HISTORIA

A PUBLICATION OF THE EPSILON MU CHAPTER OF
PHI ALPHA THETA
AND THE
EASTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY
HISTORY DEPARTMENT

VOLUME 31 (2024)

Letter from the Editor-in-Chief

I am pleased to introduce the 31st edition of Eastern Illinois's *Historia*. The previous few months of work involved the difficult task of picking a mere twelve articles from a huge pool of excellent submissions and creating a cohesive and interesting journal which spans from our backyards in the Illinois prairie to around the globe, from Russia and the Soviet Union, to Japan and the world of music. Our team faced many trials and tribulations but came out the other end to present this journal proudly.

This journal would have been impossible to complete or publish without the assistance of Dr. Edmund Wehrle, our supervisor, supporter and mentor through this whole process. Alongside him, the Department of History at Eastern Illinois University as a whole provided both the pedagogical basis for the excellent scholarship found herein, but also supported our project by encouraging their students to submit to the journal as a whole. We thank them profusely.

We must also thank Emmie German for their photographic input into our journal, which allowed this to be amongst the most creative editions of *Historia* to date.

-Matthew Triaszin, Editor-in-chief, *Historia*, Vol. 31

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Book Reviews

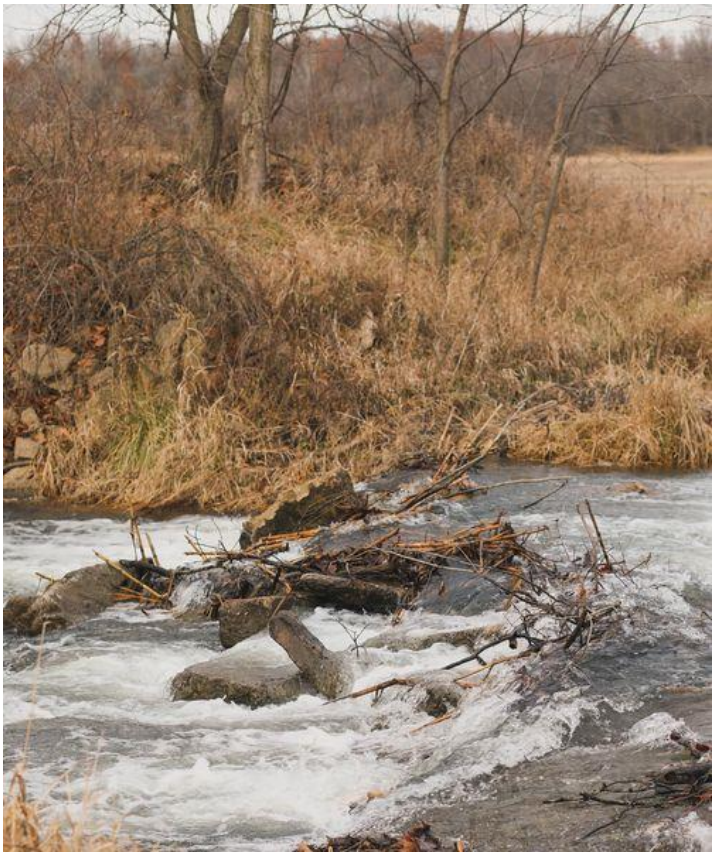
Prairie Prologue: A Photographic Essay

Emmie A. German is a senior history major from Monticello, Illinois.

> *"I loved the prairie by instinct as itself a great simplicity; the trees, flowers, and sky were thrilling by contrast."*
> *-Frank Lloyd Wright, 1952*

Our lead article this year by Lex Coniglio explores the complex history of the Illinois prairie. Coniglio's research began as part of a public history project entitled "A Prairie Story," which highlighted the history and work of the Grand Prairie Friends of East-Central Illinois, a conservation organization. As part of the project, students from Dr. Camden Burd's Public History Practicum course researched and built an exhibition displayed at EIU's Booth Library.

As a "prologue" to Coniglio's article and as a means of honoring the beauty of our Illinois landscape, *Historia*'s editors elected to begin this volume with a brief photographic essay featuring the art of history major Emmie German, whose work is also featured on our cover page. Regarding her inspiration, German commented "sharing my photos with the world allows people to see places that they may have never been before and see the world in a different way than they had before and maybe become a better and more open-minded person through it." The images below are untitled and were taken during 2023.



The Rise, Fall, and Restoration of the Illinois Prairie

Lex G. Coniglio

Lex Coniglio is currently a junior at Eastern Illinois University majoring in History with International Studies with three minors: Public History, Production, and French. They wrote this paper as a part of a larger physical exhibit about the prairie for their Public History practicum in collaboration with the Grand Prairie Friends nonprofit organization.

The Illinois landscape is vast beyond comprehension. From rolling hills to forests, the state boosts of a multitude of different biomes and ecosystems; yet none as defining as the prairie. Hundreds of years ago, before modern farming and even before America was a mere thought, the Great Plains teemed with life in the form of the prairie. Though it may not look like it now, America at one time consisted of one-third grasslands, with Illinois home to a good chunk. Dubbed "prairie" by the French explorers who encountered it, the term means "meadow," the grassland ecosystem was once the staple of the American landscape.[1] With the passage of time comes change; and even though the prairie is not as abundant as it had once been, it is still present with us today in bits and pieces. It is through these bits and pieces of what remains that the history of the American grasslands can be retold, from its earliest of forms to its present-day condition.

What is "prairie?" As mentioned previously, the word "prairie" originates from the French explorers who first discovered it. The prairie is a member of the grasslands family, which is a biome covered in predominantly grass and other types of herbaceous plants. Grasslands exist in many places of the world and cover about 32 to 40 percent of the Earth's entire surface, at least at one time. Additionally, grasslands are the largest vegetation formations in North America.[2] Much like grassland, prairie is classified by its lack of trees and the rolling hills on which it resides.[3] Prairie, much like the rest of nature, can come in many variations. There are three major types: the eastern tallgrass prairie, central mixed grass prairie, and western short grass prairie. Each type of prairie formed as a result of the environmental conditions. For instance, tallgrass prairies typically receive the most rainfall, with short grass prairies receiving the least. And in the case of mixed grass prairies, the land fluctuates between the other two types of grass levels. These three prairie types can also correspond with the agriculture crop typically grown atop of it: tallgrass prairies producing corn and or soybean, mixed grass areas hosting wheat, while short grass prairies are found in the western rangelands.[4] Illinois resides on what is sometimes known as the "prairie peninsula," an extension of prairie that goes eastwards and is bordered by deciduous forests to the north, east, and south.

As mentioned previously, short grass prairie experiences the least amount of rainfall and is one of the driest and warmest of the prairies. In terms of soil quality, it is grainy and sandy, a feature gained from being in close proximity to the Rocky Mountains. Compared to the other prairie types, the soil is no better than that found in forests and is not as sought after as the ones found in

[1] Grassland Heritage Foundation, "Prairie Ecology," accessed November 15, 2023, https://www.grasslandheritage.org/prairie-ecology.

[2] Wrangle, World Rangeland Learning Experience, "North American Mixed Grass Prairie," accessed November 15, 2023, https://wrangle.org/ecotype/north-american-mixed-grass-prairie.

[3] Ken Robertson, "Tallgrass Prairie – Illinois Natural History Survey Research," accessed November 15, 2023, https://publish.illinois.edu/tallgrass-prairie/.

[4] Robertson, "Tallgrass Prairie."

tallgrass.[5] For mixed grass prairie, the amount of rain fluctuates between both extremes, which is what allows it to possess both types of prairie grass, short and tall. This prairie can even be split into further categories: northern mixed prairie, sandhills or central mixed prairie, and southern mixed prairie. Like short grass, however, its soil is not much superior to that of a typical forest.[6] Tallgrass prairie, out of all three types discussed, receives the most rainfall. It also possesses the most fertile soil, which makes it attractive for agriculture and farmlands.[7] There are three crucial conditions that not only determine the type of prairie but are also critical to its survival: the climate of the land, the presence of fires, and the frequency of grazing by animals.[8] But that will be a topic for later. All this does not even begin to brush the surface of the true diversity of the prairie landscape.

Prairie is a relatively new ecosystem in terms of development on the North American Continent. Glaciers once covered Illinois some 18,000 years ago. As the glaciers eventually began to melt, the land became covered predominantly by tundra type vegetation before shifting over to spruce trees. The climate warmed and dried somewhere between 14,000 and 10,000 years ago, which made way for a new forest of cool mesic hardwood that contained a number of different tree types. 8,300 years ago, the climate continued to get warmer and drier until most of Illinois' forests died out within about 500 to 800 years, except along stream banks, which was when prairie began to spread.[9] Prairies hold some of the most abundant ecosystems in the world. Hundreds of different plant species alone can be found within any type of prairie. Because prairies are so diverse and packed, it is near impossible to list and count exactly how many species of plants can be found in a single prairie. Particularly in tall grass prairie, the plants that reside within can sometimes reach heights of around ten feet or even more.[10]

Though the sight above ground may be vast and expansive, the real impressiveness of the prairie lies beneath. Prairie plants combat some of the toughest weather conditions from droughts to floods. If prairie plants were not equipped to handle change, they would very well die out. For this reason native species have developed extremely long systems of roots. For example, the roots of a single bluestem—a native prairie plant—can reach anywhere from two feet across to five feet deep.[11] The roots of these plants not only allow them a solid anchor, but also let the plants reach water as far down as ten to fifteen feet below the surface.[12] The roots of prairie plants are the primary reason that the ground is so thickly packed with grass beds. They contain the buildup of centuries of different root systems that have gradually died out and been replaced. That is the reason behind the rich, fertile soil of tall grass prairie, and also why it was targeted quickly by farmers.[13] Prairie gets developed and maintained by the influences of three non-biological stresses: climate, grazing, and fire.[14] The central part of North America is known for its extreme ranges of temperatures.

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[5] Wrangle, "North American Short Grass Prairie."

[6] Wrangle, "North American Short Grass Prairie."

[7] Wrangle, "North American Short Grass Prairie."

[8] Grassland Heritage Foundation, "Prairie Ecology."

[9] Robertson, "Tallgrass Prairie."

[10] Robertson, "Tallgrass Prairie."

[11] "Prairie Roots, 1975," box 1, Grand Prairie Friends Digital Collection, The Keep, Eastern Illinois University, https://thekeep.eiu.edu/grandprairiefriends_digitalarchive/.

[12] Grassland Heritage Foundation, "Prairie Ecology."

[13] Robertson, "Tallgrass Prairie."

[14] Robertson, "Tallgrass Prairie."

Depending on the amount of rainfall each year, the prairie can fluctuate in terms of growth seasons and the overall plant and vegetation life.[15]

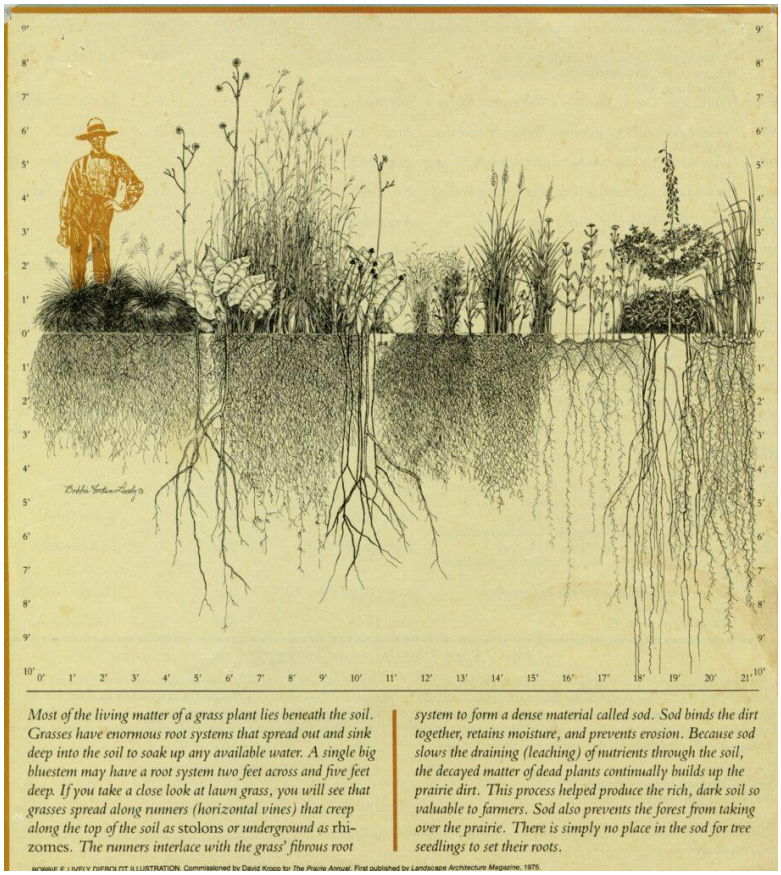

Figure 1: An infographic first designed for the "The Prairie Annual" in the Landscape Architecture Magazine, 1975. Courtesy of the Grand Prairie Friends Collection, Booth Library. Eastern Illinois University.

