political rhetoric. My analysis reveals that biblical stories found in political rhetoric pertaining to women's enfranchisement existed prior to the early twentieth century. One nineteenth century book published by Elizabeth Cady Stanton examined the role of women in the Bible and how it correlated to women in society.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, along with twenty-six female committee members, authored a collection of essays into a book titled *The Woman's Bible*, published in 1895, which analyzed women in Christian scripture from the Old Testament to the New Testament. Although published in New York and twenty-five years prior to the Nineteenth Amendment ratification, this book would have been available to everyone in the U.S. This two-part book closely examined the creation story of Adam and Eve from the book of Genesis and how people had interpreted women's role in society in relation to that story. Stanton recognized that people had long used Eve from the creation story in order to promote the subordination of women, stating that "commentators and publicists" went through much trouble "to prove her subordination in harmony with the Creator's original design."[42] Stanton implied that people had historically misinterpreted Eve and her creation in relation to Adam. Stanton also suggested that the subordination of women to men contradicted the Christian creation story.

One of Stanton's committee members, Lillie Devereux Blake, claimed that the

---

40   "For Woman Suffrage: Correspondent Calls Attention to Arguments in Favor of Extending the Ballot to the Feminine Half of the Citizenship of This Country," *State* (Columbia, South Carolina), no. 8054, December 3, 1913: 4. *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.
41   "For Woman Suffrage," 4.
42   Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *The Woman's Bible* (New York: European Publishing Company, 1895), 22.

creation of Eve from the flesh of Adam demonstrated "no hint of her subordination."[43] Blake also questioned how men could have allowed the subservience of women if they believed this biblical story to be a "divine revelation."[44] Stanton and Blake reinterpreted the iconic story of the biblical figure Eve and pointed out the lack of evidence that existed in order to explain women's subordination. These two suffragists poked holes in the current interpretation of the Adam and Eve story, which their political opponents used to discredit women and refute women's equality to men in society and politics. Their interpretation of Adam and Eve increased in popularity as the suffrage movement grew into the early twentieth century, especially in the Southern United States. However, references to the biblical creation story of Adam and Eve did not solely exist in published pro-suffrage arguments, but also in anti-suffrage arguments.

Anti-suffragists published various types of written works such as propaganda materials, newspaper articles, and books which contained religious and biblical references in order to argue against suffrage. Anti-suffrage books, in particular, circulated across the country and the American South, and some predated the rise of a mass anti-suffrage movement. One book written by Horace Bushnell, titled *Women's Suffrage: The Reform Against Nature*, utilized scripture-based arguments to oppose women's suffrage. Although published out West in 1869, fifty-one years before ratification, this book still would have been read and distributed by anti-suffragists all over the country during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Horace Bushnell, a nineteenth century Protestant minister and theologian, published his controversial religious teachings which became less orthodox as he got older, including his disdain for women's equality and enfranchisement.[45] Bushnell utilized Scripture within his 1869 book, specifically within the fourth chapter titled "Scripture Doctrine Coincides."[46] Bushnell, much like Woodrow Ward and Loula Roberts Platt, debated on the subject of suffrage by citing Scripture and Christian stories, but used Scripture to attack suffragism. Bushnell cited the story of the creation of Adam and Eve and stated that "She [woman] is to be a subsidiary nature, filling out the complete humanity of the man."[47] Bushnell pointed to Eve from the creation story as a representation of all women and proof of God's intention that the role of women in greater society would be a role subservient to men. Bushnell utilized Scripture to promote his belief that women should remain subordinate to men in all things, including politics.

The similar reference of the creation story of Adam and Eve made by the members of the suffrage and anti-suffrage movements demonstrates the flexibility of

---

43   Stanton, *The Woman's Bible*, 22.
44   Stanton, *The Woman's Bible*, 22.
45   Norman Pettit, "Infant Piety in New England: The Legacy of Horace Bushnell," *The New England Quarterly* 75, no. 3 (2002): 445, https://doi.org/10.2307/1559787._
46   Horace Bushnell, "Scripture Doctrine Coincides," in *Women's Suffrage: The Reform Against Nature*, (Washington: Zenger Pub. Co., 1869), 73-87.
47   Bushnell, "Scripture Doctrine Coincides," in *Women's Suffrage*, 74.

Christianity within opposing political movements. Southern suffragists and antis molded and interpreted Christianity to such a degree that they successfully applied Scripture and references to support two opposing arguments about an important political issue. Even the arguments of people on the same side of the issue showed differences and similarities in their use of religious rhetoric. References concerning Adam and Eve naturally transitioned to references to the Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ within Southern suffrage and anti-suffrage rhetoric. Such recognizable and iconic figures as Mary and Jesus made perfect cases in point for Southern suffragists and antis who sought to claim that their respective political opinions earned them the support of God.

Biblical Figures: The Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ

Although the Christian creation story acted as a common biblical reference in Southern suffrage and anti-suffrage rhetoric, other biblical allusions to Christian figures, such as the Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ, can be found as well. Several suffragists and anti-suffragists printed works that referenced this mother and son and, through the examination of said printed works, this section aims to study how suffragists and antis interpreted Mary, how she represented women, and how her perceived representation translated into ideas about modern American women. Suffragists and antis viewed biblical figures as evidence or as representative of their respective causes and these various interpretations of the Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ demonstrate the interpretive nature of their stories and reputations in the context of the Christian South. Many Southern pro-suffrage printed-arguments which referred to the Virgin Mary can be found in Southern newspapers published during the 1910s and early 1920s.

Woodrow Ward's previously mentioned 1913 letter to the editor referenced the Virgin Mary and highlighted her biblical achievement of giving birth to the Christian savior. Ward referred to these biblical figures, stating that "Since God honored woman with the birth of His son, slowly one by one we have been giving woman the rights that are hers."[48] Ward, much like other suffragists such as Loula Roberts Platt, utilized biblical stories in order to form his argument not by claiming these stories to be false, but rather misinterpreted. By reinterpreting the role of the Virgin Mary within Scripture, Ward redefined the role of women in the Christian belief system and applied that new role to women in politics and political circles as something to be welcomed. Other mentions of biblical figures in suffrage debates can be found coming from the Black community as well as other religious sects.

The bigger suffrage organizations excluded Black suffragist organizations, composed of mainly Black women, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, especially in the American South. However, that did not stop people of color from writing and publishing their own thoughts and arguments about women's suffrage. One

---

48   "For Woman Suffrage," 4.

1921 Washington Bee article entitled "Universal Principles of Brotherhood Equality of Men and Women" discussed women's suffrage and the author, Louis G. Gregory, an African American lawyer, Bahá'í faith leader, and writer, revealed his support for women obtaining the right to vote.[49] Published in the *Washington Bee*, a Black newspaper, this article demonstrates how women's suffrage organizations and the suffrage movement affected Black communities and other religious factions, specifically in the South. As a member of the Bahá'í faith, Gregory believed in the unity of all religions, and so drew on examples of female figures from Christianity in his article.

Gregory's article referenced the Virgin Mary as well as Mary Magdalene at the beginning of his argument—he revered them as "exceptional and rare" women.[50] This article cited famous female biblical figures as proof that women must be equal to men, specifically in regard to voting rights. Gregory's article continued, discussing the worthiness of women, both living and dead, throughout history.[51] Gregory referenced female historical figures such as Florence Nightingale, Sarah Marlborough, and Catherine II of Russia, along with biblical women, as examples of women "in religion, arts, sciences, administration—even in warfare."[52] Gregory exemplified the historic insertion of women in traditionally male-dominated disciplines all throughout history, as well as in the Bible, to promote women's suffrage. Gregory's use of historical and biblical references reveals much about the audience that Gregory had hoped to reach with this piece, which would have been the local Black community who had access to the Washington Bee newspaper and those who may have leaned towards the Christian religion. A biblical figure commonly used in suffrage rhetoric, the Virgin Mary represented the importance of femininity in Christianity to suffragists as they used her character and reputation to promote the role of women in politics. The respect for the Virgin Mary as an honorable female icon existed within Southern newspapers as well as books before, after, and during the American women's suffrage movement.

Stanton's previously mentioned *The Woman's Bible* analyzed female figures from the Bible, including the role of the Virgin Mary and her iconic character within the Christian belief system. Stanton acknowledged that the Christian Bible taught women how the Virgin Mary saved the female sex and that she represented the greatest female role model, since she had carried and cared for the son of God.[53] But Stanton posed a question about the weight of Mary's sex in her story, asking, "If an earthly Mother was admirable, why not not {sic} an earthly Father?"[54] Stanton claimed that the fact that God chose to bestow Mary, a woman, with something so honorable and not a man, like

49   John Hatcher, "Louis Gregory," *The Journal of Bahá'í Studies* 29, no. 1-2 (2019): 33, https://doi.org/10.31581/jbs-29.1-2.4(2019).
50   Gregory, Louis G., "Universal Principles Of Brotherhood Equality of Men and Women," *Washington Bee*, 6.
51   Gregory, "Universal Principles," 6.
52   Gregory, "Universal Principles," 6.
53   Stanton, *The Woman's Bible,* 114.
54   Stanton, *The Woman's Bible*, 114.

Joseph, proved that women deserved greater respect. Stanton used the reputable persona of the Virgin Mary as an example to demonstrate how, in accordance with the Bible and Christian beliefs, God chose a woman over a man in the most honorable task. Stanton and her committee expressed an ability to reinterpret the story and character of the Virgin Mary to promote women's societal and political equality to men. Due to the malleability of Scripture, antis also interpreted the story and character of the Virgin Mary as a representation of a subordinate, feminine nature to men in all things, including legislation and politics.

Antis did not utilize the figure of the Virgin Mary as much as the creation story of Adam and Eve or other Christian references. However, Horace Bushnell's *Women's Suffrage: The Reform Against Nature* utilized Mary and Christian interpretations of her role differently from suffragists such as Gregory or Ward. Bushnell described women and their societal role with a religious foundation, with Mary as the chief model. Bushnell believed that a difference existed between subordination and inferiority in regard to women's relationship with men. Bushnell described women's inherent subservience to men through the example of the Virgin Mary and asked, "was she not subordinate to Joseph?"[55] Bushnell continued on to state that despite Mary's subordination to Joseph, "she was not therefore inferior."[56] Bushnell used one of the most iconic biblical male-female relationships as a representation of gender relations in the nineteenth century. Bushnell stated that no sex is superior to the other. However, Bushnell did imply a lower ranking of women with the Virgin Mary as his prime example. This concept of female subordination to the male half of society translated to women's suffrage for Bushnell. Bushnell implied that women's enfranchisement went against the natural order of the sexes according to the Bible, and he used the figure of the Virgin Mary to promote, exemplify, and represent his beliefs.

Bushnell described other biblical figures found alongside the Virgin Mary in the Bible, such as Jesus Christ. Bushnell again exploited the thin line between inferiority and subordination through the story of Mary and stated, "Was Mary inferior because she was a lowly, subject woman?"[57] Bushnell stated that Mary's status as a woman led to her subordination to men, not inferiority, and therefore all women must also be subordinate. Bushnell also utilized the Christian figure Jesus Christ in order to express the "natural" order between the sexes.[58] Bushnell stated that Jesus exhibited a simultaneously feminine and masculine nature, which made him the perfect being, due to his sexually harmonious essence.[59] Bushnell continued on to argue that because the inherent differences between men and women came together in the perfect being of Jesus Christ, women had no reason

55   Horace Bushnell, "Women Not Created Or Called To Govern," in *Women's Suffrage: The Reform Against Nature*, 58.
56   Bushnell, "Women Not Created," in *Women's Suffrage*, 58.
57   Bushnell, "Women Not Created," in *Women's Suffrage*, 61.
58   Bushnell, "Women Not Created," in *Women's Suffrage*, 61.
59   Bushnell, "Women Not Created," in *Women's Suffrage,* 61.

to desire suffrage for it would go against "their natural equality." Bushnell argued that though true equality between the sexes did not truly exist, the harmony created due to the inherent differences between the sexes should be enough for women and that they had no reason to desire the vote or true gender equality. Overall, Bushnell's work represented how religious antis regarded and interpreted the concept of gender equality in a Christian sense through biblical figures such as the Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ, much like suffragists.

Southern suffragists and antis both interpreted Christian scripture and the figures and stories produced by Christian scripture differently and similarly, despite their contradictory stances on women's rights and enfranchisement. Suffragist Stanton and anti-suffragist Bushnell both revered the Virgin Mary and Jesus. However, both used these figures as representations of their political views on women's rights which greatly conflicted with each other. Opposing political activists interpreted Christian figures similarly and deemed them as relevant enough to include in their women's rights-related arguments, while simultaneously combating against one another politically in their writings. Antis and suffragists debated on the ideology of the equality of men and women and their "separate spheres" in religion and how gender equality translated to politics, public service, and government.

Separate Spheres: Sexual Equality

The nineteenth century concept of "separate spheres" derived from the ideology of men and women having distinct abilities and aptitudes, resulting in their split societal roles.[60] The male sphere consisted of a more public and social structure and the female sphere consisted of private, domestic life.[61] Southern suffragists and antis viewed separate spheres differently, yet both made Christian references in order to prove or disprove the separation of the sexes. Suffragists and antis brought up the concept of separate spheres in their published arguments in relation to women's enfranchisement and the potential ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment. The members of these opposing movements also tied separate spheres with the Bible and Christianity in various ways, both directly and indirectly. References to Christianity can be found within Southern suffrage propaganda such as broadsides, pamphlets, and published books.

Louis G. Gregory's previously mentioned 1921 *Washington Bee* article contained religious references to separate spheres in order to substantiate his argument, stating that women made up an important role "in religion and society."[62] Gregory argued against the concept of separate spheres by stating that women should actively participate in the religious and political aspects of society and, therefore, should have the right to vote within the United States. Gregory described the "principle of the equality of the

60   Marshall, "Separate Spheres," 335, https://doi.org/10.2307/2578676.
61   Marshall, "Separate Spheres," 334-335.
62   "Universal Principles," 6.

sexes" as "divine law" and supporters of this concept as "illumined by the light of the Spirit."[63] Appeals to religion, specifically Christianity, can be found within this article and Gregory described women's suffrage as a divine concept and one that has earned the approval of God. By redefining sexual equality in a biblical sense, Gregory then redefined how the new role of women in Christian society should then be transferred to general society and political communities.

However, Gregory's article did not solely rely on religion to prove his point about women deserving suffrage and argument about how to redefine women's roles in separate spheres. Gregory wanted to make sure that, despite one's beliefs, a reader would understand the important, if diminished, role of women in both worldly and spiritual histories. Gregory also provided a comparative analysis between the United States' rights for women and other countries and cities.

Gregory listed the changes for women internationally, such as in Great Britain's suffrage movement, China's emancipation of "the feet of women," Constantinople's female rebellion against the "life of the harem," and many others.[64] Gregory stated that the sphere of women across the world was changing and that change for women in the U.S. would be inevitable. Towards the end of Gregory's article, he discussed the domestic sphere and gender relations within a family and marriage. Gregory made the claim that sexual equality "is also conducive to domestic harmony" and that women previously faced oppression under the "barbarism of the common law."[65] Gregory's use of women's traditional domestic roles in his argument represented a common point made by suffragists when arguing about the domestic sphere for women. Gregory refuted the idea that women's enfranchisement would interrupt female domestic life after ratification. Gregory declared that equality between the sexes would result in better domestic lives for families and married couples after women obtained the right to vote.

Other suffragists used similar tactics to Gregory, such as Loula Roberts Platt in her previously mentioned 1914 article titled "Why I Am a Suffragist." Earlier in her article, Platt stated that "if the ballot is the goal, then let the men go with us hand in hand until we reach it."[66] Platt, much like Gregory, described the equality between the sexes as "divine" and formulated her argument to state that God and the "spirit" necessitated women's enfranchisement and equality between the sexes.[67] Platt used the divinity of sexual equality to her advantage in order to promote her view of the "sphere" of women, not as the main point of her argument, but as an addition which reinforced her argument. Platt also recognized the connections between Christian beliefs regarding the equality of the sexes and the political and legal definition of sexual equality. A running theme in

63   "Universal Principles," 6.
64   "Universal Principles," 6.
65   "Universal Principles," 6.
66   Platt, "Suffragist, 21.
67   Platt, "Suffragist,"21.

suffrage rhetoric, the idea of separate spheres between the sexes and equality in connection with the Bible coincided with other rhetorical tactics in support of women's suffrage.

Platt did not just use her own words as ammunition within her piece—she used the words of people such as Tennessee Senator Luke Lea, U.S. Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels, Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen, and American lawyer Clarence Darrow. Platt put all these men's words at the forefront of the article because they demonstrated support for women's suffrage. Platt most likely used these men's words to bolster her argument since she presented examples of people, specifically men, who agreed with her views. The direct quotes of these men that Platt mentioned raises the question of why Platt only cited men to support her argument. Even though plenty of women had written opinion pieces, made speeches, and participated in debates regarding women's enfranchisement, Platt did not use their words. These men represented the group of people, namely upper-class, white men, fighting against suffragists. Platt used their own words as proof that important white men demonstrated support for her and her cause. Although Platt, like many other Southern suffragist writers, did not solely use Christian references and holy Scripture in her piece, she still believed that these religious references served a significant purpose in her argument alongside the non-religious rhetoric. The religious aspect of Platt's article reveals much about how suffragists interwove religion into their political arguments along with other argumentative tactics such as citing prominent cultural figures.

Another previously mentioned Southern suffragist, Woodrow Ward, recognized the ways anti-suffrage arguments used Christianity, specifically, in the sermon he publicly responded to with his 1913 letter to *The State* editor. Ward denied such arguments, stating, "That woman's standard, her dignity, and her purity will be lowered by her entering politics is both silly and contemptible," and he went on to state that politics needed a woman's "purity."[68] Ward used a core Christian value such as a woman's purity, which antis used to argue against suffrage, in order to support his argument for women entering political circles. Ward described the traits of women that anti-suffragists deemed as hazardous to politics, as rather traits which should be welcomed in government. Instead of denying the traits that women possessed, which antis pointed to as traits that put women at a disadvantage, Ward promoted them as advantageous characteristics. Overall, Ward refuted anti-suffragist ideologies pertaining to the assumed weakness of women in support of his argument against anti-suffragism. The feminine Christian value of a woman's "purity" existed in both anti-suffrage rhetoric and suffrage rhetoric as exemplified by Ward's letter. The existence of religious female "purity" in the rhetoric of diametrically opposed Southern political factions represented the pliant nature of Christianity within political arguments.

Ward's letter included another example of Christianity being used on both

---

68   "For Woman Suffrage," 4.

sides of a political argument. Ward ended his letter with a call to "all Christian men, all honest men, and all conscientious men" to consider extending the vote to women.[69] Ward directly called out men, specifically Christian men, to allow women's suffrage, which demonstrates that Ward believed that Christian men acted as the biggest obstacle for women's enfranchisement. Ward's applications of biblical references throughout his letter reveal how Ward interpreted Christianity. Ward's piece revealed the importance of how some suffragists deemed religion as significant enough to mention in their arguments by redefining the role of women in society according to Christian text. Ward described Christianity as the foundation of a more progressive, Western civilization which should allow women's rights. Ward's letter revealed his conception of Christianity and its place in political rhetoric, especially when that rhetoric pertains to women's enfranchisement and the separate spheres becoming less separate. Overall, Ward, Gregory, and Platt all utilized some sort of religious reference to the divinely ordained nature of sexual equality and how that equality should apply to women's enfranchisement.

But do these Christian references differ according to the religious affiliations of the writers who made these arguments? Ward started off his letter stating that he identified as Methodist, a Protestant denomination.[70] Ward used many different religious examples within his letter and his decision to begin his letter by situating himself as a Methodist demonstrated the prominence of Protestant Christianity within the South. Although the previously mentioned Platt failed to include her religious affiliation, one should not assume she identified as atheist. Even if people did identify as atheists, they recognized and identified with the Christian influence and its cultural relevance in twentieth century America. According to Elna C. Green's *Southern Strategies: Southern Women and the Woman Suffrage Question*, just as many suffragists identified as Episcopalians as anti-suffragists.[71] Greene also asserts that Episcopalians and Presbyterians made up the majority of Southern antis, stating that over one-fourth of antis identified as Episcopalian in Texas and that "more than one-third" of antis in Tennessee also identified as Episcopalian.[72] A decent number of southern suffragists maintained some sort of Christian affiliation, namely Protestant denominations such as Methodist, Presbyterian, and Episcopalian. Due to the South's historic conservatism, especially towards Christianity, it would not be far-fetched to claim that religious rhetoric within suffrage and anti-suffrage arguments could have been representative of the religious affiliations of the movements' members. Southern antis and suffragists referenced Christianity and the Bible in their rhetoric, but they also associated with the same Christian denominations and yet found themselves in rival political movements. Southern anti-suffragists, despite the evidence that Southern suffragists shared their religious affiliations, claimed that the women's suffrage movement lacked Christian values and morals.

---

69   "For Woman Suffrage," 4.
70   "For Woman Suffrage," 4.
71   Green, *Southern Strategies*, 73.
72   Green, *Southern Strategies*, 73.

The accusatory rhetoric promoted by some Southern antis against suffragists revealed the alleged lack of Christianity associated with suffragism. One letter to the editor published by *The State*, entitled "Grows More Caustic as to Suffragists. Idea That Action Here Could Affect Other Countries Product of Conceit or Dream," revealed a profound anti-suffragist viewpoint and linked suffragism with anti-Christianity.[73] This 1918 letter, written by J. F. J. Caldwell condemned the actions of suffragists as well as their "alleged rights."[74] Caldwell expanded upon his assumption that suffragists lacked Christianity in his argument against enfranchisement, specifically against individual suffragist leaders. Caldwell's argument provided examples of prominent suffragists who committed acts that he deemed heinous, unseemly, and hence un-Christian. Caldwell stated that one unnamed suffragist "raised $2,500 to compensate Max Eastman for the loss he sustained from publishing verses declaring Jesus Christ, the bastard son of an earthly father."[75] Caldwell utilized a suffragist's financial support for a prominent writer and atheist as evidence that the suffrage movement consisted of un-Christian organizations and members and the alleged sinfulness of the movement. This mention of the blasphemy of suffragists, according to Caldwell, demonstrated an anti-suffragist argumentative tactic which pointed out the assumed lack of religion that deviated from the religious tactics used by southern suffragists.

Antis frequently bashed their political opponents in attempts to discredit them and published works that disassociated suffragism from Christianity so that they could deliver blows to the suffragist cause. Caldwell continued to demonize suffragists in his 1918 letter in the case of Christianity. He claimed that "the suffragist compilers" of Elizabeth Cady Stanton's 1895 book *The Woman's Bible* attacked Christianity.[76] Caldwell appealed to Christian readers by accusing suffragists of being enemies of Christianity. This religious-based argument consisted not of using religious references as the basis of his argument, but by revealing the alleged blasphemy or hatred for religion in the actions of his opponents. Caldwell's words represent a type of religious argument commonly made by antis at that time.

Caldwell wrote and sent his letter one month before World War I ended. Despite the pressing urgency of the war, which Caldwell recognized, he still found it necessary to speak against women's rights. Caldwell argued against women's enfranchisement because he did not believe that it would result in any change in other countries and governments. Caldwell included anti-German ideologies and linked them to anti-suffragism. Caldwell stated that the actions of Germany resulted from their "determination to force their

---

73   Caldwell, J.F.J, "Grows More Caustic as to Suffragists. Idea That Action Here Could Affect Other Countries Product of Conceit or Dream," *State* (Columbia, South Carolina), no. 9198, October 25, 1918: 11. *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*. https://thestate.newspapers.com/image/747351241/?terms=Grows%20More%20Caustic%20as%20to%20Suffragists.&match=1

74   Caldwell, "Grows More Caustic," 11.

75   Caldwell, "Grows More Caustic," 11.

76   Caldwell, "Grows More Caustic," 11.

kultur [culture] upon the rest of the world" and that extending the vote to women will not change the governments of other nations.[77] Caldwell stated that women's suffrage should not be linked to the war, yet he brought them together through his letter. Despite the profound references to religion pertaining to sexual equality in his letter, Caldwell also used other methods to make his defense.

Much like suffragists Gregory, Platt, and Ward, Caldwell used religious and cultural references, although he used them to oppose suffrage. Caldwell used religion differently in his argument by constantly mentioning the apparent lack of Christianity within the mindsets of suffragists, a common argument made by antis during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, these arguments also appeared in print culture outside of newspaper articles. One example can be found earlier in the movement in a 1912 anti-suffrage broadside produced by the Virginia Association Opposed to Woman's Suffrage. This broadside titled "Anti-Suffrage Arguments—DANGER!" lists five main arguments against women's suffrage. This broadside claimed that women's suffrage acted as "the vanguard of socialism" and that "socialism is against Christian marriage."[78] The broadside continued, going on to state that socialism, and thus women's suffrage, went "against the Christian family," "Christianity," and "against the Bible." [79] By conflating suffragism and socialism and highlighting the alleged un-Christian nature of socialism, the Virginia Association Opposed to Woman's Suffrage then implied that suffragism went against Christianity along with socialism. These claims attempted to appeal to any Christian reading this broadside by pitting the women's suffrage movement and its members against Christianity due to their perceived affiliation with socialism.

These arguments also represented antis' conflation of suffragism with socialism and atheism. Towards the end of the broadside, it posed the question of "Does every Virginia Woman Suffragist intend to be a Socialist?"[80] This question illustrated the perceived correlation between suffragism and socialism in the minds of Southern antis, specifically those of the Virginia Association Opposed to Woman's Suffrage. This broadside even directly claimed that a "kinship" existed between women's enfranchisement and socialism and that it should be "plain enough" to see.[81] These antis' arguments not only conflated women's suffrage with socialism, but also described a perceived correlation between socialism and anti-Christianity which reveals another avenue taken by Southern antis when arguing while using religion. The Virginia antis organization used this type of religious argument in order to demonize suffragists, and thus oppose women's

---

77   Caldwell, "Grows More Caustic," 11.
78   Virginia Association Opposed to Woman's Suffrage, "Anti-Suffrage Arguments, Broadside, c. 1912," *Document Bank of Virginia*, 1.
79   Virginia Association Opposed to Woman's Suffrage, "Anti-Suffrage Arguments," 1.
80   Virginia Association Opposed to Woman's Suffrage, "Anti-Suffrage Arguments," 1.
81   Virginia Association Opposed to Woman's Suffrage, "Anti-Suffrage Arguments," 1.

suffrage and promote the already established "separate spheres" ideology. The Virginia Association Opposed to Woman's Suffrage published this broadside in 1912 and this association did not begin the antis' tactic of pitting suffragism against the word of God.

The previously mentioned Horace Bushnell, who predated the Virginia Association Opposed to Woman's Suffrage by several decades, promoted the concept of separate spheres in his book and explained how Christian scripture entertained the idea of sexual equality. Bushnell described the divinity of sexual equality and how equality between the sexes did not exist on Earth and, therefore, did not apply to politics and equal rights for women. Bushnell claimed that equality between the genders only exists, within Scripture, "in the future life," and cited a Bible verse stating that men and women "neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven."[82] This argument slightly correlated with that of Louis G. Gregory, in which Bushnell stated that sexual equality can be found in scripture. However, Bushnell deviated from Gregory by going on to claim that the equality of the sexes existed within heaven and did not translate into life on Earth or into government. Bushnell utilized Scripture to not only state that women should be subservient to men, but that equality between the sexes did not exist until after death. This comparison of the ways Gregory and Bushnell used Scripture as points in their arguments further demonstrates the ways in which Christianity can be applied similarly in opposing arguments on a political topic. The concept of separate spheres and equality between men and women relating to Christianity and the Bible can be found within the published arguments of Southern suffragists and antis.

Bushnell's argument against women's suffrage stemmed from the idea that gender equality did not exist in nature according to Christian teachings about men and women in the Bible. Bushnell also stated that women who identified as Christian should not "raise an accusation against the gospel, by the boldness of their liberty in the spirit and of their faith in Jesus."[83] Bushnell used Christianity to claim that anyone who identified as Christian should not support suffragists, since any support for women's suffrage or gender equality went against the teachings of the Bible. This particular argument framed Christianity and suffragism very similarly to the Virginia Association Opposed to Woman's Suffrage's 1910 broadside, even though the broadside never quoted Scripture. The Virginia Association and Bushnell both presented support for women's enfranchisement as blasphemous and as against God and the Bible. Although Bushnell's book predated the Virginia Association's broadside by forty-one years, antis continued to make these religious-based arguments repeatedly in the years after the publication of Bushnell's book. These scripture-based arguments existed in both suffrage and anti-suffrage arguments and circulated across the country, including the American South. These arguments appear in many different works from both sides, such as Stanton's pro-suffrage *The Woman's Bible* and Bushnell's anti-suffrage *Women's Suffrage: The Reform Against*

---

82   Bushnell, "Scripture Doctrine Coincides," in *Women's Suffrage*, 82.
83   Bushnell, "Scripture Doctrine Coincides," in *Women's Suffrage*, 77.

Nature.

Southern suffragists and anti-suffragists utilized Christian stories and Scripture to either form the basis for their arguments or attempt to invalidate the agenda of their political parallels. Both also cited Christianity to appeal to Christian men and women in order to persuade them towards their respective political beliefs. Various stories and verses from the Bible feature in pro-suffrage and anti-suffrage arguments in newspaper articles, broadsides, and leaflets all across the South. Both suffragists and antis referenced the creation story, the Virgin Mary, Jesus Christ, and the interpreted holy definition of sexual equality and cited them as evidence despite the main debates being on two opposing political topics. These articles, propaganda materials, and books demonstrated the prevalence of Christianity in the South during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although Christianity existed in other areas of the U.S. besides the South, Southerners tended to utilize Scripture in their suffrage and anti-suffrage arguments more often than the rest of the United States due to their religious conservatism. Since so many suffragists and antis referenced Christianity to either prove their point or disprove an opponent's point in their own printed, literary works, they inadvertently demonstrated the extremely interpretive nature of Christianity in political arguments.

Conclusion

Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, anti-suffragists and suffragists promoted their unique Christian interpretations of female enfranchisement through published works, rallies, and speeches. Whether these political opponents made these arguments years before or just prior to ratification, these arguments utilized Christianity and Scripture within their work. The Southern antis' arguments represented how antis viewed suffragism as an enemy against Christianity and mentioned their concerns several years before ratification in 1920. Southern suffragist arguments also drew upon Christianity and, despite standing on the opposite side of a political issue, these religiously bolstered arguments compared to how antis supported their arguments with references to religion and Scripture. Overall, the fact that two opposing political groups used Christianity effectively in their printed arguments reveals the allegorical essence of Christianity and how writers successfully applied it to contrasting political arguments.

The two opposing movements put forth their ideas via printed works such as newspaper articles, books, leaflets, and broadsides across the United States, including in the Southern states. The creators of these printed works aimed to convince their readers to align themselves with the author's view of women's suffrage by various means. Suffragists and antis both utilized their own preconceptions of class, race, and religion within their arguments. Both sides applied Christian biblical references to either prove or disprove women's suffrage as an allowance by God and Christian doctrine. However, antis' arguments would claim Christianity and anti-suffragism as perfectly aligned and that the suffrage-movement lacked Christianity—a very powerful statement to make

in published publications in the Southern U.S. in the early twentieth century. Southern suffragists claimed that antis misinterpreted Christian teachings and reinterpreted the meanings behind certain Christian values and stories in order to promote women's enfranchisement. Both suffragists and antis of the South saw the importance of religion within their rhetoric, and both used Christianity to form their arguments. Based on their published works, religion influenced the suffrage and anti-suffrage movements, each of which used Christianity in very similar ways despite their contradictory political beliefs. The ways in which Southern suffragists and antis read Christian scripture and came to completely different conclusions and political opinions proves the flexibility of Christianity within political arguments, especially in a place as religiously conservative as the American South at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Sacred Terror: Unmasking the Propaganda of Religiosity andFear in Women's Indian Captivity Narratives Through Comparative Analysis

Jennie Katherine Gillette

Abstract: This paper investigates women's captivity narratives among Indigenous peoples in North America. Examining their construction, it argues these narratives served to sensationalize and demonize Native Americans, fostering anti-Indigeneous propaganda. The analysis exposes tropes of vulnerable white women contrasted with savage "Indian" captors. Further exploration reveals how these tropes persist, influencing contemporary pop culture representations of Native Americans. Deconstructing these narratives and their lasting impact aims to contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the historical relationship between European settlers and Indigenous populations.

Women's Indian captivity narratives constitute a unique and significant genre of literature, one that represents the few distinctly American literary genres to date. They chronicle the experiences of Anglo-American women, and often their children, captured by the Indigenous nations of the American frontiers, enduring captivity for up to years at a time. The genre provides not just first-hand accounts of the oft-harrowing ordeals faced, but also offers a lens through which the examination of cultural, social, and political dynamics of the time can be conducted. In the exploration of such dynamics, the study of these narratives sheds light on the complex interactions between colonizers and American Indians that unveil the construction of identity and perpetuation of stereotypes that serve as the basis for modern pop culture portrayal. These gripping personal accounts, particularly those featuring women and children, resonated deeply with colonists facing the uncertainties of frontier life. They served not only as cautionary tales but also as a way to solidify the colonists' sense of racial, and cultural, superiority as the struggle for land and resources intensified.

The line between factual accounts and sensationalized propaganda is often blurred. Captivity narratives became a powerful tool to demonize Native Americans, justifying the violent displacement of indigenous peoples. Hundreds, if not thousands, of narratives, came to be published for a large portion of a two-hundred-year period in American history. Within the broader category of captivity narratives, there lie those that consist of factual events, written exactly as they happened. Those accounts meant to inform and educate, often presenting a humbling, and humanizing, view of the captor, such as seen in narratives of women like Mary Rowlandson.

Other accounts, like that of Olive Oatman, provided factual events that distorted the reality of the experience. In these accounts, literary flourish served to characterize fictive narratives. Those accounts served as propaganda, more than retelling, stirring anti-native sentiment through fear and fascination with their macabre and terrifying details and prayers. Fictive accounts contain true events but rely on extraneous details, that often wax more religious. They are seen more as yellow journalism in that they prey on the imperialist views of Anglo-Americans as competition for land and resources escalated, particularly in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Fictional narratives recount events that never existed. Published as brief but true, they truly meant to continue to stoke the flames of public fascination, and fear, as interest in them waned.

The analysis of women's Indian captivity narratives, primarily those of Mary Kinnan, Olive Oatman, and Fanny Kelly, in this paper, will demonstrate how such accounts, though they offer valuable insights into the experiences of captives, contain embellishment to fuel anti-Indigenous propaganda and continue to shape stereotypical portrayals that are continuously represented in pop culture.

Historiography

The captivity narrative's place among historical records serves as a powerful testimony to the fragile relationship that existed between a minority and the majority pushing into their lands. A familiar trope emerged that fetishized women as tender damsels and their captors as "red savages" who lived like beasts[1] that permeated nineteenth-century pop culture, from the first Wild West show of "Buffalo Bill" Cody to romance novels of the twentieth-century into twenty-first-century media, such as shows like *Hell on Wheels*. Their stereotypes follow the trope of narratives that exuded fear and racial superiority for the sake of glory, gold, and God in the everlasting Age of Imperialism.

As Kathryn Zabelle Derounian-Stodola emphasizes, the primary function of these narratives is understood as an egregious recount of women's traumatic experiences, bastardized to appeal to public sensationalism. Though the understanding is that these narratives allow for complicated power dynamics to surface along with the anxieties and fantasies that attend them,[2] their Christian nature overshadows whatever fear lay in the accounts. Ghostwriters, such as Shepard Kollock and Royal B. Stratton, abused illiteracy and gaps in memory to remove elements too mundane for sensational readers. Kollock, and Stratton, contorted them into religious fanaticism that exaggerated the anxieties and fantasies that European Americans felt about Native Americans. Those fears were propagated and spread throughout wagon trains about the "savage" who hunted the trains by day to attack them at night. This provides an avenue for the perfect illustration of

---

1   Kathryn Zabelle Derounian-Stodola, *Women's Indian Captivity Narratives* (London: Penguin, 1998), xi.
2   Derounian-Stodolla, 48.

propaganda, showing up clearly in false features where the spread of racial and religious propaganda served to reignite the fear that haunted emigrants, turning already tense interactions into deadly encounters as the race to eradicate the Native American threat from the purity of American culture turned deadlier. The compartmentalization attaches itself to even modern-day media, with Native American representation lacking the essence of truth, carrying forth the terrible fantasy of the beast who sought to scalp and rape the naive settler of western frontiers.

Further analysis of captivity narratives positions captivity narratives as composite, abstracted[3] stories rooted deeply in the central theme of religion.[4] These narratives move to shape and reshape themselves according to varying immediate cultural needs. This aligns the narratives and the women who wrote them, per Christ's temptation in the wilderness. Romance novels of the twentieth century demonstrate this with an accurate beauty. Native American men are portrayed as noble, though violent rapists who seek to remove from their captive their essence of purity. This purity is tested time and again, demonstrated through lamentations to God until either submission or freedom. We come to understand that the devil, the tempter of these devout souls is the American Indian.

Though the narratives could often vary from that of a religious confessional to that of the noisomely visceral thriller,[5] the main draw, outside of the unyielding feral terrors and forbidden romances of a heathen world, this concept of others lay in wait, particularly in reconstructing the other to be more in alignment with white society. The foundation of these narratives rests on and is sustained by religion, particularly rooted in a Puritanical belief system that held believers firm in those fears since the publication of the very first women's Indian captivity narrative. This is a classic pattern in captivity narratives, and the evidence of "God's inscrutable wisdom,"[6] which is understood, and felt, by contemporary readers. Narratives were shared, and published, not so much to glorify the trials that these white settlers faced, but more so that this wonder of divine mercy be observed, understood, and obeyed in the mass proselytizing and forced conversion of American Indian nations. That is where the propaganda lay, quiet and subtle under visceral action.

These narratives often presented a binary view of Native American societies: "untamed" and "tamed," restrictive and liberating. Memoirs, such as Olive Oatman's, exemplify this. Leaving the confines of polite society, young women like Oatman encountered a "wilderness" where women enjoyed greater freedom than in the frontier world. The wilderness around her removed the restrictive bindings of white society, untethering

---

3   Roy Harvey Pearce, "The Significances of the Captivity Narrative," *American Literature* 19, no. 1 (1947): 1.
4   Ibid.
5   Ibid, 8.
6   Ibid, 2.

her as she assimilated into Mojave culture. The difference is that, in the hands of men, these rather extraordinary tales became the inspiration for anti-native propaganda meant to shape America's impression of native people,[7] first through the religious lens. Except, it does not necessarily achieve that goal, especially when fictional elements contorted the narratives into a popular culture phenomenon of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These are stories of women who remained resistant to the personal sorrows they experienced in their captivities,[8] who threw off the veil of submissive orthodox acceptance as they found themselves wading deeper into the perceived untamed civilization of their captors.

Religious figures like Stratton often produced narratives that were incomplete and distorted, failing to capture the full strength of the women's experiences. Through the lens of authors like Kollock, their voices diminish the women's agency. They become mere vessels waiting for a divinely sanctioned escape. Narratives found themselves rewritten to fit a skewed white history to whip up resentment toward indigenous peoples to continue to push them out through eviction, or murder. The animosity derived from a sense of righteous indignation that the promised Zion, a gift from God for unwavering faith, belonged not to the indigenous who held the lands for centuries long before colonization but rather to the white man and his devout family, whose dominionism grew not from hatred but spirit.