Grazing refers to the consumption of plants by the animal life of the prairie, which is an unavoidable obstacle that the prairies must face. To combat this threat, prairie plants have also evolved to be able to utilize the silica found in the soil. Silica is a hard mineral that, when incorporated into the plant's cells, makes the leaves coarse so that the plant is less palatable to grazers.[16] Fire to humans may seem like a danger, but to prairie it is actually beneficial. Without fire, the prairie would easily be overtaken by trees. If trees were to develop, then they would grow above the prairie plants and block out the sun, killing them off. But where fire has a hard time affecting the root heavy systems of prairie plants, it is extremely effective in getting rid of forests.[17] Fire for the prairie also provides opportunity to start new life, as it burns down the layers of dead material from previous years to make way for new plants to grow beneath it. The grasses can also benefit as there will be more space, light, and water to use for more growth.[18] Before the settlers even arrived, fires typically started either by lightning or by Native Americans. Any section of land would be burned by fires around once every one to five years.[19] All these factors contributed to the long-term prosperity of the prairie until the era of modern farming when the prairie faced new obstacles.

Early European settlers fought with the prairie during early colonization efforts. The thick and complex root systems made it near impossible to dig up the plants to make space for farmlands. The introduction of John Deere and the steel-bladed plow in 1837 solved that problem. After that, it did not take long for the American farmer to tear apart the prairie to make room for agriculture. Now, only about five percent of all original mixed grass and short grass prairies remain. As for tall

[15] Robertson, "Tallgrass Prairie."

[16] Wind Cave National Park (U.S. National Park Service), "Prairies and Grasslands," accessed November 15, 2023, https://www.nps.gov/wica/learn/nature/prairies.htm.

[17] Grassland Heritage Foundation, "Prairie Ecology."

[18] Wind Cave National Park, "Prairies and Grasslands.

[19] Robertson, "Tallgrass Prairie."

grass, less than 1 percent of original plots of undisturbed prairie remains.[20] Though some may have not taken notice of these events, naturalists Aldo Leopoldo and John Curtis emerged among the first to spearhead restoration efforts for the prairie. In the 1930s, they used Civilian Conservation Corps enlistees to restore more than 110 acres at the University of Wisconsin-Madison Arboretum. It was one of the earliest attempts at habitat restoration for its time.[21] Although these efforts were what sparked an interest in scientists to restore the prairie, the actual success rates of these operations are up to interpretation.

A prairie remnant and a restored prairie are two entirely different entities. A prairie remnant is typically a plot of land untouched by human influence that houses undisturbed, natural prairie. As the name suggests, these plots of land are extremely hard to come by and typically are found in cemeteries and even around old railroad tracks. The occupied land provided a challenge for farmers and therefore remained untouched. In a singular remnant, it is possible to find about 150 to 180 species of plant alone.[22] Through the efforts of conservation, researchers found the conditions in prairie remnants near impossible to reinstate. This is because the buildup of the soil in prairies takes a lot of time to occur. It takes years for all the dead matter of previous plant life to stack once again to create the same conditions as the native plants experience. Through experimentation, scientists found that while diversity of plant life in restored prairies increased, it was not nearly at the same level found in prairie remnants. Similarly, in a site around the Fermi National Accelerator Laboratory, a study done during the 1990s found that the richness of species in the restored site declined over time while in the remnants, they did not.[23] Such a discovery put a damper on the question of whether or not restoration was truly possible for the prairie.

The early efforts of these naturalists to preserve the prairie did not catch on until 1961, when a horticulturalist from Nebraska named Ray Schulenberg visited the Morton Arboretum in Lisle, Illinois. He had only been visiting, but that visit sparked his interest in the prairie and got him involved with other efforts to restore and conserve.[24] Schulenberg went on to aid arboretum workers in collecting seeds from prairie remnants, allowing them to germinate at the greenhouse before then planting them by hand. The workers did everything by hand, even weeding, processes crucial to the conservation process. These efforts led to another wave of restoration activity in the 1970s. The new efforts were spearheaded by Robert Betz, a professor at Northeastern Illinois University who had known Schulenberg. The two launched one of the largest efforts ever to restore prairie, a project that spanned between 1,000 and 1,100-acres total. In order to restore so much, the team pioneered the use of mechanized farm equipment like combines and fertilizer buggies for planting and harvesting seeds. The efforts towards restoration have not faded since, as the U.S. Forest Service took over for the Joliet Army Ammunition Plant to create the Midewin National Tallgrass Prairie. The restored prairie consists of about 15,000 total acres of land.[25] Restoration towards prairie has been going strong since the early 1900s and likely will continue into the future.

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[20] Leslie Allen, "Prairie Revival: Researchers put Restoration to the Test," *Science News* 172 (2007), Issue 24, https://link-gale-com.proxy1.library.eiu.edu/apps/doc/A172775642/PPES?u=uiuc_eiu&sid=bookmark-PPES&xid=75bc6190.

[21] Leslie Allen, "Prairie Revival."

[22] Leslie Allen, "Prairie Revival."

[23] Leslie Allen, "Prairie Revival."

[24] Christopher Johnson, "Restoring the Prairie: The Tallgrass waves once more in the Midwest," 18 (2007), issue 4, https://link-gale-com.proxy1.library.eiu.edu/apps/doc/A167254572/PPES?u=uiuc_eiu&sid=bookmark-PPES&xid=7d6a2412.

[25] Christopher Johnson, "Restoring the Prairie."

Among the currently active organizations aimed at preserving prairie land is the Grand Prairie Friends of Illinois. Originally formed in 1984, they are a grassroots organization focused on the preservation of original prairie remnants. The friends acquired their first property the same year the organization was created thanks to donated funds from leaders Wendy Garrison and Rich Raspet. The property was a six-acre sliver of tallgrass prairie remnant that used to be an abandoned railroad bed situated between two crop fields in Champaign County. It was dubbed Shortline Railroad Prairie as a homage to the Shortline Railroad that had previously resided on it.[26] This land plot kickstarted the whole organization. Afterward, their next plot of land purchased was Bonnie's Prairie Nature Preserve–an 11-acre plot of remnant prairie–in 1992. They would go on to purchase a two-acres plot of land known as Ems Tract in 2000. Between 2003 to 2007, the organization acquired two more plots of land that housed cemeteries, Fairchild and Loda. At first the nonprofit focused mainly on acquiring prairie lands and possible remnants. The year 2014 proved an exception: Grand Prairie Friends acquired their first plot of forest land called Warbler Ridge. It was 141-acres at first but later became a combined total of 294-acres in 2015.[27] The organization has since expanded beyond its founding days when it had only a few team members, although the Grand Prairie Friends still relies predominantly on volunteers.

Figure 2: March 4, 2024 marked the opening of "A Prairie Story," an exhibit produced by EIU students in HIS 4935: Public History Practicum. This paper derived from research for the exhibit, which was hosted by Booth Library.

In order to preserve the prairie that they have, Grand Prairie Friends initiated a number of projects, the biggest of which were controlled burns and weeding. As mentioned previously, a prairie needs fire to maintain its natural ecosystems. As such, Grand Prairie Friends schedules controlled burns across their multiple properties. The fires burn destroy old plants, allowing new life to be sprouted from the old while contributing to preserving the unique soil quality of the prairie. Since the remnants are so small, the organization must be diligent in the care of their properties. Otherwise, the species that reside on these plots of land will be at risk of extinction without the organization's help. Other than the director of burns who supervises the fires, this work is done through the help of volunteers. Another important part of conserving prairie is making sure invasive species do not overtake the species native to the prairie. Native plant life in prairie remnants is already at risk, so regular weeding of unsavory invasive species is crucial to preserving the biome. These are only a few of the practices that Grand Prairie Friends utilizes to help sustain and maintain the prairie remnant plots.

Prairie remains an incredibly vital part of the North American continent. They house some of the most diverse and oldest plant and animal species in the country. Prairie has been around since the beginning of American history and is a crucial part of the past. Like other threatened species in North America, prairie continues to stay at the forefront of both restoration and conservation efforts. Though the prairie is long past its prime, it still remains the image of the American heartland past and present.

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[26] Grand Prairie Friends, "History of GPF," accessed December 7, 2023, https://www.grandprairiefriends.org/history-of-gpf.

[27] Grand Prairie Friends, "History of GPF."

"Good Will to All": Northern Baptist Sentiments After the Schism of 1845

Nicholas S. Doty

Nick Doty is a senior history major at Eastern Illinois University hailing from Mattoon, IL. His research interest is on church history, specifically Protestant history in the United States. He intends to further his education in a seminary for a Master of Divinity and ultimately serve in the pastoral ministry.

The Baptist denomination, spanning nearly three centuries, long has occupied a prominent position within Protestant Christendom in the United States. Following the Great Awakening, the Baptists experienced rapid growth across the nation, attracting an increasing number of followers to its beliefs and fostering the formation of congregations nationwide.[1] As the denomination expanded, official missionary conventions emerged, most notably the General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States of America for Foreign Missions, colloquially referred to as the Triennial Convention due to its triennial meeting schedule. This convention served as a forum for prominent pastors and missionaries to deliberate and decide on the official course of the American Baptist denomination in fulfilling the Great Commission—the mandate from Jesus Christ to evangelize the nations of the world. As the United States grappled with various issues, discussions within the Triennial convention often reflected the prevailing national debates. However, one issue, the morality of slavery, emerged as particularly divisive. Just as the nation was becoming increasingly polarized over the American slave trade, the Baptist convention was experiencing a polarization of its own, with two major factions beginning to form as the country approached the midway point of the 1800s.[2] Northern and Southern Baptists fervently disagreed about the institution of slavery, and it was only a matter of time before tensions finally boiled over. Things finally came to a head in May of 1845, when the Southern Baptists formally seceded from the Triennial Convention, going on to create the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) in Augusta, Georgia shortly after.

The Baptist Schism of 1845 has been subject to extensive historical analysis. However, most scholarly focus has centered on the origins of the Southern Baptist Convention and its divergence from the Triennial convention. Much of the scholarly work surrounding the subject has been published in a single journal called *Baptist History & Heritage*. Obbie Tyler Todd, for example, wrote a thought-provoking article on the theological controversies that contextualized the Southern Baptist's decision to leave, claiming that the "moral imperative of missions that hinged on the freedom of will," the "utilitarian ethic of Southern Baptist slaveholding," and the "inviolability of the individual conscience" were used as moral justifications by the Southern Baptists in their departure.[3] While Todd's article offers valuable insights, it unfortunately lacks the perspective of the Northern Baptist side of the schism, a common pattern observed in nearly all of the historical coverage from *Baptist History & Heritage*. This journal is especially focused on the SBC because it originated as a Southern Baptist publication before becoming independent in 1995. Some scholarly attention has also been paid the abolitionist Baptists in the years following the split; the work of John R. McKivigan stands out. His study, featured in the now discontinued American Baptist journal *Foundations*, sheds light on the post-schism reactions from Baptist abolitionists, leading to the formation of the American

[1] "Baptists," in *American Eras*, vol. 3, *The Revolutionary Era, 1754-1783* (Detroit: Gale, 1997), 305-308.

[2] Everett C. Goodwin, "Baptists," in *American History Through Literature 1820-1870*, vol. 1, eds. Janet Gabler-Hover and Robert Sattelmeyer (Detroit: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2006), 91-92.

[3] Obbie Tyler Todd, "'Forbidding Us to Speak unto the Gentiles': The First Southern Baptist Convention (1845) in Its Moral and Theological Context," *Baptist History & Heritage* 55 (2020).

Baptist Free Mission Society. However, McKivigan notes that there was a clear distinction between Northern Baptists as a whole and the more specific abolitionist Baptists, who often disagreed with the way Baptists in the North addressed the issue of slavery.[4] Thus, there remains a significant gap in scholarly examination of the reaction and sentiments of Northern Baptists after they parted ways with the Southern Baptists. Addressing this gap provides for a greater understanding of Christianity during the Civil War era, as well as American culture and society in general during the unstable period.

In the mid-19th century, newspapers served as the primary medium for various groups to express themselves, the Northern Baptists were no exception. *The Christian Watchman*, *The Christian Reflector*, and *The Christian Secretary*, all based in New England, stood out as three of the most influential Northern Baptist publications during this late-antebellum period, often regarded as the primary voice of their religious faction. These newspapers provide insight into the surprising reaction of these often-overlooked Northern Baptists to the sudden division within the American Baptist denomination. While one might expect the Baptist schism of 1845 to mirror the bitter discord between the Northern and Southern states in 1861, the reality is quite different. Immediately after the split, the Northern Baptists did not harbor the type of hostility towards the Southern Baptists typically associated with the Civil War era.

Northern Baptists certainly were greatly grieved over the division. The separation was viewed as tragic yet inevitable event. Just days after the Southern Baptists seceded from the Triennial Convention, an article appeared in *The Providence Journal* describing and interpreting the events that had recently taken place. While a secular newspaper unaffiliated with any denomination, the article held significance for Northern Baptist readers and was quickly republished by the *Watchman*. In the piece, the contributor asserted, "We presume that this could not be avoided…but it is not the least to be lamented that the question of slavery, which has produced so much bitterness and dissension in other churches, should have been introduced into the Baptist (church)."[5] Slavery was the cause of the Baptist conflict. It had ripped previous denominations in two, including the Presbyterians and the Methodists, and the time had inevitably come for the moral question to claim a new, much larger victim.

However, even though this tragedy took place in America's largest Protestant denomination, Northern Baptists continued to view their Southern counterparts as brethren. After May of 1845, many American Baptists questioned the course of action that should be taken in terms of interaction with the Southern Baptist congregations. Northern Baptist newspapers responded to this by urging peace and love. Many, including *The Christian Secretary*, deemed that a "kind and friendly spirit" was the best way forward, as it would not only prevent any further hostility but would also serve as a step towards abolition, hopefully leading their southern friends toward the correct path in a gentle fashion.[6] Northern Baptists envisioned a future where Southern Baptists would renounce their endorsement of slavery and return to the fold in harmony. Until then, they advocated for setting aside anger and ill intentions.