As tribes found themselves being forcibly evicted from their lands, in small part due to the captivity narratives that propagated fear of the American Indians,[9] those same accounts challenged assumptions about Native American identity. Narratives often conflicted with complex cultural negotiations that did not fit neatly into a textual form established by Anglo-American culture,[10] when viewed from the angle of religiosity. While captivity narratives fueled fear that justified forced removals to the point of genocide, they also introduced complexities that challenged the rather simplistic views of the Native American identity. These accounts often portrayed cultural interactions that subverted easy categorization within the Anglo-American framework, particularly regarding religion. Any narrative that deviated from the expected trope of the captive's safe return lent itself to be seen as a failure of the "superior" culture. This intolerance led to deviations, often with creative liberties regarding religion and race to make the narratives more palatable to white audiences.

Having established the complex and sometimes contradictory ways captivity narratives shaped public perception of Native Americans, let us now turn to specific

---

7   Koffler, London. "*C*aptivity Narratives as Propaganda*." The Medium*. May 2019.

8   Scheick, 9.

9   Hilary E. Wyss. "Captivity and Conversion: William Apess, Mary Jemison, and Narratives of Racial Identity." *American Indian Quarterly* 23, no. 3/4 (1999): 63. https://doi.org/10.2307/1185829, 63.

10   Wyss, 64.

examples: A True Narrative of the Sufferings of Mary Kinnan, Life Among the Indians: or, The Captivity of the Oatman Girls Among the Apache & Mohave Indians, and Narrative of My Captivity Among the Sioux Indians.

A True Narrative of the Sufferings of Mary Kinnan

A True Narrative of the Sufferings of Mary Kinnan is a prime example of an eighteenth-century Indian captivity narrative heavily embellished for its white audience.[11] Kinnan lived with her family, comprised of her husband, two sons, and an infant daughter in Tygarts Valley, Virginia. Her narrative began on May 13, 1791. By this point in American history, American Indian tribes found themselves often encouraged by British, and French, officials to launch raids against the American settlers, including the one initiated against the Kinnan home. Mary startled as three armed Shawnee men kicked the front door of the home open. Struck down by the Shawnee's opening shot, her husband fell. The sound ignited a fierce resolve in Kinnan, grabbing her baby, she bolted, running "with the swiftness of wind to safety."[12] Hearing the cries of one of her children, she quickly decided to pursue those pleas for help. In the process, the Shawnee grabbed her up, barring the rescue attempts of her children. Three more rescue attempts launched and ultimately failed. With the third attempt, she found herself struck with a tomahawk, knocking her to the ground. Kinnan submitted, being carried back into her house where she encountered the sight of her husband dying. Shot and then scalped, he laid weltering in his blood.[13] The raiding party, having ransacked the home, traveled for almost a month with their captive before reaching Ohio. During this trek, Kinnan received several beatings for not performing "impossibilities." The absence of those details meant to serve the drama that many narratives relied on to shock, terrify, and inspire Anglo-Americans to action.

As Kinnan and her captors arrived at the perimeter of a fellow Shawnee town, the raiding party fired their guns, which signaled their return. Kinnan watched in unknown horror the warriors stripped the bark off five trees and the raiders painted themselves, as well as Mary, in what she describes as the "most horrid manner."[14] Her captors let out scalp whoops that frightened the young woman. These whoops repeated five times, which gathered a mass crowd. This is where Kollock's literary flourishes moved Kinnan's story from the factive to the fictive. Repeated blows of immense violence left Mary on the verge of unconsciousness. The clan, gathering her up, escorted her into town. Inside, they revealed the harsh treatment served not as punishment "so liberally bestowed upon her,"[15] but as their initiation rite for welcoming her into the community. Kollock exploited fears of abuse, transculturation, and assimilation to draw readers in, encouraging them to

11   Derounian-Stodola,107.
12   Ibid, 107.
13   Ibid, 110.
14   Ibid, 111.

15   Ibid, 112.

voraciously devour the terror to later repel the idea of being assimilated in the way Mary did. After her kidnapping and later acceptance into the clan, the Shawnee sold Mary to a Delaware woman who put her to work on menial tasks like gathering food, cleaning, and chopping wood. This mirrored the experience of Olive Oatman, who endured a year of exhausting labor for the Yavapai. Kinnan continued to resist any form of assimilation, being so far removed from childhood that the Shawnee had never found willing acculturation in her. Kollock views Native Americans through a narrow, religious lens which served as Mary's support system in the course of her trauma. His actions fueled a propaganda machine, a tactic readily adopted by ghostwriters like Royal Stratton, ensuring a legacy of manipulation.

We do learn that in the two years of Kinnan's captivity, her brother joined a British trading party. Kollock used this information to follow that familiar trope of the damsel who needed to be rescued, in this case by her brother, a similarity shared by Olive Oatman as well. By divine providence, or intervention, her rescuer provided not just the means to have found his family, but the method to do so as well. Kinnan's brother, the escape's architect, sent a Frenchman to his sister. Deemed unfit, due to inappropriate advances towards Mary, the rescue attempt faltered. Kollock dangled the raw terror of a plan, foiled not once but twice. Now, Mary, the supported damsel, found herself tethered to a world she once desperately prayed for. Kollock strategically weaponized religious propaganda, manipulating readers to experience profound distress. This distress stemmed not only from the perceived savagery of the Shawnee and their brutal torture of a white woman but also from the stark contrast with the Christian ideals of humanity they demonstrably lacked. Mary, seeking solace in the face of adversity, turned to a devout belief in God's inscrutable wisdom. This manifested in her as patiently waiting for divine intervention, specifically in the form of familial rescue. Her captivity ended after three years when she arrived in New Jersey on October 11, 1794. Kollock delivered to readers the happy ending in the form of a return to moral and polite society. Kinnan, unlike Oatman and Kelly, disappeared from public notice. Through amanuensis, that being Kollock, Kinnan's story saw "improvements" under the careful writings of her ghostwriter. The narrative saw publication a year after her return. Instead of a straight historical account, Kollock focused on Mary's interior difficulties and the sentimental impact of her journey. He claimed that the reader's heart be "melted with sorrow" in response to Kinnan's story.[16]

Kinnan's case followed the trope expected of women's captivity narratives. Women served as bargaining goods to be traded with other supplies. We see this with other young women, like Mary, being traded for three blankets and two horses, some vegetables, and several pounds of beads to the Mojave.[17] Nations bartered Kinnan like

16   VanDerBeets, Richard (1973). "*Held Captive by Indians: Selected Narratives, 1642-1836.*" University of Tennessee Press. pp. 319–320
17   Margot Mifflin. "*The Blue Tattoo: The Life of Olive Oatman.*" University of Nebraska Press, 2011. 75.

merchandise, then ransomed her away for a pittance- bread and milk.[18] This narrative blatantly objectifies Mary, reducing her to bartered goods- a cynical practice that mirrors the dehumanization Native Americans routinely faced.

The Captivity of the Oatman Girls Among the Apache & Mohave Indians

In 1850, the Oatman family, devout followers of Brewsterite Mormonism from Illinois, liquidated most of their belongings. This windfall allowed them to purchase supplies for their westward trek toward an envisioned Zion. Prophecy pointed to this land somewhere in the Yuma, Arizona area. The Oatmans, having severed ties with a larger group, set course in that direction. Olive's account remained silent on any quarrels that erupted between her father, Royce, and other men in the wagon train. However, a letter penned by a member of the original wagon train revealed the difficult nature of Royce Oatman. Both her narrative and lecture notes portrayed him as a jolly man. Outsiders, like Max Greene, on the lookout for novelty,[19] held a different view of her father. He, along with others who traveled with the Oatmans, considered Royce sinfully reckless and a dangerous companion who joined the party on the lookout for novelty,[20] had different perceptions of her father. He and the others who traveled with the Oatmans found him sinfully reckless, and a most dangerous companion.[21] A glaring omission: Minister Royal B. Stratton's narrative excludes this crucial fact.

Like Mary Kinnan, Olive Oatman never wrote her own story. The question of Oatman's literacy remained unanswered at first. Popular belief, evidenced in Margot Mifflin's The Blue Tattoo: The Life of Olive Oatman, held that the Oatman children likely could read, if not write. If so, Oatman's cultural immersion during captivity silenced her own voice. Years spent with the Mojave tribe resulted in their language becoming dominant by the time of her rescue. Upon returning to white society, Stratton actively sought Olive out, urging her to dictate her story to him. He then crafted an image of Olive as the perfect filial daughter. She showered her praise on her parents and exalted her father's religious strength and protective nature when facing danger.

Olive's portrayal of her father as jovial directly contradicts how others observed him within the camp. This cheerful image may have contributed to their tragic demise when they encountered a Yavapai party one night along the Gila River. The Oatman family, battered by a series of setbacks, faced a harsh environment and dwindling food supplies. Driven by hunger, a Yavapai party raided their camp. While Olive identified them as Tonto Apacha, Stratton believed the warriors belonged to the Tolkepaya tribe, a branch of Western Yavapai.[22]

18   Derounian-Stodola, 112.
19   Ibid, 36
20   Ibid, 36.
21   Mifflin, 36.

22   Ibid, 64.

Oatman's account portrays her father engaging in what she perceived as a civil discussion with the Yavapai raiders. Starving themselves, the Yavapai, according to Olive, sought sustenance, mirroring the Oatman family's plight. Royce offered a meager portion of their dwindling bean and bread supplies, claiming it was all he could spare. However, he firmly refused the request for more, citing the need to preserve his family's rations, particularly for his heavily pregnant wife. Stratton, relying on Olive's testimony, depicts a precipitous descent into violence following Royce Oatman's final denial of additional provisions. Yavapai raiders wielded clubs, inflicting mortal wounds upon Royce, his wife, and their younger children in Olive's direct line of sight. The traumatic witnessing of her seven-year-old sister's abduction triggered a dissociative episode in Olive, rendering her unconscious. Jolted awake, Olive found herself surrounded by the horrifying tableau of her slain family. With a surge of primal terror, she bolted, leaving the carnage behind. A Yavapai raider soon apprehended her, tearing her the shoes from her feet. The ninety-mile return journey to the captor's settlement commenced on foot. Although corporal punishment and starvation were absent, the girls eagerly consumed their allotted provisions with great appetite.[23] Physical fatigue, rather than terror, proved to be the primary obstacle for the girls, causing young Mary to falter during the trek. Whenever her strength proved insufficient to maintain the pace, the captors whipped her to keep her moving.

The young Oatman girls, under the watchful eyes of their Yavapai captors, arrived in camp amidst shouts, songs, and wild dancing. Olived deemed the display the most irregular music she had ever heard.[24] Despite their harrowing four-day journey, the Yavapai dwellings, however coarse and unseemly, appeared more inviting than ever to the girls.[25] With swollen feet and heavy hearts filled with dread, even entering the camp felt like a homecoming.[26] Stratton acknowledges in his writings that the girls felt relief to be done traveling. However, his terrifying details of the girls' year-long ordeal under Yavapai captivity are contradicted by their ceaseless singing of hymns, a practice Olive and her sister had adopted while laboring for their captors. This became a strategy to promote the religious narrative established in the very first published account. Olive's story propelled her to a level of fame surpassing even narratives like Mary Rowlandon's. Stratton's embellishments transformed the story into a sensationalized spectacle, exoticizing Olive while eclipsing the stories of other captive women due to sheer public fascination. Among the three women featured in this research, Olive's captivity endured the longest at five years, while Kinnan remained captive for just under three years, and

23   R. B. Stratton, Lindley Bynum, and Mallette Dean, "*Life among the Indians, or: The Captivity of the Oatman Girls among the Apache & Mohave Indians; Containing Also: An Interesting Account of the Massacre of the Oatman Family, by the Apache Indians in 1851; the Narrow Escape of Lorenzo D. Oatman; the Capture of Olive A. and Mary A. Oatman; the Death by Starvation of the Latter; the Five Years' Suffering and Captivity of Olive A. Oatman; Also, Her Singular Recapture in 1856*" (San Francisco: Grabhorn Press, 1935), 68.

24   Mifflin, 65.
25   Stratton, 72.
26   Ibid, 72.

Fanny Kelly only five months.

Mojave traders entering the camp marked the end of Olive's ordeal with the Yavapai. Both Oatman and her sister, having grasped enough of the Yavapai language, understood trade negotiations dominated talks between the tribes. The Mojave leader's daughter, spotting the girls upon entering the camp, recognized the year-long cruelty they'd endured.[27] Two horses, vegetables, beads, and blankets secured the girls' transfer to the Mojave. After the sale, they walked to their new home, the Mojave receiving them no better or worse than the Yavapai. Yet, with the Mojave, Olive found a family valuing her more. Here, she possessed agency and freedom. Working alongside Mojave women, she gathered food and tended to the small plot of land granted to her, all while caring for her ailing sister. Years passed, and the Oatman girls, particularly Olive, became integrated into the tribe. Famine struck during their time with the Mojave, leaving the tribe with dwindling food supplies.[28] Though Oatman introduced modern farming methods, the drought and resulting famine worsened her sister's health. It was here Stratton's religious fanaticism distorted the story, deviating from Olive's lecture notes. Stratton described Mary Ann Oatman dying of malnutrition, surrounded by Mojave, while her sister sang a hymn, presumably easing her suffering. wrote that while Mary Ann Oatman lay dying of malnutrition and starvation, her older sister sat by her side, surrounded by Mojave. He used this to demonize the Mojave, highlighting religious differences between white society and the "red devils" who had tormented and massacred them. Stratton depicted the Mojave whooping and laughing around the dying Mary Ann. whooping, taunting the Oatman girls.[29] Olive later refuted this, stating the sounds were expressions of grief alongside her own.[30]

Stratton's use of religion in his writings stands in stark contrast to Olive Oatman's experiences. While Stratton perpetuates a negative stereotype of the Mojave people, Olive's accounts reveal a more nuanced relationship. Olive's lecture notes documented a meeting with the chief of the Mojave tribe, with whom she had spent four years. She described their encounter as friendly, marked by the "sacred pledge of offering the left hand," a custom she noted as significant among some tribes. Olive further emphasized this positive connection in her lectures by mentioning the chief's daughter, highlighting the bond they shared. This detail directly contradicts the portrayal of the Mojave people found in Olive's memoir.

> I conversed with him in his own language, making many enquiries about the tribe. I learned from him, that his tribe had been inspired with a desire to become sivalized. I learned too that the Chief's daughter was yet living & that

---

27   Ibid, 75.
28   Olive Oatman, "Olive Ann's Lecture Notes," (Lecture series, 1857).
29   Stratton, 113.
30   Oatman, Olive. Original Lecture Notes of Olive Oatman. Arizona Historical Society-Yuma. n.d. 25.

she still hoped that I would tire of my pale-faced friends and return to her. The Picture of sadness is upon her continence & she goes to & from her daily labor, alone and lonely.[31]

Olive's lecture notes clearly undeniably showed her positive experience with the Mojave. Her factual tone addressed the tragedy of her situation yet avoided dramatic exaggerations. Unlike Stratton and Kollock, who employed sensational stories to scare white settlers and highlight their supposed divine protection, Olive presented a more objective account. She rose in status among the Mojave, gaining a clan nickname, Spantsa- an honor Kinnan never achieved despite the Shawnee's welcome.

Oatman's intricate chin tattoo sets her story apart from others. Unlike the mark previously assumed by Stratton to be a slave's brand, this tattoo signified Olive's adoption and acceptance into the Mojave nation. The Mojave people received these tattoos for recognition by their ancestors in the afterlife.[32] Examining photographs of Olive after her rescue reveals straight lines throughout the tattoo, further evidence of her complete acceptance as Mojave. This also suggests her own acceptance of them as her family. Stratton, however, chose a different path. He portrayed Olive, now without her sister, as having nothing but a slave's mark, using the tattoo as "evidence" to support his claim. This tactic proved successful, with his sensationalized version of her memoir selling out quickly and lining his pockets. While exciting and emphasizing divine intervention, Olive's story shared similarities with other captivity narratives.

Similar to Kinnan, Olive's rescue came at the hands of her brother Lorenzo. Just fifteen at the time of the family massacre, Lorenzo spent five years searching for his sisters. His quest eventually led him to California, where whispers of Olive's presence in a Mojave village reached him. A Yavapai trader facilitated talks between the men at Fort Yuma and the Mojave. Through lies and deception, they were convinced that Olive's return to the fort prevented war. This pressure prompted them to urge Olive to return to the society she left behind. Olive, though permitted to leave the Mojave on multiple occasions, hesitated to return. Whenever white emigrants interacted and traded with her Mojave family, Olive hid. Ultimately, she conceded and returned to her brother at Fort Yuma. By the time of her ransom, Olive barely spoke English.

Olive Oatman's published memoir launched her eastward speaking tour. Her speeches addressed the Mojave's rapidly changing culture and customs during their fading sovereignty. Popularity declined, and Oatman retired from public speaking, choosing to settle down. Marriage to cattleman John B. Fairchild followed; they met during a Michigan lecture. Fairchild, having lost a brother in a Native American attack on a cattle drive, resonated with Oatman's story. November 1865 marked their wedding. Stratton, her co-writer, intended a happy ending for Oatman's story, which it achieved.

31   Oatman, 25.
32   Mifflin, 215

The couple relocated to Sherman, Texas. Oatman kept a jar of hazelnuts on her kitchen shelf until she died in 1903. This enduring connection to her Mojave family served as a silent challenge to the dominant stereotypes of the era. The connection between her and the Mojave family she left behind.[33]

Narrative of My Captivity Among the Sioux Indians

Shortly after Olive Oatman's return, nineteen-year-old Fanny Kelly embarked on a westward journey from Kansas to Montana. Born in 1845 in a small Ontario town, Fanny spent her first eleven years in Orillia. In 1856, her father, James Wiggins, joined a New York colony heading for Kansas.[34] Impressed by Geneva, he returned to Orillia to bring his family. Tragedy struck during the Wiggins family's journey- James died of cholera. Despite her recent widowhood, Fanny's mother continued to Kansas. As Fanny wrote, fortune smiled on them, allowing them to settle in a pleasant prairie home.[35] There, in 1863, Fanny married Josiah S. Kelly. Josiah's declining health prompted the newly-weds to seek a change of climate.[36] In May 1864, they joined a six-person party heading west to present-day Idaho. The group grew to eight: Josiah, Fanny, Mr. Gardner Wake-field, Fanny's adopted daughter (her sister's child), and two former enslaved persons who had been held captive by the Cherokee. Unlike Kinnan and Oatman, the Kellys traveled with these servants, a detail that distinguishes Fanny's narrative from her predecessors.

A few days after setting out, Methodist minister, Mr. Sharp joined their group. A few weeks later, they overtook a large emigrant train. Among this group were the Larimer family, acquaintances of the Kellys, who decided to leave the larger party and join the Kelly's wagon train. Similarities between Kelly and Oatman's stories are evident, blur-ring the lines between Olive's established narrative and what unfolds in Kelly's. In both narratives, a group dynamic leads to a split in the wagon train, leaving one group more susceptible to attack. Here, the groups with which the heroines travel remain unaware of the danger lurking nearby. As fictive narratives, these shared elements employed by the authors create a link between the stories. Both women were part of westbound wagon trains, though, unlike Fanny, Olive's family left the main group due to conflict. These parallels continue throughout the narratives.

Fanny's wagon train faced hardships along the way, mostly due to bad weather that slowed their progress. Unlike her counterparts, they enjoyed a sense of relative peace, free from constant worry about attacks. This sense of security, with "no thought of danger or timid misgivings on the subject of savages" on their minds, shattered as they camped for the night just outside Fort Laramie. Suddenly, the bluffs surrounding the

---

33   Ibid, 250.
34   Fanny Kelly, essay, in "*Narrative of My Captivity among the Sioux Indians*" (Mutual Publishing Company, 1872), 7.
35   Ibid..
36   Ibid, 8.

camp swarmed with 250 painted Oglala Lakota warriors, ready for battle. Descending upon the wagon train with startling swiftness, they left the emigrants unprepared and overwhelmed. Her husband, Josiah, approached the chief and questioned the raiding party's intentions. The chief, Ottawa, a recognized war chief of the Oglala band of the Sioux nation, rode closer to Josiah and uttered, "How! How!"[37] Striking his chest, he rode forward and declared "Good Indian, me."[38] Ottawa assured the Kellys of his complete friendship, easing some of the initial tension gripping the wagon train.

Ottawa's men rummaged through the wagons, seizing flour and clothing. The encounter, unlike the captivity of Kinnan and Oatman, became one of apprehensive courtesy. The Kelly party complied with the Lakotas' demands, including a request for supper to be made that the travelers initially refused. Busy preparing the meal, gathering firewood, and distributing food to the Laktoa the men remained oblivious to the rising tension. Without warning, the Lakota "threw off their masks and displayed their truly demonic natures,"[39] and gunfire erupted, cloaking the scene in smoke. Unknown to the wagon train, a Sioux messenger reached Ottawa with the news of U.S. soldiers killing their kin and displaying their heads on pikes. This enraged the Sioux, who fired upon the emigrants. The attack, a case of mistaken identity, left Fanny's husband, one servant, and a mortally wounded Mr. Wakefield escaping. Mr. Sharp, another man, and the remaining servant lay dead near Fanny, leaving no men for defense. With most men gone, the Lakota looted the wagons, swiftly taking valuables. Fanny's husband, hidden nearby with a rescue plan, realized attempting to save the women meant death. He made the heart-breaking choice to let them be taken captive, hoping for their survival, and vowing to find his wife and daughter later.

Riding north in the dark with her captors, Kelly hatched a plan to escape.[40] She left letters and papers along the way, hoping her husband could easily find her and their daughter. This plan, similar to Kinnan's escape attempt, never materialized. Tragically, her daughter perished during an escape try. Alone with Mrs. Larimer and her son, Fanny journeyed northwest to a Sioux village in the Powder River country. Meanwhile, her husband contacted Fort Laramie officials, informing them of his wife's capture. The 11th Ohio Cavalry launched a search for the captives, but failed to find them.[41] This mirrored another similarity between her story and Oatman's-both had families who immediately took action to find them. Four known rescue missions launched to free Fanny ultimately failed. In the end, the intervention by Sitting Bull secured her freedom.

---

37   Ibid.
38   Ibid.
39   Ibid, 15.
40   Kelly, 27.
41   Eriksmoen, Curt. "Woman was rescued from captivity largely through the efforts of Sitting Bull and John Grass." *InForum.* September 2020. https://www.inforum.com/lifestyle/eriksmoen-woman-was-rescued-from-captivity-largely-through-the-efforts-of-sitting-bull-and-john-grass

But Sitting Bull saw what must be done: he made up his mind. He said: "Why don't you feed her up? Why don't you take better care of her? Traders will be coming. We must take this woman back and make a good showing."[42]

Sitting Bull himself explains how his intervention led to Fanny's release after five months of captivity. Kelly's time with Ottawa's village, like Olive Oatman's, proved to be short-lived. Although Ottawa claimed Kelly as his "exclusive property,"[43] a trade brought Kelly to Brings Plenty of the Hunkpapa Lakota. Throughout her captivity, Kelly moved between Oglala, Hunkpapa, and Sihasapa villages, acting as a mediator between the Native Americans and the U.S. military. Another rescue attempt failed due to a breakdown in negotiations when the Hunkpapa demanded weapons and ammunition for her return. Her husband relentlessly pursued her recovery. He built a relationship with a Lakota warrior, Young-Man-Afraid-Of-His-Horses,[44] using gifts to gain information on Fanny's whereabouts. However, this plan proved unsuccessful. The Oglala had no intention of returning Fanny to white society. Another Sioux clan, the Sihasap, also known as the Blackfeet Sioux, learned about the reward for Kelly's return. They raided the Oglala village and kidnapped her. This caused tension between the two groups, but the Sihasapa ultimately kept Fanny.

Fanny's captivity lasted a relatively shorter time compared to Oatman and Kinnan. Several failed rescue attempts plagued her captivity, alongside rumors of marriage to Brings Plenty. Impressed by her demeanor, Brings Plenty bestowed upon her the title "Real Woman," an honor reserved for women of exceptional character.[45] Her ordeal finally ended on December 9, 1864, when twelve Sihasapa chiefs escorted her into Fort Sully. Two months later, she reunited with her husband.

Fanny Kelly stands alone as the only woman among these three to write her own story. Journalist Shepherd Kollock penned Mary Kinnan's narrative, infusing the original fifteen-page pamphlet with sensationalist yellow journalism. While religion remained a core element, the narrative's true purpose was to serve as anti-Native American propaganda. Royal B. Stratton transcribed Oatman's account, exploiting the young woman's experience to promote his religious agenda and line his pockets with profit. In stark contrast, Kelly seemed to have no ulterior motive. Driven by a desire to share her experiences, Kelly crafted an "unvarnished narrative" to educate a "kind-judging, appreciative public" about the Sioux's customs, manners, and treatment of prisoners.[46]

---

42   "The Captive White Woman," essay, in *Sitting Bull: Champion of the Sioux* (Norman, OK: U. of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 64.

43   Kelly, 285.

44   Eriksmoen.

45   Michno, Gregory F. and Susan J. "*A Fate Worse Than Death: Indian Captivities 1830-1885.*" Caxton Press. P.133.

46   Ibid.

Conclusion

Captivity narratives, despite variations in specific events, reveal common themes. Authors, primarily women like Kinnan and Oatman, frame these accounts with descriptions of "savage" Native Americans and a heavy reliance on their Chris-tian faith. Initially intended to be informative, these narratives morphed into religious anti-Indigenous propaganda. The shared experiences of profound loss undeniably drove these women to prayer. Their frequent lamentations and appeals to God underscored the prevailing belief of the time: Native Americans lacked morality and needed conversion.

Through the lens of captivity narratives, we gain valuable insight into the Anglo-American perspective. These accounts not only document initial encounters with Native Americans but also expose the disturbing transformation into tools for fueling anti-Indigenous rhetoric.

The captivity narratives of Mary Kinnan, Olive Oatman, and Fanny Kelly fueled a toxic narrative that, sadly, persists even today. From the first televised westerns to the latest action flicks, Hollywood continues to churn out these distorted portrayals. Native Americans are still relegated to the role of savage antagonists who stand in the way of Manifest Destiny's "precious harmony"- a warped ideal that equates the American Dream with divinely ordained conquest. These portrayals echo the captivity narratives' framing of Native Americans as inherently violent and lacking Christian morality, needing conversions at the barrel of a gun.

Dedication

I dedicate this research to Mom, whose last words were "I have high hopes for you."

Battleground Santiago: The Significance of Conflicting Ideologies within the Estadio Nacional in Chile

Owen Halbleib

Abstract: The history of many nations can be told by studying their significant structures, but a select few buildings are able to reflect both a nation's past *and* present. The Estadio Nacional (National Stadium) of Santiago, Chile, is one such location. Serving as a central venue for sporting events in Chile, as well as being the home of the Chilean national football team, the legacy of the stadium is evident to those who walk its concourses or sit in its grandstands. The atrocities which occurred within the Estadio Nacional following the 1973 coup in Chile are primarily discussed within the larger context of the violence committed by Pinochet's junta government. Rarely discussed however, is why the stadium was chosen as the site for this violence, or how Chileans overcame the national trauma associated with the site. This essay argues that the Estadio Nacional is a significant political and cultural institution, a location that reflects the conflicting ideologies present within the national zeitgeist of Chile. These ideologies are frequently expressed within the walls of the arena, in the realms of both sports and politics, and their impacts are made apparent within the facility itself.

On November 21st, 1973, Chilean football player Leonardo Véliz walked onto the pitch of the Estadio Nacional de Santiago with his ten teammates. The stadium was much quieter than usual. The Chilean striker looked up into the red and white grandstands, he saw an audience of barely fifteen thousand, in a stadium made for eighty two. His eyes scanning the complex, he noticed dozens of soldiers, in light gray uniforms, standing guard in the gallery, in the tunnels, at the entrance, all over the stadium.[1] As Véliz and his teammates took to the field, he shot a glance over to Francisco Valdés, captain of the Chilean team, who returned him a somber nod. The whistle blew signaling the start of the match, and the team recognized that their opponent, the Soviet Union, would not be showing up. The Chilean national team, known locally as La Roja, had just returned from Moscow, where they had fought the USSR to a draw, but the Chileans still needed one goal to qualify for the 1974 World Cup in West Germany. The Chileans had returned to Santiago to play in their National Stadium, but the Soviets did not follow.

It had been two months since Chile's democratically elected president Salvador

---

[1]   Oscar Soto, "El Partido Fantasma Entre Chile y La URSS," November 21, 2013, *MARCA*, MARCA.com.

Allende had been overthrown in a coup by a military junta led by General Augusto Pinochet. The Soviet Union, the world's premier communist power, had been courting the left-wing in Chile for decades, but now refused to associate with the new regime in Santiago. The Chilean team's recent experience in Moscow was still fresh in their minds, how they had barely been allowed to go in the first place, how there had been no Chilean delegation to meet them at the airport, how the Soviet team had refused to host them for dinner after the game.[2] It was humiliation after humiliation, as the team was now unwillingly the representatives for the new government abroad.

Back in Santiago, it was decided among the team that Captain Valdés would make the shot. The Chilean team passed the football around to each other for a few seconds, their faces red in a combination of anger and embarrassment of the farce they all knew they were participating in.[3] Valdés was given the ball, which he dribbled and shot into the back of the empty Soviet net.[4] The game was called after thirty seconds, and the Chilean team walked off the field in shame. They knew they were part of an act, the goal, the assembled spectators, all of it. The match was a show of strength by a regime hoping to bolster its own image on the international stage, and the Chilean national team was just a vessel to these ends. However, even the players did not know the extent of the deception at play within the Estadio Nacional that day. Despite the regime's claims to the contrary, hundreds if not thousands of political prisoners were still being held at gunpoint in the stadium complex, hidden from the prying eyes of the International Federation of Football Association (FIFA) officials and spectators.

On that fateful November evening, the Estadio Nacional was as much a political and diplomatic arena as it was a football stadium, a recurring theme throughout the venue's history. This essay seeks to answer the following questions: How does the Estadio Nacional of Santiago function as a symbol of both Chilean football and democratic ideals? To what extent did the military junta of Augusto Pinochet pervert and or strengthen this symbolism through its reprehensible actions within the stadium? Finally, to what extent have Chileans reclaimed the symbolic value of the Estadio Nacional in the decades following the return to democracy? As the site of many transformative events of modern Chilean history, the Estadio Nacional has transcended its status as merely a symbol of national identity- the stadium has become a space where competing ideologies have come into conflict, both in sports and in politics.

A Stadium in Santiago

Even before its construction in 1938, the Estadio Nacional has been a battle-

---

        2   Carl Worswick, "Playing under Pinochet: How Chile's Stars of the 1970s Feared for Their Lives," September 9, 2015, *The Guardian*, https://www.theguardian.com/football/2015/sep/09/chile-military-coup-general-pinochet-leonardo-veliz.
        3   Worswick, "Playing under Pinochet".
        4   RolfPorseryd, "Chile-USSR Game 1973." May 7, 2007, YouTube, 00:31, https://youtu.be/Fb5KpkSajpw.

ground for competing political ideologies. The campaign for the creation of a national stadium began in force following the demise of Chile's previous military junta, led by President Carlos Ibáñez. In the presidential election of 1932, the first since the end of the dictatorship, the lack of a Chilean national stadium was centralized politically by Radical Party candidate Juan Esteban Montero.[5] The construction of such a site was popular with the Chilean public in 1932, even more so with the urban population of Santiago. However, there was pushback from provincial congressmen, such as future president Juan Antonio Ríos, who believed that Santiago alone would benefit from the new stadium, instead advocating that the money apportioned for a stadium could better be used in funding provincial education. Ultimately, a compromise was reached, and the bill funding the Estadio Nacional would also include money for provincial football programs.[6] The new Chilean President, Arturo Alessandri, ignored the many congressional appeals made by various Santiago neighborhoods and instead placed the stadium in the neighborhood Ñuñoa, on the site of the Campos de Sport de Ñuñoa.

Following this decision, the Estadio Nacional became not only an arena for the ideologies of national politics, but also for small-scale sporting politics. The debate around the stadium created a rift between amateur footballers of urban Chile and the rapidly professionalizing football clubs, both of whom hoped the venue would support their style of play. The replacement of the Campos de Sport de Ñuñoa on the site angered amateurs, because the university facilities had been a venue that was available for them to play. Because the Estadio Nacional was being constructed with public funds, amateurs were further infuriated by the political power held by the professional clubs, who could draw from private monetary resources to make deals with the government regarding the use of the stadium.[7]

Inaugurated in 1938 after six years of construction, the Estadio Nacional was designated the primary sporting arena of Santiago, as well as the home stadium for the Chilean national team.[8] The inauguration ceremony was free and open to the public, and the day following it was decided that the club team Colo-Colo would play in the inaugural international match. Colo-Colo was chosen over the current season's champions Audax Italiano, because of Colo-Colo's status as the most popular team in Chile, but also because of Audax's status as an immigrant team with fascistic associations, something that Alessandri's government wanted to distance itself and the stadium from.[9] While outwardly an appeal to democracy in Chile, more intensive analysis reveals this as a political action to sideline challengers to the government. Brenda Elsey argues in

5   Brenda Elsey, *In Citizens and Sportsmen: Fútbol and Politics in Twentieth-Century Chile* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2011), 93.

6   Elsey, "In Citizens and Sportsmen", 94.

7   Elsey, "In Citizens and Sportsmen", 104.

8   Marín Edgardo, *Historia Del Deporte Chileno: Entre La ilusión y La pasión* (Santiago, Chile: Comisión Bicentenario, Presidencia de la República, 2007), 113.

9   Elsey, "In Citizens and Sportsmen", 108.

her book *Citizens and Sportsmen: Fútbol and Politics in Twentieth-Century Chile* that a failed coup attempt by Chile's National Socialist Movement had caused opponents of fascism to become more vigilant in their efforts to stop its spread, and that Audax Italiano's refusal to cut ties with Mussolini's Italy tarnished their reputation in the eyes of Alessandri's government[10]. As the years passed, the Estadio Nacional faded out of the national spotlight and political consciousness. It finally assumed its intended role as a sporting facility and operated without controversy for the next 25 years. While Chilean football continued to be rocked by ideological clashes through the 1930s and 40s, particularly within Chile's amateur leagues, the Estadio Nacional was never the focal point of these disputes due to the government's preference for use of the facility by the professional clubs, which were de-politicized in the decades following the Second World War.[11]

Despite the stadium's completion, it did not gain international preeminence for several years. Chile did not qualify for the World Cup in 1938, and the violence and aftermath of the Second World War saw the 1942 and 1946 World Cups canceled. The stadium during the 1940's was primarily used as a venue for the local professional club teams, often hosting games of the "Big Three" of Santiago, Colo-Colo, Universidad Catolica, and Universidad de Chile.[12] During this period, the first two teams began forming a budding rivalry that could grow to become known as the Chilean Superclásico, the most important rivalry in the country's football scene. Also, during the decade, the stadium hosted the 1941 and 1945 South American Football Championships, which continued to be held because of South America's distance away from the war's main battlegrounds. In both of these tournaments, *La Roja* was defeated in the Estadio Nacional by Argentina.

After the end of the Second World War, 1950 saw the return of the World Cup in Brazil, as well as Chile's return to the competition for the first time since the inaugural cup in 1930. However, no qualifying games were played in the Estadio Nacional in 1950 because Chile automatically qualified after Argentina's withdrawal from the tournament. In the following World Cup, qualifier matches were played for the first time in the Estadio Nacional, marking the start of a trend that would continue for the rest of the century. Despite losses to both Brazil and Paraguay, and Chile not qualifying for the tournament, Chilean fans were finally able to watch matches at home in Santiago. Since 1954 the Estadio Nacional has continued to be the host of Chile's home games of the South American World Cup qualifiers, and at least one World Cup preliminary match has been played in the stadium for each subsequent tournament.

In 1954, several South American nations declared that they would boycott the 1962 World Cup if the tournament was not returned to South America. Chile and Argentina both submitted bids to host, but Argentina was the clear favorite. In their bid speech

10   Elsey, "In Citizens and Sportsmen", 108.
11   Elsey, "In Citizens and Sportsmen", 125.
12   Alex Jackson, "Santiago's Big Three – the Grand Tour," January 12, 2021, *Football Pink*, https://footballpink.net/2019-2-5-santiagos-big-three-the-grand-tour/.

to FIFA, Argentinian delegates declared "We can have the World Cup tomorrow. We have it all".[13] Carlos Dittborn, Chilean-born president of the South American Football Confederation (CONMEBOL) responded to the Argentine speech, arguing that one of FIFA's main goals with the tournament lay in promoting the sport in countries deemed underdeveloped, a criteria which Chile met. Dittborn ended his speech with a direct response to the Argentines with the phrase that has now become famous in Chile, "'Because we have nothing, we want to do it all."[14] Chile won the bid with thirty-two votes to ten. Although this David and Goliath story has evolved into somewhat of a national legend in Chile, in reality there were a host of other problems facing Argentina that made FIFA nervous about granting them the bid. Ultimately, Chile came away with the opportunity to host the world's largest sporting event, and the Estadio Nacional was to become the centerpiece of the whole event.

The stadium was renovated in preparation for the 1962 World Cup, upgrading the grandstands to seat up to about 95,000 spectators, making the Estadio Nacional the largest sporting arena in the country. The World Cup was Chile's opportunity to show itself off to the world, and the Estadio Nacional would be the center of it all. Chile's experience as host of the World Cup can be summarized by two events, the Battle of Santiago and the World Cup Final, both of which served as different expressions of Chilean democracy and national pride.

The Battle of Santiago was a match in the group stage of the 1962 World Cup between host nation Chile and Italy, hosted in the Estadio Nacional. In the days leading up to the match, Italian journalists had written scathing reviews of Chile and Santiago, calling them "proudly miserable and backwards."[15] Chilean journalists had written similar scathing reviews of the Italian players and fans visiting Chile, describing them as fascists and drug addicts. Tensions ran high inside the Estadio Nacional on the second of June, and that level of tension carried over to the players. Within the first ten minutes of the match, Italian midfielder Giorgio Ferrini had to be escorted off the field by police. The Chileans were complicit in the battle as well, with Chilean striker Leonel Sánchez punching multiple Italian players and breaking Humberto Maschio's nose. The English referee in charge of keeping the match under control was Ken Aston, who said after the match "I wasn't reffing a football match, I was acting as an umpire on military maneuvers."[16] In fact, so horrific was Aston's experience in this match that it served as a major source of inspiration for his later creation of the red and yellow card system that is now standard in most professional leagues.[17]

13   Lucie Hémeury, "Narrow Miss: The Failure of Argentina's Bid for the 1962 FIFA World Cup (1954-1956)," *Soccer & Society* 21, no. 8 (2020): 932-945, 939.

14   Hémeury, "Narrow Miss", 940.

15   Graham McColl, *How to Win the World Cup* (London, UK: Bantam Press, 2010), 115.

16   McColl, "How to Win", 115-116.

17   FIFA, "The Battle of Santiago | Chile v Italy | 1962 World Cup", May 3, 2018, YouTube, 2:19, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e5t_RoUrvgg.

In contrast to the violence of the Battle of Santiago, the World Cup Final saw Czechoslovakia face off against the defending champion Brazil. Despite its defeat to Brazil in the semifinals, Chileans flocked to the Estadio Nacional to watch the man who had defeated their national team. "Garrincha, what planet is he from?", the Chilean newspaper El Mercurio asked, after two goals early in the semifinal game.[18] The host nation had already secured its third-place title with its 1-0 victory over Yugoslavia the day earlier. Now all eyes turned to the Brazilian team, who had so enamored the Chilean public that a petition led by none other than President Jorge Alessandri convinced FIFA to overturn the ejection that Garrincha had earned in the previous game, allowing him to play in the final. The Brazilians ultimately emerged triumphant, with two late game goals securing them a 3-1 victory over the Czechoslovaks, defending their title for another four years.