Some Northern Baptists contested the use of the term "schism" to describe the denominational division. Rev. Daniel Sharp, for instance, argued that the notion of schism, as widely reported in publications across the country, was unfounded. Notions of bitterness which had been reported in newspapers and elsewhere, he insisted, was a mere fabrication and while the missionary conventions were no longer affiliated, relations between individual Baptist churches remained

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[4] John R. McKivigan, "The American Baptist Free Mission Society: Abolitionist Reaction to the 1845 Baptist Schism," *Foundations* 21 (1978): 340.

[5] "The Meetings at Providence," *Christian Watchman*, May 16, 1845.

[6] "The Northern and Southern Churches," *Christian Secretary*, May 30, 1845.

unaffected. Therefore, he saw no reason for unnecessary tensions between Northern and Southern Baptist congregations.[7] According to Sharp, Baptists in the United States should maintain "precisely the same relations to each other which they have always held, viz: good will to all."[8]

The perspective from the Southern Baptists is crucial when examining northern sentiments. A hostile reaction from Southern Baptists would have made it difficult for Baptists in the North to maintain the goodwill advocated by Rev. Sharp. Hostilities breed reciprocation, and given the darkening mood of the nation, it would not be surprising if the southern members of the Triennial Convention stormed out in a fervent rage, declaring complete separation from their Northern counterparts. Afterall, that rather dramatic scenario would resemble the overall fracturing of the Union that would take place just fifteen years later.

However, the reaction from the Southern Baptists was quite different. In fact, the responses from the Southern Baptists were remarkably similar to their northern brothers, demonstrating a surprising absence of resentment. Following the schism and subsequent formation of the SBC, the convention assigned several prominent members of the Southern Baptists to articulate a detailed explanation for their departure from the Triennial Convention. These individuals included Thomas Curtis, William Bullein Johnson, and Richard Fuller. Not only were they founders of the SBC, but Johnson served as the convention's first president. As a result, the message they conveyed, which was widely disseminated and published by Baptist papers nationwide, holds significant importance in understanding the Southern Baptist perspective.[9]

The opening line of the address provides the first indication of their sentiments regarding the schism: "A painful division has taken place in the missionary operations of the American Baptists."[10] While Southern Baptists deemed division as necessary, it was not taken lightly. They made it clear in their statement that the split was emotionally distressing; they expressed sorrow for themselves and for their northern friends, from whom they regretfully parted ways due to unfortunate circumstances.[11] Throughout the entire statement from the SBC, there was no trace of anger. Rather, it conveyed a sense of frustration, regret, and determination to maintain their stance on slavery and slaveholding missionaries. Regarding future Baptist fellowship in the uncertain aftermath of the schism, the SBC emphasized, "Northern and southern Baptists are still brethren. They differ in no articles of the faith."[12] These sentiments resonated with those of the Northern Baptists, particularly Rev. Sharp. The distinction between missionary conventions and the denomination as a whole was clearly drawn, affirming the enduring brotherhood of Baptists.

While the northern and southern factions of the Baptist church continued in their attempts to find common ground, even after their parting of ways, the small section of firm abolitionists both within the denomination and outside of it, criticized the Northerners perceived leniency on what they deemed an absolute moral imperative for all Christians. Regarding conflict within the Northern Baptists, McKivigan wrote on the subject extensively, particularly in his aforementioned article about the rise of the American Baptist Free Mission Society (ABFMS), an organization that contributed greatly to internal frustration among abolitionist Baptists.[13] Documents from the early years of this society show the increasing intensity of Baptist abolitionists in their fight against their fence-sitting

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[7] "The Reported Schism in the Baptist Church," *Christian Reflector*, November 20, 1845.

[8] "Reported Schism" *Christian Reflector*.

[9] Thomas Curtis, Richard Fuller, and William B. Johnson, "The Southern Baptist Convention," *Christian Watchman*, June 13, 1845.

[10] "Southern Baptist Convention," *Christian Watchman*.

[11] "Southern Baptist Convention," *Christian Watchman*.

[12] "Southern Baptist Convention," *Christian Watchman*.

[13] McKivigan, "American Baptist Free Mission Society," 340.

siblings in Christ. In an 1847 annual report for the ABFMS, within the first few pages, the Board of Trustees explicitly described their tedious conflict with their fellow Baptists over the slavery controversy. For years, they had been desperately attempting to "convince their Baptist brethren, both at the North and the South, of the sinfulness of holding their fellow men in bondage as slaves."[14] Baptist abolitionists did not just challenge southern slaveholders, but also their fellow northerners, Christians, who remained passive on this critical issue. As the board succinctly put it, in their attempt to utilize the Scripture to call their apathetic brothers to repentance: "[a] vast majority turned away the ear and passed on as indifferent to it as though God had not uttered it."[15] The years preceding as well as the subsequent years after the schism, witnessed numerous pleas from the abolitionist minority, as they attempted to get the larger part of the Northern Baptists to see the importance of actively combatting the evils of slavery. Unfortunately, these pleas fell on deaf ears.

Abolitionists outside of the Baptist denomination also expressed their many grievances against the Northern Baptists, targeting the Northern Baptist newspapers. Many perceived them to be lenient on slavery, essentially accomplices to the Southern Baptists' slaveholding barbarity. The well-known abolitionist paper *The Liberator*, for example, took a hard stance against Northern Baptist newspapers. In a plea to clergy across the United States, *The Liberator* condemned the tendency of *The Christian Watchman* to dissuade the public from joining ranks with abolitionist groups, even going as far as to accuse them of slandering those who desired to be rid of slavery.[16] In this sentiment non-Baptist abolitionists were far more critical of apathetic Northern Baptists than the abolitionists within the Baptist church. The author of another article from *The Liberator* labels *The Watchman* a "pro-slavery journal."[17] This is an exaggeration of *The Watchman*'s actual opinion of slavery, as its true position was highly critical of the practice of slaveholding.[18] Nonetheless, *The Liberator*'s constant attacks on publications like *The Watchman* are representative of the ire felt by a large number of abolitionist Americans toward the Northern Baptist's hesitancy to stand against the slave trade.

Understanding the relatively calm relations between Northern and Southern Baptists requires an examination of the unique ecclesiological structure of the Baptist church in America. The wide range of Christian denominations vary on all types of issues and doctrines, including church polity. While other denominations, such as the Methodists, tended to have more centralized power, with stringent systems of obedience; the American Baptists were lacking in this regard. Instead of a firm governing authority, Baptists were "not bound together by a system of ecclesiastical discipline such as that to which Wesley subjected his Church."[19] The Methodists, as well as the Presbyterians, had a sharp division between their northern and southern members over the issue of slavery. However, the Baptist schism was unique due to the church's loose structure. This loose structure of discipline meant that the American Baptist congregations had a history of tolerating theological disagreements, as the autonomy of the local church was a highly valued belief of the Baptists.[20] Thus, the schism made very little difference to the average Northern Baptist.

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[14] American Baptist Free Mission Society, *Annual Report. v.1 1847* (Utica: H. H. Curtiss, 1847), 4.

[15] American Baptist Free Mission Society, *Annual Report*, 4.

[16] "The Clergy and Aati-Slavery [sic]," *Liberator*, April 13, 1849.

[17] "The Clergy and Slavery," *Liberator*, July 4, 1845.

[18] "The Bible Against Slavery," *Christian Watchman*, August 7, 1835.

[19] "Denominational Schisms," *Christian Watchman*, September 12, 1845.

[20] Nicholas T. Pruitt, "Baptists," in *Religion and Politics in America: An Encyclopedia of Church and State in American Life*, vol. 1, ed. Frank J. Smith (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2016), 46-47.

The sudden split of one of the nation's largest, as well as loosest, Christian churches showed Americans just how pervasive the issue of slavery had become. *The Providence Journal* explained how the slavery issue impacted the Baptist church:

> But, although it (slavery) has not made its appearance, strictly speaking, in the church, where indeed there is no room for it, there being no body, as in the Methodist and Presbyterian churches, clothed with ecclesiastical authority over the great body of denomination, it has forced its way into the religious associations so intimately connected with the church that a division in them is scarcely less deplorable than a division in the church itself.[21]

Just because *The Providence Journal* claimed that the schism that occurred in the Baptist church was just as *morally* "deplorable" as the ones that occurred in the Methodist and Presbyterian denominations, does not mean that the impact became disastrous for the average Baptist congregation. As expressed before by Rev. Sharp, there was no reason that the split in the missionary-focused Triennial Convention should alter the way in which Northern and Southern Baptist congregations interact with each other.

The reason why *The Providence Journal* labeled the schism as "deplorable" had nothing to do with a fear of future conflict between Baptist brethren. As a secular journal, its apprehension far exceeded the infighting of a single denomination. The Providence-based publication made clear that it would be up to the "religious press" to speak about the internal damage the split enacted on American Christianity.[22] However, when it came to the Union as a whole, *The Providence Journal* had much to warn about. The newspaper wrote, "We regret its national consequences for there are many reasons contributing to the division of the union of the states, and one of the greatest is the question of slavery."[23] Again, it is important to remember that *The Watchman* deemed this article a necessity for Northern Baptist readers. Thus, although these warnings regarding the possible dissolution of the United States came from a non-religious source, Baptists in the North shared these apprehensions.

This was not the only article from *The Christian Watchman* that expressed such fears for the country. In another article that was republished from *The Christian Examiner*, a liberal publication often associated with Unitarians, discussed the damage that such a massive schism was likely to have on the Union. Divisions, such as the one which occurred in the Baptist denomination, serve to "weaken the bonds" that are integral to the states' mutual partnership.[24] The fundamental values of "religious sympathy and co-operation" were being replaced by "distrust and alienation."[25] It was easily discerned by many, including *The Christian Watchman*, that on the present road, national danger and violence was certainly assured.[26] The Northern Baptists yearned for a time before their separation from their Southern Brethren, a division they feared would escalate into larger waves of American hostilities. Unfortunately, that time had long passed. The Baptists were the most recent group to fall victim to the spirit of division wreaking havoc across the nation, but it was certain that they would not be the last. Dominoes would continue to fall until the unthinkable happened: The schism of the United States of America.

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[21] "Meetings at Providence," *Christian Watchman.*
[22] "Meetings at Providence," *Christian Watchman.*
[23] "Meetings at Providence," *Christian Watchman.*
[24] "Denominational Schisms," *Christian Watchman.*
[25] "Denominational Schisms," *Christian Watchman.*
[26] "Denominational Schisms," *Christian Watchman.*

Schism, of course, erupted in 1861, resulting in four years of unprecedented bloodshed between the United and Confederate States of America. By the end of the war, hundreds of thousands of lives paved the path that led to the eventual abolition of slavery within the United States. Brother had fought against brother, and families had been torn apart, but the country entered a time of reconstruction. Securing the rights of black Americans by law would take much longer, but the nation continued its effort to heal from the physical and mental wounds of the American Civil War. This paper examined the relationship between Northern and Southern Baptists in the years after 1845. However, it did not extend into the decade before the Civil War, nor did it delve into how Baptists viewed each other during the conflict itself. Further research on the American and Southern Baptist Conventions during 1861-1865, including their allegiances or lack thereof, would greatly benefit scholarly understanding. Filling this gap would provide more nuanced detail to the complexities of the American Civil War enriching the ongoing historical narrative. Although research may be lacking for the Civil War years, it is known that the Northern and Southern Baptists, along with their respective conventions, endured through the war and its aftermath. The Triennial Convention was eventually disbanded, and a new convention, called the Northern Baptist Convention, took its place in 1907.[27] It was later referred to as the American Baptist Convention, and in 1972, it was renamed as the "American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A."[28] It remains one of the most prominent Protestant conventions to this day. The Southern Baptist Convention has undergone changes in some of their major doctrinal beliefs over the past two centuries, while continuing to maintain many similarities in function. The SBC has entirely scrapped its pro-slavery sentiments, making it a mere memory from the past. The convention has continued to fight many battles since its early days, including controversies regarding evolution vs. creationism, as well as general conflicts between conservative and liberal members.[29] Unlike the American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A., the Southern Baptist Convention has held onto the same name taken at Augusta, Georgia in 1845, and it has even outgrown its Northern counterpart, having a whopping sixteen million members in the United States as of 2010.[30]

After the Baptist schism of 1845, the Northern Baptists attempted to maintain positive relations with their Southern Baptist brethren, despite the different paths each church took. While there have indeed been bumps in the road, this peace has been maintained over the decades. In modern times, both conventions continue to disagree on a variety of ecclesiological and theological subjects, but there largely remains a general respect between the two factions, once united in an era long ago. They both operate in their own separate fields of work, yet they continue to strive for a common religious goal, the building up of American Christianity and the fulfillment of the Great Commission given by Jesus Christ in the final words of the gospel of Matthew: "Go therefore and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I commanded you; and lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the age."[31]

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[27] "American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A.," in *Melton's Encyclopedia of American Religions*, vol. 1, *United States*, 9th ed., ed. J. Gordon Melton (Farmington Hills, MI: Gale, 2017), 434.

[28] "American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A.," 434.

[29] "Southern Baptist Convention," in *Melton's Encyclopedia of American Religions*, vol. 1, *United States*, 9th ed., ed. J. Gordon Melton (Farmington Hills, MI: Gale, 2017), 444.

[30] "Southern Baptist Convention," 445.

[31] Matthew 28:19-20 (New American Standard Bible 1995).

Policing Morality: The Mann Act and the Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic of Women and Children

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Largely ineffective since its inception, the United States federal law known as the Mann Act (1910) was steeped in racist undertones. It stands completely in contrast with the other major anti-human trafficking legislation of the interwar period, the 1921 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic of Women and Children (CTW), an international agreement born out of a pragmatic but ethical push for human rights. Although the Mann Act and the 1921 convention bore similar goals, the execution and effectiveness of the two differed sharply. Effectiveness in this argument can be measured in the desired outcome of suppressing human trafficking, which in this study shall be defined as the unlawful movement of people into forced services, primarily into prostitution in state regulated "houses" or brothels. Both legislative initiatives originally intended to suppress human trafficking, but, as the following research shows, their influences and "effectiveness" in reaching this outcome differed greatly. The 1921 CTW created an Advisory Committee that would oversee international collaboration and legislation aimed at curtailing the traffic of women and children with the eventual goal of banning state regulated prostitution.[1] The committee promoted international legislation that would develop aspects of what we now categorize as universal human rights. How did the United States and CTW's anti-trafficking measures differ in effectiveness and motivations? This article argues that the Mann Act's creation was racially motivated and ethically compromised because it was aimed at achieving goals other than the protection of women and children. By contrast, the CTW addressed legitimate ethical issues and human trafficking through effective means.

Historians continue to debate the actual impact of the Mann Act and 1921 Convention. Many conclude that the Mann Act had a negative impact while the 1921 convention was positive. This study, however, stands apart from other historical anti-trafficking studies by offering a direct comparison of American legislation to international conventions. Furthermore, this analysis is important to the field of legal studies as some scholarship on the 1921 Convention is skeptical of the legislation and its effectiveness. Pieces such as Jessica Pliley's, "Claims to Protection: The Rise and Fall of Feminist Abolitionism in the League of Nations' Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children" and Julia T. Martínez's "The League of Nations, Prostitution, and the Deportation of Chinese Women from Interwar Manila" offer some support for the 1921 Convention, but each ultimately argues the convention was less than fair or beneficial to certain nations. Martinez makes a case for the success of the Mann Act internationally in her article, while Pliley sees the 1921 convention's initiatives as ultimately in vain. The following study challenges earlier research by reviewing the 1921 conventions' effects in comparison to the 1910 United States Mann Act. In weighing the two, this study reviewed newspapers, League of Nations archives documents, speeches

[1] Magaly, Rodríguez Garcia, "The League of Nations and the Moral Recruitment of Women," *International Review of Social History* 57 (2012): 99.

from historically important figures, reports from prominent members of the League, and other research done by human trafficking experts and interwar period historians with an eye toward more complete evaluation of the Mann Act and the League of Nations' anti-trafficking program.

The Mann Act, also known as the White Slave Traffic Act, emerged in 1910 as an anti-white slave traffic amendment generated by racial and xenophobic fear of immigrants and outsiders in segregated America. This claim is supported by how the Justice Department's Bureau of Investigation (BOI, later known as the FBI) implemented the act. Law enforcement historically used the Mann Act for purposes other than the prevention of human trafficking. One example would be the *Cleveland v. United States* Supreme Court case that upheld the Mann Act's capacity to regulate societal norms instead of human trafficking.[2] The case facts involved the arrest of six members of the Church of Latter-Day Saints for human trafficking even though they were transporting their wives across state borders. Authorities used the Mann Act to regulate polygamy, which the court ruled as immoral regardless of its connection to human trafficking.

Caminetti v. United States, which predated *Cleveland v. United States*, also set precedents that allowed the Mann Act to regulate any transportation of women for any "immoral purposes."[3] This meant the federal government could determine what was immoral and what was not while also restricting the movement of people across state lines. The most notable example of the Mann Act as legislation steeped in racist ideology would be the trial of boxing champion "Jack" Johnson. One of the most controversial men of his time, Johnson gained a reputation for unapologetically defeating prominent white boxers and courting white women. Authorities arrested and tried Johnson under the Mann Act/White Slave Traffic Act in 1913 based on the guise that he had transported a prostitute across state lines.[4] The "prostitute" in fact happened to be Johnson's white girlfriend, but the court found him guilty anyway. This was the most prominent and blatant example of the Mann Act being used for racist purposes.

The FBI's enforcement of the Mann Act built upon prejudice and a brazen stretching of the law. The aforementioned *Caminetti v. United States* that allowed for all "immoral purposes" to be investigated and regulated by the Mann Act, allowed the BOI to expand the types of cases it could explore.[5] Empowered, the BOI began to stray away from hunting for human trafficking. Increasingly, it almost solely focused on the regulation of prostitution. It should be noted that "twenty states had white slave laws before the Mann Act passed,"[6] with almost every state passing some sort of legislation by 1916. This level of state legislation speaks volumes about what was known as the White Slavery scare. Historians see the period of 1910 to 1913 as a time of white slave hysteria. America underwent a new transformation after the Reconstruction period when racism and xenophobia began to run rampant once more. There emerged a general view among many that foreigners and African Americans were immoral and that they tainted the young female population.[7] This xenophobia contributed to the creation of the Mann Act, born in many ways from fear of white slave traffic. A prominent figure of the time that can be seen contributing to the hysteria would be the BOI's first director, Stanley Finch. "No other form of slavery which has ever been

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[2] "Interstate Immorality: The Mann Act and the Supreme Court," *The Yale Law Journal* 56, no. 4 (1947): 724.

[3] White Slave Traffic Act, 18 U.S.C. § 2421, (1910).

[4] Travis D. Boyce and Winsome M. Chunnu, "Toward a Post-Racial Society, or a 'Rebirth' of a Nation?: White Anxiety and Fear of Black Equality in the United States," in *Historicizing Fear: Ignorance, Vilification, and Othering*, eds. Travis D. Boyce and Winsome M. Chunnu (Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2019), 128.

[5] Jessica Pliley, "Vice Queens and White Slaves: The FBI's Crackdown on Elite Brothel Madams in 1930s New York City," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 25, no. 1 (2016): 142.

[6] Pliley, "Vice Queens and White Slaves," 141.

[7] Beryl Satter, "Review of *Crossing over the Line: Legislating Morality and the Mann Act* by David J. Langum," *Journal of Social History* 29, no. 3 (1996): 700.

devised can equal her condition," pronounced Finch in a 1912.[8] Finch's reference was to prostitution rings of the time when white women were trafficked. The sentiment that this was the worst form of slavery in human history is surprising given that the end of bondage in America came only 45 years earlier. Director Finch eventually stepped down in 1912 to head the BOI's new White Slavery Division.

This is only one example of how the racist culture of America helped create and build the Mann Act. The verbiage used in the Mann Act exclusively refers to the suppression of "white slave-traffic,"[9] even when mentioning the trafficking of foreign women. This language in practice meant the legislation would only pertain to the defense of white females. Language about foreign women in the Mann Act was only included to assist in the suppression of the white slave traffic. If a foreign woman was found to have been trafficked in America, she would be questioned then deported.[10] The investigation of foreign women, as outlined in the Mann Act itself, relates only to establishing their nation of origin. The procedure of simply deporting foreign women back to their nation of origin shows how little the American legislatures cared for human trafficking that was not specifically white.

The belief that foreigners were causing a wave of immorality and corrupting young white girls played into large cultural events transpiring at the turn of the century in America, issues that influenced the Mann Act's execution. Jessica Pliley, a prominent historian of women, trafficking and prostitution, points out that the height of the white slavery hysteria coincided with the Great Migration.[11] Rising numbers of Blacks in northern cities could have easily inflated the Mann Act cases against African Americans. Clifford G. Roe, a renowned prosecutor for white slave cases, claimed that the majority of girls involved in New York cases were in fact not from the countryside but from the low-income inner-city areas.[12] At that time, these parts of the cities were increasingly filled with an emerging African American population. By the time of the New York publication, the Great Migration had been underway for roughly two years so there was reason to believe Roe was mainly referring to African Americans. This would suggest that the vast majority of Mann Act cases in the early 1910's involved convictions of African Americans. The aforementioned Jack Johnson case that was used as a way to enforce racial segregation was a bleak example of how racial motivation determined in what compacity the Mann Act was applied. Federal Judge George Albert Carpenter commented on the challenge of determining punishment for Johnson's case given that the legal system "had many cases where violations of the Mann Act have been punished with a fine only."[13] This serves as supplemental evidence that the Mann Act was used to enforce racial discrimination.

Another example would be based on the number of perpetrators cited by the BOI. Finch, the then director of the BOI, later the head of the White Slavery Division, estimated that 50,000 people were involved in the trafficking of women and benefiting from their plight.[14] He then claimed that no less than 25,000 women were trafficked yearly for prostitution in America. Such

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[8] Stanley Wellington Finch, *The White Slave Traffic* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1912), 3.

[9] White Slave Traffic Act, 18 U.S.C. § 2421, (1910).

[10] "White Slave Bill Passes: House Acts on Measure Invoking Interstate Commerce Power Against it," *New York Times,* January 13, 1910.

[11] Jessica R. Pliley, *Policing Sexuality: The Mann Act and the Making of the FBI* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2014), 24.

[12] "Nation-wide Fight on White Slavery: American Vigilance Society, Backed by Plenty of Money, Starts in Many Cities. Plans Practical Warfare Men Specially Trained to Combat the Evil will be Employed to Clean up American Towns," *New York Times,* March 24, 1912.

[13] "Year in Cell for Johnso.: $1,000 Fine, too, for Pugilist's White Slavery Offense," *New York Times,* June 5, 1913.

[14] "Stanley Finch Speech, 1912, on White Slavery," 533.

numbers are not corroborated by research done about Mann Act cases that cites a measly 2,801 convictions over the ten-year period of 1910 to 1920.[15] This huge discrepancy between actual arrests, perceived perpetrators, and legitimate convictions, speaks volumes about the effectiveness of the Mann Act. Even with the increased number of crimes tried under the act, the lack of convictions demonstrated cracks in the BOI's argument that the white slave traffic was rampant in the United States. The Mann Act cases heard from 1921 to 1936 have been estimated as high as 47,500 although there were few convictions. The increased trials were due to the expanding of the law that allowed the BOI to police morality.[16] The aforementioned *Caminetti v. United States* was to blame for this expansion of jurisdiction because the federal government could try to convict people based on what they deemed to be immoral. However, the white slavery scare in America fizzled by the late 1920's. This serves as further proof that the Mann Act's creation was mainly targeted at policing morality and minorities rather than actually suppressing human trafficking. The threat of white slavery that prompted the creation of the Mann Act even came under fire from the *New York Times*, which, as early as 1916, began to question the existence of widespread white slave traffic.[17] Early 20th century America, ruled by fear of declining morals and racial mixing, saw the forging of weak legislation and ineffective enforcement of the Mann Act.

Having established the grave weaknesses of the Mann Act, we can shift to a discussion of international human trafficking legislation through the League of Nations International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children (1921). The 1921 convention was an international agreement through the League of Nations fostering a community of countries that vowed to work together to suppress the trafficking of women and expansion of prostitution.[18] From the inception of the 1921 convention, the intentions of the multinational organization were not steeped in racist undertones. Anti-trafficking legislation before the League of Nations, however, did include racial verbiage such as references to "white slave traffic."[19] In fact, the 1921 League of Nations convention emerged from agreed legislation dating to the anti-white slave agreement in 1910. The 1910 agreement had its roots in an even older piece of legislation of the same name signed on May 18th, 1904. Regardless of the precursor agreements, the 1921 convention did away with the racial verbiage and committed itself to serving all women across the world. This was evident from the original signatories of the convention, consisting of Brazil, Chile, China, Columbia, Costa-Rica, Cuba, Japan, Persia, and Siam (Thailand) to name a few of the non-white countries that subscribed to the new legislation.[20] These ethnically diverse countries were able to assist and be assisted in suppressing human trafficking in a system that placed morality over the racism so prevalent in interwar America. The lack of prejudice in the 1921 convention was only one of many differences between it and the Mann Act.

The International Convention for the Suppression of Traffic of Women and Children not only brought thirty-three nations together, but it also laid the groundwork for international progress headed by the League's very own Advisory Committee on the Traffic of Women and Children (CTW).[21] This advisory committee was responsible for many international initiatives, all aimed at protecting women and children worldwide. The committee was comprised of two groups, government officials and members of prominent international volunteer organizations that aimed to

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[15] William Seagle, "The Twilight of the Mann Act," *American Bar Association Journal* 55, no. 7 (1969): 644.

[16] Pliley, "Vice Queens and White Slaves," 143.

[17] Pliley, *Policing sexuality,* 112-113; Pliley, "Vice Queens and White Slaves," 143.

[18] Garcia, "The League of Nations and the Moral Recruitment of Women," 98.

[19] "The International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic," (May 4th, 1910).

[20] "The International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic of Women and Children," *League of Nations-Treaty Series,* (1921), 417-423.