Both of these games were expressions of Chilean democracy in the Estadio Nacional, one violent, one peaceful. Chileans could not stand to be slandered by the Italians at home, and that popular anger spilled over onto the field. The Chilean team acted as an outlet for the anger of their fans. In contrast, Chilean fans were captivated by the Brazilian team in the World Cup Final, and popular support for the Brazilians in the Estadio Nacional helped lead to their win over Czechoslovakia by facilitating Garrincha's return to play. The fans left the Estadio Nacional following the end of the tournament, and over the next week, the foreign visitors to Chile would find their way back to their home countries, as the eyes of the world left the South American republic; however, the politicization of the Estadio Nacional had just begun.

A Stadium turned Prison

In 1970, Salvador Allende was elected president of Chile. Allende had previously run three times, having only been narrowly defeated by Jorge Alessandri in 1958 in a congressional runoff election. In 1970, Allende faced off against a much older Alessandri once again in a similar runoff election, but this time he was victorious. Allende was the leader of the Socialist Party, but was also the figurehead of Popular Unity, an alliance of various left-wing groups with similar ideological goals. The election was highly contested, with only a thirty thousand vote difference between the frontrunners. Foreign influence was prominent in the election as well, with Fidel Castro's Cuba sending a delegation of advisors to work with and advise Allende, and the American Central Intelligence Agency scrambling to fund his opponents and devise a plan to keep Allende out of power.[19]

Following his election, Allende began implementing his plan for "The Chilean Way to Socialism," which included nationalization of industries, universalization of

---

18   FIFA. "Brazilian Alien Submits Chile", June 13, 2020, *FIFA Tournaments*, https://www.fifa.com/tournaments/mens/worldcup/1962chile/news/brazilian-alien-submit s-chile.
19   Tanya Harmer, *Allende's Chile and the Inter-American Cold War* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 54-58.

health care, improvements to education, and land redistribution. Allende, despite the calls from the more radical segments of Popular Unity, and the fears of U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, remained committed to representative democracy. Additionally, Allende strengthened diplomatic connections between Chile and other socialist countries. During Fidel Castro's visit to the country in 1971, Allende and Castro traveled to the Estadio Nacional to give a speech to the Chilean public. The Estadio Nacional was chosen for this event because of Allende's popularity, and the need for a large enough venue to seat his supporters. While the event did not fill the stadium in the same way a *La Roja* game might have, it demonstrated the receptiveness of Chileans to Allende's messaging. Standing alongside the Cuban leader, Allende declared, "I will defend this Chilean revolution, and I will defend the people's government because it is the mandate that the people have given me, I have no choice, only by riddling me with bullets will they be able to prevent the will to fulfill the people's program."[20]

This haunting foreshadowing aside, even in the early days of Allende's presidency, he had no shortage of enemies. This was exemplified in one botched US-backed kidnapping of Chilean Army Commander René Schneider in October 1970. [21] Schneider, a proponent of the military as the defenders of the Chilean Constitution, was killed in this covert action, and public outrage from the incident forced the CIA to back off from staging a coup in Chile. However, without Schneider, other Chilean military leaders lost that prominent Constitutionalist voice within the structure of the armed forces.

General Carlos Prats replaced René Schneider as Army commander-in-chief before being promptly forced to resign on August 24, 1973 after losing the support of fellow officers. Prats was also a Constitutionalist, but not nearly as influential or well-connected as Schneider had been. Prats recommended one General Augusto Pinochet to be his successor, a wish Allende gladly obliged in granting. Earlier in the year, Prats and Pinochet had cooperated to defeat the attempted right-wing *Tanquetazo* coup, defending the Allende Government from regime change. What Prats and Allende did not know is that Pinochet, along with his counterparts in the Navy, Air Force, and military police, were planning a coup of their own.

During the summer of 1973, the footballers of the Chilean national team were all mid-season at their respective clubs. Leonardo Véliz and Francisco Valdés both played for Colo-Colo that season, helping the team towards the Copa Libertadores Finals, where they were narrowly defeated by the Argentine Independiente in the play-off in Montevideo. A week prior to Copa Libertadores, the Chilean national team had defeated Peru, setting them up to face the Soviet Union in World Cup qualifiers. For the whole summer prior to the coup, whenever Véliz was in Santiago, he could feel the nervous energy in the city. "The coup was coming, we knew the coup was coming," he said in a 2015 interview.

20   Armand Mattelart, "La Spirale- Salvador Allende - I Will Not Step Back... (1971)," September 11, 2012, YouTube, 01:15, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cSdqUOGk5ak.
21   Harmer, "Allende's Chile", 61.

"And that morning, everything changed."[22]

On September 11, 1973, the radio and television stations of Santiago went quiet. Prominent Allende supporters within the Army, Navy, and Air force were cut out of the chain of command, allowing the conspirators a free hand in military operations. Misunderstanding the true scale of the coup, and unable to contact Admiral Montero or General Pinochet, the commanders-in-chief of the Army and Navy respectively, President Allende gathered loyal forces he could contact in *La Moneda*, the Presidential Palace. However, the building soon fell under siege by the Chilean Army and was bombed by the Air Force, with the confrontation ending in the suicide of President Allende and the establishment of a military junta. General Pinochet assumed control of the country and began purging the country of political opposition, including leftists, socialists, and critics across the political spectrum.

In the hours after the military coup, the Estadio Nacional was appropriated as a detention facility, one of eventually eighty in and around Santiago.[23] The size of the stadium complex, which included a swimming pool and velodrome among other facilities, meant that the Estadio Nacional was equipped to handle the detainment of several thousand prisoners at a time. According to testimony from several victims, male prisoners, which made up the vast majority of captives, were held on the field and in the galleries, while female prisoners were held in the swimming pool complex.[24] For a week and a half, prisoners were completely cut off from the outside world, and very little is known about their first few days of detention. On September 22, the military junta opened the stadium's doors for the first time to national and international media for an official "tour" of the conditions there. While their intention was to assuage media grievances and concerns, this gesture backfired horribly, as now reporters and photographers were able to see the cruelty the prisoners were being subjected to.[25] It was during this period that Chilean photographer Marcelo Montecino captured some of the most famous images of the stadium, ones that would circulate into newspapers around the world.

The most striking story summarizing the conditions within the Estadio Nacional comes from the torture and murder of Víctor Jara. Jara had been a famous Chilean musician, admired even by the likes of Leonardo Véliz, who admits to having several of Jara's albums before the coup.[26] Jara was also a high-profile leftist and supporter of Allende, so he was an immediate target of the junta. Jara was captured by the regime on the morning of September 12 and brought to the Estadio Nacional. Over the next four days, Jara was subjected to especially cruel treatment inside the stadium, as soldiers relished in their

22   Worswick, "Playing under Pinochet."
23   Katherine Hite, "Chile's National Stadium, with Details on Several Detention Centers", 2004, *Harvard Review of Latin America*.
24   Carmen Luz Parot. "Estadio Nacional", 2001, Biblioteca Nacional Digital, 1:29:16, http://www.bibliotecanacionaldigital.gob.cl/bnd/625/w3-article-316409.html.
25   Katherine Hite, "Chile's National Stadium".
26   Carl Worswick, "Playing under Pinochet."

power over a musical icon.[27] Jara was taken below the stadium and tortured. Guards smashed his hands and fingers, later mockingly telling him to play guitar for them. Defiantly, Jara chose to sing the song "*Venceremos*" ("we will overcome"), which was written for Salvador Allende's election campaign[28]. Jara was shot dead on the 16th, his body being riddled with over forty bullets and subsequently displayed outside the gates to the Estadio Nacional for several days before his wife ultimately recovered it.[29] A nearby stadium on the complex of the Estadio Nacional is now named for Víctor Jara, by far the most famous person who lost their life at the venue. Similar stories of inhumane torment are common from survivors of the Estadio Nacional. Zachary McKiernan claims that "Upon arrival, the condemned would meet a "reception committee,"—two parallel rows of about twenty soldiers or security agents in which the prisoners had to pass through kicks, punches, rifle butts, and insults."[30]

A majority of the torture was inflicted upon prisoners independently, by bringing them below the stands and interrogating them about their connections with the Allende government or other leftist groups that the Pinochet regime was trying to destroy. Felipe Agüero, a former prisoner arrested for being a member of a small political party associated with Popular Unity, recounts being blindfolded and thrown at the concrete walls beneath the stands, being subjected to high voltage electric shocks, and being burned with cigarettes.[31] However the worst of the treatment was reserved for the velodrome, which one prisoner likened to Hitler's Buchenwald concentration camp. Here, soldiers made prisoners stand in lines covered with blankets and blindfolds, simulated executions, burned prisoners with cigarettes, kicked prisoners' testicles, interrogated, and mocked the prisoners.[32] For women and younger men, rape and sexual hazing were common, with recent estimates determining that nearly all of the 3400 women imprisoned from September to November had been raped.[33] This kind of treatment lasted for two months. From this point until its ultimate closing in the first week of November 1973, the Estadio Nacional was essentially

27   Andrew Tyler, "The Life and Death of Victor Jara – a Classic Feature from the Vaults," September 18, 2013, *The Guardian*, https://www.theguardian.com/music/2013/sep/18/victor-jara-pinochet-chile-rocks-backpa ges.

28   Fergus Dowd. "Victor Jara and the Ghosts of the Estadio Nacional." April 27, 2021, *A Bohemian Sporting Life*, https://abohemiansportinglife.wordpress.com/2021/04/27/victor-jara-and-the-ghosts-of-th e-estadio-nacional/.

29   Tyler, "The Life and Death of Victor Jara."

30   Zachary D. McKiernan, *The Public History of a Concentration Camp: Historical Tales of Tragedy and Hope at the National Stadium of Chile* (dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2014), 69.

31   David Waldstein, "In Chile's National Stadium, Dark Past Shadows Copa América Matches," June 17, 2015, *The New York Times*, https://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/19/sports/soccer/in-chiles-national-stadium-dark-past- shadows-copa-america-matches.html?auth=login-google1tap&login=google1tap.

32   McKiernan, "The Public History", 72-73.

33   Henry Brown. "Chile: The Stands of Dignity and Escotilla 8 in Santiago." February, 2021, *Contested Histories*, https://contestedhistories.org/wp-content/uploads/Chile_-The-Stands-of-Dignity-and-Esc otilla-8-in-Santiago.pdf.

used as a prison.

On October 25, 1973, a FIFA delegation meant to inspect conditions at the stadium arrived. During this time, there were still thousands being imprisoned at the complex. To hide the true scale of the atrocities from FIFA, the regime bussed away many of the prisoners from the area, and locked the rest away below the stands to hide them from the prying eyes of FIFA officials. At gunpoint, prisoners were ordered to remain silent. Felipe Agüero, who was left in the bleachers as FIFA inspectors arrived, said "We wanted to yell out and say "Hey, we are here, look at us! But they only seemed interested in the condition of the grass."[34] FIFA officials did nothing during their visit to address the prisoners in the Estadio Nacional and approved the stadium for use in the upcoming Chile-USSR game set to occur on October 21. This was the first of a series of farcical actions by the Pinochet regime and FIFA that would culminate Francisco Valdés' shameful goal into the empty Soviet net.

Despite Pinochet's promises that "football would be left alone," many on the Chilean national team were personally affected by the transformation of the Estadio Nacional into a prison.[35] One of the footballers who represented Chile at home in the 1962 World Cup was Hugo Lepe. After retiring from play, Lepe had become the leader of the trade union defending player rights within the Chilean Football Federation. This position is what led to his targeting and subsequent imprisonment in the Estadio Nacional. Lepe was well known and friends with many of the players on the national team. As captain, Francisco Valdés took on the responsibility of finding and freeing Lepe. Because of his celebrity status within Chile, Valdés was able to negotiate a meeting with General Pinochet himself, imploring the dictator to free Lepe, himself a national football hero. Pinochet told Valdés that "he would find him, but he hoped he wasn't an activist."[36] Ultimately, after a month and a half of searching, and multiple visits to the Estadio Nacional, Lepe was released from the prison. Others, such as team doctor Alfonso Reyes were not so lucky. Reyes was not imprisoned within the Estadio Nacional, but he spent eleven months behind bars despite the team's efforts to release him, and endured multiple instances of torture by the regime.[37]

Also imprisoned was Olga Garrido, the mother of Chilean national team player Carlos Caszely. Unlike Valdés and Véliz, Caszely was overseas when the coup occurred, playing for a club in Spain. Caszely was an outspoken critic of the Pinochet regime, but unlike Víctor Jara, Caszely was out of their reach. Instead, the regime captured and tortured his mother, not because she had any useful information, but simply to get revenge against Caszely. The next year, once the violence in the country had scaled down, Caszely returned to Chile to train for the 1974 World Cup in West Germany. Upon his

34   David Waldstein, "In Chile's National Stadium."
35   Worswick, "Playing under Pinochet."
36   Worswick, "Playing under Pinochet."
37   Worswick, "Playing under Pinochet."

arrival in May, he was greeted by his family, who sat him down and told him what had happened to his mother.[38] Caszely still had to go to Germany, but he wanted to make his anger at the regime known. When the Chilean national team was set to leave, they were seen off by General Pinochet. Caszely refused to shake the general's hand, in a moment that to him "seemed like a thousand hours, although it could have only been a second."[39] Caszely's anger at the regime was further displayed by his performance in the World Cup. In the very first match of the group stage against West Germany, Caszely got a yellow, and then a red card for his rough play.[40] Chile ended up being eliminated from the group stage following East Germany's stunning victory over the West in another politically significant match in the Cold War climate. Following the World Cup, Caszely would continue to play in Spain until 1978, where he continued to be an avid critic of the regime.

A Resurgence of Hope within the Stadium

As the chaos that followed the coup settled into a stable dictatorship, both the players of the Chilean national team and the Estadio Nacional returned to their primary jobs, hosting and playing football. For the players, although many of them had been sympathetic to Allende and Popular Unity, they could no longer voice these opinions in fear of the regime's retaliation. As for the Estadio Nacional, the events that occurred there began to be codified, as information and testimonies from victims were released into the international press. At the same time, information about what happened in the stadium was suppressed by the regime. McKiernan argues that "It became a non-event in Chile—something that suffered doubly from Chileans' inability to conceive of a concentration camp at the iconic stadium and the military junta's concerted effort to conceal it."[41] Foreign accounts were released, and they primarily revolved around Marcelo Monte-cinos' famous photographs taken at the stadium on September 26, gearing their accounts towards providing international audiences about what generally was going on in Chile. While important to the image of the Estadio Nacional abroad, these foreign accounts were not concerned with the more specific details of the prison. Those perspectives would only start to come out later from Chilean exiles living abroad, who would help to publish various accounts about the Estadio Nacional over the next decade.

Sergio Villegas would publish the earliest book of such testimonials in March 1974, titled *El Estadio: 11 de septiembre en el país de edén* (1974). Here, he recorded the stories of the people he had interviewed during his escape to exile.[42] *El Estadio*

38   Al Jazeera, "Caszely and the Demise of Allende," Football | Al Jazeera, July 2, 2014, *Al Jazeera,*.

39   Al Jazeera, "Caszely".

40   FIFA, "Germany FR v Chile | First Round | 1974 FIFA World Cup Germany™ | Highlights", June 14, 1974, FIFA Plus, 02:01, https://www.fifa.com/fifaplus/en/watch/6cI8k7UItNOxlTIKFUxANg.

41   McKiernan, "The Public History of a Concentration Camp", 79.

42   Sergio Villegas. *Chile: El Estadio: Los Crímenes de la Junta Militar.* (Buenos

provided the core foundation of the testimonial literature that would define the framing of discussion around the treatment of prisoners at the Estadio Nacional. Over the next decade, dozens more of these testimonial works would be published, each amplifying or critiquing the narrative set by Villegas. The 1982 film *Missing* is based off of one such account, telling the story of Charles Horman, an American who was imprisoned and murdered in the Estadio Nacional, and his father Ed Horman's attempts to rescue him. These types of media helped to keep the international spotlight on Chile, with the intention of maintaining international pressure on the Pinochet regime.

This culminated in one of the most significant events which centered the Estadio Nacional during the Pinochet regime. This was not a football match, but rather Pope John Paul II's tour of the country in 1987. In the fourteen years since the coup, the Catholic Church had been outspoken critics of the regime, with the institution being spared from the worst of the violence due to its international status. In 1976, Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez, the Archbishop of Santiago, had set up an organization known as the Vicariate of Solidarity, headquartered in the Santiago Cathedral. This organization helped victims of the regime who had been imprisoned for non-violent actions get lawyers to represent them.[43] The Pinochet regime was especially cautious when it came to cracking down against the Church, especially after the 1980 assassination of Archbishop Óscar Romero, which brought down heavy international criticism onto the dictatorship in El Salvador. Because of this, Enriquez and other reformers within the church were allowed to continue their humanitarian activities.

However, nothing could stop the international attention brought about by a papal visit to Chile, which was set to occur in April, 1987. On the flight from Rome, John Paul II said "I am not the evangelizer of democracy, I am the evangelizer of the Gospel. To the Gospel message, of course, belongs all the problems of human rights, and if democracy means human rights it also belongs to the message of the church."[44] This strong message in hand, the Pope met with Pinochet in *La Moneda*, urging the dictator to restore democratic liberties to Chile. Later the same day, the pontiff received a crowd of 45,000 young people in the Estadio Nacional, the field adorned with a large cross, as well as a podium for the Pope to speak. The Pope was aware of the symbolic significance of the stadium, as well as the regime's efforts to erase those memories. In acknowledgement the Pope began his speech by saying that he was happy: "In this stadium, a place of competitions, but also of pain and suffering in past times," a declaration which was met with rowdy applause.[45] The Pope invited Mónica Marín, a woman who was persecuted for helping

Aires, Argentina, Editorial Cartago, 1974).

43   Filip Mazurczak, "Remembering St. John Paul II's Controversial 1987 Pilgrimage to Chile", January 14, 2018, *Catholic World Report*, https://www.catholicworldreport.com/2018/01/14/remembering-st-john-paul-iis-controve rsial-1987-pilgrimage-to-chile/.

44   Mazurczak, "Remembering St. John Paul".

45   Oriana Fernandez, "Juan Pablo II a Los Jóvenes En El Nacional: 'No Tengáis Miedo De Mirarlo a Él", February 13, 2020, *La Tercera*, https://www.latercera.com/noticia/juan-

victims of the regime, to share her story to the attendees. Marín recalls that attendees in the stadium "felt free, they jumped, sang, applauded" at a time when mass gatherings were not frequent.[46] By the end of the Pope's speech, attendees were not only chanting religious slogans, but political ones as well. As the pope left the pulpit stage, Chileans chanted "Juan Pablo, amigo. Amigo de los chilenos."[47] While the wording of this chant could have multiple interpretations, many in Chile watching in the stadium or on television would have received the message as a cheer for papal support of the Chilean people, not the Chilean regime.

The Pope's visit energized opponents of the Pinochet regime, whose voices became more difficult to ignore. In 1988, the Pinochet government announced that it would hold a plebiscite that could legitimize Pinochet's presidency under the new constitution, which had been ratified in 1981. For seven years, Pinochet had been ruling in a "transitional period", but was confident that he would remain in control after the plebiscite. The vote divided the electorate, and the regime pressured many Chileans to give a "yes". Chilean football was similarly divided. Former Chilean national team member Elías Figueroa, who had played in both the 1966 and 1974 World Cups, campaigned hard in favor of the regime, saying in an advertisement, "As an athlete and as a winner that I have been all my life, I am sure to vote yes, because I want a winning country."[48] In contrast, an advertisement for the "no" vote centered Olga Garrido, who spoke about her treatment while imprisoned by the regime, and how she was voting "no" so that Chile could "live in our democracy, without hate, and with love and joy in our hearts." Then, Carlos Caszely, no longer at the peak of his fame, but still a household name in Chile appeared and revealed that this woman who was tortured and imprisoned was, in fact, his mother.[49]

Even those formally in support of Pinochet could see the writing on the wall for the junta government. Members of the Christian Democratic and Republican Right parties joined together with members of left-wing parties to form the Democratic Alliance, which created a manifesto outlying the coalition's plans for Chile's transition back to democracy.[50] These groups joining the support to the Anti-Pinochet coalition made it clear that the 'no' vote would win out by a large margin, and Pinochet would have to step down from power. When asked about the results, Caszely said "I expected it. I think that an entire country expected something like that, since it was not against the Armed Forces

---

pablo-ii-nacional-no-tengais-miedo-mirarlo/.
      46   Fernandez, "Juan Pablo II".
      47   AQB Programas Viejos, "Papá Live at Estadio Nacional 1987 Chile", August 4, 2022, YouTube, 1:52:46, https://youtu.be/AvrfkxF1aCw?si=ufACeeuwq6JZ2bg7.
      48   Claudio Medrano, "Cómo El Fútbol Se Dividió Entre El Sí y El No En 1988," October 5, 2018, *Diario y Radio Universidad Chile*, https://radio.uchile.cl/2018/10/05/como-el-futbol-se-dividio-entre-el-si-y-el-no-en-1988/.
      49   Medrano, "Cómo El Fútbol".
      50   Edgardo Boeninger, *Democracia En Chile: Lecciones Para La Gobernabilidad* (Santiago, Chile: Editorial Andrés Bello, 1998), 367.

but against a man who had proclaimed himself president."[51]

Remembering the Estadio Nacional

With the onset of democracy's return to Chile, talks began on how to memorialize those who had suffered as a result of the coup and dictatorship. The Estadio Nacional was still the largest sporting arena in the nation, and a vital piece of entertainment infrastructure in Santiago. For most of the 1990s, little thought was given to the memorialization of the events in the stadium, as an air of reconciliation had settled in the decade following the fall of Pinochet. The Chilean public worked hard to forget the traumas scarring their national stadium, as well as how some might have been complicit in such suffering. However, by 1998, the site's decaying condition prompted governmental discussion about potential demolition or restoration.[52] This proposal sparked an outcry from academics and activists, who demanded that the site be declared a National Monument.[53] In 2001, a plaque was placed outside the stadium in memory of the suffering inflicted upon prisoners and dissidents. This gesture, while appreciated, did not create a meaningful enough memorial to satisfy activists. In 2003, Chilean filmmaker Luz Parot released her documentary "Estadio Nacional", which told the story of the stadium, beginning with the 1962 World Cup and detailing for a general audience the events of the coup.[54] While the documentary was not wildly successful with the broader public, its release did contribute to the Estadio Nacional evolving into a National Monument, which occurred later that same year. What this status ensured, in practice, is that the government recognized its own complacency in the events which occurred within. With this monumental declaration, the government hoped to preserve the significance of the stadium to Chilean culture and identity, while also keeping the stadium open for public and commercial use.

Later in the decade, it was decided by national and municipal authorities that not only would it be cheaper to simply perform a renovation on the site rather than building a new one, but that because the stadium was dubbed a National Monument, rebuilding it would damage its national and historical significance. These calls were further amplified after ChileDeportes, the institution with formal jurisdiction over the stadium, submitted their plans for renovation, but made no mention of allowances for preserving sites of memory or incorporating a museum.[55]The Council of National Monuments protested, insisting that the renovation plans comply with the stadium's status as a National Monument. Even when the renovation began in 2009, there was no consensus about how or even if parts of the complex would be memorialized. After some negotiation between ChileDeportes and the Council of National Monuments in early 2010, the "National

51   Medrano, "Cómo El Fútbol".
52   Brown, "Chile: The Stands of Dignity", 4.
53   McKiernan, "The Public History of a Concentration Camp", 152-153.
54   Parot. "Estadio Nacional".
55   Brown, "Chile: The Stands of Dignity", 5.

Stadium, National Memory" project was created, whose express purpose was to memo-
rialize the stadium's tenure as a prison for persecuting political dissidents.[56] NSNM was
able to secure government funding to preserve a section of the grandstands as they were
in 1974, with ambitions to memorialize other parts of the complex as well.

Escotilla 8 was one of the many locations in the stadium where men were incar-
cerated in 1974. The space, which retained its original appearance through the 2009-10
renovation, was opened to the public in 2010 and became a focal point for guided tours
of the stadium.[57] In 2015, the area was fully integrated into the NSNM memorial within
the stadium, which by this point had expanded to include a small museum underneath
Escotilla 8 and a memorial for the conditions women had faced while imprisoned. The
space in the stands, which sits silently empty during football games, is composed of thir-
teen original benches, their dull gray concrete contrasting with the bright red seating of
the rest of the stadium. Above the benches, letters spell out the phrase "A People without
Memory is a People without a Future." The whole area is fenced off, only accessible
through a looming red and yellow hatch, which creates a sense of isolation in the space,
much like those locked behind the hatch might have felt in 1974. Visitors to the museum
can pass through this hatch and onto the benches, which are now lined with flowers in
memory of those who were imprisoned, tortured, and even killed. Through the memori-
alization efforts of NSNM, the stadium retains its primary function as a place of enter-
tainment, while creating a space where the suffering inflicted in the stadium is recognized
and the stories of its victims uplifted.

The Estadio Nacional today still serves its function of being a space of
conflicting viewpoints. The stadium has recently hosted dozens of club games between
rivals in Santiago, as well as major international events, such as the 2015 Copa América,
where La Roja beat the odds and narrowly edged out Lionel Messi's Argentinian jugger-
naut to win in the penalties, the first of their back-to-back championships. The energy and
excitement within the stadium was electric as goalkeeper Claudio Bravo climbed into the
stands with the championship trophy, celebrating with the fans.[58] Chilean flags fluttered
throughout the stadium as fans celebrated the tournament win at home, in the venue that
represents Chilean football, the Estadio Nacional.

Once a tool for authoritarians, the stadium now serves as a symbol of the return
of Chile's democratic system. During election season, which occurs every four years
for presidential races, and every four years on an alternate interval for parliamentary
and municipal races, the stadium serves as a voting center for residents of Santiago. The
Estadio Nacional is the largest of these venues in the country, supporting an estimated

56   Brown, "Chile: The Stands of Dignity", 6.
57   Brown, "Chile: The Stands of Dignity", 6.
58   RptimaoTV2, "Chile 0 (4) X (1) 0 Argentina, 2015 Copa América Final
Extended Goals & Highlights + Penalties HD", March 7, 2021, Youtube, https://www.youtube.com/
watch?v=9byEDLa-fRQ&t=914s.

60,000 voters in the last elections.[59] Participants funnel into the stadium's gates through the very same concourses that once were prisons; however, now they come to assert their own political power.

The Estadio Nacional has served many purposes in the 85 years since its construction. Joy and excitement fill the stadium when Colo Colo or the Chilean national team score a goal at home, but the stadium is also home to the memory of a great amount of suffering, torture, and death. While the stadium now helps to facilitate the democratic process, it was once an instrument of fascism, political suppression, and human rights violations. The Estadio Nacional is so ingrained into the soul of Chile that it transcends its significance as a National Monument, and becomes an outlet for the voices of competing ideologies in football, politics, music, and many other parts of Chilean culture.

---

59   Cifuentes, Patricia. "Works at the National Stadium Leave April Elections without a Historic Voting Location." March 19, 2021, *El Mercurio*.

Liberté, Égalité, Homosexualité: Macho Fashion and Symbolic Interactionism in 1970s America

Angelo Hale

Abstract: This is an origin story for the machismo mode of dress associated with queer men in America. Drawing on masculine archetypes like the leather biker, the manual laborer, and the cowboy, the macho male of the 1960s and 1970s used certain garments to communicate sexuality in a discreet manner. An elaborate code for those in-the-know, one may find the macho style in a range of media from this period, including music, film, and pornography. To understand why gay men created and adopted this style, this article utilizes the theory of symbolic interactionism—a sociological viewpoint that recognizes how humans act though social symbols. From this perspective, one may see how a marginalized group of people collectively forged an empowering form of self-expression.

In their 1978 song *Macho Man*, American disco group Village People sing about how every man wants to be a muscular macho man; "You can tell a macho, he has a funky walk // His Western shirts and leather always look so boss," they proclaim in the second verse.[1] Homosexual songwriter and producer Jacques Morali created the group in 1977, and they are best known for their song Y.M.C.A., which eventually received recognition outside of the gay disco scene and into the general public; to this day, the song is often played at sporting events, recreational centers, wedding receptions, and public-school dances. In the music videos for *Macho Man* and *Y.M.C.A.*, the group's members wear "macho" American-Western garments such as flannel shirts and an Indigenous headdress, and leather apparel like peaked caps, jackets, pants, work boots, and combat boots.[2]

Indeed, Village People's members dressed in an assemblage of different costumes with Alex Briley as an infantry soldier, Randy Jones as a cowboy, David Hodo as a construction coworker, Glen Hughes as a leather biker, Felipe Rose as a Native American, and Victor Willis as either a naval officer or police officer depending on the performance in question. Their songs carry on with these macho motifs, such as *Hot Cop* (1978), *I'm A Cruiser* (1978), *Go West* (1979), and *In The Navy* (1979). These motifs did not emerge in a vacuum, and one can find them outside this specific music group.

---

1   See Village People, "Macho Man," Morali, Jacques; Belolo, Henri; Willis, Victor; Whitehead, Beauris, 1978, Casablanca Records, track one on *Macho Man*, 1978.

2   See Village People, "Macho Man," Morali, Jacques; Belolo, Henri; Willis, Victor, 1978, Casablanca Records, track one on *Cruisin',* 1978.

Rather, Village People's fashions and music serve as an excellent reflection of the macho style that gay men adopted in the 1970s. This style has its foundations in the homo-eroticization of traditionally heterosexual and overtly masculine characters. As the Village People demonstrate, the most popular characters included the American-Westerner, the leather biker, the manual laborer, and the man in uniform. Additionally, the *Macho Man* music video contains an abundance of jock imagery, in addition to some of Victor Willis' costumes. To understand how and why gay men assigned homoerotic significations to these specific archetypes, fashion historians should view the 1970s macho-man style under the lens of symbolic interactionism.

The advantage of using symbolic interactionism is that historians can recognize the personal liberty of gay men as they reappropriated archetypal masculinity and forged a new image of homosexuality through social interaction. Analyzing the macho style reveals the power of clothing when covertly expressing sexuality—a skill necessary for gay men during the 1960s and 70s. Here, gay men imitated masculine archetypes and characters from popular media like film. In this effort, these macho men donned an assortment of garments including, but not limited to, handkerchiefs, athletic socks and underwear, chaps, vests, and military caps; and materials like leather, flannel, and denim. All this to say, gay men developed the macho style off symbols transmitted through media. From this understanding, historians should use the symbolic interactionist framework to view other occurrences in social and cultural history.

Symbolic interactionism is a conceptual framework for understanding a society. Sociologist Herbert Blumer coined this term as he expanded on the thoughts of other sociologists.[3] Symbolic interactionism, as Blumer asserted, has two main premises. First, individuals give meanings to objects through social interactions. Second, individuals act based on the meanings they give to objects. These two premises outline how individuals and their small-scale social interactions shape a society and the behaviors of its members. On the other hand, the opposing and more popular sociological viewpoint of structural functionalism asserts that human behaviors—such as dress and fashion—are made in response to broader societal contexts like cultural norms, values, demands, and social roles.[4]

For historians, symbolic interactionism is important because it offers a viewpoint that gives greater agency and personal liberty to the individual. This is especially critical for fashion history due to the field's analysis of material items and the individuals who wear them. Through symbolic interactionism, historians can view individuals as actively developing their personhood—the way they behave—and the styles they dress themselves in. While the structural functionalist views a society's norms and pressures as the agent that defines styles and creates fashion trends, the symbolic interactionist views individuals as defining a society and its fashion trends. When exploring the history of queer fashion in the

---

3   See Blumer, Herbert. *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 1969.
4   Ibid., 14.

United States, the symbolic interactionist framework gives agency to gay men instead of giving power to the social institutions that oppressed them.

According to Blumer, 20th century social scientists overlooked symbolic interactionism. Likewise, few historians have utilized the symbolic interactionist approach, as this framework has eluded the grasp of major historiographical trends. At large, 18th century European historians wrote histories of Western civilizations and their leaders.[5] Well known examples include examples include David Hume's *The History of England* (1761), and Edward Gibbon's *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1789). Paradoxically, the approach of reducing history down to political events promotes a human history devoid of its humanity. That is to say, the approach of political historians often portrays humans as faceless victims lacking individuality and agency against societies and its major events; the exception would be the particular focus on outstanding individuals like political and military leaders. Traditional approaches to historical analysis unwittingly strip the agency and humanity of human individuals. As such, the major consequence is the production of an incomplete historical narrative. The symbolic interactionist approach seeks to fill these shortcomings.

On the first premise of symbolic interactionism, Blumer asserted that individuals define objects through social interaction. These definitions are not intrinsic to objects, nor are they unconditional or permanent; the social interactionist sees definitions as "social products" derived from interpretations made and shared through social interaction.[6] To this extent, different social groups may define the same object in different ways. Take for instance the song Y.M.C.A—the lead single of Village People's third studio album Cruisin'. A heterosexual man may interpret the album title as cruising on one's motorcycle. A queer man, however, would likely interpret the title as cruising for hook-ups, which involves engaging in sexual encounters with strangers in discrete yet public locations. The actual Y.M.C.A. institution served as a gay cruising location in New York City: a double meaning to the song and album titles.

Since the 1970s, American sociologists recognized media as an important agent in the human socialization process.[7] Forms of media, as previously demonstrated with Village People songs, communicate certain symbols to its audience. The song *Macho Man*, for instance, communicates that a muscular body, American-Western garb, and leather garments are macho. Media is a powerful vehicle through which symbols are formed and communicated. Indeed, sociologists and queer men alike have understood the impact that media has on human perception of clothing and their symbols. In addition to songs, other forms of media offer an interesting vantage point when examining the social creation and

---

5   Such examples include David Hume's The History of England (1761), and Edward Gibbon's The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (1789).
6   Blumer, Herbert. *Symbolic Interactionism.* 12.
7   Sociologists generally view four agents of human socialization: family, school, peer groups, and media. See Mortimer, Jeylan T., Simmons, Roberta G. "*Adult Socialization.*" Annual Review of Sociology, vol 4, 1978.

transmission of symbols.

In his 1977 series *Gay Semiotics*, photographer Hal Fischer recorded queer fashions found in San Francisco ranging from everyday street fashions to those belonging to sadomasochist subcultures. In his photograph depicting the gay Western style, Fischer writes that the American media exploits the archetypal cowboy as a machismo figure representative of masculinity and sexuality. As Fischer states, these symbolisms are "subconsciously understood by the gay populace."[8] What Fischer describes here is the sociological role of media under the framework of symbolic interactionism. In other words, the creation and transmission of symbols occurs through the social interaction between a media and its audience.

In Gay Semiotics, Fischer specifically referenced advertisements as the vehicle through which gay men have internalized the cowboy as a macho figure. This likely alludes to the Marlboro Man—the cowboy mascot for Marlboro cigarettes since 1955. However, films of the 1950s also created and communicated machismo and sexual qualities of certain archetypes that gay macho fashion pulled from in the 1960s and 70s. Actor Marlon Brando is a figure of particular importance to the gay-macho style—specifically his roles as the working-class Stanely Kowalski in *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1951) and the rebellious leather biker in *The Wild One* (1953).

A Streetcar Named Desire explores themes of dissatisfaction with life in Postwar America, the integrity of the American Dream, and discrimination based on class, gender, national origin, and sexuality. In his portrayal as Stanley Kowalski, Brando is often costumed in a pre-shrunken white t-shirt emphasizing his muscular physique and tight denim jeans showing off the bulge of his genitals. As film historian Graham McCann puts it, this film promoted a type of "blue-collar chic" through Brando's character.[9] Though he is visibly masculine and aggressive, Stanley is an insecure man who uses sex, alcohol, and violence to cope with general dissatisfaction with his life due in part to class-repression. With the original story written by homosexual playwright Tennessee Williams, *A Streetcar Named Desire's* themes of frustration towards societal repression and hedonistic indulgences would have resonated especially well with gay male audiences feeling a similar sense of cynicism and dissatisfaction living in America.

Brando's role as Johnny Strabler in *The Wild One* has him costumed in leather boots, gloves, and a peaked cap, black shades, and leather jacket over a tight t-shirt and tucked into denim jeans that outline his bulge. Brando's character is that of an angsty and rebellious leader of a biker gang; he outwardly exhibits traits of traditional masculinity through his brooding personality, arrogance, aggression, and overtly sexual nature. *The Wild One* communicated these undeniably masculine symbols through Marlon Brando.

8   Fischer, Hal, photographer. *Archetypal Media Image: Western.* Gelatin silver print on paper. San Francisco, California, 1977. San Francisco Museum of Modern Art.
9   McCann, Graham. *Rebel Males: Clift, Brando, and Dean*. Rutgers University Press, 1993. 8.

Here, Brando is stylishly clad in such a manner that his physique and manhood are intentionally accentuated. This film is of particular importance to the macho style, as gay men in the 1970s adopted Brando's garments and an emphasis on fashion consciousness.

While better known for his roles in *A Streetcar Named Desire* and *The Wild One*, Brando played leading roles in several military and American-Western films such as Emiliano Zapata in the Western film *Viva Zapata* (1952); captain Napoleon Bonaparte in *Désirée* (1954); U.S. Air Force fighter Major Ace Gruver in *Sayonara* (1957); German lieutenant Christian Diestl in *The Young Lions* (1958); naval-lieutenant Fletcher Christian in *Mutiny on the Bounty* (1962); and outlaw Rio in Western film *One-Eyed Jacks* (1961). The gay-macho style of the 1970s pulled heavily from the archetypal characters Brando played in the 1950s and 60s: the working-class man, the leather biker, the cowboy, the soldier, and the seaman.

In his book *Rebel Males: Clift, Brando, and Dean*, Graham McCann describes the ways in which Marlon Brando became a Hollywood sex symbol in the 1950s along with American actors Montgomery Clift and James Dean. McCann explains that sex symbols prior to the Second World War included men like Cary Grant and Humphrey Bogart whose performances as strong, sophisticated, and posh men distracted out-of-work audiences who felt emasculated from the effects of the Great Depression.[10] After the war, the rebel male became the new Hollywood sex symbol; such films communicated a new masculinity fashioned in proletariat and leather chic. Gay men understood these symbols, and they dressed in accordance with them in order to be perceived as macho by other gay men.

In his guide *The Butch Manual* (1982), Clark Henley offered a guide to gay men on how to dress and act macho.[11] To appear butch, Henley recommends the reader wear certain garments and accessories, and he correlates them to specific fantasies from popular films.[12] For example, Henley connects leather gloves with Marlon Brando in *The Wild One*; leather bolo ties with Anthony Quinn's role in *Viva Zapata*; the peaked military cap with William Holden's portrayal as a naval commander in *The Bridge on the River Kwai* (1957); the leather harness with bodybuilder Steeve Reeve's titular role in *Hercules* (1958); neck handkerchiefs with Clint Eastwood's character in the Western film T*he Good, The Bad, and the Ugly* (1966); the open work shirt with Paul Newman's role as a prison laborer in *Cool Hand Luke* (1967); and red suspenders with Steve Mcqueen's role as a fire department chief in *The Towering Inferno* (1974).[13] As with Hal Fischer in his photograph series *Gay Semiotics*, Henly recognized how media communicated masculine and sexual symbolisms when depicting certain characters: leather bikers, men in uniforms like naval officers and first responders, bodybuilders, cowboys, and manual laborers.

---

10   Ibid., 9.
11   See Henley, Clark. *The Butch Manual: The Current Drag and How To Do It.* The Sea Horse Press, New York City, 1982. 1
12   Ibid., 11-112.
13   Ibid., 112.

Sociologists have widely understood that media plays a powerful role in the human socialization process. To the symbolic interactionist, mid-century films forged associations between certain characters and macho masculinity, and then communicated these symbols to their audiences. For gay-macho fashion of the 1970s, five important characters are the working-class laborer, the Westerner, the leather biker, the man in uniform, and the athlete. We can see these archetypes in an abundance of media prior to the 70s. As a well-recognized Hollywood sex icon, Marlon Brando's roles as men like Stanley Kowalski and Johnny Strabler are notable examples. Leading males possessed an undeniable masculinity, sexual appeal, and fashions that gay men recognized and internalized. Media is a powerful communicator of symbols, as will later be explored with 1970s magazines and Blumer's second premise.