[21] "Protecting girls in all nations," *New York Times,* November 26, 1922.

suppress human trafficking.[22] Collaboratively, many of the world governments began to develop social legislation through the CTW and the 1921 convention. William F. Snow, the former chairman of the Council of the League of Nations to study the Traffic in Women and Children and General Director of the American Social Hygiene Association, produced a report explaining how the nations involved in the anti-trafficking legislation sought to work together to address trafficking on a practical basis.[23] Nations involved in the 1921 Convention wanted effective universal legislation free of discrimination to rid the world of trafficking. The United States, however, was not among the nations that had signed the treaty, and thus it was not included in Snow's statement. Snow, an American himself, even used the words "unusually competent and broad minded" to describe the only mentioned Asian member.[24] This was the Japanese delegation, which was given a backhanded compliment only after Snow had completed singing the high praises of the remaining members.[25] While not conclusive evidence, it serves as a reminder of the generalized American viewpoint as still focused on the abolition of white slavery, but less so universal freedom.

Nonetheless, even with American involvement in the CTW, the advisory committee launched many women and child-assisting endeavors while pursuing what can only be described as a universal human rights agenda. The correspondence of Dame Rachel Crowdy, a prominent social reformer and women activist at the time, addressed the success of the 1921 convention and amendments made to it by other nations.[26] Crowdy explained how multiple nations called for a ban on obscene publications, a clear example of nations attempting to regulate interwar societal morality collectively. Regardless of the discussion about what was moral and what was not, Crowdy depicted multiple nations coming together to openly debate change in society without race or ethnicity playing a factor. The 1921 convention stayed away from divisive language and laid out easy-to-follow guidelines for each signatory nation. That said, the United States refused to sign the 1921 convention as it conflicted with specific police powers enumerated in the US Constitution.[27] The nationwide collaborative effort required to cut down on human trafficking took a backseat in the United States in favor of the Mann Act that regulated interwar America's perception of morality itself. The hypocrisy demonstrated by the United States government at the time demonstrates its willingness to only uphold the racist legislation of the Mann Act instead of federally mandating a program that benefited the general population. An American correspondent even admitted that the United States did adhere to the White Slave Traffic law of 1904, which practically has identical legislation to the 1910 agreement but only consisted of predominantly white nations.[28]

The United States, however, did still benefit from the CTW when the 1921 Convention established a "social research project."[29] This project became a strong testimonial to the League's impact as it set up a data collection to aid law enforcement. In other words, the United States representative wanted to send League researchers to individual nations to gather data to find the best

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[22] William F. Snow, "The Program of the League of Nations Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Women and the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People," *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science in the City of New York* 12, no. 1 (1926): 412.

[23] Snow, "The Program of the League of Nations," 417.

[24] Snow, "The Program of the League of Nations," 413.

[25] Snow, "The Program of the League of Nations," 413.

[26] Rachel D. Crowdy, "Dossier Concerning the Provisional Agenda of the 1st Session of the Committee on Traffic in Women and Children," *League of Nations Archives,* (June 1922): 123.

[27] "International Convention on Traffic in Women and Children 1921," *Dossier regarding [The] United States of America*, R657/12/19786/16463, *UN Archives (Geneva),* (March 8th, 1921).

[28] Charles Evans Hughes, "International Correspondence on Traffic in Women and Children 1921," *Dossier regarding [The] United States of America*, R657/12/19786/16463, UN Archives (Geneva), (March 8th, 1921).

[29] Cristiana Schettini, and Bryan Pitts. "Between Rio's Red-Light District and the League of Nations: Immigrants and Sex Work in 1920s Rio de Janeiro." *International Review of Social History* 62 (2017): 110.

way to assist countries with suppressing its trafficking and prostitution problems. It should be noted the funding for said researchers would be covered by the Rockefeller family through the work of the American Bureau of Social Hygiene.[30] Although the Americans provided for League outreach, the impact from said contributions still must be attributed to the League and not the United States government.

The impact of the League of Nations 1921 Convention far outstretched that of the relatively flawed United States Mann Act. The Mann Act, marred by racism, lack of criminal convictions, and weak punishments if found guilty, appears deeply flawed. Meanwhile, the 1921 convention served first as the basis for a growing legislative body. By helping create the CTW, the 1921 convention was already heading in the right direction. Its research work in other countries including Brazil, Poland, and the Philippines left a real impact on the international community. In Brazil, the league sent delegates to Rio de Janeiro to gather data and learn from where the prostitutes in the country had been trafficked.[31] Researchers spoke to many official representatives and "underworld" traffickers to gain a better understanding of the situation. By the time researchers left the country, they had learned of Brazil's aggressive anti-trafficking legislation and an influx of European prostitutes in Rio.[32] Brazil offers a fine example of the 1921 Convention's effectiveness as a signatory. The researchers, while in Brazil, saw real evidence of authorities fighting trafficking according to the bylaws of the 1921 convention by looking at lists of deported foreigners and court cases.[33]

Another sign of the 1921 convention working to provide fair protection for women and children could be seen in the advancements made in interwar Poland. The 1921 convention encouraged the integration of women into the police force.[34] The CTW's support resulted in a growing female police force, committed to suppressing human trafficking while cutting down on prostitution.[35] The League received reports from Poland's anti-trafficking cases showing an increase from one conviction in 1924 to over 137 cases of trafficking and 602 cases of pimping by 1932.[36] The 1921 Convention can be credited with these gains due to its guidelines and international reach. The League ultimately praised the Polish government and by extension women in the police force for their due diligence in combating trafficking.[37]

Filippino anti-trafficking and prostitution measures should be noted as successful as well. The Philippines were under American occupation during the interwar period and thus were subjected to the Mann Act.[38] The United States also signed the aforementioned 1904 International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic which helped set boundaries for the prostitution trafficking. The League of Nations role in this case related to immigration laws preventing prostitution. Influential Chicago social worker Grace Abbott declared the Philippines as better than that of other Eastern nations due to the immigration laws posed by the League of Nations and the U.S. Mann Act.[39] Prostitution and trafficking were greatly reduced in the Philippines, which many viewed as a model for other nations to follow. These three examples

[30]Schettini, Pitts "Between Rio's Red-Light District and the League of Nations," 110.

[31] Schettini, Pitts "Between Rio's Red-Light District and the League of Nations," 105.

[32] Schettini, Pitts. "Between Rio's Red-Light District and the League of Nations," 119.

[33] Schettini, Pitts. "Between Rio's Red-Light District and the League of Nations," 118.

[34] David Petruccelli, "Pimps, Prostitutes and Policewomen: The Polish Women Police and the International Campaign Against the Traffic in Women and Children Between the World Wars," *Contemporary European History* 24, no. 3 (2015): 337.

[35] Petruccelli, "Pimps, Prostitutes and Policewomen," 343.

[36] Petruccelli, "Pimps, Prostitutes and Policewomen," 343.

[37] Petruccelli, "Pimps, Prostitutes and Policewomen," 345.

[38] Julia T. Martínez, "The League of Nations, Prostitution, and the Deportation of Chinese Women from Interwar Manila," *Journal of Women's History* 33, no. 4 (2021): 69.

[39] Martínez, "The League of Nations, Prostitution," 75.

provide a strong argument as each nation is completely different culturally, ethnically, and geographically, yet each one benefited from the effects of the 1921 Convention for the Suppression of Traffic of Women and Children.

Briefly, it is worth examining counter claims that view the Mann Act as effective and the 1921 Convention as less success. The first piece of evidence supporting this claim would be the effectiveness of its employment in the Philippines. The Mann Act did help the Philippines restrict human trafficking even though it assisted in the deportation of hundreds of Chinese women, prostitute or not, back to China without any concern for their welfare.[40] Yet other legislation taking effect in the Philippines, such as the 1921 Convention and the 1904 agreement, also drove deportations of suspect Chinese women from the Philippines. Another counterclaim against this comparison surrounds the failure of a coordinated international response in Scandinavia. Few believed there was much trafficking in the Scandinavian region, where local governments mostly had abolished licensed houses and criminalized prostitution.[41] This resulted in an absence of reports about trafficking in Scandinavian countries. Scandinavian countries were also signatories of the 1921 Convention, so it was counterintuitive to leave them out of the study. However, rumors circulated regarding the lack of reports from Scandinavian countries, the main one being that Bascom Johnson and William Snow, two members of the American Social Hygiene Association, had purposefully removed the files from Geneva to suggest that nations without licensed prostitution were traffic free.[42] Regardless of the reason, the dearth of an international response and research on the traffic in Scandinavian countries raises some doubts about the 1921 Convention's effectiveness. That said, the actions of two individuals should not undermine the entire convention's well doings and impact.

The Mann Act and the 1921 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic of Women and Children had the same goal in mind. Each law aimed to help stop human trafficking and slow the advancement of prostitution. As demonstrated in the research above, the Mann Act was relatively ineffective and was utilized for discriminatory purposes apart from human trafficking. The conviction rate was extremely low, and penalties were lackluster in comparison to the crime. The restrictive language associated with the Mann Act hurt its effectiveness as it only pertained to white anti-trafficking. The 1921 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic of Women and Children, however, contained inclusive language and united many culturally diverse nations striving for the same goal. A 1934 CTW report discussing the proposed ban on licensed prostitution assessed the campaign against trafficking in China and a proposed way to assist women who were trafficked in society instead of just deporting them.[43] This concept differs completely from the Mann Act, which expelled people from the country, a practice that was heavily practiced in the Philippines. The above comparison of the two programs leaves a strong sense of the 1921 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic of Women and Children as the more effective and fair approach. The 1910 Mann Act was an ineffective law suffused with prejudice. Even today, the effects of the 1921 Convention can still be seen in the United Nations ongoing campaign against human trafficking.

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[40] Martínez, "The League of Nations, Prostitution," 76.

[41] Paul Knepper, "The International Traffic in Women: Scandinavia and the League of Nations Inquiry of 1927," *Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology & Crime Prevention* 14, no. sup1 (May 2, 2013): 74.

[42] Knepper, "The International Traffic in Women," 75.

[43] "Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People," *Report on the Work of the Commission in 1934,* (Geneva, May 10, 1934): 17.

The Mexican Integration of Baseball

Noah A. García

Noah is a graduate student from Milford, Illinois. The paper he submitted stems from the research paper he completed for HIS 4775: History of Sport. After completing his master's degree, Noah will continue his studies at Arizona State University.

More than mere "games," sports are "a cultural realm that takes in the politics of media and spectacle, constructing and contesting identities such as gender, race, sexuality, class, religion, ethnicity, and nationality (and their multiple combinations)," wrote historian Amy Bass.[1] Scholarship on race and baseball has predominately focused on the white-and-black color line and the integration of major league baseball in 1947. Recently, historians have started exploring the experiences of Latino ballplayers in the narrative. While the stories of Afro-Latino *peloteros* (baseball players) are worthy of analysis, this paper will focus on *peloteros* who were/are of Mexican heritage.[2] It will examine the lives and careers of three Mexican-ancestry professional *peloteros*: Vincent Nava (who also went by the name Vincent Irwin), Ted Williams, and Fernando Valenzuela.

Each of the respective *peloteros* represents a divisive time for those of Mexican heritage residing in the United States. Nava, who made his professional debut for the Providence Grays in 1882, represents the United States' expansion in the Southwest and its engagement with a populace that did not conform to the "white–black" color line. Williams, born to a Mexican mother, is representative of the increase in immigration from Mexico as a result of the nation's revolution (1910-1920). Both Nava and Williams played down their ethnic roots in order to survive—and in William's case thrive—in professional baseball. Lastly, Fernando Valenzuela and his dominance on the mound during the 1980s, sparked the cultural mania of "Fernandomania," which inspired the increasingly proud Mexican-American community of Los Angeles to "forgive" the Los Angeles Dodgers despite the team's decision in 1958 to construct the stadium in Chavez Ravine. The decision to construct the stadium in Chavez Ravine resulted in the forced removals of the remaining families of Mexican-heritage from their homes. Analyzing the lives and careers of these *peloteros* reflects how those of Mexican-heritage historically engaged with the United States' constructed perceptions of race, class, and identity and how they either conformed or challenged those perceptions. Additionally, examining their careers will demonstrate the hardships the Mexican/Mexican-American community has historically faced and their resilience confronting challenges.

Vincent Nava

With his debut with the National League's Providence Grays in 1882, catcher Vincent Nava became the first Mexican-American professional baseball player. Debate remains regarding Nava's nationality. Scholars such as Alex Nuñoz conclude that Nava was born in San Francisco in 1860,

[1] Amy Bass, "State of the Field: Sports History and the 'Cultural Turn,'" *Journal of American History* 101, no. 1 (2014): 150.

[2] For a more detailed study on baseball and Afro-Latino *peloteros*, see; Rob Ruck, *Raceball: How the Major Leagues Colonized the Black and Latin Game* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2011), and Adrian Burgos Jr., *Playing America's Game: Baseball, Latinos, and the Color Line* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

following his mother's immigration to the United States.[3] Other scholars have concluded that Nava was born in Mexico, and he immigrated to the United States as a child.[4] Nonetheless, Nava's entry into the National League challenged baseball's color line. The historian Adrian Burgos Jr. writes, "In baseball's racial scheme, he was its first *brown* player. His presence prompted the adoption of ethnoracial categories to explain to the baseball public the difference he embodied."[5] Understanding the *pelotero's* impact on the ethnoracial categorization of Latine *peloteros*, requires an understanding of the United States during the second half of the nineteenth century.

In 1848, following the conclusion of the Mexican-American War, Mexico ceded its territory north of the Rio Grande to the United States. As a result of the spoils war, the United States' "new" inhabitants presented a challenge to the nation's construction of race and what it meant to be white or Black. Article VIII of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) stipulated that the former Mexican citizens may "acquire those [rights] of the United States."[6] However, as Nuñoz notes, the United States passed laws that restricted the citizenship of those of Mexican heritage. The laws only granted citizenship to Mexican males with lighter skin color, thus excluding those of darker complexion, who were believed inferior due to their indigenous heritage.[7]

Additionally, Anglo-Americans often challenged the athletic and intellectual abilities of Mexicans. Jorge Iber et al. wrote, "most [white Americans] ultimately assumed that the sports of the Americans were simply too sophisticated, vigorous, and challenging for the feeble minds and bodies of Latinos."[8] As a result, many viewed sports such as baseball as a way to "Americanize" players of Mexican heritage. This notion surfaced several decades later during the United States's 1914 invasion of Veracruz. The *Bismarck Daily Tribune's* May 10, 1914 edition ran an article titled "Making Themselves Felt," which suggested the correlation between sport and the Americanization of Mexicans. "Soon the corner lot variety of baseball will assist in Americanizing the Mexicans," promised the writer.[9] While the article's focus was on Mexicans and not the diasporic community within the United States, it made evident a sense of superiority among Americans over those of Mexican ancestry and the hope that the quintessential American sport might uplift the other.

Returning to Nava, the *pelotero's* career demonstrates the complexities of the nation's racial line and how individuals conformed or challenged it. Nava, in a sense, did both. Following his mother's marriage to William Irwin, an English immigrant, Nava took the name Vincent Irwin or Sandy Irwin.[10] Adopting his stepfather's surname furnished him certain privileges. Nuñoz writes, "growing up the adopted son of William Irwin and using his name certainly allowed Nava to participate in California baseball while minimizing situations of racial exclusion."[11] Nava played ball in San Francisco under the name Sandy Irwin. Nuñoz argues that Nava's transformation into Sandy Irwin is representative of Mexican Americans' pursuit of whiteness. By competing under the name *Sandy Irwin*, Nava recognized that becoming "white" allowed him to compete as a Brown *pelotero*.

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[3] Alex Nuñoz, "A Catcher's Mask: Vincent Nava, Mexican Americans, and the Question of Race in Early Baseball," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 42, no. 1 (Fall 2022): 85.

[4] Jorge Iber, et al. *Latinos in U.S. Sport: A History of Isolation, Cultural Identity, and Acceptance* (Champaign: Human Kinetics, 2011), 79.

[5] Adrian Burgos Jr., *Playing America's Game: Baseball, Latinos, and the Color Line* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 39.

[6] "Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo," (1848) https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/treaty-of-guadalupe-hidalgo.

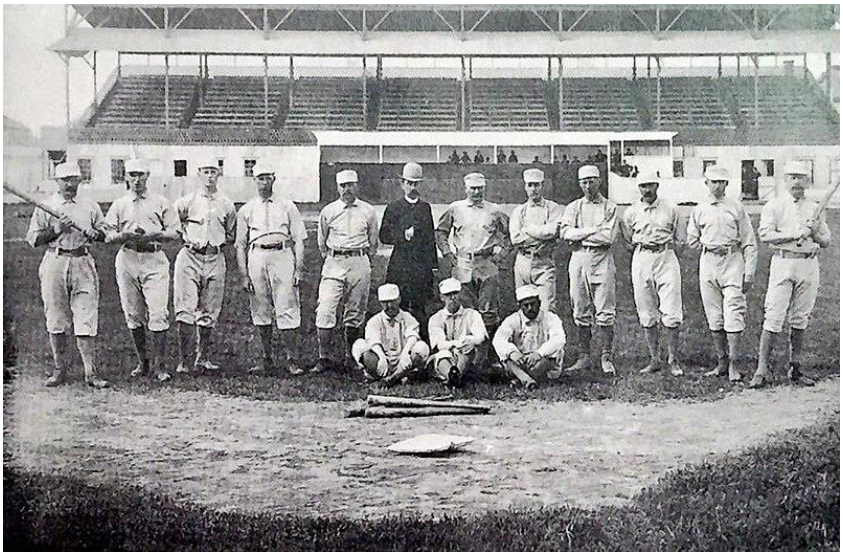
[7] Nuñoz, "A Catcher's Mask," 85.

[8] Iber, et al. *Latinos in U.S. Sport*, 75.

[9] "Making Themselves Felt," *Bismark Daily Tribune*, May 10, 1914.

[10] Nuñoz, "A Catcher's Mask," 85-6.

[11] Nuñoz, "A Catcher's Mask," 86.



"Sandy" Nava, seated bottom right, with the 1884 Providence Grays.

Nava later changed his name so that he could continue playing baseball. John Montgomery Ward and Jerry Denny, players for the Providence Grays, recognized the catching abilities of Nava while they were competing in California during the 1881 winter season. As a result, the players pushed for the team to sign the catcher. In their correspondence with team management, they would describe Nava as being a Spaniard.[12] The Providence Grays faced a dilemma: how would the National League react to the signing of a "Spanish" player? Two factors best explain the team's rationale for signing Nava. First, during the 1880s, the racial line focused primarily on excluding Black players. With the ambiguities of the racial line during Nava's career, he was able to compete as a Brown-skinned player. The second factor pertains to economic motivations. During this era, teams often employed gimmicks that challenged social norms, such as selling alcohol or hiring mascots. Additionally, teams highlighted a player or manager's ethnic identity in an attempt to draw in more fans.[13] Burgos writes, "It was in this vein that the Providence board agreed to sign Nava, not as a challenge to the gentleman's agreement or the color line, but rather as an exotic drawing card."[14] Nava's decision to drop his stepfather's Anglo-surname in favor of his Spanish surname demonstrates the unique racial positioning of Mexican Americans. Reverting to his "Spanish" roots afforded him an opportunity to play professional baseball and the Grays to boost attendance to their games. Yet, the press had difficulties identifying Nava's specific ethnic origins. For instance, *The Washington Critic* published an article in 1887 that stated, "'Cuban' catcher Vincent Nava belongs to San Francisco, is a 'dago' and his real name is Sandy Irwin."[15] The newspaper's usage of the slur "dago"—which means "an insulting and contemptuous term for a person of Italian or Spanish birth or descent"—demonstrates how the catcher was still subject to ethnic hostilities, further proving the difficulties in racial identification of Mexican-Americans during the late nineteenth century. [16]

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[12] Burgos Jr., *Playing America's Game*, 37-8.

[13] Burgos Jr., *Playing America's Game*, 38.

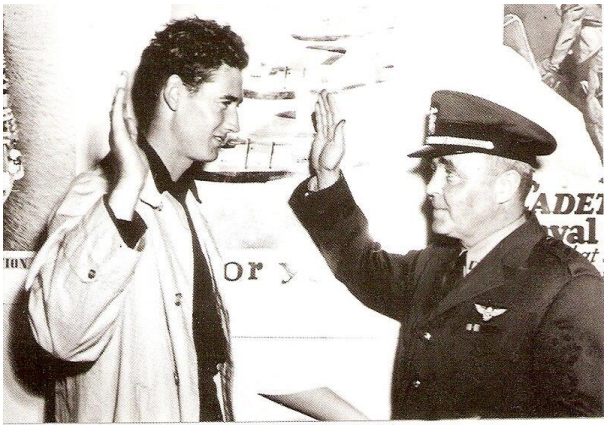
[14] Burgos Jr., *Playing America's Game*, 38.

[15] "Baseball Personalities," *The Washington Critic*, April 22, 1887.

[16] *Merrian-Webster.com Dictionary*, s.v. "dago," accessed December 2, 2023. https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/dago.

Ted Williams

Adrian Burgos Jr. argues the labeling of "Ted" Williams as *Latino* is important to the historical discussion of racial identification. Williams's decision not to publicly acknowledge his Mexican ancestry during his career as player or manager matters in a historical sense. His choice attests to the dominant ideas of race and place that affected people from the Spanish-speaking Americas on U.S. professional diamonds and in the United States generally," wrote Burgos.[17] While Williams' father was Anglo-American, his mother's Mexican ancestry presented a personal challenge to the rising baseball star. If he were to identify as Latino, his opportunity to play baseball would have been limited. Aware of the discrimination he would have faced, Williams writes, "Her [his mother] maiden name was Venzer, she was part Mexican and part French, and that's fate for you; if I had had my mother's name, there is no doubt I would have run into problems in those days, the prejudices people had in Southern California."[18] What is telling of Williams's account, published in his memoir in 1969 and reprinted in 1988, is his continued disassociation with his Mexican heritage. Additionally, even by discreetly acknowledging his mother's background in just one paragraph of his memoir, Williams describes his mother's maiden name in a way that distances himself from his ancestry. Williams's biographer Ben Bradlee Jr. recognizes that the correct spelling of Williams's mother's maiden name is Venzor, not *Venzer*, which is the Basque spelling of the surname.[19] Burgos connects Williams's obsession with the maiden name to the repatriations those of Mexican ancestry faced during the 1930s.[20] As the historian Pablo R. Mitchell documents, an estimated 350,000 to 600,000 individuals of Mexican heritage were forcibly sent to Mexico during the 1930s as a consequence of the Great Depression.[21]



Williams being sworn into the Navy in 1942. He would also serve during the Korean War. US Marine Corps Photograph.

While being of Mexican ancestry in Southern California would have limited Williams's opportunities, exclusion from the Major Leagues is certainly unlikely. Williams was not the first Mexican ancestry baseball player on the Boston Red Sox. The Red Sox, the last team to integrate following Jackie Robinson's Dodgers' debut in 1947, already had on their roster the first Mexican-born Major Leaguer. Baldomero "Melo" Almada, born in the Mexican state of Sonora, immigrated to the United States due to the Mexican Revolution.[22] Almada, who also grew up in Southern California and joined the Red Sox in 1933, would undoubtedly have been at a disadvantage due to his Mexican ancestry if it

[17] Burgos Jr., *Playing America's Game*, 149.

[18] Ted Williams and John Underwood, *My Turn at Bat: The Story of My Life* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988), 28.

[19] Ben Bradlee, Jr., *The Kid: The Immortal Life of Ted Williams.* (New York: Little, Brown, and Company, 2013), 27.

[20] Burgos Jr., *Playing America's Game*, 150.

[21] Pablo R. Mitchell, *Understanding Latino History: Excavating the Past, Examining the Present* (Santa Barbara: Greenwood, 2018), 105.

[22] José M. Alamillo, *Deportes: The Making of a Sporting Mexican Diaspora* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2020), 101.

were not for his family's class status. Still, the period encompassing Williams's career, 1939-1960, were years in which there was much incentive to play down one's Mexican heritage—as Williams did as effortlessly as he hit home runs.

Fernando Valenzuela

"Even before I learned about César Chávez, Martin Luther King Jr., and other civil rights leaders, I had one Latino role model – Fernando Valenzuela." So begins José Alamillo's *Deportes: The Making of a Sporting Mexican Diaspora*.[23] As Alamillo explains later on, seeing the Mexican-born pitcher Fernando Valenzuela take the mound for the Los Angeles Dodgers served as an inspiration, since he was himself an immigrant.[24] While Valenzuela inspired the Mexican/Mexican-American community in Los Angeles and throughout the United States, his signing to play Major League Baseball also served the interest of the Dodgers organization. The Dodgers, originally from Brooklyn, New York, relocated to Los Angeles in 1958. The transition was not entirely smooth.

The site team owner Walter O'Malley purchased from the city for his planned new stadium, Chavez Ravine, had been historically home to Mexican and Mexican-American families. To facilitate the construction of Dodger Stadium, the last remaining occupants had to be forcibly removed. The final compulsory eviction of Chavez Ravine's Mexican and Mexican-American occupants left lasting resentment towards the te3am. To ease the tension between the baseball organization and the city's burgeoning Latino population and, most importantly, get them to the ballpark as paying customers, the team sought a Mexican "Sandy Koufax." Their dreams would come true on the opening day of the 1981 season. The journalist Erik Sherman writes, "And it [the start] would also spark a phenomenon in which this remarkable young Mexican pitcher would begin to heal a long-fragmented relationship between the Dodgers, the city of Los Angeles, and a largely marginalized Latino community."[25] The Dodgers' decision to construct their stadium in Chavez Ravine came at a great cost to the city's Mexican and Mexican-American population, a population that had faced discrimination in the decades leading up to the team's arrival. Initially, in 1950, the city approved the construction of public housing in Chavez Ravine. However, by 1953, as a result of the Cold War and the prevailing McCarthyism, the plans were scrapped. Consequently, the families that had sold their homes under the promise of returning to the housing project were left homeless due to the city's decision not to re-sell the valuable land.[26] Families who refused to sell their homes to the city were not in the clear, for through eminent domain, they would be forcibly removed by police so that construction on Dodger Stadium could commence.[27]

The Dodgers' strained relationship with their home city's Latino population spurred management's quest for a Mexican "savior." Sherman writes, "Not only did the Dodgers desperately want to tap into the vibrant and growing Mexican community around Los Angeles, but they wanted to try to rid themselves of the black mark left on the franchise because of the forced removals at Chavez Ravine while Dodger Stadium was being built."[28] Through Mike Brito's scouting, the organization found their man in Valenzuela.[29] With Valenzuela's dominant start in 1981, his first full season as a starting pitcher, the relationship between the team and the Mexican community seemed

[23] Alamillo, *Deportes*, 1.
[24] Alamillo, *Deportes*, 1.
[25] Sherman, *Daybreak at Chavez Ravine*, 60.
[26] Sherman, *Daybreak at Chavez Ravine*, 10-11.
[27] Sherman, *Daybreak at Chavez Ravine*, 12.
[28] Sherman, *Daybreak at Chavez Ravine*, 35.
[29] Sherman, *Daybreak at Chavez Ravine*, 30.