The first premise of symbolic interactionism asserted how individuals assign meanings and symbols to objects. Building on this, the second premise explains that individuals behave on the basis of these symbols. Despite the apparent simplicity of this second premise, Blumer states that his sociologist and psychologist contemporaries neglect the importance of symbols.[14] Here, Blumer asserted that all individual actions, "whether minor, like dressing himself, or major, like organizing himself for a professional career," involve the interpretation of an object's assigned symbolism and the decision on how to act based on this evaluation.[15] Gay men in 1970s America interpreted machismo symbolisms that 1950s media created and communicated. These men then acted on these symbols in two notable ways: through the media they created and the ways in which they dressed themselves.

The pornographic media that gay men created during the 1970s contains an abundance of imagery from the five macho archetypes: the cowboy, the leather biker, the manual laborer, the man in uniform, and the athlete. In his article "Costume or Dress," fashion historian Shaun Cole similarly recognized the importance of these archetypal styles in gay media.[16] Cole specifically focuses on photographer Jim French and his work in Colt Studio.

This studio's pornographic films between 1968 and 1980 had its actors portray typical machismo characters: cowboys, bikers, construction workers, and the like; the "standard pillars of masculinity," as Jim French put it.[17] As Shaun Cole observed, examples of these characters include an electrician in *The Meterman* (1972),[18] Western ranchers in *The Bonus* (1978),[19] and a motorcycle cop clad in leather in *Moving Violation* (1980).[20] In addition to Colt's films, a series of Jim French's polaroids from the late 1960s depict

14   Ibid., 2.
15   Blumer, Herbert. *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method.* 80.
16   See Cole, Shaun. "Costume or Dress? The Use of Clothing in the Gay Pornography of Jim French's Colt Studio." *Fashion Theory,* vol 18, issue 2 (2014).
17   Ibid., 125.
18   Ibid., 130.
19   Idem.
20   Ibid., 138.

models dressed as sailors,[21] construction workers,[22] and leather bikers.[23] Alongside a variety of machismo costumes, what these Colt actors and models also have in common are their muscular physiques ranging from toned athletes to beefy bodybuilders.

Gay men like Jim French created pornographic media consisting of machismo subject matter. In tandem with costumes, plotlines, and physiques, the names of porn studios and its actors committed to the macho aesthetic. Colt Studio, for instance, is a double entendre for both a semiautomatic pistol and the term for an uncastrated horse. Colt Studio's predecessor, Lüger Studio, similarly shares its name with a military grade pistol.[24] Such names may evoke imagery of armed soldiers and Western ranchers. Other gay pornographic film studios of this decade followed with similar titles. Two such examples are Falcon Entertainment, being an allusion to the mountainous bird of prey, and Mustang Studio, named after the wild horse of the American West.

Porn actors adopted similar machismo stage names. One such example is Rex Morgan's pseudonym "Buck Hayes," which is a reference to bucking horses used to compete in bronc competitions and rodeos. A more famous porn actor is John Stillman whose pseudonym "Jack Wrangler" is evocative of the brand of jeans worn in the imitation of cowboys and construction workers. From the symbolic interactionist lens, we may understand how the interpretation of symbols influenced the creation of certain genres of gay pornography—genres whose machismo qualities lay within its names, scripted film performances, and costumes. To this extent, 1970s gay porn would further communicate machismo associations with certain archetypes just as 1950s films had done. Through plotlines, fashions, physiques, and names, pornographic media communicated the overtly homosexual qualities of male-dominated environments such as the American West, biker gangs, construction sites, and gender-segregated sport teams and military barracks.

Colt branded itself on the machismo aesthetic. "If the look is masculine, the name is Colt," proclaimed the gay pornographic magazine *Mandate* in its October 1979 issue.[25] On the same page as this quote, there are various images of Colt actors: two men dressed in leather, a man in a denim vest, a shirtless bodybuilder holding a football, a man revealing his penis through his denim jeans, and a handful of completely nude models.[26] In *Costume or Dress*, Cole states that gay male viewers of these pornographic films wanted to both lust after the male objects and become the objects by dressing like them.[27] Cole viewed porn

21   French, Jim, photographer. *Untitled (Sailor)*. Polaroid print. New York, New York. ca. 1967-1969. Private collection.

22   French, Jim, photographer. *Untitled (Construction Worker)*. Polaroid print. New York, New York. ca. 1967-1969. Private collection.

23   French, Jim, photographer. *Untitled (Two Men in Leather)*. Polaroid print. New York, New York. ca. 1967-1969. Private collection.

24   Cole, Shaun. "Costume or Dress?" 125.

25   See "Mandate: The International Magazine of Entertainment & Eros," *Modernismo Publishing,* October 1979. 75.

26   Idem.

27   Cole, Shaun. "Costume or Dress?" 134.

and its effects on gay dress from a symbolic interactionist perspective: through its actors, pornographic media communicates symbols to gay men. Afterwards, gay audiences act on these symbols by *lusting* over the characters these actors portray, and then becoming the characters through fashion.

The ways in which gay men dressed was a second behavior resultant from the symbols they interpreted. As previously mentioned, Hal Fischer's 1977 photograph series *Gay Semiotics* depicts the gay street fashions he found in San Francisco; among these styles are the jock, uniform, Western, and leather archetypes. One could identify the gay jock by his ribbed tank top, satin gym shorts, tube socks, and Adidas sneakers.[28] The uniformed gay often wears a navy construction cap, white shirt, war-issued combat trousers, and leather work boots.[29] The Western archetype is clad in riding boots, denim jeans, flannel, denim vests, and sometimes gallon hats.[30] Lastly, the gay leather archetype is the easiest to recognize, according to Fischer.[31] He is "vehemently macho in appearance"[32] with his leather boots, Levi jeans underneath leather chaps, and leather jacket with a cock ring often attached to the shoulder.

The cock ring was of particular importance to gay male fashion as an accessory serving both a symbolic and practical purpose. Functionally, it is a device worn around the base of the penis that traps blood in the genitalia—helping one achieve and maintain an erection. In the 1970s, cock-rings maintained popularity among gay communities due to the simultaneous popularity of inhalant drugs. One such drug, amyl nitrates, became so popular in gay disco scenes that Fischer refers to it as "the gay drug."[33] The inhalation of amyl nitrites causes blood to rush to the brain and, accordingly, away from the genitalia. Cock rings allowed gay men to maintain both their high and their erection. Appearing as an ordinary metal hoop, heterosexuals may interpret it as an innocuous accessory. However, to a gay man, a cock ring worn around the chest indicates that the wearer is prepared to take on the penetrative role in sex while also high on inhalants.

Gay men used three other accessories to communicate homosexual signals in hopes that other gay men would understand them. First, a key ring indicated the preferred sexual position of the wearer. Keys worn on the right indicated the wearer took on a penetrative role in sex while the right side indicated the wearer took on the receptive role.[34]

---

28   Fischer, Hal, photographer. *Street Fashion: Jock*. Gelatin silver print on paper. San Francisco, California, 1977. San Francisco Museum of Modern Art.
29   Fischer, Hal, photographer. *Street Fashion: Uniform*. Gelatin silver print on paper. San Francisco, California, 1977. San Francisco Museum of Modern Art.
30   Fischer, Hal, photographer. *Archetypal Media Image: Western*.
31   Fischer, Hal, photographer. *Archetypal Media Image: Leather*. Gelatin silver print on paper. San Francisco, California, 1977. San Francisco Museum of Modern Art.
32   Idem.
33   Fischer, Hal, photographer. *Amyl Nitrite*. Gelatin silver print on paper. San Francisco, California, 1977. San Francisco Museum of Modern Art.
34   Fischer, Hal, photographer. *Keys*. Gelatin silver print on paper. San Francisco, California, 1977. San Francisco Museum of Modern Art.

Second, earrings played a similar role. Like key chains, though, heterosexual men also wore earrings—making these particular signifiers unreliable. Fischer suggests handkerchiefs as a more reliable indicator.[35]

As with keys and earrings, gay men wore handkerchiefs to indicate their position preference in sexual encounters. However, the color of the handkerchief revealed the wearer's fetishes in such encounters. According to Fischer, a blue handkerchief indicated a lack of fetishes while a red handkerchief indicated an interest in "deviant" behavior.[36] For a more extensive guide on handkerchief colors, one can look to *Bob Damron's Address Book '79*. This guidebook listed addresses of popular cruising locations across America in addition to other useful information directed towards its gay audience.[37] In its 1979 edition, a chart on the hanky code reveals that dark blue handkerchiefs signified desire for ordinary sex; gray signified master/slave roleplay; and olive signified a fetish for military uniforms.

The use of covert sartorial semiotics was perhaps the best example of the actions gay men took on the basis of symbols: using the assigned symbols of garments to communicate homosexuality to other gay men in-the-know. The presence of the handkerchief code in *Gay Semiotics* and *Bob Damron's Address Book* reveals that handkerchiefs were ubiquitous enough to be placed alongside Fischer's other photographs of popular gay streetwear; the knowledge of deciphering this code proved useful enough to find a place in the introduction of *Bob Damron's* guidebook. The existence of handkerchiefs in homosexual media may also attest to the garment's popularity, as we primarily see red or gray ones on models clad in the imitation-cowboy look. Two such examples include the cover of a 1974 erotica novel depicting a shirtless cowboy with a red handkerchief around his neck,[38] and a fully costumed cowboy wearing a grey handkerchief in a 1980 issue of *Mandate*.[39]

Gay pornographic magazines like Mandate are useful primary sources when understanding gay macho fashion as an expression of interpreted symbols. Whereas pornographic films show clothed models with the promise of them completely undressing as the plot develops, magazines had to choose between including images of either dressed or nude models—often to depict a balance of the two. Alongside its images, magazines often offer original written works, style guides, and clothing advertisements targeted towards its gay audience. Three magazines than ran throughout the 70s include *Drummer* with its slogan "the leather fraternity;" *Honcho*, "the magazine for the macho male;" and *Mandate*, the "international magazine of eros."

35   Fischer, Hal, photographer. *Earring*. Gelatin silver print on paper. San Francisco, California, 1977. San Francisco Museum of Modern Art.

36   Fischer, Hal, photographer. *Blue Handkerchief Red Handkerchief*. Gelatin silver print on paper. San Francisco, California, 1977. San Francisco Museum of Modern Art.

37   See Damron, Bob. *Bob Damron's Address Book '79*. Bob Damron Enterprises, Inc. San Francisco, California. 1978.

38   Shulanski, Tex, "Saddle Buddy," *Hamilton House Publishing,* 1974, issue 103

39   See "Mandate: The International Magazine of Entertainment & Eros," *Modernismo Publishing*, November 1980. 28.

As with Colt's films, one could list the machismo imagery found in erotic maga-zines ad nauseum. Simply exploring the cover features of these magazines may suffi-ciently attest to the popularity of machismo fashions among gay men. The leather look, for example, appears on multiple covers of *Mandate* issues, with the April 1978 and November 1980 covers depicting shirtless men in denim jeans and peaked leather caps[40] and the October 1980 cover featuring Colt Studio actor Clint Lockner in a leather jacket.[41] *Honcho's* 1978 report on the leather scene is also worth nothing, as they connect leather's popularity to the "sweaty, gritty, honcho image of Marlon Brando... in *The Wild One*—who could forget it?"[42] As one could imagine, gay men often treated Brando as reference point for machismo dress. Take for instance *Mandate's* 1980 report on leather jokingly claiming that a model's outfit—a peaked leather cap, codpiece leather pants, and Western-influenced lace-up leather tunic—made Marlon Brando look like a fairy by comparison.[43]

The leather style occupied notable portions of various magazine issues. *Drummer,* for instance, centered on the queer leather and sadomasochist subcultures. The magazine's club, the "leather fraternity," helped leathermen locate and hook-up with one another. Each issue provided a short biography of each member, detailing the city they lived in, their age, zodiac sign, sexual fetishes, stance on drug use, and penis size.[44] By its March 1976 issue, the leather fraternity had over 300 members spanning 41 states.[45]

Various magazine issues account for the other four machismo archetypes, though not to the same extent as leather. For example, *Drummer's* December 1976 issue focused on the appeal of military uniforms. The cover of *Drummer's* January 1979 issue depicted a model wearing a jockstrap and the issue later featured an erotic short story titled "S&M Gym," further playing into this jock fantasy.[46] Similarly, *Honcho's* July 1978 had a special report on "Jocks and the men who wear them," with a man in a jockstrap on the cover and an abundance of photographs of seminude hockey players later in the issue.[47] A year later, *Honcho's* July issue focused on the denim look often adopted by manual-laborer and cowboy imitators.[48] Notably, this denim issue offered a guide on shrinking one's jeans

40   See "Mandate: The International Magazine of Entertainment & Eros," *Modernismo Publishing,* April 1978; "Mandate: The International Magazine of Entertainment & Eros," *Modernismo Publishing,* November 1980.

41   See "Mandate: The International Magazine of Entertainment & Eros," *Modernismo Publishing,* October 1980.

42   "Honcho: The Magazine for the Macho Male," *Modernismo Publishing*, June 1978. Page 17.

43   "Mandate: The International Magazine of Entertainment & Eros," *Modernismo Publishing,* November 1980. 29.

44   "DRUMMER Magazine for Leathermen" *Drummer Publications,* March 1976. 25-28.

45   Idem.

46   "DRUMMER Magazine for Leathermen" *Drummer Publications,* January 1979. 23-27.

47   "Honcho: The Magazine for the Macho Male," *Modernismo Publishing*, July 1978. Page 1.

48   See "Honcho: The Magazine for the Macho Male," *Modernismo Publishing*,

for "showing off a big ballsy basket."[49] Henley's *Butch Manual* offers a similar guide on shrinking jeans and filing the crotch-area with a nail file to give the impression that the wearer's "dick is so big, it's wearing a hole through my pants."[50] These guides reveal how gay men treated masculinity as decor, and then used consciously fashion to display their manhood.

Gay men played into the homosexual symbolisms of machismo archetypes by giving their fashion an explicitly sexual function. To this extent, machismo fashion seldom possessed the original functions of its garments. The machismo style often possessed an over-the-top flair that opted to uphold fashionability over practicality. A 1977 issue of *Mandate* depicted a model wearing a football jersey with a bejeweled "69" in reference to the colloquial term for an oral sex position;[51] the introduction page to a 1978 issue of *Honcho* depicts an imitation manual-laborer model with his waist covered in sawdust and a Hercules-brand industrial battery next to his penis;[52] another section from a *Honcho* issue with the kitschy title "Firemen's Balls" depicts two shirtless firefighters wearing jock-straps and sliding down a pole.[53] Here, the jockstrap is a striking example of how gay men subverted the original athletic function of the garment by giving it a homoerotic one.

With the machismo and homoerotic symbols of certain garments, gay men could become the objects of their desire through fashion. To this extent, magazines appealed to these desires through style guides and advertisements. A 1977 guide from *Mandate* outlines the garments of three machismo styles and the estimated prices.[54] The *Outdoorsman* style is the "synthesis of the best of the North Woods and the far West ranch country," and one would spend $115 for a plaid wool shirt, a leather vest, Levi jeans, and construction boots. The *Leatherman* style consisted of a "Brando classic black leather motorcycle jacket," leather pants, a studded belt, and heavy-duty boots. Last, the *Sportsman* outfit required a cotton tank top, gym shorts, a jockstrap, a sweatband, and knee-length striped socks.

Lastly, clothing advertisements in magazines appealed to gay men wishing to adopt the macho look. Take for instance the October 1977 issue of *Mandate* featuring advertisements for earrings, peaked leather caps, 16" black leather boots, and spiked leather wristbands.[55] Another Mandate issue three years later would feature an advertise-

---

July 1979.

49   Ibid., 10-16.
50   Henley, Clark. *The Butch Manual.* 55-57.
51   "Mandate: The International Magazine of Entertainment & Eros," *Modernismo Publishing,* October 1977. 13.
52   "Honcho: The Magazine for the Macho Male," *Modernismo Publishing*, June 1978. 2.
53   "Honcho: The Magazine for the Macho Male," *Modernismo Publishing*, May 1979. 28-33.
54   "Mandate: The International Magazine of Entertainment & Eros," *Modernismo Publishing,* December 1977. 12-13.
55   "Mandate: The International Magazine of Entertainment & Eros," *Modernismo Publishing,* October 1977.

ment for amyl nitrite inhalers on the first page; the advertisement's illustration depicted a muscular man tattooing the arm of a shirtless sailor.[56] Though we may not have exact figures on the number of readers who bought these products, it is evident that magazines intentionally advertised machismo garments towards gay men and used machismo imagery to sell other products.

  Mandate had a segment at the end of its magazines where they respond to fan letters. One such letter titled "Clothes make the man" detailed a subscriber's request to see a nude model from a previous issue with clothes on—specifically a pair of jeans.[57] Recognizing the appeal of certain garments and the homoerotic symbols affixed to them, this subscriber found a model wearing jeans more erotic than one fully nude. Indeed, readers and creators of gay pornography shared similar sentiments, as we see a wide range of models and actors wearing machismo costumes. In the 1970s, gay men created machismo pornography and dressed in imitation-male styles on the basis of symbols they interpreted through popular media and actors like Marlon Brando.

  In his *Butch Manual*, Clark Henley discussed gay fetish fashions like uniforms and leather in its relation to appearing macho. He declares, "A group that is defined by a sexual term naturally feels obligated to prove itself sexual."[58] Here, Henley suggests that these fashion-conscious macho gays use dress to accentuate their masculinity and signal sexual openness may act in such a manner due to their societal label being grounded on sexual behavior. In other words, gay men participate in sexual deviance because that is how society regards homosexuals: as a sexual deviation from the heterosexual norm. Henley's perspective is that of a symbolic interactionist: that we dress and behave based on social definitions and applied symbols.

  The symbolic interactionist thinks in terms of individual interactions as opposed to their reactions to institutional structures within a society. Social interactions create and communicate symbolic associations. We see 1950s films promote a machismo image of physically fit actors clad in working-class wear, leather attire, uniforms, and frontiersman outfits. Through the interaction that occurred between media and its audiences, gay men consciously understood these symbols. As such, men like Jim French created pornographic media founded on the sexualization of the macho male. Wanting to become the macho male they saw in media, other gay men dressed in such a manner.

  Through symbolic interactionism, we can see how gay men subverted traditional masculinity and repurposed it for their own social purposes: signaling masculinity and sexuality, displaying openness for sex through handkerchiefs, and accentuating manhood through shrunken and worn-out jeans. When compared to structural functionalism,

---

   56   "Mandate: The International Magazine of Entertainment & Eros," *Modernismo Publishing,* October 1980. 2.
   57   Mandate: The International Magazine of Entertainment & Eros," *Modernismo Publishing,* November 1980. 52.
   58   Henley, Clark. *The Butch Manual*. 69.

symbolic interactionism allows historians to closely examine the actions of individuals and the symbolic worlds they created for themselves and others. The goal of this perspective is giving greater agency to the individual for a more nuanced historical narrative.

The Apple of the American Eye: Imagining Hawai'i as Paradise in Nineteenth Century Travel Writing

Tasso Hartzog

Abstract: This article traces the emergence of a "paradise discourse" in English-language travel writing about Hawai'i from initial European contact to the islands' annexation by the United States in 1898. Although the image of Hawai'i in the contemporary American imagination is inseparable from its position as the so-called Paradise of the Pacific, travel writing about the islands did not always picture them as an earthly Eden. This article will first examine the eighteenth-century narratives of the explorers James Cook and George Vancouver in order to establish that paradise discourse is conspicuously absent in those writings. Then, it will trace the development of paradise discourse in American travel writing about Hawai'i during the middle of the nineteenth century in conjunction with the islands' growing economic importance to the United States. Finally, it will consider two major works of fin-de-siècle travel writing—H. H. Gowen's *Paradise of the Pacific* and John R. Musick's *Hawaii: Our New Possessions*—in which Hawai'i appears as a fully-formed paradise, a "ripe apple" in the words of one 1893 newspaper article. All of this is in the interest of demonstrating that paradise discourse arose from specific economic conditions and served an ideological function: to make Hawai'i more appealing as a target for American empire.

The association between Hawai'i and paradise is today taken for granted and has been for more than a century. It is difficult to recognize, given the omnipresence of the image of the Hawaiian island paradise, how strange it is that a real place, inhabited by real people, has come to symbolize an impossibility—heaven on earth. By 1912, the Union Steam Ship Company was advertising their destination cruises to Hawai'i as follows:

> Here perpetual summer reigns, and the fragrance of flowers unceasingly fills the air. The wealth of tropical vegetation, the abundance of fruit, the waving palms, the wide acres of sugar cane, the happy natives, and the sea breaking in long rolling waves over the coral reefs . . . all these make up a picture that combine to emphasize the novelty and augment the charms of this Paradise of the Pacific.[1]

---

1   K. R. Howe, *Nature, Culture, and History: The 'Knowing' of Oceania* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000), 25.

This image of Hawai'i will be familiar to any reader today, American or otherwise, not because it is true—"the happy natives" is the most glaring fabrication, among many—but because it has proved so useful. Not only was the image of Hawai'i as the Paradise of the Pacific exploited by steamship companies to sell tickets; it also helped to justify the advancement of American commercial and imperial interests, and, in 1898, the annexation of the islands by the United States.

When European explorers first made contact with Hawai'i, they did not see the paradise marketed by the Union Steam Ship Company. Instead, they saw a string of islands, relatively lush but not exceptionally so. They noticed the parts of Hawai'i that pertained to their colonizing purposes: coves that might be made into serviceable harbors, or the Hawaiians' terraced agriculture. It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that a paradise discourse began to emerge in American travel writing about Hawai'i, and that discourse was not consolidated or particularly widespread until the latter quarter of the century. The historian Sharae Deckard, whose book *Paradise Discourse, Imperialism, and Globalization: Exploiting Eden* (2010) is the definitive study on the subject, describes the development of paradise discourse as a shift from a "a geographical topos motivating European exploration and colonization" to "a myth justifying imperial discourse and praxis."[2] Early travel writing about Hawai'i fits the first mode of paradise discourse described by Deckard only loosely; Europeans didn't need paradise as a geographical topos in order to justify their exploration and colonization of Hawai'i. However, the Paradise of the Pacific became a hugely important myth in the later nineteenth century, justifying the increasing dominance of Americans in Hawaiian economic and political life. Robert Campbell advises that it is important to "[take] seriously the reality of what was imagined." Travel literature, as a means of determining how a place is imagined, is neither inconsequential nor harmless. Campbell, writing about Alaska, asserts that "tourists' presences and their written passages exercised a variety of state power while appearing to have no political effect whatsoever."[3] The same has been true of Hawai'i: written travel accounts have exerted quiet but profound power through the images they have created.

In Hawaiian history, the nineteenth century was defined by the encroachment of U.S. empire. As Noel Kent advises, "When discussing any facet of Hawaiian development after 1778"—after initial European contact—"we must always be aware of the external influences at work."[4] Although Hawai'i was not annexed until 1898, the U.S. government had had its eyes on the islands by the middle of the nineteenth century amid the fervor of Manifest Destiny and the expansion of the sugar industry, of which Hawai'i

2   Sharae Deckard, *Paradise Discourse, Imperialism, and Globalization: Exploiting Eden* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 2.

3   Robert Campbell, *In Darkest Alaska: Travel and Empire Along the Inside Passage* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 12.

4   Noel J. Kent, *Hawaii: Islands Under the Influence* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), 36.

was an important Pacific outpost. Discussions between the United States government and Hawaiian sugar plantation owners about the possibility of a reciprocity agreement, guaranteeing Hawaiian sugar free entry into the American market, began in the 1840s, but the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, a Honolulu newspaper that functioned as a mouthpiece for business interests, made its first vigorous call for annexation even earlier, in 1837, believing that it would bring "national prosperity." [5] After the Civil War, Secretary of State William Seward had a vision of American empire that extended into the Pacific: "The nation that draws most from the earth and fabricates most, and sells most to foreign nations must be and will be the greatest power on earth. You want the commerce of the world. This is to be looked for on the Pacific." Indicating where, exactly, he was looking in the Pacific, Seward wrote to the U.S. Minister of Hawai'i: "It is proper that you should know for your own information that a lawful and peaceful annexation of the Sandwich Islands is deemed desirable."[6] The creation of Hawai'i as a paradise in American travel writing, then, coincided with Hawai'i's increasing importance to the United States both as a trading partner and as a military gateway to the Pacific. The U.S. Army, for example, had set its sights on Pearl Harbor as early as 1873, when it sent two generals on a secret trip to assess the islands' military capabilities.[7]

A number of questions guide this paper: How and why did Western travel writing in the nineteenth century imagine Hawai'i as a paradise? How did the image of the islands presented in major works of travel writing shift over the course of the century, and how did paradise discourse intersect with Hawaiian politics at the turn of the twentieth century? Christine Skwiot, in *The Purposes of Paradise: U.S. Tourism and Empire in Cuba and Hawai'i* (2010), has come closest to answering those questions, but the focus of her study is different from than that of this paper. *The Purposes of Paradise* is a comparative study of two islands, Cuba and Hawai'i, that were formed in the same image—that of a paradise under U.S. empire. Although her book, like Deckard's, provides an important theoretical basis for this paper, namely in its analysis of how "travel narratives, rituals, and institutions" produce "imperial fantasies," it does not consider the development of paradise discourse about Hawai'i over the course of the nineteenth century, focusing instead on how imperial imaginings of Hawai'i led to its statehood in 1959.[8] Neither does it mention the two books of late-nineteenth century travel writing, by Gowen and Musick, that will anchor this paper's analysis of paradise discourse on the eve of annexation.

The first European explorers to make contact with Hawai'i in the 18th century, James Cook (1728-1779) and George Vancouver (1757-1798) among them, did not

---

5   Kent, *Islands Under the Influence, 38.*
6   Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom Volume 3: The Kalakaua Dynasty, 1874–1893* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1967), 208.
7   Kent, *Islands Under the Influence,* 54.
8   Christine Skwiot, *The Purposes of Paradise: U.S. Tourism and Empire in Cuba and Hawai'i* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 2.

describe the islands as an Eden. Instead, it was nineteenth century travel writing, drawing on religious and literary discourses, that first imagined the islands as paradise, making them more attractive to U.S. imperial and commercial interests in the years immediately preceding annexation. To that end, this paper will first examine the narratives of Cook and Vancouver in order to establish that paradise discourse is conspicuously absent in those writings. Then, it will trace the development of paradise discourse in American travel writing about Hawai'i during the middle of the nineteenth century. Finally, it will consider two major works of fin-de-siècle travel writing—H. H. Gowen's *Paradise of the Pacific*, published in 1892, and John R. Musick's *Hawaii: Our New Possessions*, published in 1898—in which Hawai'i appears as a fully-formed paradise, a "ripe apple" in the words of one 1893 newspaper article, ready to be annexed by the United States and brought finally into the fold of its newly global empire.[9]

Discovering Paradise: 1778-1798

When European explorers set out in the sixteenth century to discover Terra Australis Incognita, a landmass they presumed to lie between Asia and the Americas, they did so, as K. R. Howe describes, "with a well-established mental landscape of the tropical island paradise—sweet airs, glorious abundance of flora and fauna, running fresh water, riches, and their human inhabitants living in a natural innocence and ready for co-option in imperial designs."[10] From the perspective of the English-speaking world, Cook discovered Hawai'i on January 18, 1778. In Cook's account of his third voyage, his first glimpse of the islands is unremarkable; there are few hints of the "mental landscape of the tropical island paradise" in his writings.[11] Perhaps Cook's impression of Hawai'i, which he imperiously named the Sandwich Islands, was overshadowed by his time in Tahiti, where he traveled during his first voyage (1768-1771). In the words of Bernard Smith, one of the first scholars to seriously consider how early European settlers imagined the South Pacific in art and literature, Cook evoked Tahiti as a "deistic paradise of innocence and natural virtue."[12] Cook's own words about the Tahitians bear out this conclusion: "Benevolent nature hath not only supply'd them with neccessarys but with abundance of superfluities."[13] Louis de Bougainville, a French explorer who visited Tahiti a year before Cook, compared the Tahitians to Greek gods.[14] Although not yet comprising a straightforward discourse, these early accounts had begun to mold Polynesia in a European image. As K. R. Howe notes, "Polynesians were frequently likened to something familiar and

---

9   *New York Independent,* February 2, 1893, cited in Julius W. Pratt, *Expansionists of 1898* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1936), 147–148.

10   Howe, *Nature, Culture, and History,* 13.

11   James Cook, *The Journals of Captain Cook, p*repared from the original manuscripts by J. C. Beaglehole and edited by Philip Edwards (London: Penguin Classics, 1999).

12   Kalissa Alexeyeff and Siobhan McDonnell, "Whose Paradise? Encounter, Exchange, and Exploitation," *The Contemporary Pacific* 30, no. 2 (2018): 269-294; Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 44.

13   Cook, *Journals*.

14   Smith, *European Vision,* 25.

explicable in European terms. Ultimately Polynesia was a European-created, cultural artifact."[15] According to Bernard Smith, it was not a paradisiacal image but a "classical vision which first permeated the European imagination" of the South Pacific.[16]

If Cook's characterization of Tahiti is Edenic, his description of Hawai'i is not. He doesn't describe the land at any length, merely noting the mountains and "places that seemed to be planted with roots," although he does comment on what he perceives as the innocence of the native Hawaiians: "No people could trade with more honesty than these people, never once attempting to cheat us, either ashore or alongside the ships." But even this observation is tempered: "Some indeed at first betrayed a thievish disposition…"[17] Although Cook's description of Tahiti bears the marks of paradise discourse, his characterization of Hawai'i does not, at least explicitly. Still, Cook's description of the Hawaiian islands and its strange inhabitants helped to reinforce "the island" as a "visceral cultural metaphor," to use Richard Grove's term, that had already become an influential element of Western art and literature, ranging from Shakespeare's *The Tempest* to the poetry of John Donne.[18]

George Vancouver's account of his voyage to Hawai'i, published in 1798, is more useful than Cook's as a basis from which to analyze the next century of paradise discourse about Hawai'i. Vancouver was a junior officer of Cook's who, when he raised the Union Jack on the Big Island, signaled Hawai'i's unwitting entrance into the landscape of nineteenth-century imperialism.[19] Although his account contains much of the same prosaic navigational information as Cook's, it also contains moments of richer observation. Like Cook, Vancouver had traveled to Tahiti before arriving at Hawai'i, and his first impressions of the islands betray a sense of disappointment. He describes Karakakooa Bay as "in a great degree destitute of that diversity of prospect which might have been expected here…"[20] He also notes that the "sides of the hills, …seemed rocky and barren…" Later in the narrative, Vancouver compares Hawai'i—or, as he calls the islands, "Owhyhee"—more overtly to Tahiti, where "the surface teems, as it were, spontaneously with the most abundant produce of esculent vegetables, without the help of industry to sow, plant, or rear them… There, the continued groves of the lofty and umbrageous bread fruit, apple, palm, and other trees, afford a delightful cool retreat to those favored islanders." In Hawai'i, however, Vancouver observes that "the inhabitants know

15   Robin Fisher and Hugh Johnston, eds., *From Maps to Metaphors: The Pacific World of George Vancouver* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1993), 245.

16   Fisher and Johnston*, Maps to Metaphors*, 246.

17   Cook*, Journals*, 532-534.

18   Richard Grove, *Green imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens, and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 33.

19   Kent, *Islands Under the Influence,* 15.

20   George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and Round the World… Vol. 1.* (London: G.G. and J. Robinson, Paternoster-Row; and J. Edwards, Pall-Mall, 1798), Eighteenth Century Collections Online, 154.

not the luxury of such retirement."

In Vancouver's account, Tahiti appears as a veritable Eden, where procuring food requires little to no labor; Hawai'i and its inhabitants, meanwhile, greet him with an "unwelcome austerity."[21] This is an essential distinction. Much of the paradise myth, betraying its origins in the Garden of Eden as described in Genesis, depended on the potential for what Deckard terms "labor-free delight."[22] By describing Tahiti in Edenic terms—"abundance of superfluities," "abundant produce of esculent vegetables"—Cook and Vancouver planted the seeds of paradise discourse in the Pacific. Deckard argues that the voyages of Cook, Bougainville, and other explorers "generated the first 'paradise tourism,' reinforcing the utopian significance of the Pacific islands as the last 'unspoiled' locations on earth."[23]

Although Vancouver did not find in Hawai'i the kind of natural profusion that he had found in Tahiti, he did note the "aqueducts which these people [the native Hawaiians] construct with great labor and ingenuity to insure them a crop."[24] This was a sign of things to come: Hawai'i would soon appear as a paradise in the eyes of American travelers, but it would be an illusory Eden, built on the backs of the Hawaiian people and their "great labor and ingenuity." Instead of comparing Hawai'i to a paradise, Vancouver likens the islands to "common fields in England," and he notes that the soil reminds him of the "red dirt in Jamaica."[25] In the mode outlined by K. R. Howe, Vancouver made Hawai'i "explicable in European terms," turning the islands into a European cultural artifact, albeit one not yet shaped in the form of paradise. To Cook and Vancouver Hawai'i did not appear to provide the endless bounty of Tahiti. There, paradise would not merely be discovered; it would have to be built.[26]

Building Paradise: 1798-1857

By the time Vancouver penned his account of his travels in Hawai'i, the islands had already become an important center of political economic activity in the Pacific, connected to a burgeoning global marketplace.[27] Alexeyeff and McDonnell describe paradise narratives as "part of a global discourse attached to the economic and political logics of capitalism."[28] Accordingly, Hawai'i entered a feedback loop: the islands' increasing importance to global capitalism in the nineteenth gave rise to paradise discourse, which in turn stimulated more investment and activity in the islands.

During the fifty years following Cook's voyage, Hawai'i underwent massive

---

21   Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery*, 165.
22   Deckard, *Paradise Discourse*.
23   Deckard, *Paradise Discourse*.
24   Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery*, 165.
25   Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery,* 163; 170.
26   Deckard, *Paradise Discourse*.
27   Kent, *Islands Under the Influence,* 15.
28   Alexeyeff and McDonnell, "Whose Paradise?," 275.

changes. Underpinning all of them was a precipitous decline in the Native Hawaiian population that followed Cook's arrival. By 1831, the Native Hawaiian population, devastated by foreign diseases, had declined by roughly 75-85 percent of its 1778 level—a population crisis worse than that faced by England during the Black Death, which had the effect of driving down wages and dispossessing thousands of Native Hawaiians, setting the stage for the rise of plantation agriculture.[29] During this crisis, circa 1810, Hawai'i became a major exporter in the sandalwood trade. Crucially, this trade was controlled by the United States—specifically by New England—reversing British dominance in the islands' political and economic life. This trend was consolidated later in the century when the U.S. continued to dominate the growing whaling and plantation agriculture industries.[30]

Into this fray entered two New Englanders: James Jackson Jarves (1818-1888) and Hiram Bingham (1831-1908). Both were well-connected; Jarves, from a wealthy Brahmin family, moved in the same circles as John Quincy Adams, and Bingham's son would later become a senator and rediscover the ruins of Machu Picchu.[31] Jarves, a travel writer and editor of the Honolulu newspaper The Polynesian, published *History of the Hawaiian Islands and Scenes and Scenery in the Sandwich Islands in 1843*. Bingham first published his travelogue, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands; or the Civil, Religious, and Political History of Those Islands*, four years later in 1847.[32] Although he disliked missionaries, Jarves was inspired to write his book by the "Providential overthrow" of hedonism on the islands, and the "gradual and increasing ascendency of Christianity and civilization" that occurred in the first decades of the nineteenth century.[33] Although he didn't stake out a position on annexation, Jarves's book was used by others to promote that goal, and he did envision the United States as the rightful owner and protector of Hawai'i.[34]

Jarves's book does not describe Hawai'i as a paradise, but he did assert the islands' growing importance in global commerce and their potentially crucial military position. "The peculiar situation of the Hawaiian Islands in the vast North Pacific," Jarves writes "is of great importance to commerce, and marks them as a general resting place in that portion of the great highway of the world, and the embryo depot of a vast and

---

29   Sumner La Croix, *Hawai'i: Eight Hundred Years of Political and Economic Change* (University of Chicago Press, 2019), 73; 76.

30   Kent, *Islands Under the Influence*, 17.

31   Skwiot, *Purposes of Paradise*, 21.

32   Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands; or the Civil, Religious, and Political History of Those Islands* (Canandaigua, NY: H. D. Goodwin, 1855).

33   Skwiot, *Purposes of Paradise*, 21; James Jackson Jarves, *History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands Embracing Their Antiquities, Mythology, Legends, Discovery by Europeans in the Sixteenth Century, Re-Discovery by Cook, with Their Civil, Religious and Political History, from the Earliest Traditionary Period to the Present Time* (Boston: Tappan and Dennet, 1843), vi.

34   Skwiot, *Purposes of Paradise*, 21.

flourishing trade."[35] As a military possession, the islands "might be considered as holding the key of the North Pacific—for no trade could prosper in their vicinity… while a hostile power… should send forth its cruisers to prey upon the neighboring commerce."[36] He also comments on the islands' agricultural productivity: their "salubrious" climate is ideal for raising livestock, and, "with the introduction of a good mill," wheat could be grown profitably in the Uplands of Maui.[37] Nowhere in his careful consideration of the Hawaiian landscape does Jarves describe the islands as a paradise. Instead, he represents the landscape as "verdant, well watered," "peculiar and beautiful"—in short, exotic.[38] In this way, Jarves's account resembles Vancouver's: both are staid but optimistic about the islands' future usefulness. The image of Hawai'i as a paradise followed only after their commercial and military importance had been well established.

An analysis of Hiram Bingham's book, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands*, reveals the dialectical nature of paradise discourse in Hawaiian travel writing by the middle of the nineteenth century. The subtitle of Bingham's book, which is mostly composed of thorough histories of missionary operations on the islands, indicates his focus: "the introduction and progress of Christianity and civilization among the Hawaiian people."[39] Throughout the book, Bingham presents a view of Hawai'i that is more infernal than paradisiacal. He describes Native Hawaiians as "heathens," "idolaters," and "miserable captives of Satan" who are in "as deep degradation, ignorance, pollution and destitution as if the riches of salvation, and the light of heavenly glory, had never been provided to enrich and enlighten their souls."[40] This characterization of Native Hawaiians is at odds with the one laid out by Jarves and the early explorers, who described their encounters with Hawaiians in mostly friendly terms. Whereas Cook praised the general honesty of the Hawaiians, Bingham writes, "With their tongues have they used deceit, and the poison of asps is under their lips."[41] Why might Bingham have painted such a depraved picture of Hawaiian society, given his advocacy for the settlement of the island by white Americans? Sharae Deckard suggests that paradise discourse has a "double valence, [a] dyadic tendency to fluctuate between the promise of labor-free delight—paradise, garden, gold-land—and the 'infernal' shadow of its repressed material realities—anti-paradise, wasteland, depraved Eden."[42] Although Deckard mostly formulates this divided nature as a symptom of the paradise myth's internal contradictions—the "repressed material realities" of the Hawaiian paradise myth become clearer later in the century with the rise of plantation agriculture—it also suggests that paradise discourse can have a dual function, depending on its form. On the one hand, Edenic narratives have

35   Jarves, *History*, 3.
36   Jarves, *History,* 3-4
37   Jarves, *History,* 10.
38   Jarves, *History,* 6-7.
39   Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years*, Title.
40   Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years,* 69-70; 86.
41   Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years,* 22.
42   Deckard, *Paradise Discourse*, 3.

justified colonial and imperial projects by promising wealth and free labor. On the other hand, a lost paradise demands a savior, which also justifies colonization, albeit with a more religious valence. Bingham embraced the paradise lost narrative enthusiastically, bestowing himself and his fellow missionaries with divine purpose: "With this view of the helplessness of a whole nation, we can hardly fail to admire the benevolence of the injunction, 'Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature.'"[43]

Nowhere is the dyadic nature of paradise clearer than in one passage in Bingham's book that presents competing ideas about Hawai'i and paradise. Bingham recounts the experiences of a pair of missionaries and their families who traveled to Lahaina in 1823 to establish a mission there. First, Bingham quotes one of the missionaries describing his surroundings: "The thick shade of the bread-fruit trees…, the rustling of the breeze through the bananas and sugar cane, the murmur of the mountain streams encircling his yard, and the coolness and verdure of every spot around us, seemed, in contrast with our situation during a six months' voyage, and four weeks residence at Honolulu, like the delights of an Eden…" (Note how the missionary distinguishes the Edenic state of Lahaina from his time spent in Honolulu, whose dirty and crowded streets embody the "infernal shadow" of paradise's repressed material realities.) One of the missionaries' wives, B. Stockton, remarked in response "that though [Lahaina] had been compared to Eden, she thought it more like the land '*East of Eden*.'"[44] In the book of Genesis, that land east of Eden is where Cain goes "out from the presence of the Lord" after killing his brother, Abel.[45] At this point in the nineteenth century, paradise discourse was relatively well established in travelers' accounts of Hawai'i, but it contained two aspects: some Americans saw a paradise of natural profusion, and others saw a godless paradise lost. In both cases, though, paradise discourse justified and encouraged the continuing influence of American Protestantism on the islands.