With his eyes looking up to the heavens, Valenzuela's unique pitching style became a revered symbol to the Mexican-American community, 1986. Photo by Tony Bernard. Courtesy of the University of California at Los Angeles Library, Special Collections.

miraculously healed. Latino attendance at Dodgers' games soared, leading to a cultural shift within the stadium and throughout the rest of the league wherever Valenzuela went. For instance, when Valenzuela took the mound in Chicago's Wrigley Field, where attendance averaged just over 9,000 fans, the result was a sell-out, meaning that close to 30,000 fans crammed into the legendary park.[30] Back in Los Angeles, the cultural atmosphere of Dodger Stadium reflected the Latino fans in presence. The cultural shift resulted in the phenomenon referred to as "Fernandomania."

Valenzuela proved to be a revered figure to the Mexican diaspora in the United States through his status as a Mexican immigrant. One such way is through the language barrier many Mexican immigrants face when entering the United States. The youngest of twelve children born into a family of *campesino* farmers in the Mexican state of Sonora, Valenzuela spoke no English. This created an immediate affinity with the likes of José Alamillo, who remembered the discrimination he faced due to his imperfect English and ethnic identity.[31] Alamillo attributed Valenzuela's rapid stardom and immigrant status to the quelling of the rising anti-immigrant sentiment during the 1980s. "In my own family, this attitude freed my father to boast about how he had also overcome humble beginnings as an immigrant working long hours as a lemon picker and ironworker," wrote Alamillio.[32] Similar to Alamillo, Valenzuela faced discriminatory remarks concerning his inability to speak English and his ethnic appearance. For instance, an article published in the *Chicago Tribune* during his rookie season notes a nickname he was given that references both his physical appearance and his ethnic background: "They call him Tortilla Fats because he's built like a snowman."[33] This parallels another newspaper article that gives Valenzuela a derogatory nickname: "and *el Gordo de Oro* (The Golden Fat Man)."[34] While players of Mexican ancestry may have been accepted into the Major Leagues, they still faced discriminatory remarks based on their ethnic origin.

For the Dodgers, Valenzuela's success was almost by design. As mentioned, the organization actively sought a "Mexican Sandy Koufax" after relocating to Los Angeles. With Valenzuela winning the Rookie of the Year and the Cy Young in his first full year of service, the Dodgers had found their guy. With Los Angeles County comprising two million Hispanics in 1981, the team took advantage of their surrounding demographics. For instance, during the pitcher's rookie campaign in 1981, the team paid him $50,000 for using his image in posters placed in neighborhoods with predominantly Spanish-speaking inhabitants.[35] The success of Valenzuela and the integration of the Latino market is still felt today. Alamillo writes, "Upon my return [to Dodger Stadium in 2013], what surprised me most was the increased Latino/a fan base, which in 2015 reached 2.1 out of 3.9 million

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[30] Bill Jauss, "Fernando's New Pitch is a Hit: Fernando's Pitch a Hit in Chicago," *Chicago Tribune*, June 5, 1981.

[31] Alamillo, *Deportes*, 1.

[32] Alamillo, *Deportes*, 2.

[33] Bob Verdi, "Young Fernando has staying power," *Chicago Tribune*, October 24, 1981.

[34] Ronald Yates, "Rookie Picher Valenzuela is numero uno with the Dodgers: Fernando numero uno with fans, players," *Chicago Tribune*, May 3, 1981.

[35] Jauss, "Fernando's New Pitch is a Hit," *Chicago Tribune*.

fans. Latin music was now blasting from the loudspeakers and rowdy fans were cheering for their favorite Latino Dodger."[36] In the very stadium that noted Chicano activist César Chávez refused to enter, now, millions of Latino fans now pack every season, largely in part to Valenzuela's success and significance to the community.[37]

Conclusion

Since the United States' expansion west, those of Mexican ancestry have used baseball to challenge the color line and solidify their status within the nation. Nava's career demonstrates the challenges those of Mexican heritage faced in the immediate decades following the Mexican-American War. Williams's essential rejection of his Mexican heritage represents the community's hardships during the middle decades of the twentieth century. Lastly, the success of Valenzuela during the 1980s not only benefited the Dodgers organization and its relationship with Los Angeles's high Latino population but also helped instill a sense of belonging to the nation's Mexican diaspora. Over the course of a century then the trajectory of the Mexican-American experience can be charted. Early on, *peloteros* had every incentive to hide or play down their origins. By the late twentieth century however growing numbers and expanding commercial power of Mexican-Americans led to the rise of an unabashedly Mexican baseball star—one eagerly embraced by Mexicans and Mexican-Americans.

[36] Alamillo, *Deportes*, 194.
[37] Sherman, *Daybreak at Chavez Ravine*, 7.

The Tuskegee Airmen: How Public Opinion and Segregation Shaped the Future of the United States Military

Audrey R. Hopper

Audrey Hopper graduated from EIU in the spring of 2024 with a master's degree in modern history. She wrote this paper for Dr. David Smith's Capstone course. After school, Audrey aims to work in a museum or archives.

The creation of the Tuskegee Airmen, a renowned fighting pilot organization within the United States military, was met with simultaneous pride and trepidation from members of the general public and African-Americans in particular. The purpose of this study is to reveal differences between the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and black-owned newspapers as both sides portrayed completely different attitudes to the Tuskegee Airmen's existence. Many African Americans during this period wanted a desegregated military, but the United States government showed little interest in changing its age-old policy. The goal of the NAACP was to press for desegregation while black-owned newspapers focused on taking pride in any accomplishments of the segregated unit. These starkly different approaches by prominent voices in the African American community tell an intriguing story. The roles that the NAACP, black-owned newspapers, and Tuskegee Airmen played during World War II paved the path toward a delayed desegregation of the United States military.

The Tuskegee Airmen are a celebrated and much-studied group; however, that was not always the sentiment despite their accomplishments. Newspaper articles reveal that there were mixed reviews on the Tuskegee Airmen project as a whole. The NAACP did not approve of the project. Its founders created the association to promote civil rights and secure basic rights as promised by the U.S. Constitution.[1] As the NAACP fought for equality, Black-owned newspapers generally presented a different view than the supposed spokesmen of the African American community.

The NAACP opposed the institution of a segregated flying unit because it believed a separate union would not be beneficial for the advancement of African Americans in the military. Since the Tuskegee Airmen were still not fully integrated into the ranks, the NAACP felt it would only perpetuate segregation. This had long been the organization's policy. Before the war, the association and many influential civil rights activists fought to integrate African Americans into the military. In 1931, the organization sent a letter to the United States War Department demanding full integration of the military.[2] The War Department denied their request and remained committed to segregation. Still, as war tensions began to rise, the issue of blacks in the armed forces gained more attention.[3] The military had created various programs for pilot education, but they still did not apply to the black community. That changed in 1939 when Congress authorized African American pilots to be trained in the Civilian Pilot Training Program.[4] The inclusion of the black community into this program changed the game. Seeking a breakthrough, the NAACP supported the efforts of Yancey Williams to become a pilot and helped to file a lawsuit on Williams' behalf against the government in

[1] August Meier and John H. Bracey Jr., "The NAACP as a Reform Movement, 1909-1965: 'To Reach the Conscience of America,'" in *The Journal of Southern History* 59, no. 1 (1993): 4.

[2] Lynn M. Homan and Thomas Reilly**,** *Black Knights: The Story of the Tuskegee Airmen* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 2018), 17.

[3] Homan and Reilly, *Black Knights*, 17.

[4] Homan and Reilly, *Black Knights*, 18-19.

1940. The NAACP charged that Williams was denied entry into the Air Force because there was not a segregated branch of the Army Air Force.[5] As a result of this lawsuit, the 99th Pursuit Squadron would be created. Yet this progress was little comfort to the NAACP which still demanded an end to segregation.

Military segregation remained in place even after the war. In the black-owned newspaper, *The St. Paul Recorder*, the NAACP outright stated that despite the successes and limited integration with white fighter squadrons that the 99th and 332nd enjoyed, segregation remained. This the newspaper declared was morally wrong.[6] This article from *The St. Paul Recorder* depicted a clash over the Tuskegee Airmen between the NAACP and former Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson. The NAACP demanded an end to segregation, and it pointed to previous successes of African American pilots flying overseas alongside white pilots.[7] In fact, the NAACP was correct that the pilots who had previously graduated from the Tuskegee Airmen program that had been deployed overseas were highly successful. Dr. Patterson refuted the NAACP's claim by essentially trying to muddy the waters.[8] He insisted that he treated the African American squadron the same as he would anyone else in the military. The NAACP immediately responded that blacks were still segregated, and the association continued to argue that the pilots should not face discrimination.[9] In all newspapers and sources, the NAACP was consistent in their desire to end segregation in the military.

A. Philip Randolph was a well-known social rights activist and member of the NAACP. As president of the Brotherhood of the Sleeping Car Porters, Randolph made it his mission to fight for civil rights for the African American community.[10] He insisted black men could be just as effective as pilots as the white men who refused to allow them into the Army Air Corps. Randolph saw what happened to the African Americans who were involved in the military during World War I, and he was disappointed by the lack of change that had come from it.[11] This provided him more of a reason to fight for what he believed in. He even met with President Franklin Roosevelt in 1941 to urge him to issue an executive order addressing segregation in the military.[12] Although he persuaded the president to desegregate U.S. defense industries, the military maintained segregation.

Black-owned newspapers generally had a different response to the creation of the Tuskegee Airmen project—they were much more positive, and they celebrated the accomplishments made by the program. Some also criticized segregation. Yet all still supported the Tuskegee Airmen because it manifested black accomplishment and contribution to the war effort. The NAACP thus believed that the Tuskegee Airmen would be detrimental to the quest for desegregation, while black newspapers took an opportunity to prop the airmen up as a cause for desegregation.

One of the aforementioned newspapers, *The Chicago Defender*, a prominent black-owned newspaper, published an article in July 1941 discussing the inauguration of the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. It drew attention to Booker T. Washington's belief in duty and loyalty, which became the

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[5] Daniel L. Haulman, *Tuskegee Airmen Chronology*, (Maxwell AFB: Air Force Historical Research Agency, 2016), 17.

[6] "NAACP Fights Postwar Segregation of Airmen; Tuskegee Head For It," *St. Paul Recorder*, October 5, 1945.

[7] "NAACP Fights Postwar Segregation."

[8] "NAACP Fights Postwar Segregation."

[9] "NAACP Fights Postwar Segregation."

[10] Homan and Reilly**,** *Black Knights*, 22.

[11] James C. Warren, *The Tuskegee Airmen Mutiny at Freeman Field* (Vacaville: The Conyers Publishing Company, 1995), n.p.

[12] Warren, *The Tuskegee Airmen Mutiny at Freeman Field*, n.p.

foundation for the program.[13] To the newspaper, the inauguration was a momentous occasion in history. In August 1942, the same newspaper published an article touting plans to increase the number of men enlisted in the Tuskegee program. The article promised readers the program would be expanded and civilian instructors at Chanute would be transferred to Tuskegee. Further, it theorized that the 99th Pursuit Squadron would become the central group in the program.[14] This point later proved to be true.

The 99th Pursuit Squad c. 1942 in front of mess hall at Chanute Field, Rantoul, Illinois. Courtesy of the National Museum of the US Air Force.

In February 1943, one article in *The Chicago Defender* focused on the transfer of new graduates to the technical training school at Chanute Field. "Comprising six units of 17 men each, these young men although without army status and in civilian clothes, will act as technical instructors in the air corps, and train enlisted men in the many duties required of ground crews," announced the article.[15] The story depicted airmen as learning many skills and representing themselves well. An additional article from August 1943 lists the name of a graduating class from the Tuskegee program in Alabama. While the article mostly focused on listing names, it also stated that the men participated in intensive training and had become officers upon graduation.[16] The structure and phrasing of this piece demonstrated pride in the new graduates.

In conjunction with *The Chicago Defender*'s article on the new graduates, *The Mississippi Enterprise* featured an article the same day about the graduates. It provides insight into the pomp and circumstance of the ceremony but reflects as well on the graduates becoming officers. The article also mentions how the men's field instructor reminded them to stay optimistic and keep the faith that they have held thus far.[17] Again positive characteristics of the airman took center stage. Through training, the men displayed that they could work just as hard as any other man in the military.

In comparison to the black-owned newspapers, the mainline, white newspapers generally displayed mixed reviews of the program. *The Chicago Daily Tribune* published a piece on the 99th Pursuit Squadron in April 1943. It focused on explaining the program and profiled the men in the program. It had a positive spin as it focused on more than 100 men in the program, both pilots and maintenance alike from Chicago.[18] Here the focus seemed to be regional pride in the contributions of "local boys."

Up to this point, the NAACP and black-owned newspapers tended not to agree on how to respond to the creation of the Tuskegee Airmen. There is one event however that did cause both of

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[13] "Inaugurate U.S. Airmen at Tuskegee: Occasion Marks Opening of 'Jim Crow 99th'" As Flight School," *Chicago Defender,* July 26, 1941.