In the second chapter of the book, before embarking on the history of the American missionary projects on the islands, Bingham unequivocally casts Hawai'i as a paradise lost. While describing the supposed practice of human sacrifice among the Hawaiian chiefs, he laments what he understands to be the corrupted character of the Native Hawaiians: "How easily did the prince of darkness, who, entering Paradise, deceived and ruined the holy mother of the human race, triumph and rule over her deluded and debased daughters, driven far from the delights of Eden, and cast on the dreary and dark shores of Hawaii!"[46] By presenting Hawai'i as a lost paradise, Bingham introduces the possibility that it can be restored. The rest of his book is a vision of that restoration, through the vehicle of Protestant missionary work. In 1851, four years after Bingham's book was published, the San Francisco newspaper *Alta California* applied Edenic language to Hawai'i in a different manner: "The inevitable destiny of the [Hawaiian] islands is to

---

43   Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years,* 56.
44   Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years,* 191.
45   Gen. 4:16.
46   Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years,* 55.

pass into the possession of another power. That power is just as inevitably our own…
The pear is nearly ripe; we scarcely have to shake the tree in order to bring the luscious
fruit readily into our lap."[47] While the beginning of Bingham's narrative is replete with
"heathens" and "idolaters," the final chapter, dealing with the years between 1841 and
1845, is more optimistic. There, Bingham tabulates the growing number of churches and
praises the "morality of the members."[48] As Bingham tells it, the story of the first few
decades of the nineteenth century in Hawai'i is one of spiritual ripening: "...the Hawaiian
nation, after twenty-one years of acquaintance with Christianity, is but a youth taken from
the filth and rags of heathenism, washed and trimmed, supplied with clothes and books,
and endowed with a healthy and manly constitution…"[49]

     Fourteen years after the publication of his travelogue, Jarves wrote a novel,
Kiana: A Tradition of Hawaii (1857), that marks an important development in paradise
discourse, especially when compared to his earlier work. The book is a fictionalized
account of a Spanish ship that Jarves believed to have arrived at Hawai'i before Cook's
voyage. In the Preface, Jarves makes his case for his alternative history, arguing that one
of the vessels in Hernán Cortés's expedition may have wrecked in Hawai'i before Cook's
arrival.[50] He also writes in the Preface that "every tale is based upon certain ideas, which
are its life-blood."[51] What ideas animate Kiana, then? And how do they relate to paradise?

     Whereas Jarves's non-fiction narrative described Hawai'i as strategically and
economically useful for the United States, Kiana establishes Hawai'i as an earthly Eden.
When Jarves does discuss the islands' potential place in American empire, he uses reli-
gious language: "[Hawai'i] was quietly biding its destiny, when in the circumnavigating
advance of civilization westward to its original seat in the Orient, it should become a new
centre of commerce and Christianity."[52] In Jarves's conception, Hawai'i's "destiny" is
linked to the West's return to the Holy Land—the location of the biblical Garden of Eden.
Kiana exemplifies in the clearest terms the dynamic outlined in *Paradise Discourse*, in
which Deckard writes that the concept of paradise may become "'unstuck' from theology,
but not from the modes of production."[53] In *Kiana*, paradise sticks to both "commerce
and Christianity," justifying American empire in Hawai'i in economic and religious
terms. Where before, in *History of the Hawaiian Islands*, Jarves had emphasized the labor
required to make Hawai'i agriculturally productive, he describes in Kiana an Edenic land-
scape that provides food without labor: "There were fine groves of the different species
of food-bearing palms,—orchards of bread-fruit and other kinds of trees, from which man
could derive both sustenance and material to clothe and house him; but for these purposes

47   Skwiot, *Purposes of Paradise,* 14.
48   Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years,* 609.
49   Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years,* 580.
50   James Jackson Jarves, *Kiana: a Tradition of Hawaii* (Boston: J. Munroe and
Co.), 1857.
51   Jarves, *Kiana*, 8.
52   Jarves, *Kiana*, 29.
53   Deckard, *Paradise Discourse*, find page.

and the culture of the taro plant… no little labor and skill were necessary."[54]

Crucially, Jarves wrote *Kiana* as the Hawaiian economy, having shifted toward whaling and plantation agriculture, began to rapidly expand. For the first time, local chiefs grew crops for export, beginning the gradual extinction of Hawai'i's subsistence economy. Sugar production doubled between 1837 and 1847,[55] and new systems of property, requiring applications for deeds and proof of occupancy, "furthered the ends of capitalist accumulation," as Kent writes.[56] At the same time, whaling vessels brought the first large groups of tourists to the islands: annual visitors nearly quadrupled between 1834 and 1846, from 5,300 to 19,600.[57] Amidst this frenetic development, the 1830s and 40s witnessed the first calls for annexation.

Although *Kiana* is set in the sixteenth century, the direct parallels it draws between Hawai'i and biblical paradise were inflected by the islands' growing nineteenth-century importance to the United States. To the shipwrecked Spanish sailors in the novel, who had begun to adjust to existence in Hawai'i, "their present lives seemed planted in Eden."[58] Jarves's epigraph to Chapter 7 is the poem "Promise" by Ralph Waldo Emerson:

> In countless upward-striving waves
>
> The moon-drawn tide-wave strives;
>
> In thousand far-transplanted grafts
>
> The parent fruit survives;
>
> So, in the new-born millions,
>
> The perfect Adam lives.[59]

Sometimes directly and sometimes, as in the case of the epigraph, through Western literature, Kiana draws on the biblical story of the garden of Eden to create its paradisiacal Hawai'i. Much of the narrative revolves around a romance between Beatriz and Olmedo, whom Jarves explicitly casts in the role of Adam and Eve. In one scene, they sit in a

> rural bower, carpeted with soft mosses… The birds warbled melodiously even at noon-day in this shady retreat. Near by, flowed a little brook with gentle murmurings, a vein of life coursing through the green sward… Rising from [the] mist… was a perfect rainbow, forming a frame of wondrous beauty to nature's painting… Adam and Eve when they slept in Paradise, were not more alone with

---

54   Jarves, *Kiana*, 34.
55   Jarves, *Kiana*, 22; 29.
56   Kent, *Under the Influence*, 32.
57   Kent, *Under the Influence*, 22.
58   Jarves, *Kiana*, 81.
59   Jarves, *Kiana,* 71.

the communings of nature than were apparently this pair.[60]

Jarves describes the landscape as if it has been painted, and in a sense it has, not by a brush but by Jarves's words. The rainbow, a "frame" around "nature's painting," signals that the Hawai'i of Kiana is a work of art, a beautiful fiction—but, as Jarves writes in the preface, "strictly speaking there is no such thing as fiction."[61] This is true, but not in the sense that all fiction is drawn from real life, as Jarves meant. Instead, *Kiana* created a fictional, Edenic Hawai'i that became real by virtue of its influence over Americans' conception of the islands. At the same time as Hawai'i was becoming an important trading partner with the United States, Kiana portrayed it as an Eden ripe for endless enjoyment by Westerners, whether they be Spanish sailors in Cortés's party or American tourists. The imagined Hawai'i supplanted the real one in the American mind: fiction and reality blurred, and paradise became a destination one could visit on a steamship.

Still, the Hawai'i of *Kiana* is not an entirely uncomplicated paradise. It may have been ripe for touristic enjoyment and resource extraction, but it still required the influence of American Protestants in order to realize its inner Eden. Like Bingham, Jarves describes native Hawaiians as "heathen," engaging the dark underside of paradise discourse. The crucial difference is Jarves's optimism about converting Hawaiians, whom he believed were "not left wholly without some spiritual light, which was the seed in due time destined to grow up into Christianity."[62] Where Bingham inflected the word "heathen" with violence, Jarves inflects it with pity; often, the native Hawaiians in Kiana are not just heathen but "poor heathen."[63] He has cast Hawai'i not as a lost paradise, but as an undeveloped one ready to welcome investment from and, eventually, annexation by the United States.

Exploiting Paradise: 1857-1898

On September 9, 1876, the Reciprocity Treaty between Hawai'i and the United States went into effect, removing tariffs on fifteen Hawaiian exports including sugar and rice.[64] In part, the treaty was the result of Hawai'i's fragile sovereignty and the U.S. government's resulting fear that another nation—France, Spain, Britain—would claim the islands as part of their own empire. It was also the result of increasing Hawaiian exports. Sugar production had begun to expand rapidly in 1857, the same year that Jarves published *Kiana*.[65] Between 1860 and 1875, sugar exports increased more than twentyfold, due in large part to higher prices during the Civil War. After the Reciprocity

---

60   Jarves, *Kiana*, 145-6.
61   Jarves, *Kiana*, 8.
62   Jarves, *Kiana*, 92.
63   Jarves, *Kiana*, 178; 182.
64   Theodore Morgan, *Hawaii: A Century of Economic Change, 1778-1876* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948), 212.
65   Morgan, *Hawaii*, 179.

Treaty, sugar exports continued to grow at a similar rate: by 1890, Hawaiian plantations exported ten times as much sugar as they had in 1876.[66] These years were the foundation of the commercial connection between Hawai'i and the U.S. that would ultimately lead to Hawai'i's annexation in 1898.[67][68]

During this period, Hawai'i's *haole* elite—its white ruling class, largely composed of planters and former New Englanders like Jarves and Bingham—consolidated power and influence. While sugar production expanded tenfold, Native Hawaiians' share of the population halved, from 90 to 45 percent.[69] The historian Theodore Morgan, whose economic history of nineteenth-century Hawai'i is the definitive one, describes the situation with bleak and unsparing honesty: "Economic power, political authority, and social prestige moved into the hands of the white invaders as the century progressed… By 1876, the *haole* merchants and planters and missionaries had reformed the Island economic structure essentially after their own image… Hawaii was bound tightly in the expanding commercial network of the world; and Hawaii's future was the future of its plantation economy."[70]

Two years after the Reciprocity Treaty went into effect, Abraham Fornander (1812-1887), a Swedish whaler who became an important figure in Honolulu's *haole* elite published *An Account of the Polynesian Race*, which sought to establish that Hawaiians were "an ethnic branch of the Arian tree."[71] This idea was not entirely new and even appears subtly in Kiana: by including Emerson's poem "Promise," in which the "perfect Adam lives" in "the new-born millions" across the world, Jarves brings Native Hawaiians into the fold of Judeo-Christian civilization. However, Fornander's book established in unequivocal terms what the scholar Maile Arvin describes as "a logic of possession through whiteness."[72] Arvin argues persuasively that by positioning the Polynesian race as "almost white… in a way that allows white settlers to claim indigeneity in Polynesia," this kind of racial discourse "naturalizes white settler presence in Polynesia and allows white settlers to claim, in various ways, rightful and natural ownership of various parts of Polynesia."[73] Fornander's book, which was influential—a reviewer for London's The Academy called it a "valuable contribution to the ancient history of the Polynesian race"—marked a shift in the way that Westerners wrote about Native Hawaiians.[74] Cook

---

66   Kent, *Under the Influence*, 47.

67   Morgan, *Hawaii*, 213.

68   Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, 208.

69   Skwiot, *Purposes of Paradise*, 31.

70   Morgan, *Hawaii*, 206.

71   Abraham Fornander, *An Account of the Polynesian Race: Its Origin and Migrations, and the Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehameha I* (London: Trübner & co., 1878), 144.

72   Mailee Renee Arvin, *Possessing Polynesians: The Science of Settler Colonial Whiteness in Hawai'i and Oceania* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019), 3.

73   Fornander, *Account of the Polynesian Race*, 3.

74   S. J. Whitmee, book review, "An Account of the Polynesian Race: Its Origin and Migrations, and the Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehameha I,"

described them as mostly honest and innocent; Bingham characterized them as violent heathens; and Jarves looked at them with pity. In Fornander's book, however, Hawaiians are "kindred to the Aryan stock," making the islands appear a more natural target for colonization by the United States.[75]

By the early 1890s, Hawai'i had become essential to the U.S. as a trading partner, supplying nearly ten percent of its sugar; its *haole* elite had united in support of annexation; and paradise discourse had become the dominant mode in American travel writing about the islands.[76] The three developments were connected: by imagining Hawai'i as a paradise—a source of "labor-free delight," as Deckard writes, made possible by the brutal exploitation of the plantation system—the islands' oligarchy sought to make it more appealing to the U.S.

Herbert Henry Gowen (1864-1960) published *The Paradise of the Pacific: Sketches of Hawaiian Scenery and Life* in 1892, its title clearly marking the maturation of paradise discourse in Hawai'i. Gowen, born and educated in England, founded the Chinese mission in Honolulu in 1886.[77] When he wrote *Paradise of the Pacific*, he had left Hawai'i for a church position in Canada; later, he became head of the Department of Oriental Studies at the University of Washington. Gowen's perspective, then, is religious rather than national: his chief concern was with the spread of Christianity in Hawai'i. As a result, his book illuminates the American attitude towards the islands only insofar as it had become international—but what *Paradise of the Pacific* indicates is that the American attitude toward Hawai'i, the most distinctive feature of which was paradise discourse, *had* become a global export. Gowen frequently cites the "cosmopolitanism" of Honolulu, a result of Hawai'i's growing reputation as an international tourist destination.[78] Still, Americans dominate: "There is no gayer scene to be seen anywhere than that at the wharf of Honolulu when the steamers leave for America. The passengers are heavily garlanded with leis of flowers… and there is an ever-increasing animation and excitement till the steamer gangway is withdrawn, and the great monster slowly moves out beyond the reef."[79] The dyadic tendency of paradise discourse is on full display in this scene. There is, on the one hand, the crowd of happy American tourists departing from their idyll on an island Eden; on the other, there is the "great monster" of the steamer rolling over the reef—the embodiment of the exploitative power of American capital that makes the appearance of paradise possible.

For most of Gowen's travelogue, the underside of paradise remains hidden

---

The Academy 460 (1881), 148.

75   Fornander, *Account of the Polynesian Race*, 2.

76   Morgan, *Hawaii*, 213.

77   Herbert Henry Gowen, *Herbert H. Gowen Papers, 1909-1951,* University of Washington, *Archives West*. https://archiveswest.orbiscascade.org/ark:/80444/xv98342.

78   Gowen, *Paradise of the Pacific,* 51.

79   Gowen, *Paradise of the Pacific*, 49.

under Edenic language. The epigraph to the first chapter is drawn from Alfred Lord
Tennyson's narrative poem *Enoch Arden* (1865): "The mountain wooded to the peak, the
lawns/ And winding glades high up like ways to Heaven…"[80] Enoch, the poem's biblical
protagonist, has been stranded on a remote island. In the lines immediately preceding
those selected by Gowen as an epigraph, Tennyson describes the island as an "Eden of
all plenteousness" in which "No want was there of human sustenance."[81] Gowen charac-
terizes Honolulu similarly. "Never was name more fitly applied," he writes, "than that of
the 'Paradise of the Pacific' to the Hawaiian Islands. Never was there less disappointment
in human things than the day when first the morning dawn revealed Honolulu to my
eyes."[82] Along a valley road, Gowen remarks on the "plenitude of tropical luxuriance,"
trees "bearing far aloft their majestic weight of fruit...pomegranate, orange, lime, citron,
and hundreds more, making the road like an entrance to Paradise."[83] Gowen's Hawai'i
is bursting with productivity, ready to be plucked. It is not just the natural beauty of the
islands that strikes Gowen as Edenic, however. "Most of the groups [of Native Hawai-
ians] were busy," he writes, "in an idle way of their own, making 'leis' from the blossoms
in their laps, and selling them to the passers by."[84] Hard labor barely exists in Gowen's
Hawai'i; as in Eden, there's no need for it. Many Native Hawaiians certainly were doing
hard labor—alongside an extensive workforce of contract laborers from China and
Japan—but that reality was largely hidden from white visitors like Gowen, for whom
the islands appeared to be sources of free abundance and wealth.[85] When Gowen visits a
sugar plantation, he acknowledges that the labor can be "a little brutalising"— "as much
so for the manager… as for the labourers."[86] But he quickly turns his attention to the
"refinement and culture and hospitality [that] have their home on the sugar plantations of
the Hawaiian Islands, and make them some of the most delightful places to visit…"[87] The
episode is a near-perfect instantiation of the dark aspect of paradise discourse described
by Deckard: "the 'infernal' shadow of its repressed material realities."[88]

   Gowen published *Paradise of the Pacific* at a tumultuous point in Hawaiian
history—a point at which it was especially important to the white elite of Hawai'i that
the U.S. see the islands as desirable. The McKinley Tariff of 1891 removed duties from
all sugar coming into the United States, with disastrous consequences for the Hawaiian
sugar industry. The planters' hard-won advantage in the marketplace—the Reciprocity
Treaty—had become useless. Since the U.S. provided sugar subsidies to domestic
growers, Hawaiian planters, who by that point owned four-fifths of the islands' arable

  80   Gowen, *Paradise of the Pacific*, 1.
  81   Alfred Lord Tennyson, *Enoch Arden and Other Poems*, edited by William J.
Rolfe (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Co.: 1890), 39.
  82   Gowen, *Paradise of the Pacific*, 1.
  83   Gowen, *Paradise of the Pacific*, 5.
  84   Gowen, *Paradise of the Pacific*, 6.
  85   Skwiot, *Purposes of Paradise*, 32.
  86   Gowen, *Paradise of the Pacific*, 64.
  87   Gowen, *Paradise of the Pacific*, 64.
  88   Deckard, *Paradise Discourse*.

land and were in the midst of a serious economic depression, moved en masse to support annexation.[89] In addition to economic concerns, some were motivated by racism; they feared the "asiaticizing of the Hawaiian islands" and believed that U.S. annexation would eliminate the threat of a "yellow wave."[90]

In 1891, King Kalakaua died, and Queen Lili'uokalani assumed the throne. Kalakaua had anti-elite leanings but, in the interest of effective governance, compromised with the haole elite, who deemed him "reasonable." (In addition, Kalakua had a penchant for horse racing and poker, which gave him a reputation among the Hawaiian oligarchy as a manipulable ruler.)[91] Lili'uokalani, on the other hand, was a strong advocate for royal power and Hawaiian sovereignty—in short, a threat to *haole* power. When she declared a new constitution in 1893 to supersede the so-called "Bayonet Constitution" that a group of haole planters and businessmen had forced Kalakaua to sign under threat of violence in 1887, a group of wealthy white Hawaiians, calling themselves the "Committee of Public Safety," seized the Royal Palace and declared the establishment of the Republic of Hawai'i.[92] They did not act alone: U.S. troops, having been commanded by Minister to Hawai'i John L. Stevens to "assist in preserving public order," stationed themselves outside the Palace in tacit support of the coup.[93] After the overthrow of the queen, Minister Stevens, employing the metaphor *Alta California* had used nearly a half-century earlier, declared, "The Hawaiian pear is now fully ripe and this is the golden hour for the United States to pluck it."[94] On the distant East Coast, the *New York Independent* made clear the influence of paradise discourse, writing, "The ripe apple falls into our hands… The soil is fertile, the climate wonderfully equable and salubrious…"[95]

Although it was written on the eve of annexation, John R. Musick's book *Hawaii: Our New Possessions* comes as a kind of postscript to the development of paradise discourse in the nineteenth century. When Musick finished his book in the fall of 1897, it appeared that Hawai'i had been annexed: Secretary of State Foster and a group of annexationists had drafted a treaty, ratified by the mostly-white Hawaiian Senate on September 9, and President McKinley encouraged its passage. Musick signed his preface on September 1, 1897, from his home in Kirksville, Missouri. Although the treaty stalled in the Senate at the end of 1897, the war with Spain convinced the remaining holdouts of the necessity of annexing an island nation with such great strategic value, and the annexation treaty passed on June 15, 1898, mere months after Musick's book was published.[96]

---

89   Kent, *Under the Influence*, 60.
90   Kent, *Under the Influence*, 61.
91   Kent, *Under the Influence*, 44.
92   The Bayonet Constitution had given U.S. citizens the right to vote in Hawaiian elections while disenfranchising a large sector of the Native Hawaiian population through property requirements. It also disenfranchised all Asian voters, who were deemed aliens.
93   Kent, *Under the Influence*, 63.
94   Skwiot, *Purposes of Paradise*, 15.
95   Skwiot, *Purposes of Paradise*, 15.
96   Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii), 286-8.

Hawaii: Our New Possessions was written as a celebratory paean rather than a persuasive document, and it described Hawai'i in terms that had, by the end of the nineteenth century, become familiar to American audiences. For example, Musick echoes Gowen: "The delightful climate, the unsurpassable scenery, the healthfulness and beauty of these islands entitle them to the name of Paradise of the Pacific."[97] However, where earlier imaginings of Hawai'i emphasized its natural beauty and bounty—its Edenic aspect—the dominant image by the turn of the twentieth century was the commercial paradise. Musick's version of paradise is defined by plantation agriculture, tourism, and development; the "controlling forces of this wonderful land are not tropical but American. Wherever there is directing energy, organizing power, enterprise, or action, there one will find the American or Americanized European."[98] In Musick's telling of the Hawaiian paradise myth, the white American man takes the place of God, having shaped the land in his image. Fittingly, Musick uses the metaphor of literary creation, acknowledging that the American had written his version of Hawai'i into existence: "he is its author, having made Honolulu what it is by his thrift and enterprise… When the white man came, Honolulu was a treeless, sandy plain, with a fringe of coconuts along the shore."[99] By the end of the nineteenth century, on the eve of annexation, paradise discourse had rewritten Hawaiian history as a hagiography of Protestant American enterprise. Gone were the "great labor and ingenuity" that George Vancouver had observed among the Native Hawaiians in 1798, the "aqueducts" and impressive terraced fields.[100] In Musick's telling, Hawai'i was not a paradise until the "white man" turned it into one.

Conclusion

Nineteenth century travel writing was extraordinarily successful in turning Hawai'i from a sovereign string of islands in the mid-Pacific into an embodiment of paradise and an American possession—so successful, in fact, that the myth continues to mask reality. Today, as Kalissa Alexeyeff and Siobhan McDonnell have written, "concepts of paradise are mobilized to animate processes of neocolonization… in the appropriation of Indigenous knowledge, in Pacific tourism, and in Western popular culture."[101] Take the Disney movie *Moana*, for example, whose setting has much less in common with any real Pacific island than it does with the the kind of paradise imagined by nineteenth-century travel writing. The movie opens on a verdant tropical island where trees are heavy with fruit and flowers bloom sweetly. Its inhabitants are "industrious but not overworked," exactly as Gowen described the native Hawaiians he encountered. The conflict animating the film is a blight that has begun to spread across the island; Moana, the protagonist, must seek out the demigod Maui in order to restore the natural order. As Alexeyeff and

---

97   John R. Musick, *Musick, John R. 1898. Hawaii: Our New Oossessions* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1898), iii.

98   Musick, *Hawaii,* 8.

99   Musick, *Hawaii,* 9.

100   Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery*, 165.

101   Alexeyeff and McDonnell, "Whose Paradise?," 270.

McDonnell point out, the film's reception among Pacific Islanders has been complex. Some have hailed the film as a rare example of Pacific Islander representation in popular culture; others have condemned it as cultural appropriation or misrepresentation. Whether or not Pacific Islanders choose to embrace the film, which was directed by two white men, it is important to remember that the island paradise it imagines was first written into existence by the likes of Musick and Gowen.

In the nineteenth century, paradise discourse established Hawai'i as the Edenic apple of the American eye, with one important deviation from the Adam and Eve myth. When Eve plucks the fruit from the tree of knowledge of good and evil, she and Adam are punished for taking what is not theirs—for desiring too much. When the United States violated Hawaiian sovereignty by supporting the coup against Queen Lili'uokalani, it was Hawai'i, the apple itself, that suffered. "While [Hawai'i] is indeed beautiful, it is not an exotic postcard or a tropical playground with happy hosts," write the scholars Hōkūlani K. Aikau and Vernadette Vicuña. "People here struggle with the problems brought about by colonialism, military occupation, tourism, food insecurity, high costs of living, and the effects of a changing climate."[102] (The devastating wildfires in Maui are only the most visible recent example of the deleterious effects of U.S. occupation.) Aikau and Vicuña continue: "Unless we actively work to… refuse the tourist imaginary, we will (wittingly or unwittingly) contribute to reproducing the occupation and colonization of these places, people, and practices." The tourist imaginary is nothing but nineteenth-century paradise discourse repackaged for twenty first-century consumers; if we are to actively refuse it, we must first understand its origins.

---

102   Hōkūlani K. Aikau and Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez, *Detours: A Decolonial Guide to Hawai'i* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2019), 1-2.

Calling Cards & Calling in Favors: The Market of Courtship in Early-Twentieth Century America

Cameron Neale

Abstract: This article examines the transition from calling to dating in the American middle class at the turn of the twentieth century to understand the economization of courtship. Dating emerged as a cultural phenomenon alongside industrialization, urbanization, and women's liberation. Other historical works look at where dating originated and its social influences in the following decade. This piece utilizes correspondence and diaries to build upon that existing research and analyze how courtship shaped urban economies and formed its own social economy. The proliferation of public leisure in the period created new environments for courtship among American youth, which altered the socioeconomic structures surrounding romance and sex.

Virginia Wooding sits in her dorm at the University of Colorado, Boulder on a cold winter evening in 1916. She is left alone tonight after failing to secure a date for the public dance across campus, left behind by her peers and register of men. Wooding is a well-established woman on her campus, going on dates with a variety of men each night of the week, while still maintaining the idealized image of a respectable, educated, middle-class woman. Perhaps her longtime beau, Weary, will ask her for a chaperoned walk or one of the men on her co-ed campus will say his date cancelled on him last minute. In the meantime, she finds solace in the small, black leather-bound diary that sits before her and the possibility that the hall phone will ring with someone asking after Miss Virginia.[1] Wooding's predicament is a product of the period. She finds herself at a precarious point in American history, torn between the social traditions of her parents and those practiced by her peers. Only thirty years earlier, she would have never anxiously waited for a man to initiate a romantic encounter. Instead, as Wooding entered college, courtship took a dramatic turn in concept and practice–a turn now known as "dating."

Originally confined to working-class communities, dating spread rapidly in the early twentieth century, replacing older practices, such as "calling," to become the dominant form of courtship. Its popularization relied on shifting cultural sentiments of the

---

1   Diary Entry March 14, 1916, 04636, box 1, folder 1, Virginia Wooding Papers 1880-1947, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.

period and was an invention that could only appear alongside an industrialized economy, which enabled greater freedom and income for the common person. In the nearly five decades of its rise, between 1890 and 1940, dating prompted a drastic rearrangement of Western societal and economic conceptions of romance and sex—one that hinged on the burgeoning consumer culture in the United States.[2] Wooding would have grown up immersed in consumerism and, in turn, leisure. Her time outside of classes would be filled by outings to department stores, movie houses, or dance halls. And in these spaces, she would understand the growing need for disposable income and the opportunities posed to her for romance. People bought their entertainment in cities as leisure proliferated the American urban and cultural landscapes. Then, as dating emerged, it found itself rooted in these expanded, urban spaces, uprooting long-standing ideas of public leisure and social respectability for the middle-class.

Leisure revolutionized courtship. When moved beyond the domestic sphere that dominated nineteenth-century life, romance and sex took on a completely new identity, with which youth took and ran. Together, changes in courtship and leisure would revolutionize American society in the early twentieth century, bleeding into economics, understandings of love, and gender roles.

Historiography

Existing academic work surrounding the history of courtship relies heavily on the archival material of white, middle-class Americans. This group often dominates research of the period because of its perceived cultural influence, particularly in towns and cities, during the industrial and post-industrial eras. The white middle-class, as it emerged in cities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, acts as an amalgamation of features from both working-class and upper-class communities.[3] As people flocked to cities in the period in search of greater economic opportunity, urban spaces promoted greater class mingling and heightened accessibility of technology and leisure. People in cities were likely to see the benefits of growing industry through more free time and disposable income than their predecessors.[4] Urbanization effectively demonstrates the transition from the private to the public sphere, which became the home of early dating. By combining an increased acceptance of public leisure, greater disposable

---

2   Stuart Ewen and Elizabeth Ewen. "Consumption as a Way of Life," *Channels of Desire: Mass Images and the Shaping of American Consciousness*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992. https://public.ebookcentral.proquest.com/choice/publicfullrecord. aspx?p=310775.

3   Melanie Archer and Judith R. Blau. "Class Formation in Nineteenth-Century America: The Case of the Middle Class." *Annual Review of Sociology* 19 (1993): 17–41. http://www. jstor.org/stable/2083379.

4   Lewis A. Erenberg, "Victorian Culture and Amusements," essay, in *Steppin' Out: New York Nightlife and the Transformation of American Culture, 1890-1930* (Chicago, IL: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1994), 7.

income, and Victorian-era ideals of the nineteenth century, the early American middle-class exemplified a widespread reworking of societal and class norms.[5]

Furthermore, this work focuses exclusively on heteronormative ideas of dating perpetuated in the period. Urban spaces were often cradles of sexual subcultures which, certainly, exhibited sway over American economics. However, given the somewhat secluded nature of these spaces, they do not serve to expand upon the argument of the widespread shifts caused by courtship in the public sphere. At the turn of the twentieth century, understandings of romantic and sexual relationships were not structured along the same lines as modern definitions of sexuality. Therefore, a majority of literature from the period and acceptable social mores focused on relationships between men and women. So, while feminist movements of the 1920s would push for sexual liberation which often extended toward lesbian relationships, this was not something commonly shown in popular culture.

For these reasons, this paper will take on a similar urban, middle-class focus. Historian Stephanie Coontz, in her work on the history of marriage, wrote, "... it was the middle class–bulwark of female purity and domesticity in the nineteenth century–that overturned the Victorian system of gender segregation and sexual reticence."[6] The middle-class, in her argument, was responsible for dismantling the upper-class ideas of romance and sex which proliferated during the Victorian Era through its adoption of habits from more diverse socioeconomic influences. Sources readily available for this work predominantly focus on the white American middle-class at the turn of the century, including correspondence from college-aged youth, diary entries, and secondary sources analyzing the development of consumer-oriented culture in the United States.

Where existing scholarship differs is in its attempt to understand why and how the culture around courtship shifted in this period. To not simply repeat the research that has already been done, this work aims to unpack the economic framework in which courtship evolved in the early twentieth century. The context provided by other historians serves to illustrate the two-way street in which dating came to impact leisure and leisure impact dating. The white middle-class, heteronormative sourcing will support this work through its abundance of documentation compared to some other communities from the period at hand.

The Nineteenth Century

While the city defined the twentieth century, the nineteenth century was defined by the home. Englishwoman Edith Olivier wrote in her community history of Victo-

---

5   Ewen, "Consumption as a Way of Life."
6   Stephanie Coontz, *Marriage, A History: How Love Conquered Marriage.* (London, UK: Penguin Books, 2006), 196.

rian-era culture, "People were really intimate with hardly anyone but their parents, brothers, and sisters. The morning post was family property, and many letters were read aloud at the breakfast table… After luncheon on Sundays, large family parties walked round the stables."[7] From interviews and oral histories, Olivier put together that leisure and intimacy took place within the domestic sphere, protected by the nurture and care of one's family. Her reading of the Victorian period does overly centralize the focus of individuals on their family, as women and men formed intimate relationships with the same sex because of the rigid separation of the two in daily life.[8] Yet, even friendships were centered in the home, adopting this familial and intimate tone. Nineteenth century relations prioritized deep understanding and familiarity that the domestic sphere was believed to foster.

The Victorian era was the cultural period of Queen Victoria's reign in England (1837 to 1901), but its influences reached across the Atlantic and settled comfortably into American daily life.[9] American upper and middle classes greedily adopted the rigid social etiquette as a symbol of refinement. In a century of rapid socioeconomic change bolstered by the Industrial Revolution, Victorian refinement allowed families and individuals to demonstrate their wealth and social respectability. Over the century, as a result, American culture began to identify clear divisions between male and female behavior and roles. In the Victorian-era, compounded by changing science about the biological differences that manifested in different emotional sentiments and mental comprehension, men and women were believed to hold distinct and important roles in upholding a contemporary family structure. These understandings of men and women as inherently different would dramatically alter courtship practices for the following decades.

Women were increasingly confined to the home, fulfilling a new role as arbiters of moral purity, tasked with curbing the impure sexual desires of their husbands and ensuring their children found value in domestic life. Their leisure time was spent in the company of their female family members and close friends within the walls of the home. Men, on the other hand, ventured into the public sphere to integrate themselves into the economy, seeking to provide for their families. Their leisure took place in the city attractions of brothels and saloons, seen as playgrounds for the immoral and unsophisticated. Women were barred from these public leisure spaces because of the damage they might impose on their moral compass as wives and mothers. Men in this period were believed to be almost incapable of exhibiting the same self-control as their female-counterparts. Even though their leisure was frowned upon, it was morally acceptable for middle-class men to venture into the city to participate in working-class entertainment, as long as

---

7   Edith Olivier, "Those Leisured Ladies," essay, in *Four Victorian Ladies of Wiltshire: With an Essay on Those Leisured Ladies* (London, UK: Faber, 1945), 11.

8   Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America." *Signs* 1, no. 1 (1975): 1–29. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3172964.

9   "Victorians," English Heritage, accessed November 30, 2023, https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/learn/story-of-england/victorian/#:~:text=The%20Victorian%20era%20spans%20the,its%20empire%20across%20the%20globe.

women and children were shielded from its imagery and messages.

To combat the immorality of life beyond the home, courtship, the period where two people cultivate a romantic relationship, was held in the domestic sphere under the watchful eye of a woman's family.[10] The practice known as *calling* involved a woman inviting a man to spend time with her. He would then "call" on her or appear at her door to request a supervised visit within the home. By keeping courtship in the domestic sphere youth would learn about acceptable relationship practices, guided by their mothers or aunts or sisters who had years of experience wrangling the sexual and immoral desires of men.[11] So, while the Victorians valued romance and the idea of personality compatibility that would lead to long-lasting marriages, the process to ensure romantic love was a slow and purely emotional one. Familial supervision ensured the young couple did not engage in too intimate of conversations, and certainly nothing physical.

Records from these relationships demonstrate the strong romantic undercurrent of their few meetings. Lovebirds Charles Duncan McIver and Lula exchanged courtship letters for over a year beginning in 1885 before their engagement. Charles wrote to her:

> "Miss Lula, you don't know how much good your picture does me – more than I ever thought anybody's could. So much am I impressed with that face that I'm going to send you one of mine till I come to Winston. If I stay here tomorrow I'll have one taken; if not I shall borrow one for a month. It is for your own private use. Don't let anybody know that I even had a photo taken."[12]

Men appealed to the perceived romantic sentiments of nineteenth-century women. Charles McIver swooned for Lula in his letters, writing to her about the love he had for her. To an extent, the need to appeal to the more "womanly," romance of the period was derived from the domestic nature of courtship in the Victorian period. Compared to understandings of courtship and gender roles that would dominate in the decades following these courtship letters, the woman held much more sway over relationship maintenance than the man. In the traditionally female space of the home, men were subject to the rules and whims of the woman they were calling on and her elders.[13]

Ironically, the patriarchal power structures that kept women in the home in the first place afforded them leverage in the realm of romance and sex. Men were subject to the moral superiority of women, and to find the idealistic fulfillment of marriage and romantic love. As seen above in McIver's discussion of sharing photographs, he sought to create a private, romantic relationship with Lula. Courtship in the following decades would change form under the pressure of increased women's sociopolitical liberation and

---

10   Beth L Bailey. *From FRONT PORCH to BACK SEAT: Courtship in Twentieth-Century America*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988.

11   Erenberg, 7.

12   McIver. *Correspondence of Dr. & Mrs. McIver 1884-1885*. Ua:107273, box 6, folder 1, President Charles Duncan McIver Records. UNC-Greensboro Research Gateway: Greensboro, NC.

13   Coontz, 161.

the cultural shift toward acceptance of public leisure, drastically altering the nature of relationships between men and women and the sentiments they sought from those relationships. But in the meantime, women controlled the board of the calling game.

What is Dating?

"He pulled out a 1916 class pipe while we were around the fire and – well it certainly did give me a 'sneaky feelin round my heart,'" Wooding wrote in her diary. She had just come back from a night out with a man, where they went on a walk and built a fire on a hilltop. Virginia Wooding was learning to navigate the playing field of public courtship. She had acquired a roster of men that she could expect regular dates from, whether she liked them or not. Walks and dinners and dances– Wooding's pursuit of romance took place around her college campus and on the streets of Boulder, Colorado.

Throughout the 1910s and 20s, middle-class youth had the world at their fingertips thanks to technological innovations and new social forums that expanded their world beyond the home or church. Before the end of the nineteenth century, public leisures were relegated to the lower and upper classes. The former engaged with "lowbrow culture,"[14] including saloons, theaters, and dance halls where they participated in drinking and physically intimate activities. Upper class communities prided themselves on more respectable leisure, which meant avoiding the places populated by urban working classes. Therefore, their free time was either spent in the home or in more sophisticated spaces, like opera houses or fine dining establishments.[15] The burgeoning middle-class was left lingering in between these two walks of life. Their desire to align themselves with upper-class respectability barred them from lower-class entertainment, but they could not afford the lavish outings of the upper-class. It was not until the early twentieth century, when urban entertainments attempted to align themselves more with high-brow culture, that the middle-class began to engage more with public leisure.

Spaces like movie houses, dance halls, and amusement parks opened themselves up to use beyond the laboring classes of the cities as the twentieth century went on, especially by the youth seeking to define themselves beyond the Victorian ideals of their parents. In a period when adolescence was becoming a separate and unique period of life, public leisures provided them with the opportunity to form their own practices and ideologies for life. Teens and young adults embraced increasingly progressive policies compared to their predecessors, which extended to courtship. The traditional practice of calling fell out of favor as youth moved into the public sphere for their everyday entertainment. In turn, dating began to replace calling as the predominant form of courtship.

14   "Of, relating to, or suitable for a person with little taste or intellectual interest." "Lowbrow Definition & Meaning." Merriam-Webster. Accessed December 11, 2023. https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/lowbrow#:~:text=lowbrow-,adjective,lowbrow%20 noun.

15   Erenberg, *Steppin' Out: New York Nightlife and the Transformation of American Culture, 1890-1930*.

"Dating" is a term originally found in material relating to working-class outings or prostitution when a man and a woman set a time to meet and participate in the entertainments of lowbrow culture or engage in sexual activity.[16] As it emerged in the American cultural landscape, dating was almost exclusively a practice of the urban poor or laborers as they moved into cities for work. The American working class cultivated intimate relationships beyond the home because of the relatively poor living conditions of cities.[17] Cramped New York City tenements and long working hours failed to create an environment for men to call on poorer young women. As a result, the public sphere was reserved for unrespectable young women looking for romance or sex and young women in urban centers without access to the protective domestic sphere. Meanwhile, the middle and upper classes sat in their front parlors waiting to be called on by a suitor, holding out on public leisure because of its perceived immoral practices.

However, as more people found themselves in industrialized and urbanized areas with newfound economic stability, courting gradually moved into spaces of public leisure for all classes. The public sphere promised anonymity, entertainment, and intimacy (emotional or otherwise) to the next generation raised in industrial centers. Whereas young adults were previously limited to menial conversations, they could now dance together, have drinks, and engage in "petting." Youth utilized their newfound independence to explore their sexuality and use dating for both emotional and sexual pleasure.[18]

Dating had worked its way into public knowledge by the mid-1910s, but it would still take another decade for it to be fully cemented in American culture. For the first two decades of the twentieth century, youth struggled to reconcile the teachings of their parents and the increasingly liberated world they discovered outside of the home.[19] One girl, Ruth Johnson, a student at Elon College in the 1910s, exemplified the limbo of American youth during the period. Between 1912 and 1918, Johnson regularly wrote to four men and received invitations for dates from multiple others.[20] She played into the period conceptions of dating for pleasure, where youth sought to date for the sake of.[21]

Yet, Johnson was also held to older standards. One Davidson College suitor, Walter, wrote in 1915:

"I love you stronger than ever before. I longed to show you in Charlotte. That last night we were together, I had hoped would be my opportunity–but at the new home–I could not cause a single cloud to come over your name by keeping you out there on the porch after the others had gone in–and actions that would

---

16   Coontz, 199.
17   Bailey, 17.
18   Coontz, 200.
19   Bailey, 19.
20   Ruth Johnson Papers, 1908-1970, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.
21   Bailey, 26.

express things so much better than mere words seemed impossible under such
a brilliant light and in such a public place… I was possessed with an intense
longing to draw you close–closer–closer within my arms; and to feel your lips
against mine in a seal of our love."[22]

Walter and Ruth were one of the couples navigating the early years of dating. Even
though she dated multiple men and had relationships beyond the eyes of her family, she
was bound by older ideas of courtship respectability. Walter hesitated to push the bound-
aries of their relationship or engage in unnecessary physical contact. Despite the progres-
sive nature of middle-class youth in the period, they were figuring out how to adapt the
Victorian-era teachings of their parents to their understanding of the changing urban
landscapes. It would take another decade from when Walter wrote to Ruth for adolescents
to complete their departure from calling.

As urban amusements grew in popularity and technological innovation, like
birth control, reformed middle-class daily life, youth leaned more into dating.[23] Coontz
wrote, "The New Woman of the 1920s… did not want to spend her time hanging out with
other girls and waiting to get flowery love letters. She wanted to mix it up with the guys,
to be a girl 'with sport in her blood,' someone who 'kisses the boys' and wins their admi-
ration by keeping up with them."[24] Compared to the sentiments expressed by the McIver's
in their courtship letters, relationships in the early twentieth century valued physical
proximity and quality time in their romantic encounters. In previous decades, it was not
uncommon for couples to live apart, with the woman staying at home until the man had
accumulated enough money to support their home and family.[25][26] Victorian courtship
aimed to build stability and long-lasting marriages, while the cultural innovations of the
early twentieth century provided more opportunities for experimentation and personal
fulfillment through dating.

Youth often found themselves utilizing the public leisure spaces that blossomed
in the same period to cultivate their romances. There was no precedence for which to
operate. Instead, the youth of the early twentieth century were building a dating culture
as they went along. In doing so, they engrained an image of courtship into the American
cultural landscape that would outlive their dating years. At the same time, these public
entertainments profited off dating in a way that pushed them to cater to youth looking for

---

22   Letter from Walter, February 22, 1915, 4597, box 2, folder 14, Ruth Johnson
Papers, 1908-1970, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill,
Chapel Hill, NC.
23   Coontz, 197-198.
24   Coontz, 205.
25   McIver. *Correspondence of Dr. & Mrs. McIver 1884-1885*. Ua:107273, box
6, folder 1, President Charles Duncan McIver Records. UNC-Greensboro Research Gateway:
Greensboro, NC.
26   Edna McPhearson, *Declaration of Love, 1912*. 30485861, Edna McPhearson
Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill,
NC.

romantic activities. Amusement parks, movie houses, and dance halls cultivated physi-
cally intimate or overtly sexual entertainments that appealed to the burgeoning class of
young daters. As the years passed and dating became the primary form of courtship in the
early twentieth century, the practice became increasingly defined by its ties to commer-
cialized leisure, and leisure utilized dating to expand and profit.

Dating Markets

      Leisure was built on profit. And dating, as it grew, depended on public leisure
and entertainment, building an economy of its own. The early twentieth century and the
collective shift in American youth away from calling pushed the economy to create a
unique dating market. Within this period, romance and sex garnered a new monetary and
social value that would shape people's understanding of courtship. Courtship had always
held societal and monetary value in the United States. Previously, markets profited from
the sale of calling cards, which men would present to their respective women when
inquiring after a visit, or courtship-specific furnishings, like the chaperone chair.[27,28]
Manufacturers responded to the desire for the moral sanctity of courting within the home
through pieces specially designed to maintain distance and chastity among young lovers.
But once the middle class overcame, or at the very least regulated, its fear of courting in
spaces of public leisure, the industry exploded in response to the influx of youth out on
dates.

      Dinner, movies, clubs–the public sphere offered youth the anonymity they
sought for engaging in more risqué courtship practices than their parents, be it physical
or emotional. Historian Eva Illouz writes "...the images and the goods offered by the
leisure markets and the interests of cultural entrepreneurs met and interlocked with the
consumers' desire for romance and 'soft' forms of eroticism."[29] Public entertainment,
especially those that originated in working-class communities, often took on romantic or
sexual undertones that appealed to the more liberated American youth. Given their prede-
cessor's upbringing at the tail end of the Victorian-era, teens and young adults might
have struggled to take dates home, where emotional and physical intimacy would have
been seen as immoral. Instead, amusement parks gave access to rides that simulated sex,
movies told stories of "loose women" who used men for money or pleasure, and dance
halls and clubs provided access to intimate touching and alcohol. Even more important,
the dark lighting of a movie theater or club granted patrons anonymity. They could dance
or kiss who they wanted with little to no social repercussion depending on where they

     27   Judy Gonyeau, "The Courting Chair," The Journal of Antiques and Collectibles,
May 15, 2022, https://journalofantiques.com/columns/great-collections/the-courting-chair/.
     28   "The History of the Calling Card." Dempsey & Carroll. https://www.
dempseyandcarroll.com/pages/history-of-the-calling-card.
     29   Eva Illouz, *Consuming the Romantic Utopia: Love and the Cultural
Contradictions of Capitalism* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2008), 65.

chose to hold their dates. Cars were also popular among youth for similar reasons. The automobile disseminated throughout American households rapidly at the turn of the century and as more youth had access to cars toward the middle of the twentieth century, back seats took on a similar role to that of a theater or darkened club.

As people went out in search of amusements, business owners began to increase their availability to generate a profit. Urban spaces essentially fed youth the ingredients to engage in these new courting practices. In the Victorian period, businesses attempted to align themselves with highbrow culture and create an air of respectability. This tactic aimed to get people out of their homes and spending money and free time in the public sphere. Similarly, when public amusements took off in popularity among youth, the way to increase profits was by reworking public entertainments to draw in those looking for romantic and sexual exploration. Historian Lewis Erenberg explores public reactions to public amusements in his exploration of New York City nightlife at the turn of the twentieth century.[30] Moral traditionalists understood the public sphere to be descending into an overly sexual spiral that would come to undermine the sanctity of marriage in the United States. In the eyes of reformists, movies, dancing, and amusement parks harbored deeply disturbing and immoral practices that youth needed to be sheltered from.

Some contemporary sociologists and cultural analysts blamed the collective shift to dating on the dissemination of mass media in the period. They took the stance that humans naturally engaged in the traditional, restrictive courting practices of the Victorian period, which valued a harmonious coexistence of the couple, regulated by the woman's superior morals and emotional rationality. So, when movies became mass-marketed to the general public, giving youth access to stories of sexual promiscuity and head-over-heels romance, these were believed to directly influence how Americans pursued romance and intimacy. In this sense, dating was a product of the consumer culture. People were adopting trends and ideas that they purchased through entertainment and media.[31]

Yet, this idea fails to acknowledge that the ideas portrayed in movies and music of the early twentieth century were products of the people making them, not always the other way around. The Victorian era birthed the idea of romantic love and encouraged people to pursue happiness and genuine compatibility in their romantic relationships. As this idea developed throughout the nineteenth century, sexual satisfaction soon followed and increasingly became a factor, and youth sought to ensure sexual gratification through their romantic relationships.[32] Commercialized leisure adopted inherently sexual and overtly romantic themes because it resonated with the public that increasingly found

---

30   Erenberg, *Steppin' Out: New York Nightlife and the Transformation of American Culture, 1890-1930*.

31   David A. Cook, *A History of Narrative Film* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 1996).

32   Coontz, 177-195.

themselves utilizing public spaces for socialization and recreation. Therefore, people felt drawn to these consumer spaces to engage in the new practice of dating and dating eventually integrated itself into the Edwardian-era cultivation of public recreation. The public sphere was co-opted by romantic and sexual initiatives and began to market itself as so.

By making sexual and romantic experiences something to be purchased, dating and going on dates in spaces of public leisure shifted the social expectations of courtship in the early twentieth century. Dating moved courtship out into what many historians have referred to as the men's sphere, or the public space.[33] Throughout the Victorian-era, the male-dominated public sphere became intrinsically linked to the American economy, because men left the safety of the home to earn a living and support their family. Therefore, as women increasingly left the home to pursue an education or romance, they were immersing themselves in the transactional community of the public. This public, transactional shift altered the power dynamics of courtship, leaving women at the mercy of men to ask them out and pay their way through various spaces and events. Middle- and upper-class women were not acceptable employees in urban industries, but, in turn, had no income with which to support themselves in the leisure spaces they frequented. Instead, the transition from calling to dating required the implementation of a transactional relationship between men and women.

Two notable conflicts arose out of this shift. Firstly, men often grew frustrated at their need to have a consistent disposable income with which to take women out. Even as wages rose in the Progressive era in the wake of worker's rights movements, they could not always keep pace with the massive growth of the consumer market of courtship. Some men found themselves disgruntled at the financial amount they had spent in their early adult years as they searched for a romantic partner.[34] In their eyes, dating cost more than it was worth and made romance and sex inaccessible when they fell on hard times. This frustration can also likely be attributed to the rapid growth of public leisure spaces as they fostered this romance and sex economy. When the demand for theaters and clubs rose in the first decades of the twentieth century, business owners could raise prices to control supply and availability.

Secondly, it also left women susceptible to the whims of men. Women were completely reliant on men to pursue romantic ventures and it was seen as socially unacceptable for a woman to ask a man out on a date. She really could not afford to do so, either, because of lower wages or the complete lack of income for young middle-class women in the period. Ruth Johnson relied entirely on her parents sending her money and dates to eat during her time at Elon. She would often complain to her mother about her financial struggles and the hard times she fell on as a woman in college.[35] With the

---

33   Bailey, 21
34   Bailey, 23.
35   Ruth Johnson Papers, 1908-1970, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.

growing financial reliance on men and the uneven economic landscape of dating, women could be expected to repay their way through sexual favors.[36] The economic strain of commercialized dating coupled with the reinvention of women's sexuality in the period created a storm for sexual pressure and coercion that was not as widely seen in nine-teenth-century courting (marriage is another story, but not the focus of this argument). However, the desire for dates was a product of a different cultural invention of the period, which was the social pressure surrounding dating and how people interacted with each other to create and maintain a new status quo.

Social Economy

"So when Mr. Gillett called I said 'no' pretty hard to do but I managed. A few minutes later Weary called up for tomorrow and I said yes," Wooding wrote about her date for the evening.[37] Weary, as she referred to him, was a fellow student she went on multiple dates with, despite never writing very highly of him privately. This decision to maintain a relationship with someone she found unentertaining, or possibly outright dull, could possibly be credited to the social economy that emerged from early dating prac-tices.

Dating was a product and contributed to the development of consumer culture. The American cultural landscape expected people to spend money for their livelihood, amusements, and social standing.[38] And, in turn, new courtship practices wove in the idea of transactional relationships to mirror the changes in the American economy. As dating proliferated among American youth, it became something to consume and exchange like any other good. Each interaction between a man and a woman held some sort of social and economic value. Whereas previously moments between unmarried men and women served to build courting relationships or establish familial acquaintanceship, dating instead made these moments of socioeconomic advancement or gain.

By the 1920s, the aim of dating had lost some of the romantic flair visible in the writings of Ruth Johnson or Virginia Wooding. The practice evolved into a system of competition, known as "date and rate."[39] As described by Bailey in her work on youth dating, an individual's social worth was wholly dependent on their participation in the local dating scene, most commonly in high schools and on college campuses. Youths were valuable if they were highly desired for dates every night of the week; and they

---

36   Kathy Peiss, "'Charity Girls' and City Pleasures: Historical Notes on Working-Class Sexuality, 1880-1920," [1983], in Kathy Peiss and Christina Simmons, eds., *Passion and Power: Sexuality in History* (Temple, 1989), 57-69.

37   Diary Entry March 14, 1916, 04636, box 1, folder 1, Virginia Wooding Papers 1880-1947, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.

38   Ewen, "Consumption as a Way of Life."

39   Bailey, 26.

became desirable based on the number of dates they went on. Furthermore, a person's popularity could increase if they went on a date with someone deemed highly desirable. Bailey writes, "Popularity was clearly the key… It was not earned through talent, looks, personality, or importance in organizations, but by the way these attributes translated into dates. These dates had to be highly visible, and with many different people, or

they didn't count."[40] The "date and rate" system became so consuming of youth courtship that some colleges across the country had designated no-date nights to give students time to study.

Whereas in previous historical periods, the social economy of dating might elevate one's social status through the arrangement of marriage into a higher-class family, dating was intended to give social clout to someone of any social standing. Instead, misusing the courtship practice is what would damage someone's reputation, such as a woman engaging in too much physical intimacy with her date. Youth were dating for the sake of dating and all the pleasures it brought, both through its consumption of goods and entertainment and the physical pleasure brought by sexual exploration.

However, there was still the expectation that teens would engage in these practices responsibly. The "date and rate" system carried over the same moral judgments as its Victorian predecessors. Teens might experience social isolation and persecution if they did not find themselves sought out in the dating market or participate in the market incorrectly. A girl who was not "cut in on" during dances or a guy who was repeatedly rejected in his advances on girls failed to make themselves marketable in the social economy of early twentieth-century courting.[41] Wooding wrote in her diary entry about a sophomore dance she attended with the aforementioned boy, "Weary"– "Saw Schives + I sure am peeved [he] did not ask for [a] dance."[42]

Additionally, there was the social economy of attractiveness. Bailey writes, "To be popular, men needed outward, material signs: an automobile, the right clothing, fraternity membership, money. Women's popularity is dependent on the building and maintaining of a reputation for popularity."[43] In many ways, women's popularity hinged on physical attractiveness, and women were commonly asked to send their photos to male suitors.[44] It was in this period that cosmetic companies took off in the American economy, bolstered by dating and the rise of the department store.[45] By increasing their physical

40   Bailey, 29.
41   Bailey, 31.
42   Diary Entry February 25, 1916, 04636, box 1, folder 1, Virginia Wooding Papers 1880-1947, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.
43   Bailey, 26.
44   McIver, President Charles Duncan McIver Records.
45   Daniel Navon, "Truth in Advertising: Rationalizing Ads and Knowing Consumers in the Early Twentieth-Century United States." *Theory and Society* 46, no. 2 (2017): 143–76. http://www.jstor.org/stable/44981856.

attractiveness, women made themselves more marketable for the social economy of dating. Their desirability was directly linked to their social worth, and beauty and fashion industries would turn desirability into an object that could be purchased. Palmolive ads throughout the early twentieth century would warn women of the dangers of housework and its ability to damage a girl's good looks. "A wife can blame herself if she loses love by getting 'middle-aged' skin," one ad read.[46] Individuals were products in the realm of dating, and they could be marketed and sold based on popularity and good looks.

This is not to say that dating was exclusively a practice adopted in response to rampant early twentieth century consumerism, as there were exceptions. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the commodification of people would lessen over time. Dating would take on a more nineteenth-century romantic tone as youth created the idea of "going steady" after World War II. Furthermore, some youth seemed to combine older, nineteenth-century courting practices with modern methods as they pursued dating in their everyday lives. Either through seeking friends as chaperones or going on walks with their romantic interest, some people accommodated dating to existing, non-consumer culture.[47] Therefore, the social economy of dating was not completely reliant on the traditional market economy of dating. The separation of the two demonstrates how, even as youth increasingly moved into the public sphere and utilized their independence to form more intimate connections with romantic and sexual partners, leisure was unable to completely separate the youth of the early twentieth century from the ideals that dominated the previous century.

There are nuances and exceptions to every situation, and certainly, not every college-aged kid was participating in dating in the same way. Regardless, the average experience of courtship and romance in the early twentieth century could not have been more different from its Victorian predecessor. The social economy of calling, which mostly relegated romantic encounters to people from the same social standing, did not allow for nearly as much personal commodification or social mobility as dating. In turn, the social economy of dating did not curate romance or marriage to the same extent as calling. Romance, courtship, and sex in the 1910s and 1920s became a more personal transaction compared to elevating your family's social strata through marriage decades earlier. As a result, personal understandings of how an individual navigated courtship and finding love in the period relied much more on outward appearances than conveyed in Victorian-era literature. Dating made romance and sex a public, and expensive, affair.

Historical Legacy

Wooding learned how to navigate courtship in a different way than her parents

---

46   Palmolive Company, "A Wife Can Blame Herself If She Loses Love By Getting "Middle-Age" Skin!," *The New York Times*, Duke University Libraries, Durham, NC, 1938.
47   Virginia Wooding Papers 1880-1947, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.

– her popularity was based in dating, sex was not as hush of a topic, and she understood romance and sex as a system of exchanges. But much like the American economy at the end of the Gilded Age and into the 1920s, such a bustling market was not sustainable. The Great Depression and World War II would phase the "date and rate" system out of the public conscience as people sought more stability from their romantic and sexual encounters than the youth of the 1910s and 20s. Youth of the mid-twentieth century relied more on "going steady" and the male breadwinner model, which placed courtship maintenance entirely on the man, solidifying the social shifts of earlier decades.[48]

What did not change, though, was the economy and consumption culture surrounding dating. It has remained a common practice in American society to go out on the town for a date, seen as common courtesy or the social norm. Dating redefined the expectations for romance and sex in American culture, normalizing spending money in the pursuit of love and sexual exploration to guarantee total satisfaction in one's relationship. Going on dates made love and sex a financial act that depended on utilizing spaces of public leisure for pleasure.

As the United States underwent such a drastic shift in courting, Americans were sold on the idea of finding true love, or good sex, by testing their options out before settling down. It would continue to proliferate and expand for the rest of the twentieth century. In the words of Smokey Robinson in his 1960 song:

"Just because you've become a young man now

There's still somethings you don't understand now

Before you ask some girl for her hand now

Keep your freedom for as long as you can now

My mama told me, you better shop around"[49]

---

48   Bailey, 49.
49   Smokey Robinson & the Miracles. *Shop Around*. Berry Gordy, 1960.

Queer Resistance in Pinochet's Chile: Las Yeguas del Apocalipsis' Performance Activism, 1987-1989

Stephanie Pierson

Abstract: This paper addresses queer resistance in Chile during Augosto Pinochet's dictatorship by focusing on the queer performance group, Las Yeguas del Apocalípsis. This paper exists in dialogue with scholars of history, Latin American studies, and queer studies and rejects the notion that Pinochet's dictatorship drove queer people underground. In this paper, I argue that Las Yeguas del Apocalipsis' queer performance activism was radical by centering on the queer body. I argue that through their bodies, Las Yeguas del Apocalípsis queered spaces, subverted masculinity, and redefined Chilean identity, all of which had broader political implications. To make these arguments, I analyzed images taken during the group's performances, and I incorporated magazine and newspaper articles. My paper concludes that queer culture was existent in Santiago during Pinochet's dictatorship and that studying queer culture and expression is evermore important given increasing censorship of LGBTQ+ topics in K-12 classrooms and anti-LGBTQ+ legislation throughout the United States.

If you were to drop into a Kindergarten classroom in Santiago, Chile, it is possible that among the library shelves, you would find the book *Nicolás Has Two Dads*.[1] Although not a part of required reading or school curriculum, *Nicolás Has Two Dad*s is a children's book written by Movilh, a LGBTQ+ liberation organization in Chile supported by the Chilean government, and used throughout Chilean kindergartens to educate children about sexual diversity.[2]

That LGBTQ+ reading has made it into Chilean classrooms is a significant feat, considering that less than half a century ago, Chile criminalized homosexuality, and until only recently, many believed that this criminalization drove queer people underground.[3] However, the truth is much more complicated. Conventional understandings maintained that Augosto Pinochet's dictatorship from 1973-1990 drove queer people underground

---

[1]   Valerie Dekimpe, "Kindergartens to receive book portraying same-sex parent family," *The Santiago Times* (24 October 2014), http://santiagotimes.cl/kindergartens-to-receive-book-portraying-same-sex-parent-family/.

[2]   Leslie Nicholls and Ramón Gómez, *Nicolás tiene dos papás* (Santiago: Movilh, 2014).

[3]   Daniel Lyons, "The Construction of Gay Identity in Chile." *Culture, Society, and Praxis* 3, no. 1 (2004): 25.

and led to total erasure.[4] Although Pinochet's rise to power threatened queer people's existence in previously unimaginable ways, queer people resisted dictatorship in Chile through artistic expression throughout his dictatorship.

In order to understand the significance of my topic and argument, it is crucial to understand the political climate in Chile leading up to and during Pinochet's dictatorship. Prior to the coup that brought Pinochet to power, Salvador Allende, the founder of Chile's Socialist Party and a member of the Popular Unity coalition, led Chile. The Popular Unity coalition was formed in 1969 and it comprised most of the Chilean left, including the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, and the Popular Unitary Action Movement (MAPU).[5] Allende's election in 1970 was pivotal because it was the first time a Marxist candidate was democratically elected as president in the Western Hemisphere.[6] Allende's presidency lasted from 1970 to 1973, and during his presidency, he proposed gradual political and socioeconomic changes, which he termed as a "peaceful road to socialism" or "vía pacífica."[7] While his administration ushered in more socialist reforms, there was dissent brewing throughout his tenure, including a failed coup attempt in June of 1973, known as El Tanquetazo or El Tacnazo.[8]

On September 11, 1973, Augusto Pinochet, Chile's current Defense Minister and Army Commander, led a violent, yet successful coup d'état against Allende's government, ending 46 years of democratically-elected governance in Chile.[9] The United States' indirect intervention, which was part of a global Cold War political strategy, contributed to Pinochet's rise to power, and Pinochet's rise to power hindered queer liberation and any sociopolitical movements for LGBTQ+ equal rights in Chile. From scholars to politicians, many argue over just how involved the United States government was with the coup, but regardless of the degree of involvement, the United States' destabilization strategy had tangible ramifications in Chile.[10]

Prior to the beginning of Pinochet's dictatorship in 1973, LGBTQ+ Chileans

---

4   Daniel Lyons, "The Construction of Gay Identity in Chile." *Culture, Society, and Praxis* 3, no. 1 (2004), 25.

5   Kenneth Roberts, *Deepening Democracy? The Modern Left and Social Movements in Chile and Peru* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998): 83-84.

6   Marta Harnecker, "Understanding the Past to make the Future: Reflections on Allende's Government." *Historical Materialism: Research in Critical Marxist Theory* 11, no. 3 (2003), 5-15; quotation on pg. 5.

7   Roberts, *Deepening Democracy*, 83.

8   Felipe Retamaly Pablo Retamal, "El Tanquetazo: la intensa historia del fracasado golpe contra Salvador Allende." *La Tercera,* June 29, 2023.

9   Peter Winn, "The Furies of the Andes: Violence and Terror in the Chilean Revolution and Counterrevolution" in *A Century of Revolution: Insurgent and Counterinsurgent Violence during Latin America's Long Cold War*, ed. Gilbert M. Joseph and Greg Grandin (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 239-275; sourced from p. 271.

10   Pamela Constable, and Arturo Valenzuela, *A Nation of Enemies: Chile Under Pinochet* (New

York and London: W.W. Norton and Company, 1991): 49-51.

experienced slow, yet optimistic strides towards equal rights. In the 1960s and 1970s, some Chilean doctors began studying gender and the possibility of gender-affirming procedures for transgender people. Then in 1970, Chile passed a law allowing for federally-recognized name changes, and while there is not extensive documentation of people applying for name changes, the passage and implementation of this law signaled a crucial step forward for transgender and gender-nonconforming individuals.[11] Furthermore, in 1973, just a few months before Pinochet's coup, Chile experienced its first formal queer rights march in Santiago. On a Sunday afternoon in April in Santiago's main square, Plaza de Armas, a small yet vocal group of twenty-five queer people, mainly gay men and transgender women, held a demonstration to protest police abuses against queer people, including frequent arrests in certain downtown districts at night.[12]

During Pinochet's dictatorship, the Chilean government reversed many aforementioned indicators of queer rights and criminalized same-sex relationships, citing that queer behavior did not support the Catholic Church's values.[13] However, during Pinochet's rule in Chile between 1973 and 1990, queer people subverted dictatorship through artistic expression, as evidenced by performance groups like Las Yeguas del Apocalípsis, an artistic group founded in 1987 in Santiago by Chilean creatives Pedro Lemebel and Pancho (b. Francisco) Casas Silva.[14] Specifically, Las Yeguas del Apocalipsis' artistic expression and performances centered the queer body as a form of resistance, challenging what resistance looked like during this time period.[15] In this paper, I will show how centering the queer body was a radical act that transformed these bodies into symbolic weapons against the dictatorship. In doing this, I will provide an alternative narrative to how historians have traditionally studied resistance during Pinochet's dictatorship, and I will refute misconceptions that state oppression drove queer people underground during this time.[16]

In order to make these arguments, I will draw from digital material, specifically images, from the performance group, Las Yeguas del Apocalípsis, along with newspaper and magazine articles that cover them. I will explore how queer people utilized artistic expression, employing their bodies as weapons, to subvert Pinochet's dictatorship. I

---

11   Fernanda Carvajal Edwards, "Sexopolítica en los inicios de la dictadura de Augusto Pinochet: el "cambio de sexo" de Marcia Alejandra en los discursos de la prensa," *Sexualidad, Salud y Sociedad – Revista Latinoamerica* (24), 103–129; sourced from pg. 109-111.

12   Víctor Hugo Robles, *Bandera hueca: historia del movimiento homosexual de Chile* (Santiago, Editorial Cuarto Propio, 2008): 215. See also *Las locas del '73* documentary, directed by Robles.

13   Fernanda Caravajal Edwards, "Sexopolítica en los inicios de la dictadura de Augusto Pinochet," 106-107.

14   "Las Yeguas del Apocalípsis: Pedro Lemebel y Francisco Casas," Yeguas del Apocalípsis, July 24, 2018, https://english.yeguasdelapocalipsis.cl/biography/.

15   "1988: The Refounding of the University of Chile." Yeguas del Apocalipsis, July 24, 2018. http://english.yeguasdelapocalipsis.cl/1988-the-refounding-of-the-university-of-chile/ .

16   Lyons, "The Construction of Gay Identity in Chile," 25.

will discuss the importance of performance and public space in Las Yeguas' activism. After this, I will analyze how Las Yeguas reappropriated masculinity in order to bend the gender binary and subvert heteronormativity. Lastly, I will explore Las Yeguas' pressing challenge of redefining Chilean identity as that of mourning instead of as that of pride.[17] By exploring these sub-themes, I will demonstrate how Las Yeguas' performances and interventions helped queer issues reach a broader political audience, especially towards the end of Pinochet's dictatorship.[18]

Historiography

Historically, scholars studying Pinochet's dictatorship, have categorized research about the topic in two different ways. On one hand, in the immediate aftermath, Pinochet's dictatorship was primarily characterized within the scope of the human rights violations that occurred and the brutality of the regime as a whole. Similar to the Holocaust, there was a focus on exposing the atrocities of the regime in order to raise awareness and reconcile with the past.[19] In 1990, Chile established its Truth and Reconciliation Commission as part of the country's "democratic transition," a political stage that attempted to move the Chilean state forward after Pinochet's dictatorship. This commission brought to light numerous human rights violations that occurred under Pinochet's dictatorship.[20]The Chilean National Commission for Truth and Commission published a 100-page report on human rights abuses that resulted in death or disappearance after gathering research for almost one year. Although many contend that this report only scratched the surface of human rights abuses that occurred under Pinochet due to its short length, the report, also known as the Rettig Report, concluded that over 3,000 people died or disappeared under Pinochet's rule and that these disappearances were primarily orchestrated by the Chilean government.[21]

Some scholarly discussions surrounding the human rights situation during Pinochet's dictatorship initially debated the role that Pinochet personally had in committing the human rights abuses that were detailed in the Rettig Report. In his book, *Chile Under Pinochet: Recovering the Truth*, Mark Ensalaco, Director of International Studies at the University of Dayton in Ohio, argued that Pinochet was mostly complicit in the numerous disappearances that occurred between 1973 and 1990. Ensalaco's research was based on

---

17   "1988: At half mast." Yeguas del Apocalípsis, July 24, 2018, http://english.yeguasdelapocalipsis.cl/1988-at-half-mast/

18   "1989: The Conquest of America." Yeguas del Apocalípsis, July 24, 2018, http://english.yeguasdelapocalipsis.cl/1989-the-conquest-of-america/

19   Alejandro Chavez-Segura, "Can Truth Reconcile a Nation? Truth and Reconciliation Commissions in Argentina and Chile: Lessons for Mexico." *Latin American Policy* 6, no. 2 (2015): 226-239.

20   Phillip Berryman, *Report of the Chilean National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993).

21   Phillip Berryman, *Report of the Chilean National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation*.

five years he spent in Chile conducting research and interviews.[22]

However, Steven J. Stern, a former professor at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, offers evidence to counteract Ensalaco's claim. Stern's book, *Reckoning with Pinochet: The Memory Question in Democratic Chile, 1989–2006*, concluded that Pinochet was in fact responsible for most of the human rights violations and disappearances, with Pinochet authorizing many arrests himself and coordinating with the Chilean secret police, better known by the acronym DINA.[23]

On the other hand, more recently, scholarly debates surrounding Pinochet's dictatorship have shifted to center a broader theme of resistance instead of solely focusing on trauma. Scholars have talked about resistance with a wide range of lenses, from journalism to oppositional political organizing.[24] For example, Brad Eidahl covers opposition media groups extensively in his history dissertation, "Writing the Opposition: Power, Coercion, Legitimacy and the Press in Pinochet's Chile." His analysis studies magazines like *APSI* (founded in 1976), which was an independent media outlet that advocated for restoring democracy in Chile.[25]

The Chilean government limited *APSI* to only reporting on international news instead of criticizing issues within Chile until 1979, but the magazine cleverly covered tangential topics that were applicable to Chile in order to challenge this censorship. *APSI* still wrote about authoritarian governments and human-rights violations in other countries, especially those in surrounding countries in Latin America, to make international issues more localized for its readership.[26] In order to prevent fines from the Chilean government and being classified as a Marxist newspaper, *APSI* intentionally kept writers with more radical politics on the outside of the organization, especially those with known Marxist and Communist ideologies. Those in leadership for *APSI*, although leftist to some extent, still represented relatively mainstream and Center-Left politics.[27]

Eidahl also discusses the importance of magazines like *Revista Hoy*, which were bolder in the stories and interviews it published. *Hoy* openly chose to associate with Marxists and Chilean exiles, and these decisions led to the Interior Minister at the time, Sergio Fernández, to temporarily suspend the magazine from releasing publications for two months, accusing *Hoy* of spreading propaganda.[28] Although Fernández thought that

---

22   Mark Ensalaco, *Chile Under Pinochet: Recovering the Truth* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020).

23   Steve J. Stern, *Reckoning with Pinochet: The Memory Question in Democratic Chile, 1989-2006* (Durham: Duke University, 2010): 65.

24   Brad T. Eidahl, "Writing the Opposition: Power, Coercion, Legitimacy and the Press in Pinochet's Chile." PhD dissertation, (Ohio University, 2017): 137.

25   *Ibid.*, 139.

26   *APSI*, "Controlar la violencia," no. 3, September 2, 1976, 9.

27   Brad T. Eidahl, 139.

28   Brad T. Eidahl, "Writing the Opposition: Power, Coercion, Legitimacy and the Press in Pinochet's Chile," 120.

the suspension would drive *Hoy* underground, after its suspension, *Hoy* only became more critical of the Chilean government, citing the suspension as infringements on freedom of press.[29]

Political organizing was also a continuous form of resistance during the dictatorship. Initially, organizations and opposition groups focused on criticizing the state's "national security enforcement practices," which is a euphemism that the Chilean state used for human rights abuses throughout Pinochet's regime.[30] In his journal article, "Military Dictatorship and Political Opposition in Chile, 1973-1986," Brian Loveman also writes about the pivotal role that the Catholic Church played, arguing that the Church served as an "umbrella of protection" for various human rights and anti-regime organizing and activities.[31] Under this umbrella, one could find groups like the Committee of Cooperation for Peace, which Loveman credits for establishing support networks and physical safe havens for those targeted by Pinochet's policies, and the Vicariate of Solidarity, which provided a source of moral opposition to the dictatorship. However, while these organizations established and supported by the Catholic Church criticized the dictatorship for its lack of democracy/political plurality and for its human rights record, they did not actively advocate for a government transition.[32]

Hence, this gap is where groups like the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR) and the Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front (FPMR) find their importance. Loveman writes about the symbolic importance of the Revolutionary Left Movement, even though they did not gain widespread support among the Chilean people. The MIR advocated for armed resistance against the Chilean military, and they criticized the idea of a peaceful transition to socialism. Despite their lack of popular support, Loveman argues that the MIR was important because the group signified vocal disdain for Pinochet's coup and a constant critique of the dictatorship. However, the MIR was ultimately unsuccessful, as the Chilean military quickly targeted its operations and subjected MIR members to state torture and forced disappearances/kidnapping.[33]

On the other hand, the Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front found what could be deemed more measurable success in its tactics. This armed guerrilla group reached its height during the latter part of the dictatorship, as it was founded in 1983 as the armed resistance wing of the Communist Party of Chile. Valentina Jorquera Peñailillo writes about the crucial role that women played in the group's success, especially in the FPMR's assassination attempt of Pinochet in 1986, known by the codename "Operation 20th Century."[34] Although not successful in eliminating Pinochet, the group continued

29   *Ibid.*, 122.

30   Brian Loveman, "Military Dictatorship and Political Opposition in Chile, 1973-1986." *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 28, no. 4 (1986), 6.

31   Brian Loveman, "Military Dictatorship and Political Opposition in Chile," 7.

32   Brian Loveman, "Military Dictatorship and Political Opposition in Chile," 8.

33   Brian Loveman, "Military Dictatorship and Political Opposition in Chile," 12.

34   Valentina Jorquera Peñailillo, "Mujeres Militantes, Combatientes y

implementing violent attacks and destabilization operations throughout Santiago, earning the group a spot on multiple internationally-recognized lists of terrorist organizations.[35] FPMR's overarching goal was not merely a return to democracy, but rather the violent overthrow of Pinochet, similar to the coup that brought him to power.[36]

As one could imagine, in most of these discourses surrounding resistance during Pinochet's dictatorship, queer resistance is seldom discussed, and this is where my topic of research is situated. Las Yeguas del Apocalípsis were originally only talked about and seen as a performance group, and initially, few people who covered Las Yeguas considered the political and social context behind the groups' establishment in 1987.[37] However, during the AIDS epidemic, which surged internationally between the 1980s and the early 2000s, scholars discussed and studied Las Yeguas within the scope of survival and community building for queer people, who were disproportionately affected by HIV.[38]

For example, Diana Palaversich argues the importance of Las Yeguas in bringing queer people of all backgrounds and lived experiences together during the AIDS epidemic. In her article, "The Wounded Body of Proletarian Homosexuality in Pedro Lemebel's *Loco afán*," she highlights the concept of memory and remembrance that comes across through Las Yeguas performances.[39] Although her article concentrates on queer literary expression during the AIDS epidemic, she underscores how AIDS-afflicted queer people were by the queer community and broader Chilean society, but felt represented through Las Yeguas.[40]

When asked in a 1989 interview with Cauce magazine about how AIDS impacted Las Yeguas work, Pedro Lemebel and Francisco Casas, the founders of Las Yeguas, responded by saying that "Nobody is safe," and that AIDS is a burden that queer people often have to carry by themselves. They also discussed the pivotal role that Las Yeguas played in bringing queer people away from the margins of society.[41]

Revolucionarias: La

     Operación Siglo XX y El Rol De Las Mujeres En El Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez."
     Izquierdas no. 49 (01, 2020): 3390.

35   Canada: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, "Chile: Whether the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (Frente Patriotico Manuel Rodriguez, FPMR) is still active; if so, whether they were involved in recent illegal activities; whether there is any history of forcible recruitment, specifically of women, into this group (2002 - July 2004)," 16 July 2004, https://www.refworld.org/docid/41501bf47.html

36   Valentina Jorquera Peñailillo, "Mujeres Militantes, Combatientes y Revolucionarias": 3388.

37   "Las Yeguas del Apocalípsis: Pedro Lemebel and Francisco Casas," Yeguas del Apocalípsis, July 24, 2018, http://www.yeguasdelapocalipsis.cl/biografia/.

38   "HIV/AIDS Timeline." *Centers for Disease Control and Prevention*, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, https://npin.cdc.gov/pages/hiv-and-aids-timeline.

39   Diana Palaversich and Paul Allatson, "The Wounded Body of Proletarian Homosexuality in

     Pedro Lemebel's *Loco afán*." *Latin American Perspectives* 29, no. 2 (2002): 100-101.

40   *Ibid.*

41   Fabio Salas Zuñiga, "Las Yeguas del Apocalípsis," *Cauce* 7, no. 204 (1989):

Following the peak of the AIDS epidemic, much of the scholarship argued that the brutality of Pinochet's dictatorship completely erased the gay liberation movement from 1973-1990. In his article, "The Construction of Gay Identity in Chile," David Lyons said that queer visibility was "thwarted" and "shoved underground" once Pinochet took power.[42] Lyons went on to contend that "all other groups of subordination were silenced during the epoch of Pinochet, until 1989."[43] Due to the AIDS epidemic infecting queer people in large numbers and the repressive policies of Pinochet's regime, Lyons conclusions are not unreasonable. On first glance, with the AIDS epidemic coinciding with a brutal anti-LGBT dictatorship in Chile, one would think that queer people were easily wiped out and silenced in the country. However, the existence and visibility of Las Yeguas offers evidence to contradict this.

Furthermore, Baird Campbell's 2022 article published in *GLQ: A Journal of Gay and Lesbian Studies* also acknowledges the existence of sexual and gender minorities prior to 1973, but his research findings do not offer much to counter Lyon's claims of queer people being pushed underground during the dictatorship.[44] Campbell agrees that Pinochet's dictatorship drove almost all forms of resistance underground and that protest was virtually extinguished.[45] Instead of basing his arguments off of the extensive work of groups like Las Yeguas in the past, Campbell's article focuses on contemporary efforts to destabilize "official memory," which refers to the narrative pushed by the Chilean state and other people/groups in power. [46] He argues that sexual minorities in the present day distort and redefine traditional narratives of the past and disrupt the concept of linear time with regards to queer activism.[47]

More recently, in 2020, Fernando Blanco, the director of the Latin American Studies program at Bucknell University, compiled a volume of essays surrounding Lemebel's work, titled *La vida imitada: narrativa, performance y visualidad en Pedro Lemebel*. In this volume, an essay by Dieter Ingenschay discusses how Lemebel and Las Yeguas' contributed to historical memory of the dictatorship in Chile, and how the group addressed the broader history of colonialism in the country.[48] Additionally, Ingenschay argues that Las Yeguas' performances created a parody of queer culture's tendency to hyper-fixate on glamor and ignore pressing issues at the time, like the HIV/AIDS epidemic.[49]

27-28.
       42   Daniel Lyons, "The Construction of Gay Identity in Chile." *Culture, Society, and Praxis* 3, no. 1 (2004): 25.
       43   *Ibid.*
       44   Baird Campbell, "Tiempo Al Tiempo: Nonlinear Time in Chilean Sexually Dissident/Diverse Activism," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 28, no. 3 (2022): 329.
       45   *Ibid.*, 334-335.
       46   Baird Campbell, "Tiempo al Tiempo": 329.
       47   *Ibid.*, 344.
       48   Fernando Blanco, ed., *La vida imitada: narrativa, performance y visualidad en Pedro Lemebel*. Madrid: Iberoamericana Editorial Vervuert, 2020: 204.
       49   *Ibid.*, 205.

In understanding what other scholars have written about Pinochet's dictatorship, opposition groups, and queer activism during that time period, I find that my research is unique in how it focuses on the ways in which the queer body was used as a weapon against the dictatorship.

Queering Space

Las Yeguas del Apocalípsis established performance as a viable form of activism, and their work cannot be brushed off as merely performance art. Their own website maintains that their art cannot be detached from the social and political climate that intersected their lives.[50] Led by Pedro Lemebel, who was already doing much of this work of gender subversion, Las Yeguas fearlessly challenged the rigid social structure present during Pinochet's dictatorship.[51] Dale Corvino, essayist and short story writer, argued that Las Yeguas' activism was synonymous with "guerrilla actions," and had such wide-ranging effects as confronting not only Pinochet's military regime, but also the political elite and Catholic officials.[52] As mentioned before, while the Catholic Church offered protection for some human rights groups, there was limited support, if any, for LGBTQ+ individuals targeted by Pinochet's policies, as the Church saw queer behavior and queer identity as an affront to its values.[53] Thus, Las Yeguas implemented a practice of "queering spaces" to assert their place and belonging in Chilean society.

In order to establish their legitimacy as more than just a performance group, Las Yeguas used public space in the capital of Santiago to present their work and reach wider audiences than the traditional art scene. By doing this, Las Yeguas asserted themselves as worthy inhabitants of the city, despite anti-LGBTQ rhetoric from the Chilean government. In an interview for Cauce magazine, Lemebel and Casas articulated that "queering spaces," was one of their goals for Las Yeguas' activism.[54] By this, they meant that they sought to make more spaces accessible for queer people and bring queer people from the margins of society to the center, away from the stereotypes and stigmas of places like Calle San Camilo.[55]

Criss Salazar, a Chilean blogger who documents Santiago's urban landscape of Santiago, wrote a blogpost about the "holy and perverse" dichotomy of Calle San Camilo, describing the neighborhood's diversity as a reflection of the "schizophrenic bipolarity" of the city of Santiago.[56] In his post, he discussed his understanding of the street growing

---

50   "Las Yeguas del Apocalípsis," Yeguas del Apocalípsis, July 24, 2018, http://english.yeguasdelapocalipsis.cl/.

51   Dale Corvino, "Pedro Lemebel Outlasted Pinochet," *The Gay & Lesbian Review Worldwide*, May, 2020, 17.

52   *Ibid.*

53   Fernanda Caravajal Edwards, "Sexopolítica en los inicios de la dictadura de Augusto Pinochet," 106-107.

54   Zuñiga, "Las Yeguas del Apocalípsis," *Cauce* 7, no. 204 (1989): 29.

55   *Ibid.*, 27.

56   Criss Salazar, "Barrio San Camilo: la santa y perversa Calle Fray Camilo

up, writing that he was mostly sheltered from the reputation of Calle San Camilo because he only traversed it in the day, where he mainly encountered retirees and fairly conservative people. However, as he got older and began studying the history of Santiago and physically documenting the city's streets and buildings through photography, he learned more of the truth behind Calle San Camilo.[57]

Thus, he began to break down this dichotomy, which he characterized as a "Doctor Jekyll, Mr. Hyde" scenario and an "eternal struggle of opposites," in which Calle San Camilo appears as any other middle-class neighborhood by day, but at night, rears its head and transforms into a red-light district riddled with prostitution.[58] Historically, the San Camilo neighborhood was mainly known for heterosexual prostitution.[59] However, during the 1980s, the neighborhood demographics shifted, and Calle San Camilo became a central hub for queer people, especially transgender women, to express themselves sexually, which was possibly a byproduct of Pinochet's policies towards queer people.[60]

A magazine article by Carolina Robino also builds off of the concept of queering space. Robino wrote about the significance of one of Las Yeguas' protests, the *Refounding of the University of Chile*, stressing the importance of disrupting public and political spaces.[61] In this protest, members of Las Yeguas galloped through the streets of Santiago, nude and on horseback (representing the *yegua*, or mare, of their organization) near the Las Encinas campus of the University of Chile. In doing this, they ridiculed the image of the masculine military officer and rejected the colonial image of the conquistador, rivaling the image of Pedro de Valdivia when he conquered Santiago in 1540.[62] Instead, Las Yeguas offered an alternative image, one of upended masculinity and unabashed queerness. According to Pancho Casas' account, the horseback ride through the campus was also an allusion to Lady Godiva, a medieval woman who is most well-known due to a myth of her riding naked on horseback through the town of Coventry to protest taxation.[63] Las Yeguas' objective through this protest was to demand the inclusion of queer people and other minorities at the University of Chile.[64]

Some of the images that depict Las Yeguas entering the University of Chile's

Henríquez." *URBATORIUM*, https://urbatorium.blogspot.com/2009/01/barrio-san-camilo-la-santa-y-perversa.html.

57   *Ibid.*

58   *Ibid.*

59   Criss Salazar, "San Camilo 262: del prostíbulo al Fondart." *URBATORIUM*, https://urbatorium.blogspot.com/2008/11/san-camilo-262-del-prostbulo-al-fondart.html.

60   Criss Salazar, "Barrio San Camilo: la santa y perversa Calle Fray Camilo Henríquez."

61   Carolina Robino, "Las Yeguas del Apocalípsis: las últimas locas del fin del mundo," *Hoy* 21, no. 736 (1991): 42.

62   *Ibid.*, 44.

63   Katherine L French, "The Legend of Lady Godiva and the Image of the Female Body, *Journal of Medieval History*, (1992), 3-19; quotation on pg. 18.

64   "1988: The Refounding of the University of Chile," Yeguas del Apocalipsis, http://english.yeguasdelapocalipsis.cl/1988-the-refounding-of-the-university-of-chile/

campus captured the pivotal moment when Lemebel and Casas passed through the campus' gates. The gates which surrounded the campus were a physical manifestation of the division created during Pinochet's dictatorship, pushing minorities o the margins of mainstream society. Groups like Las Yeguas reestablished minorities within the more central parts of Chilean society and offered representation for queer people in an era when erasure was rampant.[65]

Chilean poets Carmen Berenguer, Carolina Jerez, and Nadia Prado led Las Yeguas through the university's campus, which is another important feature to note about the Refounding of the University of Chile protest. The inclusion of women in their protest, but not only their inclusion, but their prominent placement at the forefront, demonstrates Las Yeguas' commitment to including both sexual and gender minorities into their activism, making their activism more relatable and more wide-reaching. Additionally, one of the women leading Lemebel and Casas through the college campus played the flute in order to squarely situate the protest in the artistic realm.[66]

Las Yeguas' also incorporated public space into their activism at the *Under the Bridge* intervention in 1988. Las Yeguas staged this intervention during the Hard Hearts Festival in Santiago, and the intervention consisted of two distinct parts. The first part of the demonstration began at the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, one of the largest and most prestigious universities in the country, and continued towards San Lucía Hill by passing through an avenue that was known for male prostitution. Passing by the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile was a prime example of Las Yeguas' practice of queering space. The seamless progression from prestigious area to disreputable area was a statement about the normalization and manifestation of everyday violence and discrimination in queer people's lives.[67]

The second part of the demonstration happened at the Mapocho Station Cultural Center, where the Hard Hearts Festival was taking place. For this part of the intervention, Lemebel and Casas presented themselves nude in a dark room, only illuminated by a single lantern. During this demonstration, they portrayed violence against queer people in Chile through caresses, physical jabs, and by pouring salt on their bodies.[68] The pouring of salt referred to the idiom of "rubbing salt into the wound," which colloquially means to make a bad situation worse.[69] This act critiqued how the Chilean dictatorship further marginalized queer Chileans and forced many of them into hiding and offered no state support during the AIDS epidemic. This demonstration was incredibly impactful because it represented a reality for many queer Chileans during this time, and it brought in a

---

65   *Ibid.* (image)
66   *Ibid.* (image)
67   "1988: Under the Bridge," Yeguas del Apocalípsis, July 24, 2018, http://english.yeguasdelapocalipsis.cl/1988-under-the-bridge/
68   *Ibid.* (image)
69   Merriam Webster Dictionary, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/rub%20salt%20in%2Finto%20the%20wound

diverse audience from the festival.[70]

Although the image quality for many of the photos taken during the *Under the Bridge* intervention was poor, in one of the images, viewers saw a white sheet thrown over the two performers, which is similar to how white sheets are draped over dead bodies. Including this element into their protest was a visual representation of the numerous deaths and disappearances of queer people at the hands of the dictatorship.[71]

Furthermore, the queering of space was a continuity throughout Las Yeguas activism, and it was evident through numerous 1989 protests as Las Yeguas garnered support and broke into mainstream political spaces. Protests like *What's So Funny, Mr. President?* demonstrated Las Yeguas' command of political space.[72]

1989 was a crucial year in Chile because numerous discussions about the "democratic transition" were underway. The year prior, in 1988, Chile held a national plebiscite to determine whether or not Pinochet would stay in power; in this referendum, 56% of voters voted for an end of the dictatorship and democratic elections to determine the country's next leader. This political climate where Chilean citizens actively searched for ways to move past Pinochet's dictatorship may have created a more receptive environment for Las Yeguas' art.[73]

Las Yeguas' 1989 intervention, *What's So Funny, Mr. President?* was a prime example of Las Yeguas queering space and reaching a broader, more receptive audience. Ahead of the December democratic election, Patricio Aylwin, who would eventually become Chile's democratically-elected president, held a forum-style event in the Cariola Theater in Santiago to campaign about some of his proposed policies under a democratic Chilean government. What's So Funny, Mr. President? brought queerness to the forefront of the political space. In the middle of the forum, Lemebel and Casas stormed across the stage dressed in high heels and tutus. Images from the event show that , prominent, upper-class citizens wearing suits and ties and smoking cigars packed the forum. While Las Yeguas' tutus and high heels reflected their backgrounds, the audience's attire was a performance that also reflected their own backgrounds.[74]

Furthermore, to capture the dissonance between queer people and politicians in Chile at this time, photos from this event highlighted the contrast between Las Yeguas

70   "1988: Under the Bridge," Yeguas del Apocalípsis, July 24, 2018, http://english.yeguasdelapocalipsis.cl/1988-under-the-bridge/

71   "1988: Under the Bridge," Yeguas del Apocalípsis, July 24, 2018, http://english.yeguasdelapocalipsis.cl/1988-under-the-bridge/

72   "1989: What's So Funny, Mr. President?," Yeguas del Apocalípsis, July 24, 2018, http://english.yeguasdelapocalipsis.cl/1989-whats-so-funny-mr-president/

73   Eugene Robinson, "Chile's Military Junta Nominates Pinochet to Stay in Presidency; Opponents of Rule Battle Police in Streets." *The Washington Post*, Aug 31, 1988.

74   "1989: What's So Funny, Mr. President?" Yeguas del Apocalípsis, July 24, 2018, http://english.yeguasdelapocalipsis.cl/1989-whats-so-funny-mr-president/.

and politicians. The photos did this by focusing on Las Yeguas bodies, which was no doubt Las Yeguas' intent. For example, Las Yeguas' pale, bare legs were a harsh contrast from the dark suits that the audience wore. Additionally, Las Yeguas' bare legs, high heels, and tutus bent the gender expectation and suggested a more feminine gender presentation, contrasting the overwhelming male crowd at the theater.[75]

In order to assert the political nature of their protest, Las Yeguas unrolled a sign reading "Homosexuals for Change" once on stage. Although Las Yeguas protests were rooted in artistic expression, this intervention showed how their work was also grounded in the reality of the state's queer oppression. By carrying out this intervention, Las Yeguas reached important Chilean politicians who would be responsible for guiding Chile through its "democratic transition." This intervention also made Las Yeguas visible to people who perpetuated or were complacent in queer erasure.[76]

By protesting in prominent spaces and during popular events, Las Yeguas queered these spaces and made bold statements about queer inclusion in Chilean society. In these demonstrations, Las Yeguas used their bodies as weapons against the dictator-ship. Furthermore, in each of the protests, Las Yeguas' presented themselves in unabash-edly queer ways, from wearing high heels and dresses, to being nude. How Las Yeguas dressed during their performances is an important theme for the following section of my paper.

Subverting Masculinity

Another crucial theme in Las Yeguas del Apocalípsis' performances was how they redefined masculinity through physical and visual representations. Through their performances, Las Yeguas reappropriated the masculine body to challenge heteronor-mativity, conservatism, colonialism, and oppression more broadly. Art installations like *Gone with AIDS* reflected overt representations of queerness in heteronormative spaces. By subverting masculinity in physical ways, Las Yeguas once again used their bodies as weapons against Pinochet's dictatorship.

Gone with AIDS was a 1989 art exhibition hosted by the Chilean-French Insti-tute of Culture, in which invited Las Yeguas were to be part of "Art Interventions in the Urban Landscape." For this intervention, Chilean photographer Mario Vivado captured thirty pictures of Las Yeguas wearing traditional feminine clothing like dresses, pearl necklaces, and high heels. In one of the images, Lemebel wore a feathered helmet and a skull mask, while Casas wore what appears to be a wedding dress, complete with white beaded gloves, a choker necklace, and a veil. In this same image, Vivado captured Las Yeguas French kissing each other.[77]

75   *Ibid.*
76   "1989: What's So Funny, Mr. President?" Yeguas del Apocalípsis, July 24, 2018, http://english.yeguasdelapocalipsis.cl/1989-whats-so-funny-mr-president/.
77   "1989: Gone with AIDS." Yeguas del Apocalípsis, July 24, 2018, http://english.

Although there were multiple performances when Las Yeguas performed romantic or sensual acts on each other, such as physical caresses or kisses, they were not a couple. On the contrary, in a 1989 interview with Fabio Salas, a journalist with Cauce magazine, Las Yeguas stated that their chief aim with performing romantic gestures towards each other was to destigmatize queer affection and to challenge the criminalization of homosexuality.[78] Thus, their affection towards each other was an act of queer liberation.

Additionally, Salas wrote in the introduction to his interview that by crossdressing, Las Yeguas made a political statement about integrating gender minorities into the democratic future.[79] Building off of the aforementioned physical acts of queer liberation, other photographs from the series showed Las Yeguas licking each other's nipples and adjusting each other's feathered headpieces.[80]

According to Las Yeguas' website, the inspiration behind the photoshoot was Golden Age Hollywood, and Las Yeguas dressed up as feminine cultural figures, emulating women like Marilyn Monroe and the sisters from *La Casa de Bernarda Alba*, Federico García Lorca's Spanish tragedy written during the Second Golden Age of Spanish theater. In artistic interventions like *Gone with AIDS*, Las Yeguas subverted masculinity not only in their physical appearance, but also in their actions, and in doing so, they challenged gender norms at the time. For both their appearance and their actions, their queer bodies are crucial vehicles for the intervention to achieve its intended effect. The thirty photographs for *Gone with AIDS* were positioned at the entryway of the host location, making it one of the first things that viewers saw upon entering the art exhibition. [81]

Furthermore, *Gone with AIDS* also carried symbolic significance that is not immediately present just by looking at the images. Some of the clothing that Las Yeguas wore for the photoshoot came from some of their transgender friends and from friends who were HIV-positive. At a time when many people incorrectly believed that HIV was transmissible through skin contact as opposed to bodily fluids, Las Yeguas' decision to wear clothing from their AIDS-afflicted friends was radical, and this decision brought HIV-positive people away from the margins of the queer community. To further achieve this goal of bringing people away from the margins, Las Yeguas included the wardrobe from the photoshoot in the physical space of the exhibition, meaning that everyone who viewed the exhibition faced the discomfort of the AIDS epidemic, albeit in an indirect way.[82]

yeguasdelapocalipsis.cl/1989-gone-with-aids/.
78   Fabio Salas Zuñiga, "Las Yeguas del Apocalípsis," *Cauce* 7, no. 204 (1989): 29.
79   *Ibid.*, 26.
80   "1989: Gone with AIDS." Yeguas del Apocalípsis, July 24, 2018, http://english. yeguasdelapocalipsis.cl/1989-gone-with-aids/.
81   *Ibid.*
82   "1989: Gone with AIDS." Yeguas del Apocalípsis, July 24, 2018, http://english.

Ultimately, *Gone with AIDS* presented only one example of how Las Yeguas subverted masculinity and used their bodies to challenge Pinochet's dictatorship. By subverting masculinity, Las Yeguas defined queer identity, and in defining their group's identity, they also challenged Chilean identity as a whole, which I will address in the final sub-section of my paper.

Redefining Chilean Identity

Lastly, Las Yeguas del Apocalípsis redefined Chilean national identity by utilizing national symbols and Chilean cultural traditions in their performances. Through these symbols Las Yeguas defined Chilean national identity as that of mourning as opposed to national pride.[83] Undoubtedly, Las Yeguas' performances turned the concept of national pride on its head. In doing this, Las Yeguas helped queer issues and issues pertaining to other marginalized communities reach a broader political audience, especially towards the end of Pinochet's dictatorship. Specifically, the art interventions *At Half Mast* and *The Conquest of America* show how Las Yeguas redefined Chilean identity. Both of these protests relied extensively on the queer body for its delivery and emotional impact.[84]

At Half Mast was a 1988 protest that occurred during a book launch of a book by the same name. This protest also occurred within the larger scope of the Santiago Book Festival, which was held in Parque Forestal, an urban park in downtown Santiago. At the end of the book launch, Lemebel and Casas displayed themselves as the Chilean flag through their clothing. Lemebel, on the right, wore red from head to toe, while Casas wore white pants and a blue shirt with a white star on it. As they walked outside barefoot, they dragged a black veil behind them as a gesture of mourning. Las Yeguas mourned not only those lost at the hands of the dictatorship and its human rights abuses, but they also mourned the democratic Chile. By using their bodies to create the Chilean flag, Lemebel and Casas demanded that queer bodies be accepted in Chile.[85]

Another one of Las Yeguas' protests, *The Conquest of America* garnered national media attention because of the violence that it represented. This art intervention took place in 1989 on Indigenous People's Day in Chileat the Chilean Human Rights Commission Building. This event demonstrated how Las Yeguas had broken into mainstream political spaces towards the end of Pinochet's dictatorship.[86]

During this intervention, Las Yeguas danced the *cueca*, which is the national

yeguasdelapocalipsis.cl/1989-gone-with-aids/.

83   "1989: The Conquest of America." Yeguas del Apocalípsis, July 24, 2018, http://english.yeguasdelapocalipsis.cl/1989-the-conquest-of-america/.

84   "1988: At half mast." Yeguas del Apocalípsis, July 24, 2018, http://english.yeguasdelapocalipsis.cl/1988-at-half-mast/.

85   *Ibid.*

86   "1989: The Conquest of America." Yeguas del Apocalípsis, July 24, 2018, http://english.yeguasdelapocalipsis.cl/1989-the-conquest-of-america/.

dance of Chile, on top of a map of South America. However, they appropriated this national symbol and twisted it on its head. The cueca is traditionally a partnered dance led by a man, but the two Yeguas danced it individually and did the steps that a woman would traditionally do to symbolize the men who had disappeared or were murdered under Pinochet's dictatorship. Additionally, Las Yeguas danced barefoot on a map littered with broken Coca-Cola bottles to represent U.S. imperialism and its harm in Chile.[87] This protest was particularly impactful because it incorporated intersectional activism. In this intervention, Las Yeguas advocated for human rights in all aspects, and not just queer rights. Their demonstration fought for women and for human rights for political dissidents punished by the dictatorship. By dancing on a map of all of South America without necessarily distinguishing between different countries, Las Yeguas also expanded their fight against dictatorship outside of Chile. Furthermore, this protest was yet another example that relied on Las Yeguas' bodies for its effect, as the brutalization of their bodies and their bleeding feet was the rhetorical weapon that moved the audience.[88] In this protest, the solo cueca was another example of Las Yeguas' redefining Chilean national identity as mourning, as the cueca was and still is a very recognizable symbol of Chile. Traditionally danced to celebrate national holidays like Independence Day, Las Yeguas reappropriated the dance to be symbolic of death and loss instead.[89]

Conclusion

September 11, 2023, marked the fifty-year anniversary of the coup that brought Pinochet to power, yet the memory of Chile's dictatorship is still relevant to this day. Pinochet's dictatorship provides a framework for understanding resilience in the midst of state-sanctioned oppression. By studying Las Yeguas del Apocalípsis, I found that there is a continuous thread of queer activism in Chile instead of one that is fragmented and interrupted by Pinochet's rule. Contrary to what scholars like Lyons and Campbell claim about queer people being forced underground during Pinochet's dictatorship, queer people existed above ground and pushed back against the dictatorship in impactful ways that merit investigation and analysis.[90]

Las Yeguas challenged Pinochet's dictatorship through performances that used the queer body as a weapon to confront not only the dictatorship, but also what it represented: conservatism, heteronormativity, colonialism, militaristic violence, and oppression. Las Yeguas "queered" prominent spaces throughout Santiago and asserted queer people's belonging in broader Chilean society. Las Yeguas also subverted masculinity in

---

87   "1989: The Conquest of America." Yeguas del Apocalípsis, July 24, 2018, http://english.yeguasdelapocalipsis.cl/1989-the-conquest-of-america/.

88   Maura Brescia, "Las yeguas del apocalipsis en una acción de arte," *La Época* 273 (1989): 27.

89   "1989: The Conquest of America." Yeguas del Apocalípsis, July 24, 2018, http://english.yeguasdelapocalipsis.cl/1989-the-conquest-of-america/.

90   Daniel Lyons, "The Construction of Gay Identity in Chile." *Culture, Society, and Praxis* 3, no. 1 (2004): 25.

their art interventions by challenging and actively disrupting the gender binary. Lastly, Las Yeguas redefined Chilean national identity to center mourning instead of pride in many ways. Images taken at Las Yeguas' performances and artistic interventions, which can be found on Las Yeguas' del Apocalípsis' website, provide ample evidence of these arguments. These findings help establish Las Yeguas del Apocalipsis as a crucial part of Santiago's queer culture during the 1980s, and it established that Santiago, and Chile more broadly, had definitive queer culture in spite of Pinochet's dictatorship.

Through Las Yeguas, we also see how queer activism during Pinochet's rule laid the foundation for queer liberation in Chile during the democratic transition era and for the present-day, something that Campbell explores further in his article, "Tiempo Al Tiempo: Nonlinear Time in Chilean Sexually Dissident/Diverse Activism" (mentioned previously, see Historiography section).[91]

It is not enough to merely acknowledge queer people's existence in Chile during Pinochet's dictatorship. We must also recognize how queer people existed in these liminal spaces and how they challenged structures and institutions around them. It is also important to understand how queer bodies took up physical space in a country that threatened physical punishment, torture, and even death to people who dared to exist as their most authentic selves.

Exploring queer resistance in Chile is immensely important for a variety of reasons, not only for the disciplines of history, Latin American studies, and gender and sexuality studies, but also personally as well. As a queer person, I believe that looking at queer resistance in the past can provide perspective and inspiration for current social movements. I also think that it is helpful to look at queer resistance and queer liberation in a global context as opposed to seeing LGBTQ+ rights as chiefly American or U.S.-inspired. I hope that this paper can speak in dialogue with other research about Las Yeguas del Apocalipsis, and I hope that my research will offer some source of inspiration in the midst of the current political climate and harmful discourse in the United States, especially the American South, regarding LGBTQ+ rights and queer liberation.[92]

---

91   Baird Campbell, "Tiempo Al Tiempo: Nonlinear Time in Chilean Sexually Dissident/Diverse Activism."

92   National Education Association, "What You Need to Know About Florida's 'Don't Say Gay' Law," https://www.nea.org/sites/default/files/2022-06/FL%20Dont%20Say%20Gay%20KYR%20-%20Updated2022.06.pdf

Divergence and Alignment: Perspectives on Chinese Women of Marion Dudley and Her Missionary Peers, 1927-1947

Jingqi Su

Abstract: This study investigates the dynamic interactions between American women missionaries, especially Marion Dudley, and Chinese women amidst the sociopolitical upheaval in China from 1927 to 1947. The objective is to explore how these interactions reflect broader changes in cultural exchange, gender roles, and the shifting landscape of national identity during the Chinese Civil War (1927-49) and the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-45). Employing a qualitative analysis of Dudley's travel writings and a comparative review of articles published in the official journal of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), *The Woman's Press*, this research explores American missionaries' perceptions toward Chinese women, particularly Dudley's evolving perspective. Initially, Dudley's narratives aligned with her peers' paternalistic view, emphasizing the indispensability of American women missionaries. Even though she opposed homogenizing Chinese women and cultural hegemony, she viewed Christian values and Western education as a means of empowerment. However, her subsequent reflections, particularly influenced by the Second Sino-Japanese War, underscore a paradigm shift towards recognizing the autonomy and resilience of Chinese women. The findings suggest that such transformations in Dudley's perspective offer insights into the complexity of international and cross-cultural missionary work. They indicate the importance of recognizing diverse experiences and intercultural understanding in missionary engagement when studying religious history and transnational history.

      "Hello, goodbye. Hello, goodbye."[1] These were the words that greeted Marion Dudley on the streets of Beijing in 1927, spoken by a young Chinese woman whose encounter with this American woman was marked by a mix of broken English and shy curiosity. Dudley later vividly described this fleeting yet memorable interaction in a letter to her friends in November 1927. Her description of Chinese women went far beyond this. From 1927 to 1947, hailing from North Carolina, Dudley served as an American woman missionary in China under the banner of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA). Her mission spanned three periods: 1927-31, 1938-42, and 1943-47. Throughout these years, Dudley crafted an array of travel writings concerning Chinese women, capturing her observations and perspectives on Chinese women. These writings, diverse in form and rich in detail, reflect Dudley's evolving understanding of Chinese

---

     1   Marion Dudley to "All My Best Friends Wherever You are," November 1927, folder 1, Marion Dudley Papers, Southern Historical Collection #3935, Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

women during her three missionary experiences in China.

Dudley stands as an emblematic figure, with her tenure as a missionary aligning with a notably turbulent era in Chinese history. From 1927 to 1947, she lived through almost the entire Chinese Civil War (1927-49). Her journey began in 1927, a year that marked a period of significant upheaval in China.[2] Some scholars argued at that time, the Northern Expedition (1926-28) launched by the Chinese Nationalist government can be seen as one of the symbols of the nationalist movement in China.[3] It stimulated the nationalist identity of Chinese people. Furthermore, Dudley's second missionary experience, commencing in 1938, was preceded by the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-45) in 1937. This conflict shaped the gender dynamics of China because it made more Chinese women get involved in the development of nationalism in China.[4]

Also, Dudley, as an American woman missionary in the YWCA, was part of a larger effort to spread Christian values and Western educational and social reforms in China. According to Sasaki's research, the desire of American society to spread Protestant ideas and expand its international influence played a notable role in the transformation of China through organizations like the YWCA.[5] The YWCA, as an international organization, focused on women's issues and aimed to empower women through Christian teachings, modern education from the West, and social reform.[6] It wanted to aid Chinese women to break free from traditional societal constraints and to adopt what they perceived as more modern values. This idea conflicts with the male-dominated nationalist movements in China, viewed as a threat to Chinese sovereignty and male authority. So, YWCA contributed to the development of Chinese women removing their social constraints.

However, while American missionaries in the YWCA contributed to the modernization of China, they inadvertently triggered nationalist backlashes. Some scholars revealed that their modernization agenda was not only about spreading modern values from the West but also involved engagement with political agendas like anti-imperialist

---

2   Anna Mansfield Clark, *The Woman's Press* (New York: National Board of Young Women's Christian Association 1928), 18. This publishing house published all the sources of *The Woman's Press* cited in this paper, so subsequent footnotes will omit this publisher while keeping the year's information.

3   Elizabeth Littell-Lamb, *The YWCA in China: The Making of a Chinese Christian Women's Institution, 1899-1957* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2023), 6; Rui Li, "From National Character to Nationality: The Concept of Nationality after the Northern Expedition," *Social Science Journal for Central South University of Technology*, 2014(1): 229-236; Thomas H. Reilly, *Saving the Nation: Chinese Protestant Elites and the Quest to Build a New China, 1922-1952* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 4.

4   Littell-Lamb, *The YWCA in China*, 115.

5   Motoe Sasaki, *Redemption and Revolution: American and Chinese New Women in the Early Twentieth Century* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2016), 1-160.

6   Alison R. Drucker, "The Role of the YWCA in the Development of the Chinese Women's Movement, 1890-1927," *Social Service Review* 53, no. 3 (1979): 421–40, http://www.jstor.org/stable/30015750.

and anti-colonial nationalism.[7] More and more Chinese women began to form nationalist identities in the late 1920s. They wanted to fight for their autonomy, contradicting the intervention of those American missionaries. This tension culminated in various forms of protest, urging a reevaluation of American-led initiatives in China.[8] So, YWCA had to deal with the increasingly nationalist idea of Chinese women, shaping the view of YWCA's American women missionary community. Dudley and her peers had to operate within these challenges, leading them to have different attitudes within their missionary community.

Therefore, Dudley's perspectives allow us to examine the experiences of Chinese women during a time of upheaval and rapid change in the perceptions of women from the American female missionary community. Through analyzing Dudley's travel writings from 1927 to 1947, this study reveals that although her views initially aligned with the paternalistic view that prevailed among American women missionaries of the period who positioned themselves as a necessary force to help Chinese women, Dudley diverged in her eventual robust support for the autonomy of Chinese women in their pursuit of rights. Her persistent position against homogenizing Chinese women and cultural hegemony also made her different from her peers. But Dudley and her peers continued sharing a common goal of empowering Chinese women through Christianity and Western education, which Dudley eventually stopped prioritizing. Such perspectives of Dudley were shaped by the Second Sino-Japanese War, her peers, and her cultural background.

Accordingly, this paper will first analyze the perspectives of Dudley's peers on Chinese women based on the official publication of YWCA, *The Woman's Press*, from 1927 to 1947. Then it will focus on Dudley's evolving perspectives on Chinese women by analyzing her travel writings at that time and comparing her perspective to that of her peers. Finally, it will delve into the factors for the divergence and alignment between Dudley's and her peers' perspectives.

Dudley's Peers' Views on Chinese Women

As the official journal of the YWCA, *The Woman's Press* published numerous articles by YWCA's American women missionaries from 1927 to 1947, revealing Dudley's peers' perspectives on Chinese women. It served as a critical medium for those missionaries to share insights and updates about the missionary work being undertaken globally, including efforts in China. It typically covered a wide array of articles relevant to the YWCA's activities. This included reports from individual missionary sites, personal accounts of missionaries, discussions on educational and social initiatives, and religious

---

7   Harald Fischer-Tiné et al., *Spreading Protestant Modernity: Global Perspectives on the Social Work of the YMCA and YWCA, 1889-1970* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2020), 121; Littell-Lamb, *The YWCA in China*, 6; Sasaki, *Redemption and Revolution*, 1-160.

8   Sasaki, *Redemption and Revolution*, 1-160.

and cultural observations on the international scene. While some of the authors of these articles might have ceased their missionary jobs and were only responsible for the executive work of YWCA in the United States, all of them were concerned about YWCA's missionary work. Although the specifics such as marital status varied, they shared the common dedication to spreading Christian values and Western ideals of modernization and civilization.[9]

Through these two decades, the common attitudes of Dudley's peers consistently emphasize the perceived indispensability of the YWCA's American women missionaries' role in China. In other words, they insist on a paternalistic approach that positions themselves as the guiding force necessary to shepherd Chinese women toward what they perceive as progress. They viewed their work as pivotal in rescuing women from the bindings of Chinese society. For example, in 1928, Anna Mansfield Clark viewed Chinese women as "the responsibility of the Y.W.C.A."[10] She believed that after experiencing the Northern Expedition, Chinese women would have a strong desire to break the customs of Chinese society that restrict their rights. However, they did not have enough ability because of their lack of education and governmental support. So, Clark argued that YWCA's American women missionaries should help them — otherwise, Chinese women would not make it. This sentiment was echoed during the Second Sino-Japanese War by Lydia Johnson in 1939.[11] Johnson underscored the desperate need of Chinese women for American aid. She doubted their ability to defend their own rights amidst the war's hardships, particularly those rights to education or employment. Such a paternalistic view persisted into the post-war era, as evidenced by Jean Lyon in 1947. While Lyon acknowledged the courage of Chinese women, she immediately asserted that it is impossible for them "to accomplish alone the task of postwar reconstruction in China."[12] Lyon's writings revealed her belief in the necessity of American missionary support for Chinese women. She perceived American women missionaries in YWCA as a savior-like role in the transformation of Chinese women's lives. These examples collectively illustrate a consistent paternalistic attitude in the YWCA's American women missionary community from 1927 to 1947.

This paternalistic perspective often accompanies these missionaries' overshadowing of a detailed portrayal of Chinese women's actual lives and nuanced experiences. For instance, in 1928, Anna Louise Strong emphasized missionaries' efforts to "attack illiteracy; train for citizenship and economic independence; protect women's labor; reform the home."[13] Strong only highlighted these efforts made by YWCA's American women missionaries in transforming Chinese society. She ignored providing a detailed exploration of the role played by Chinese women in these societal shifts. Similarly, in

---

9   Sasaki, *Redemption and Revolution*, 51.
10   Anna Mansfield Clark, *The Woman's Press* (1928), 18.
11   Lydia Johnson, *The Woman's Press* (1939), 137.
12   Jean Lyon, *The Woman's Press* (1947), 22.
13   Anna Louise Strong, *The Woman's Press* (1928), 319.

1944, Pearl Pollock only emphasized the necessity of assisting Chinese women with domestic economic issues.[14] The actual situations of Chinese women remained unexplored. Therefore, while Dudley's peers advocate for social reform of Chinese women, there is a consistent tendency to prioritize the role of American women missionaries. Sometimes, they held this view at the expense of fully recognizing the agency and diversity of the Chinese women with whom they worked.

Additionally, even though some of Dudley's peers observed the actual lives and experiences of Chinese women, they tended to homogenize Chinese women's experiences in their writings. They often oversimplified and generalized the varied and complex lives of Chinese women, failing to account for regional, socioeconomic, and individual diversities. The discussion around fashion and modern weddings in Alice Holmes' article in 1928 provides evidence. She depicted Chinese women's clothing choice as the symbol of "the East" contrary to American women's choice as "the West."[15] So, while observing Chinese women's daily dressing, Holmes chose to view all Chinese women as an icon of Eastern culture. She failed to acknowledge the differences among various groups of Chinese women. This view is a common pattern observed from 1927 to 1947, as at least eight peers of Dudley frequently used the term "the Orient" to clarify and underscore the origin of Chinese women.[16] This language choice reveals their consistent homogenization of Chinese women, which not only strips away the complexity of their experiences but also treats Chinese women as a singular category defined in opposition to Western norms. This homogenization aligns with Edward Said's concept of Orientalism, where the East is depicted as an exotic and monolithic other, distinct from the West.[17]

Also, Dudley's peers held a subtle yet persistent prejudice toward Chinese cultural values concerning Chinese women from 1927 to 1947. Though they directly criticized using discriminative words such as "Chink" in 1941,[18] they created a narrative of Western superiority and cultural hegemony, casting the YWCA's mission as a civilizing force amidst a backdrop of traditional and stagnant Eastern culture regarding women. They believed Western cultural values were the ideal standards for women. Such a viewpoint implies an assumption of the inadequacy of Chinese traditional ways and perpetuates the idea that progress for Chinese women is synonymous with Westernization. For example, in 1928, Mabel Danuser criticized that many of the Chinese women she met always acted in "old Chinese style."[19] Danuser thought the Chinese cultural values

---

14   Pearl Pollock, *The Woman's Press* (1944), 434
15   Alice Holmes, *The Woman's Press* (1928), 351
16   This language choice appeared frequently in at least eight authors' articles, including Grace Carr, *The Woman's Press* (1940), 369; Alice Carter, *The Woman's Press* (1930), 15; Sarah S. Lyon, *The Woman's Press* (1940), 132; Francis P. Miller, *The Woman's Press* (1928), 391; Charlotte T. Niven, *The Woman's Press* (1929), 604; Anna V. Rice, *The Woman's Press* (1940), 326; Helen Thoburn, *The Woman's Press* (1928), 603; Kathleen Walker, *The Woman's Press* (1942), 364.
17   Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (Henley-on-Thames: Routledge, 1978), 9-57.
18   Carolyn Allen, *The Woman's Press* (1941), 402.
19   Mabel Danuser, *The Woman's Press* (1928), 421.

reflected in the actions of Chinese women were awful. She felt proud that YWCA's American missionaries could make them enjoy progressive values from the Western culture. Then in 1944, Marion V. Royce argued that the Western experience would make Chinese women "step over the threshold into a new era."[20] She believed that the Western experience they brought to Chinese women was superior to the experience rooted in Chinese culture. So, this perspective of Dudley's peers not only disregarded the value and relevance of Chinese culture but also implied a form of cultural hegemony, where Western cultural values were deemed the ideal.

Moreover, Dudley's peers had a strong focus on the empowerment of Chinese women through education. They portrayed YWCA's educational initiatives as central to the transformation and modernization of Chinese women's roles in society. This is particularly evident in their continuing discussions about literacy programs and educational initiatives in China from 1927 to 1947, reflected in at least nine articles published in The Woman's Press.[21] They believed that equipping Chinese women with education would grant them the agency to participate in the nationalist movement and contribute to China's modernization. However, this often comes with the imposition of Christian values and Western education on Chinese women. For instance, Clark pointed out YWCA's American women missionaries' aim of "Christianizing" Chinese women in 1928.[22] She wanted to bring religious education to Chinese women. In other words, Clark believed it was necessary to achieve religious conversion. Additionally, in 1930, Florence Pierce only viewed Chinese women who received higher education in Western countries as reliable leaders in the YWCA in China.[23] She thought it was necessary to ensure Chinese women received education from the West. Then in 1947, Jean Lyon also argued that Chinese women need American "leadership education."[24] From her perspective, American education is vital to empower Chinese women. Accordingly, Dudley's peers aimed not only at religious conversion but also at promoting education that aligned with their understanding of modern and civilized society.

Articles of Dudley's missionary peers published in *The Woman's Press* provide us with a lens through which we can see the comprehensive view of the American women missionary community on Chinese women from 1927 to 1947. They reveal some inherent biases in the YWCA's missionary work in China. As Dudley's peers, these American

---

20   Marion V. Royce, *The Woman's Press* (1944), 545.
21   There were at least nine articles about discussing and emphasizing the importance of education to the empowerment of Chinese women, including Clark, *The Woman's Press* (1928), 18; Anna Mansfield Clark, *The Woman's Press* (1929), 713; James S. Cushman, *The Woman's Press* (1938), 156; Lily K. Haass, *The Woman's Press* (1942), 365; Margaret L. Lovell, *The Woman's Press* (1942), 434; Elisabeth L. Moore, *The Woman's Press* (1940), 161; Day Nursery, *The Woman's Press* (1944), 318; Pollock, *The Woman's Press* (1944), 434; Pattie S. Smith, *The Woman's Press* (1947), 14.
22   Clark, *The Woman's Press* (1928), 18.
23   Florence Pierce, *The Woman's Press* (1930), 398.
24   Jean Lyon, *The Woman's Press* (1947), 22.

women missionaries of YWCA prioritized their own roles and views in a paternalistic approach. Even though they could portray Chinese women's actual lives, they homogenized them with an Orientalist perspective. Additionally, they held a subtle but consistent prejudice toward Chinese cultural values concerning Chinese women, revealing the existence of cultural hegemony in their minds. Moreover, they wanted to empower Chinese women but did so through Christian values and Western education.

Dudley's Evolving Views on Chinese Women

Before Dudley served as a missionary in China in 1927, her experience provided a solid foundation for her to do that. She pursued her higher education at Converse College, graduating with a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1917.[25] Converse College, established in the 1890s for the higher education of women, had by Dudley's time become a prominent institution for women in the Southern U.S. Its Annual Catalogue articulated a commitment to a tolerant Christian ethos, aiming to place the college under the "love and guidance of God."[26] This formative educational background laid the groundwork for Dudley's subsequent dedication to women's and missionary work.

Upon completion of her undergraduate studies, Dudley engaged with the YWCA initially in domestic roles. From 1919 to 1924, she served on the Girls Club Program staff in South U.S.[27] These early professional experiences sharpened her aspirations to spread Christian ideals, leading her to acquire a certificate in missionary work from the National Training School of the YWCA in 1925. Then, she was able to start her missionary experiences in China from 1927 to 1947.

The First Missionary Experience (1927-31)

Qualified for international missionary service, Dudley embarked on her first overseas assignment in 1927, arriving in Beijing, China. After a year, she traveled to Hong Kong, where she served until 1931 as a member of the national staff of the YWCA in China, focusing on young women's work. During this first missionary experience, Dudley wrote three articles published in *The Woman's Press* and nine pieces of writing, including letters, articles, and reports. Based on her first missionary experience, she also published a book in 1933 titled *A Speech Book for Interpreters of World Fellowship*. In these travel writings, Dudley indicated her perspectives on Chinese women during her first missionary experience.

During her first missionary tenure, Dudley's views on Chinese women aligned

25   Marion Dudley, "Biographical Material," September 1973, folder 1, Marion Dudley Papers, Southern Historical Collection #3935, Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

26   Converse College, "The Annual Catalogue of the Teachers, Officers and Students of Converse College, 1900-1901," 1901, http://genealogytrails.com/scar/spartanburg/converse_college1901.htm.

27   Dudley, "Biographical Material," September 1973.

with the paternalistic approach common among her peers. Dudley often emphasized the critical role of American women missionaries in the lives of Chinese women. For instance, in 1927 she articulated a view that Chinese women, on their own, lacked sufficient opportunities to acquire knowledge.[28] Then in 1929, she perceived her role and that of her fellow missionaries as akin to being a "Big Sister" to Chinese women because Chinese women were bereft of the "great creative gifts" that missionaries like herself possessed.[29] Consequently, from Dudley's perspective, it was incumbent upon American women missionaries from the YWCA to step in and assist Chinese women in defending their rights. Such perspectives imply Dudley's belief in the necessity of guiding Chinese women, echoing the prevailing paternalistic attitudes.

However, different from her peers, Dudley portrayed the image of Chinese women by observing their daily lives without homogenizing them. On the one hand, Dudley did this by providing details of Chinese women's attire, reflecting their diverse lifestyles and choices. In a December 1927 article that describes her impression of Beijing, she offers a vivid description of a Chinese woman's approach to winter clothing. Dudley notes that this woman does not rely on "outside wraps" to keep warm.[30] Instead, this woman used layering dresses with "silk floss padding," in contrast to others who might line their clothes with fur. Dudley's attention to varied clothing practices high-lights the individuality of different Chinese women, moving away from a singular and monolithic portrayal. Then in 1929, Dudley's observations in Hong Kong further exem-plified this divergence. She wrote down her daily encounter with a Chinese woman, Miss Wong.[31] She noted that Miss Wong always wore colorful dresses, and she liked specu-lating that Miss Wong's color choice could indicate interesting meanings, such as the red means happiness. Such specific attention and interest in portraying dress brings to life the individuality of Chinese women. Therefore, Dudley's detailed observation serves to break down the monolithic portrayal of Chinese women as the Oriental symbol, showcasing a spectrum of individual expressions and choices.

On the other hand, Dudley sidestepped the trap of homogenization by revealing the socioeconomic diversity of Chinese women, rather than generalizing their characters. For instance, her article in 1931 reflects this diversity through her observations in Hong Kong. Initially, Dudley described an encounter with a "dainty little Chinese lady,"[32] whose poise and grace suggested a higher socioeconomic status. However, Dudley did not stop there. She expanded her narrative to include women of lower socioeconomic

---

28   Dudley, "My First Impression in China," December 1927, Dudley Papers.
29   Dudley, "Report," November 1929, Dudley Papers.
30   Marion Dudley, "My First Impression in China," December 1927, folder 1, Marion Dudley Papers, Southern Historical Collection #3935, Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
31   Marion Dudley, *The Woman's Press* (1929), 780.
32   Marion Dudley, article, 1931, folder 1, Marion Dudley Papers, Southern Historical Collection #3935, Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

status. Dudley contrasted the graceful lady with those who carried goods up stone steps, "swinging on a shoulder in 2 baskets at the ends of a big bamboo pole."[33] Dudley's keen eyes for detail in these descriptions serve to underscore the varied lives of Chinese women, from those with apparent affluence to those engaged in physical, everyday labor. Her approach to capturing these distinct experiences showcases an awareness of the complex social fabric of Chinese society and the different realities faced by women within it.

In addition to eschewing the homogenization of Chinese women, Dudley also demonstrated a progressive stance by avoiding the narrative of Western superiority and cultural hegemony prevalent among her peers. In 1931, Dudley said that she perceived herself as a person who held respect for Chinese cultural values concerning Chinese women, contrary to other people who viewed China as "dirt under their feet."[34] Her other writings throughout her first missionary experience provide evidence for such a non-prejudiced position underlined by herself. For example, in 1927, She acknowledged the limitations in the American women missionaries' understanding, admitting that they did not have enough opportunity to learn about Chinese culture.[35] Dudley noted that her peers observed Chinese women through "Western eyes."[36] She was conscious of the potential cultural biases inherent in her peers' perspectives on Chinese culture concerning Chinese women. This self-awareness is further underscored by her criticism of an "Anglo-Saxon sureness" in 1929.[37] She wanted to state that her peers were too arrogant. Such a viewpoint is a critical reflection of her position against viewing Western culture as superior. Then in 1931, her remarks about her peers' lack of understanding of Chinese women and the frequent misplaced pity for China further illustrate her position against her peers.[38] Therefore, Dudley appreciated the uniqueness of Chinese women, realizing that their lives and experiences could not be fully understood or appreciated through a purely Western lens. She had a nuanced understanding of Chinese culture and a respect for its distinctiveness,

However, aligning with her peers, Dudley was a proponent of empowering Chinese women through religious education that emphasized Christian values. In *A Speech Book for Interpreters of World Fellowship*, Dudley articulated this stance. She stated that Chinese women need "the great Christian gospel of the value of human

---

33   Marion Dudley, "Stone Steps," March 1928, folder 1, Marion Dudley Papers, Southern Historical Collection #3935, Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

34   Dudley, article, 1931, Dudley Papers.

35   Dudley, "My First Impression in China," December 1927, Dudley Papers.

36   Dudley to "All My Best Friends Wherever You are," November 1927, Dudley Papers.

37   Marion Dudley, "Report," November 1929, folder 1, Marion Dudley Papers, Southern Historical Collection #3935, Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

38   Marion Dudley, article, 1931, Dudley Papers.

personality."[39] This emphasis on the Christian gospel indicates a belief in the transformative power of religious education. Sharing the idea of religiously converting Chinese women, Dudley believed that Christian values would empower them. Her subsequent description of Chinese women engaging with the Bible in Hong Kong also reveals this belief. As she described, a group of Chinese women were using an old cook stove as a stand for their Bibles, carefully tracing the characters with their fingers. From her perspective, this activity would help them overcome illiteracy while also providing spiritual liberation from their fears and negative emotions. This description further implies Dudley's intent to foster Christian beliefs among these women.

Furthermore, Dudley championed the empowerment of Chinese women through Western education, believing in its beneficial impact. In 1929, she observed that "women are getting into the midst of things very quickly."[40] From her perspective, Chinese women achieving a rapid shift from societal constraints benefited from Western education. Then in 1930, she argued that women who received Western education had a serious purpose towards the new society, making it easier for them to gain a job in Hong Kong.[41] Accordingly, Dudley recognized the increasing societal visibility and engagement of Chinese women, which she attributed to the benefits of Western education. She believed in the transformative power of Western education in enabling Chinese women to actively participate in societal development and redefine their roles in a rapidly changing society. Her attitudes align with the popular view among YWCA's American women missionary community again.

After finishing her first missionary experience, Dudley kept diversifying her own professional undertakings through Western education. She earned a Master of Arts degree from the University of South Carolina in 1932.[42] Her academic journey continued as she pursued a Ph.D. in Sociology at Columbia University. However, her doctoral studies were curtailed by her commitments to executive responsibilities for the YWCA in New York (1934-38). Finally, her enthusiasm for working in China pushed her to come back to China to start her second missionary experience in 1938.

The Second Missionary Experience (1938-42)

Dudley's second missionary journey in China commenced in 1938. As a secretary of the YWCA in China, headquartered in Shanghai, she provided advisory support for South China.[43] The escalation of the Second Sino-Japanese War culminated

39   Marion Dudley, *A Speech Book for Interpreters of World Fellowship* (New York: Foreign Division, National Board, Y.W.C.A, 1933), 38-39.

40   Dudley, "Report," November 1929, Dudley Papers.

41   Marion Dudley, "Hongkong Camp," November 1930, folder 1, Marion Dudley Papers, Southern Historical Collection #3935, Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

42   Dudley, "Biographical Material," September 1973.

43   Dudley, "Biographical Material," September 1973.

in her internment in a Japanese prison camp in Hong Kong (1941-42), during which she devoted herself to social service work. Her repatriation to the U.S. in late 1942 aboard the "*S.S. Gripsholm*," an exchange ship, concluded this chapter of her missionary engagement. Subsequent to her return, Dudley recounted her internment experiences to families whose relatives remained captive in Hong Kong. During this second missionary experience, Dudley created one missionary report concerning YWCA's work for Chinese women in 1939. She also wrote two letters to her friends, one was in 1939, and the other was in 1942. After the Japanese imprisoned Dudley in Stanley Camp in Hong Kong in 1941, YWCA placed high emphasis on this piece of experience of Dudley. It published her 1942 letter recounting her experience in Stanley as a ten-leaf book *Hong Kong Prison Camp*.[44]

Surprisingly, Dudley began to change her perspective of the paternalistic approach that was common among her peers. This shift in perspective is evident in her missionary report where she recognizes the significant role played by trained Chinese women leaders in holding the YWCA activities during wartime. When Dudley heard that the Chinese secretaries of the YWCA in Guiyang organized anti-Japanese fundraisers by themselves, she excitedly stated, "this is their Y.W.C.A.!"[45] She acknowledged the agency and active participation of these Chinese women in the organization. This statement contrasts with her earlier perspective and the tendency of American women missionaries to view themselves as the primary drivers of progress and change. Dudley's acknowledgment signifies a newfound recognition of their abilities and contributions. It also reflects an evolving understanding that empowers Chinese women as capable leaders and essential contributors to the YWCA's work, rather than mere recipients of Western aid and guidance.

While Dudley began to acknowledge the autonomy of Chinese women, elements of a paternalistic approach still permeated her writings. She expressed concern about the impact of the war on Chinese women, suggesting they found it challenging to "hold on to faith and hope, hard not to let fear inhibit and discouragement sap all vitality."[46] This statement indicates her belief that the adverse effects of war might erode the resilience and spirit of Chinese women, thereby necessitating external support. Meanwhile, Dudley maintained that Chinese women needed assistance from the YWCA to access better educational opportunities.[47] These perspectives imply a continued belief in the critical role of YWCA's American women missionaries, in aiding and guiding Chinese women during these tumultuous times. While Dudley recognized the strengths and agency of

44   Marion Dudley, *Hong Kong Prison Camp* (New York, 1942).
45   Marion Dudley, "As 1939 Begins in China," 2 October 1939, Special Collections #1699, the Burke Library, Columbia University.
46   Marion Dudley to "Dear Friends of Mine Where Ever You Are," 1939, folder 1, Marion Dudley Papers, Southern Historical Collection #3935, Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
47   Dudley to "Dear Friends of Mine Where Ever You Are," 1939, Dudley Papers.

Chinese women, she also held onto the view that they partly need the support provided by YWCA's American women missionaries.

Additionally, in a divergence from the attitudes of many of her peers, Dudley persisted in her approach of not homogenizing Chinese women. She portrayed Chinese women as individuals with distinct experiences and personalities in her letters to her friends, highlighting their nuanced lives. A notable example is Dudley's description of her friend Miss Shin's resilience and positive outlook in the face of adversity. Dudley recounts an incident involving the sinking of one of YWCA's five boats that were trans-porting Chinese women refugees from South China to Chengdu, West China, in 1939.[48] Although no lives were lost, these women endured significant loss of belongings and faced delays due to necessary repairs. Despite these challenges, Dudley highlights Miss Shin's remarkable perspective of "it was a holiday," noting that she tried to share funny parts of this experience with Dudley. Then, in 1942, Dudley recounted her experience in Stanley Camp. She emphasized that Miss Shin "worked tirelessly for her," highlighting Miss Shin's support and encouragement.[49] Accordingly, Dudley's focus on such personal anecdotes reveals Miss Shin's resilience and optimism, individualizing the experiences of Chinese women. She showcases their specific responses to challenging situations, offering a more personal and empathetic portrayal than often found in her peers' narra-tives.

Moreover, Dudley continued to demonstrate her respect for Chinese cultural values concerning Chinese women, steering clear of the prevalent narrative of Western superiority and cultural hegemony. For instance, Dudley recounted the arduous journeys of young Chinese women who came to Chengdu to assist with the YWCA's work in 1939, "coming in exhausted from long trips on foot and from fright," painting a picture of their tenacity in the face of adversity.[50] Many of these women had experienced capture by the Japanese, only to be later freed by guerrillas. Dudley portrayed them as embodying resilience and determination. She attributed the personalities of these women to their Chinese cultural roots. By focusing on these experiences, Dudley highlighted the strength and resilience inherent in Chinese culture, reflected in the experiences of these Chinese women in times of crisis.

Furthermore, parallel to her peers, Dudley maintained her commitment to empowering Chinese women through Christian values and Western education. On the one hand, in her 1939 letter to her friends she showed off the achievements of Chris-tian values.[51] YWCA's religious education made Chinese women prepare a meaningful program "with a film strip of the life of Christ and a lovely nativity pageant." This

---

48   Dudley to "Dear Friends of Mine Where Ever You Are," 1939, Dudley Papers.
49   Marion Dudley to "Dear Friends of Mine," 22 August 1942, folder 1, Marion Dudley Papers, Southern Historical Collection #3935, Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
50   Dudley to "Dear Friends of Mine Where Ever You Are," 1939, Dudley Papers.
51   Dudley to "Dear Friends of Mine Where Ever You Are," 1939, Dudley Papers.

description indicates her recognition of the religious conversion, aimed at spreading Christian stories and values to Chinese women. On the other hand, in 1939, she emphasized the necessity of educational programs led by the YWCA in her missionary reports.[52] Dudley pointed out the importance of enhancing literacy among Chinese women, notably through the implementation of Western education, such as the Latin alphabet. Therefore, Dudley illustrates her persistent belief in the role of Christian values and Western education as a tool for the empowerment of Chinese women.

The Final Missionary Experience (1943-47)

Subsequently, Dudley's final missionary term began in 1943.[53] Continuing her service with the YWCA in China, she advised on matters concerning West and South China.[54] This period was marked by Dudley's immersion in wartime efforts, where she worked with refugees, Chinese soldiers, and their families, as well as engaged in student work. Concurrently, she continued sharing her insights on the conditions in China during and after the wartime period through writing. Influenced by her internment experience in Stanley Camp during her second missionary experience, Dudley created one published book, *Women behind Barbed Wire: Service Given by the Y.W.C.A. around the World to Interned Women* in 1943, aiming to document the forced internment of women by the Axis powers. She also wrote two letters, two scrapbooks containing photographs and texts about Chinese women, and three articles published in *The Woman's Press*.

In a marked shift from both her peers' views and her initial perspectives, Dudley ultimately moved away from the paternalistic approach that emphasizes the indispensable role of American women missionaries. She came to completely recognize the autonomy of Chinese women during the Second Sino-Japanese War. Her portrayal of Chinese women is imbued with an admiration for their spirit. Dudley observed that during this tumultuous period, Chinese women not only fought against the Japanese army but also actively pursued knowledge through programs offered by the YWCA.[55] Also, in her letter to her friends at the end of her missionary experience, she was "against any more help of any kind" and directly pointed out that Chinese women would "create their own new China."[56] This view marked a significant departure from her earlier attitudes, acknowledging the strength and agency of Chinese women as they navigated the challenges of the upheaval. Consequently, Dudley's evolving perspectives finally portrayed Chinese

---

52   Dudley, "As 1939 Begins in China," 2 October 1939, Special Collections #1699.

53   *New York Times*, "MISS DUDLEY IS HONORED AT PARTY: Brother Host to Y.W.C.A. Aide, Former Japanese Prisoner," 18 September 1943.

54   Dudley, "Biographical Material," September 1973.

55   Marion Dudley, China Scrapbook (II), 1943-1945, folder 6, Marion Dudley Papers, Southern Historical Collection #3935, Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

56   Marion Dudley to "Dear Friends of Mine," 25 May 1947, folder 1, Marion Dudley Papers, Southern Historical Collection #3935, Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

women as resilient individuals shaping their own destinies and contributing to societal changes.

Moreover, Dudley maintained her commitment to depicting the nuanced experiences of Chinese women, setting her apart from her peers who often homogenized them. For example, she detailed the wartime survival story of a Chinese secretary in Hong Kong, Miss Ho Chiu-ming. Dudley portrayed Miss Ho as a successful leader. She shared Miss Ho's participation in leading Chinese women to have "a broader interest in the world about them."[57] This story highlighted that Miss Ho, embracing her Christian beliefs, improved her peers' understanding of the world and their women rights. Accordingly, this portrayal underscores Dudley's appreciation for individual stories and her recognition of the diverse roles of Chinese women during challenging times. Such a position against the homogenization of Chinese women is consistent throughout her three missionary experiences.

Furthermore, Dudley continued to distinguish herself from her peers' subtle prejudices towards Chinese women that reveal cultural hegemony. For instance, in 1943, Dudley urged her fellow missionaries to abandon their biases rooted in American culture and nationality, and to stop perceiving Chinese women as others.[58] Instead, she advocated for viewing them as friends who were enduring the crisis of their generation. Dudley emphasized that they should recognize Chinese women as individuals "facing their changed circumstances with gallantry and courage," deeply rooted in their cultural and historical milieu. This perspective reflects that Dudley not only challenged the existing narrative of cultural hegemony but also highlighted the distinct characteristics of Chinese culture that fostered such resilience and fortitude in its women. Therefore, such a consistent perspective of Dudley marks a significant shift from viewing Chinese women through a lens of Western superiority to appreciating their cultural richness, thereby fostering a more respectful cross-cultural understanding.

Finally, like her peers, Dudley remained committed to empowering Chinese women through Christian values. She consistently underlined the significance of Christianity for Chinese women affected by the war. Dudley expressed her belief in the power of "the Christian community to their fellow Christians."[59] This statement reflects her conviction that the support system and the sense of community provided by Christian fellowship were vital for those enduring the hardships of war. Her emphasis on these aspects of Christianity highlights her belief in its role not only as a spiritual guide but also as a source of emotional and communal support during times of crisis. Therein, Dudley continued her advocacy for empowering Chinese women through Christian values

---

57   Dudley, China Scrapbook (II), 1943-1945, Dudley Papers.
58   Marion Dudley, *Women Behind Barbed Wire: Service Given by the Y.W.C.A. around the World to Interned Women* (District of Columbia: World's Young Women's Christian Association, 1943).
59   Dudley, *Women behind Barbed Wire*, 27.

throughout her three missionary experiences from 1927 to 1947.

However, diverging from her previous views and those of her peers who prioritize Western education, she recognized the importance of promoting local Chinese education to foster nationalist identity. This approach would encourage Chinese women to participate in the war effort. Dudley documented instances of Chinese women themselves conducting educational sessions in Hong Kong. In a photograph by Dudley, women in a classroom wrote and learned "A Citizen of China (*Zhongguo Ren*)" in Chinese characters on the blackboard.[60] Dudley, recognizing this kind of Chinese education, explained that this measure would empower Chinese women with "good citizenship and patriotism." This acknowledgment of this form of Chinese-led education marks a shift in her perspective, showcasing her support for educational initiatives that align with Chinese nationalist identity and contribute to the country's sociopolitical goals.

Figure 1. Photograph showing Chinese women attending a class. Dudley took it in Hong Kong between 1943 and 1945. She printed it in her China Scrapbook (I) created during the same period. From folder 7, Marion Dudley Papers, Southern Historical Collection #3935, Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

---

60   Marion Dudley, China Scrapbook (I), 1943-1945, folder 7, Marion Dudley Papers, Southern Historical Collection #3935, Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Accordingly, from 1927 to 1947, Dudley's views on Chinese women underwent a significant evolution. Initially aligning with her peers' paternalistic approach during her first missionary experience, Dudley gradually recognized and appreciated the autonomy of Chinese women. However, she maintained her position against both homogenizing Chinese women and cultural hegemony consistently. While initially emphasizing the role of both Christian values and Western education in empowering Chinese women, Dudley's final missionary experience marked a departure from prioritizing Western education.

Factors Shaping Dudley's Perspectives

The evolution of Dudley's perspectives did not occur in a vacuum. Numerous factors shaped it. A significant force shaping her divergence was the Second Sino-Japanese War. On the one hand, it particularly influenced her personal experience, leading to her internment in Hong Kong. After concluding her final missionary experience in 1947, Dudley reflected on her time during internment, emphasizing how interactions with Chinese women were among her most rewarding experiences. She recalled that they exemplified the highest level of friendship, giving her emotional support "with their sense of humor, graciousness, lust for living, and talent for creativeness."[61] This support was crucial in helping her find pleasure during internment. These experiences led Dudley to reevaluate the paternalistic approach and the emphasis on Western education. The adversity she faced in internment and the support she received from Chinese women underscored that empowerment could be self-derived, emanating from personal attributes and cultural roots. Dudley's realization that Chinese women possess intrinsic qualities enabling their empowerment marked a significant shift in her perspective. It acknowledged their agency in fostering resilience and support, even for Westerners like herself during challenging times. This understanding helped reshape her views, moving towards recognizing the capabilities and autonomy of Chinese women. Admittedly, some of Dudley's cotemporaries might also have experienced the internment. But Dudley was the only one who was deeply influenced by this factor, reflected in her habit of frequently recalling this event in her personal writings,[62] her articles focusing on the internment published in *The Woman's Press*,[63] and her research and published book on internment.[64] Dudley had such abundant materials concerning internment in the YWCA's American women missionary community, revealing its importance to her.

On the other hand, the war also presented opportunities for Chinese women to

---

61   Marion Dudley, China Scrapbook (III), 1927-1955, folder 5, Marion Dudley Papers, Southern Historical Collection #3935, Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Dudley created most of this scrapbook after returning home.

62   Dudley to "Dear Friends of Mine," 1942, Marion Dudley Papers; Dudley to "Dear Friends of Mine," 1947, Marion Dudley Papers.

63   Marion Dudley, *The Woman's Press* (1944), 381; Marion Dudley, *The Woman's Press* (1946), 13.

64   Dudley, *Hong Kong Prison Camp*; Dudley, *Women behind Barbed Wire*.

demonstrate their autonomy to Dudley. She observed that Chinese women were actively and effectively contributing to safeguarding their country and rights across various sectors, including nursery, industrial, and economic fields.[65] A notable example Dudley mentioned was Florence Wong, who was deeply involved in nursery work in Hong Kong during the war and served as an inspiration to other Chinese women. Dudley was particularly impressed to learn that Miss Wong was "Hongkong born and Hongkong trained." This fact challenged Dudley's preconceived notions, as it showcased the capability of local Chinese women in leadership roles, independent of Western training or influence. It underscored the fact that Chinese women were not just passive recipients of foreign assistance but were actively shaping their society. This observation contributed to Dudley's evolving understanding of the independence of Chinese women.

Besides, several factors contributed to Dudley aligning with her peers in her writings. A prominent influence was the prevailing view among American missionaries, which significantly shaped Dudley's perspectives. As observed earlier, her peers consistently emphasized the indispensability of the YWCA's American women missionaries' role in China. This prevailing attitude influenced Dudley's initial support for a paternalistic approach. For example, even though she began to acknowledge the autonomy of Chinese women during her second missionary experience, she still expressed her support of the argument of her peer, Winifred Galbraith, in her missionary report.[66] She quoted Galbraith's statement that "there never was a time when our kind of work was needed more" and affirmed it. This indicates her agreement with her peer's attitude. So, it makes sense that though she began to change her views of the paternalistic approach in her second missionary experience, she still insisted on it to some extent.

Also, Dudley shared the same cultural background with her peers, potentially shaping Dudley's support of empowering Chinese women through Western education in her first and second missionary experiences. Sasaki's study in 2016 discusses how American cultural backgrounds shaped missionaries' approaches in China in the first half of the twentieth century. It reveals that cultural norms and values prevalent in the U.S. often emphasized the spread of Western education as a form of civilizing mission.[67] Meanwhile, mainstream American culture always underlined the importance of internationalism, which aims to spread American morals and values worldwide. Parallel to this kind of cultural background, Dudley's advocating for Western education since 1927 is not surprising. Accordingly, these different factors help explain the divergence and alignment between Dudley's and her peers' perspectives on Chinese women from 1927 to 1947.

Conclusion

In conclusion, Dudley's portrayal of Chinese women from 1927 to 1947 reveals

65   Dudley, China Scrapbook (II), 1943-1945, Dudley Papers.
66   Dudley, "As 1939 Begins in China," 2 October 1939, Special Collections #1699.
67   Sasaki, *Redemption and Revolution*, 15-110.

her perspectives that diverge from and, at times, align with the prevalent views of her missionary peers. Surprisingly, Dudley has evolving perspectives, including a shift from a paternalistic view prevalent among her peers to a robust support for the autonomy of Chinese women. Also, while initially adhering to the common missionary belief in the necessity of both Christian values and Western education, Dudley evolved to only emphasize Christian values. She eventually supported education that promoted the development of Chinese women's nationalist identity and stopped pushing Western education. However, Dudley's position against homogenizing Chinese women and the cultural hegemony did not change.

Besides, Dudley's journey as a missionary in China coincided with significant historical upheavals, particularly the Second Sino-Japanese War. It was Dudley's experiences in Hong Kong, where she received support and companionship from Chinese women and realized their autonomy, that reshaped her views. There are also two factors for her alignment with peers. On the one hand, her peers influenced her perspectives. On the other hand, her American cultural background in the first half of the twentieth century, emphasizing the spread of Western education as a form of civilizing mission, likely also shaped Dudley's early perspectives.

Overall, Dudley's writings and experiences provide a unique lens through which to understand international missionary work and interactions between the U.S. and China at the individual level. Her journey from alignment with some views of her peers to a more empathetic understanding of Chinese women underscores the dynamic nature of cultural exchange and the impact of historical events on individuals. It is a continuous and evolving process, shaped by personal experiences, cultural backgrounds, and the sociopolitical context of the times.

Book Reviews

Mastering the Law: Slavery and Freedom in the Legal Ecology of the Spanish Empire. By Ricardo Raúl Salazar Rey. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2020. xi + 192 pp.)

N. H. Gill

In 1629, Catalina Angola and Domingo Angola, two African-born captives enslaved near what is today the northern Colombian city of Cartagena, learned that Catalina's enslaver was moving her to the city. Fearing their separation, the couple petitioned their parish priest for marriage, hoping the Catholic Church's respect for the sacrament of matrimony would help them resist the move. Catlina's enslaver, however, quickly uncovered the stratagem and did everything he could to prevent their union. While unable to intervene legally, he beat Catalina violently and shipped her downriver to separate the two. By the end of the next year, however, it was the enslaver who found himself excommunicated, publicly shamed, and forced to pay hefty fees and fines for his actions. In a society generally viewed as hostile to enslaved Africans, why did Catalina and Domingo win, and what does this tell us about slavery as an institution in the early colonial period?

Ricardo Raúl Salazar Rey sets out to answer these questions in *Mastering the Law: Slavery and Freedom in the Legal Ecology of the Spanish Empire*, showing how enslaved Africans in the seventeenth century used royal and religious courts to resist their captivity. Based on legal and ecclesiastical records from archival collections in Spain, Colombia, and Mexico, Salazar argues that colonial courts in places like Cartagena served as real, albeit inequitable, checks on enslavers' power over captives, and made enslaved people "stakeholders in the establishment and consolidation of the Spanish empire" (p. 46).

The book begins by examining how enslaved Africans and their descendants exploited their status as faithful Christians and loyal subjects to protest the terms of their captivity. Building on the case of Catalina and Domingo Angola, Salazar argues that their appeals to Spanish institutions not only worked, but they also strengthened the legitimacy of European rule by integrating captives into the institutions of colonial society. His first chapter also shows how freedpeople of color used the language of the colonial caste system to assert and maintain their freedom in the face of increasing efforts by Spanish enslavers to racialize their captivity, foreshadowing the more rigid system of chattel slavery that would emerge in the nineteenth century, but also marking a difference.

In Chapter two, Salazar probes the long history of the Spanish reconquest of Iberia to show how centuries of forced cohabitation between Christians, Muslims, and Jews created a legal tradition in which the law had to be "leavened by the understanding that pragmatic toleration and effective governance were essential to sustaining the gains of conquest" (p. 48). In Cartagena, Salazar wrote, this was done through the installation of a branch of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in 1610. While more often remembered for persecuting religious heretics, Salazar contrasts two witch trials in Cartagena, one in 1565 and the other in 1641, to show how the Church developed standardized procedures for adjudicating religious crimes like witchcraft that gave it "popular legitimacy" and contributed to the overall stability of the Spanish state (p. 65). In the first case, before the arrival of the Inquisition, fear of witches led authorities to torture and execute multiple captives. In contrast, the second case involving an enslaved woman who was similarly accused of witchcraft in 1641 was quickly dismissed by Inquisition officials as hysteria. The difference between the two, Salazar writes, was the intervention of the court and their expertise in matters of heresy, which allowed them to protect the accused woman and keep the violence from spreading. By taking the rights of enslaved people as Christians and Crown subjects seriously, Salazar argues, the Inquisition served as an effective tool to "curtail the power of regional elites" (p. 71).

In chapter three, Salazar narrows his focus from the codification of Spanish slave codes to their practical implementation in Cartagena. An important way this happened was through *coartación*, a system of self-paid manumission, which Salazar argues became an important incentive for enslaved people to integrate peacefully into Spanish colonial society. Yet, while recognized under Spanish law, the terms of coartación were not always respected by enslavers, often leading enslaved people to engage with the courts to demand their rights. Most often, this came in the form of witness statements. But because the courts took captives' testimonies seriously, sometimes weighing it more strongly than Spanish elites', Salazar argues that these cases served as a real check on slaveowners' abuse and ensured that avenues for freedom, such as *coartación*, remained open despite its unpopularity with the slaveholding elite.

The final chapter explores how royal justice was imposed in Cartagena, often in more measured doses than the legal code would suggest. For otherwise exemplary subjects, for example, castrations were commuted to whippings, sentences annulled, and hard labor reduced to lashes as officials sought to maintain social order. This relative moderation reinforced the legitimacy of the law and gave enslaved people limited opportunities to influence the terms of their captivity, the author claims, a legacy that contrasts with the better-known period of "racialized slavery" that emerged in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (p. 125).

Salazar's overall argument, expressed in the title, is that mastering the law and participating in royal and religious courts were critical ways in which enslaved people

pushed back against the boundaries of their captivity. The Crown, in turn, used the provision of secular and ecclesiastic justice as a tool to maintain political and social stability. Grounded in extensive archival research and a detailed review of ancient and medieval Iberian law, the book convincingly argues that by taking enslaved peoples' rights as Christians and royal subjects seriously, both captives and the courts in places like colonial Cartagena helped define the limits of slavery as an institution in the long seventeenth century.

Labor's End: How the Promise of Automation Degraded Work. By Jason Resnikoff. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2022. viii + 251 pp.)

William C. Raby

In his presidential farewell address, Barack Obama counseled the American people that "the next wave of economic dislocations won't come from overseas," but rather from "the relentless pace of automation that makes a lot of good, middle-class jobs obsolete."[1] The meanings of the terms that comprise this dour prophesy—"automation," "economic dislocations," "overseas," "middle-class jobs" and "obsolete"— become foggier the more one thinks about them. What comes through loud and clear, however, is Obama's implicit exhortation to us, as a nation and as individuals, to "futureproof" our human capital (or else!).

Earlier iterations of what historian Jason Resnikoff refers to in his excellent and timely *Labor's End: How the Promise of Automation Degraded Work* as "the automation discourse" were a great deal more optimistic, but no less prophetic. In the 1950s, intellectuals, politicians, and even many labor leaders came to believe that American society was progressing rapidly toward an automated future in which the masses, freed from the compulsion to labor, would face the same predicament as former presidents: what to do with all of their free time?

The future is not all it was cracked up to be. "Working," as the title of Obama's recent Netflix documentary series reminds us, is still "what we do all day."[2] So why did "automation" (Resnikoff brackets the term in scare quotes throughout the book) fail to live up to "its" promise? Through an impressive combination of intellectual history, history of science and technology, and labor history, *Labor's End* makes a compelling case that the promise of "automation" has been the problem all along.

Social historians and historians of science and technology are usually in the business of debunking narratives in which a great man's (or, occasionally, woman's) epiphany sparks a world-changing innovation. Ironically but tellingly, "automation" came into the world through just such a eureka moment. It happened, Resnikoff recounts, in 1946, when Ford Motor Company's vice president of production, D. S. Harter demanded: "Let's see some more mechanical handling between those transfer machines. Give us some more of that automatic business. … Some more of that—that—automation" (p. 16). Then as now, when managers declare "let there be automation," they do not speak into the void, or even to "the machines," but to the very people who must labor to carry

---

1   Barach Obama, "Farewell Address" (speech, Chicago, IL, January 10, 2017), https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/farewell.

2   *Working: What We Do All Day*, directed by Caroline Suh, presented by Barack Obama, 2023, Netflix. The use of the second person plural is a revealing departure from its namesake, Studs Terkel, *Working: People Talk About What They Do All Day and How They Feel About What They Do* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974).

out their designs. Moreover, Americans already had a word to describe "the introduction of new machinery or new tools into the labor process": mechanization (pp. 2-3). Resnikoff argues that the difference between "automation" and mechanization was not technological but ideological. Unlike mechanization, "automation" spoke to the "grand arc of history" and carried a "conviction" that "technological development and the end of human laboring were synonymous" (pp. 2-3).

During the height of "automation" discourse in the 1950s and 1960s, visions of "automation" ushering industrial labor into the abyss of history became bound up with a belief that nature had made labor—particularly manual labor— incompatible with human freedom. "With leisure as their ideal, mid-century Americans," including many left-wing critics of capitalism, adopted an Aristotelian understanding of the relationship between work, leisure, and politics (p. 74). Resnikoff does not impose these concepts from classical political philosophy onto his sources. "It is not hyperbole to suggest," suggested one left-wing intellectual whom Resnikoff quotes, "that we could be the modern Greeks, with mechanical slaves to take the place of human toil" (p.77).

In reality, work was not being "automated" out of existence, but reorganized, intensified and sped up—often with the goal of subverting the power of industrial labor unions. The percentage of Americans employed in manufacturing began to decline from the early 1950s, but only through the ideological lens of "automation," Resnikoff argues, could the effects of mechanization and capital mobility—significant though they were— appear to auger the abolition of industrial labor. What "automation" meant to Simon Owens, a black autoworker and radical activist who was among the tens of thousands of Americans in the seemingly paradoxical situation of laboring in an "automated" factory, was not the end of work, but "physical strain, mental fatigue, heart attacks—death by Automation" (p. 38).

"Automation" proved no less consequential in the ballooning—and feminizing—white-collar sectors. As attempts to impose scientific management techniques rendered clerical work "ever more like factory work," explains Resnikoff, many executives feared that the "restiveness" brewing among the lower ranks of their white-collar employees might set off a wave of unionization (p. 50). "Automation" offered corporate managers a solution to this looming labor problem, promising to cut clerical payrolls by replacing the "untrustworthy hands" of file clerks with digital computers. IBM sold large and mid-sized corporations on the business case for costly investments in digital computing through the slogan "Machines should work, people should think" (p. 52). But as Resnikoff makes clear, the machines could only work because people—mainly women—labored under intense pressure and innovative forms of surveillance at the bottleneck of data entry.

Labor's End offers a provocative account of why labor unions and other social movement forces proved inadequate to the task of contesting the degradation of work that

capital enacted under the aegis of "automation." Labor leaders—moderates, liberals, and radicals alike—adopted what Resnikoff calls "a procrustean view of changes to the means of production" (p. 13). In accepting changes to the labor process as evidence of progress, union officials helped naturalize and depoliticize the conscious efforts of capitalists to undermine organized labor's hard-won power and legitimacy. Resnikoff identifies similar logics in the thought of key black liberation and women's liberation thinkers. A vision of freedom as "escape from work" and of automation as "the last and inevitable stage of history" undergirded James Boggs's influential *The American Revolution: Pages from a Black Worker's Notebook* (p. 119). Both the liberal feminist Betty Friedan and her radical counterpart, Shelia Firestone, "relied on the possibility that a technical solution would eliminate the usefulness of the sex distinction, politically and biologically" (p. 153).

While I would have gladly read additional chapters tracing "automation" through more industries and in national contexts beyond the United States, Resnikoff wisely opted for brevity (*Labor's End* comes in at a tight 192 pages, not including endnotes and other backmatter) and clarity over comprehensiveness. In addition to its contributions to several fields of historical scholarship, *Labor's End* joins Aaron Benanav's *Automation and the Future of Work* (2020) in providing a much-needed rejoinder to recent trends within the academic and online Left known as "post-work" and "anti-work."[3] If history is any guide, solutions to what Kathi Weeks called "the problem with work" are not to be found in "fully automated luxury communism" (Aaron Bastani's pithy coinage) or "unemployment for all, not just the rich" (the slogan of the popular reddit forum, r/antiwork).[4] By rejecting the false promise of an automated future, working people can take up a political question that capitalists have never lost sight of: how to build power to organize work in the here and now.

---

3   Aaron Benanav, *Automation and the Future of Work* (New York: Verso, 2020).
4   Kathi Weeks, *The Problem with Work: Feminism, Marxism, Antiwork Politics, and Postwork Imaginaries* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011); Aaron Bastani, *Fully Automated Luxury Communism* (New York: Verso, 2019).

In This Issue