[14] "Tuskegee to Augment Its Air Training," *Chicago Defender,* August 1, 1942.

[15] "Technicians of Air Corps End Training: 300 Sent to Army Flying Fields to Instruct Ground Crews," *Chicago Defender,* February 6, 1943.

[16] "Tuskegee Graduates New Class," *The Chicago Defender,* August 7, 1943.

[17] "Lt. McLaurin Receives Wings from Air School," *The Mississippi Enterprise,* August 7, 1943.

[18] "The 99th Squadron," *The Chicago Daily Tribune,* April 25, 1943.

these prominent voices to align in their response toward the program and the United States military. In 1945, over one hundred black officers took part in the mutiny against segregation at Freeman Airfield in Seymour, Indiana.[19] Strikers were being trained to be expert pilots, and they did not feel welcomed into social situations with their fellow white officers. Modern scholarship often points to this mutiny as a "victory for integration over segregation."[20] It was one of the first times that the pilots openly opposed the military institution and segregation. Thirty-six African American officers planned to enter a "white officers' club" on April 5, 1945, after their evening meal. They were prepared to meet resistance, but their goal was non-violent protest.[21] All but three officers arrested for inciting violence were released shortly after arrest.[22] Still other black officers seethed with resentment. An article from *The Chicago Defender* states that a series of protests then were launched by officers of two different black pilot groups who believed that the initial arrest of the officers was wrong.[23] To make matters worse, officers were pressed to sign base Regulation 85-2, which would create segregation in all public spaces.[24] The base regulation ultimately was scraped, but its creation and circulation were enough to stimulate protests against the base and their officials.

The arrest of black officers infuriated both the NAACP and the black-owned newspapers. An article from *The Chicago Defender* conveyed to its readers the sentiments of the impacted black officers. It also described the segregation that barred black officers from a black officers' club. Readers learned that should base regulation 85-2 have gone through, it would have prevented officers from being in shared public spaces such as mess buildings.[25] In light of the problems that the officers at Freeman Airfield were facing, black-owned newspapers shifted in favor of desegregation. The article was part of a new general alignment with the NAACP in which the black press joined with the NAACP in calling for a revocation of segregation in the officers' club.[26] On this topic, the NAACP and the black press stood as one. With both the black-owned newspapers and the NAACP taking an open stance against segregation at the Freemen Airfield, it allowed the general public to be aware of the anger of black soldiers over their treatment by the United States military.[27]

When the war ended in 1945, Americans rejoiced that it was finally over and that the men in the military would finally come home. While the war was over for the majority of Americans, African Americans coming home still had to fight for their rights. Even though the Tuskegee Airmen demonstrated their skill as pilots and military men, they were still not granted the same rights upon arriving home. The men had achieved many exemplary records but received little recognition besides a few awards.[28] This lack of recognition continued to create tensions in the post-war era. In 1945, Noel Parrish, US Army Airforce brigadier general, who had worked with the Tuskegee Airmen, acknowledged that segregation in the military only hurt the military, especially in

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[19] Warren, *The Tuskegee Airmen Mutiny at Freeman Field*, n.p.

[20] Daniel L. Haulman, "Freeman Field Mutiny: Victory for Integration or Segregation?" in *Air Power History* 63 (2016): 41.

[21] Warren, *The Tuskegee Airmen Mutiny at Freeman Field*, 5-6.

[22] Haulman, "Freeman Field Mutiny," 43.

[23] "101 Airmen Jailed at Bomber Base: Arrested for Refusal to Sign Jim Crow Order Six Big Transport Planes Take Pilots to KY. Field," *The Chicago Defender,* April 21, 1945.

[24] "101 Airmen Jailed at Bomber Base."

[25] "101 Airmen Jailed at Bomber Base."

[26] "101 Airmen Jailed at Bomber Base."

[27] "101 Airmen Jailed at Bomber Base."

[28] Charlene E. McGee Smith, *Tuskegee Airman The Biography of Charles E. McGee: Air Force Fighter Combat Record Holder* (Boston: Branden Publishing Company, 1999), 65-66.

the Army Air Corps as it was essentially having a separate air force within the branch.[29] While Parrish focused more on financial and resource complications, his support represented a major step towards integration.

1948 became an important year in military history. The push for integration was growing. A prime example of this is an appeal sent to President Harry S. Truman by Reverand Grant Reynolds and A. Philip Randolph. Reynolds had served as a US Army chaplain during WWII until he resigned to protest segregation. On July 14, 1948, the men wrote to the president requesting that segregation be abolished in light of the new Selective Service Bill, which mandated the military to be kept at full strength. The letter appealed to the president's sense of morality. With the draft soon to be reinstated, Reynolds and Randolph argue that it was the "hope of all Negro youth that there will be an alternative beyond submission to a discriminatory law and imprisonment." As America was already dealing with many global issues, many in the government did not want to be worrying about the issue of segregation at the same time. Randolph and Reynolds also claimed that President Truman had enough authority to issue an executive order in favor of desegregation.[30]

On July 26, Truman issued an executive order desegregating the military and providing equal treatment for all.[31] This order was a victory for those who were fighting for integration. The success of the Tuskegee Airmen as a representation of the African American population finalized a goal long held by the black community The executive order passed in 1948 served as evidence that the goal of integration held back in 1941 was achievable, the Tuskegee Airmen just needed to prove to the rest of the world their great capabilities.

Through public influence driven by the example of the Tuskegee Airmen, segregation of the military ended. Yet while the general public supported the Airmen, many activists and groups like the NAACP did not support the program fearing it would perpetuate segregation. In the end, the program provided evidence that African Americans could do the same work as white men. The Tuskegee Airmen exceeded the expectations of those around them. Black-owned newspapers generally showed support for the program. Despite resistance from a military that largely did not see African Americans as on the same level as their white counterparts, through the hard work and dedication of the Tuskegee Airmen and their supporters, the United States Airforce changed for the better.

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[29] Todd J. Moye, *Freedom Flyers: The Tuskegee Airmen of World War II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2010), 146.

[30] Philip A. Randolph and Grant Reynolds, to President Harry S. Truman, July 15, 1948, *Documentary History of the Truman Presidency*, vol. 31, ed. Dennis Merrill (Charlottesville, VA: University Publications of America, 1995), 223.

[31] Executive Order 9981, July 26, 1948; General Records of the United States Government; Record Group 11; National Archives and Record Administration, accessed, 16 May 2024, https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/executive-order-9981.

World War I War Front and Home Front: The Correspondence that Brought Them Together

Michelle L. Thole

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World War I marked the first time American soldiers participated in a war at a distance from home that did not easily facilitate home furloughs. Although the United States and Europe are physically separated by more than 3,500 miles, the correspondence between soldiers and their families mitigated the physical and cognitive distance.

Historians of what was known at the time as the "Great War" have explored soldiers' contact with their families while in training camps and the US military's intentional cultivation of a balance between strong masculine and gentle feminine characteristics through that contact; the development of a network of Hostess Houses in which soldiers could find rest and entertainment and visiting families would have free accommodations; and how the relationship between home and war fronts was affected by total war mobilization. Benjamin Ziemann studied Bavarian soldiers' correspondence to determine the ways personal letters connected home and war fronts and how the soldiers experienced the war. This paper aims to contribute to scholarship on correspondence between home and war fronts from an exclusively American perspective, building upon Ziemann's analysis in his 2007 book *War Experiences in Rural Germany*, which concludes that death and destruction witnessed and partaken of by front line soldiers was not a brutalizing experience, rather it either faded in their memories or was transformed into an enhanced appreciation of home and family.[1]

Historiography

World War I scholarship in the past fifteen years has explored how the connection between home and war fronts was cultivated and maintained both before and after deployment. In an article, "Homespun Manhood and the War Against Masculinity," military masculinities scholar, Elizabeth Gagen showed that the US military prioritized family relationships to prepare soldiers for deployment and fortify their familial emotional connections through direct physical interaction at training camps. She determined that "the government and military invested significant resources in ensuring that soldiers were never brutalized, but instead encouraged protracted contact with home and family."[2] Gagen posited that the First World War marked a transition point in military masculinity from a hyper-masculine warrior identity to one more balanced between trained soldier and active member of a family. This transition was accomplished by intentionally involving both young women and older "foster" mothers in the lives of soldiers at camp under strictly controlled circumstances to reinforce their love for home and family, and by extension, their nation. Integrating

[1] Benjamin Ziemann, *War Experiences in Rural Germany, 1914-1923* (Oxford, UK ; Berg, 2007).

[2] Elizabeth A. Gagen, "Homespun Manhood and the War against Masculinity: Community Leisure on the US Home Front, 1917-19," *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* 16, no. 1 (February 2009): 24.

home space and military space prior to active duty did much to connect war and home fronts once the men were overseas.

The Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) constructed Hostess Houses within the perimeter of military camps as just-like-home spaces, where civilian and military life commingled when wives, mothers, and families arriving to visit their soldier loved ones were part of the intentional military effort identified by Gagen. Historian Cynthia Brandemarte sees these houses as key facets of the home front. Her scholarship is a counter narrative to the image of women on the home front as engaged with the war front through domestic aid such as bandage rolling, knitting, and sewing or taking the place of men in factories.[3] The women who lived in and ran the Hostess Houses often became mother figures for men whose mothers had died or were otherwise not part of their lives.

This blurring of home and war front through the actions and activities of women and families at home has received much scholarly attention. Tammy Proctor's book *Civilians in a World at War, 1914-1918* offers an excellent exploration of the extent to which the home front and war front were integrated structurally, politically, and emotionally. Through total mobilization, all citizens were active in participating in the war in some capacity—medical aid, buying war bonds, rationing, and sending letters and packages. Through their "fears and prejudices, their hopes and ideals," soldiers brought their homes with them to the war front just as much as the war was brought to their families on the home front.[4]

In addition to connecting war and home fronts through direct interaction with families in training camps and support for mobilization efforts, that attachment was maintained through correspondence. Many scholars have examined letters, postcards, and newspaper articles from the Great War. For this paper, Ziemann's analysis of rural German correspondence provides an example framework. He analyzed letters between rural German soldiers and their families to discern how the war affected both sides and how experiences overlapped. Ziemann drew a distinction between the subjective descriptions in letters and the objective media discourse on war experiences.[5] The subjective sources then allowed him to "evaluate the assertion that front line soldiers were generally 'brutalized' by their experience" and to "bring out the inner connections and interactions between wartime experiences at the front and at the home and thus to analyze both settings as one all-embracing context."[6] He concluded that the extraordinary death and destruction of the First World War was not a brutalizing experience for front line soldiers but that it translated into an enhanced appreciation of home and family or simply faded in their memories. Though the current study does not match Ziemann's in scope, it provides preliminary analysis of how the experiences of the Great War were similar or different between Germany and the United States. Preliminary conclusions offered here may be useful for further research.

Sociologist Norbert Elias has explored German social development since the Enlightenment as it pertains to the combination of conditions in which National Socialism and Adolf Hitler rose to prominence, including a climate of brutal violence in which a parliamentary republic was delegitimized.[7] He identified a tribal nationhood mentality rooted in the martial top-down organization of the German state; an organization schema diametrically opposed to that of much of

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[3] Cynthia Brandimarte, "Women on the Home Front: Hostess Houses during World War I," *Winterthur Portfolio* 42, no. 4 (December 2008): 201–22.

[4] Tammy M. Proctor, *Civilians in a World at War, 1914-1918* (New York: University Press, 2010). 28.

[5] Ziemann, *War Experiences.*

[6] ibid. 6-7.

[7] Norbert Elias, *The Germans: Power Struggles and the Development of Habitus in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.)

the rest of Europe. Interestingly, Elias's thesis establishes brutality as an early core characteristic of German culture, whereas Ziemann's rejects the idea of brutalization as an outcome of serving in the Great War.

Historian George L. Mosse also examines soldiers' experiences and their impact on national culture. His book *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* assesses the progression of the perception of war from the Napoleonic Wars through the Vietnam Conflict.[8] The death and devastation experienced during the Great War led many nations to seek a higher meaning in war, which Mosse calls a "Myth of the War Experience," an acceptance and trivialization of war juxtaposed against a glorification of the soldier as a hero or martyr. For Mosse, it was the hero/martyr myth and glorification of the war experience that led to a militant nationalism in Nazi Germany, not brutalization and desensitization of soldiers. Unlike Elias, Mosse's view align with Ziemann, both taking a wider view of the impact of war on society.

Methodology

Through analysis of the personal correspondence of four American military men serving in various branches of the armed forces and, where present, their families, this study seeks to demonstrate the close emotional and intellectual connection maintained between home and war fronts. Curry Thomas was a volunteer for the Naval Reserves from Virginia, writing to his half-sister, Ella. Emil Whitesides was an Army draftee from Utah writing to his parents, Ed and Mary. Max Ottenfeld was a volunteer for the Army from Wisconsin writing to his parents and family, and Edgar Andrews was an Army National Guardsman from Massachusetts writing to his parents, sister Sue, and uncle Frank who was also serving in France.

This paper explores four American soldiers' correspondence, demonstrating the close ties maintained between families and the role letters played in sustaining soldiers' humanity and sense of self during the death and devastation of the war. Each man served under different circumstances and in various branches of the armed forces. This paper operates as a test of Ziemann's thesis. Overall the thesis appears valid based on the research presented. For context, this study begins with a brief consideration of military censorship and its influence on wartime correspondence.

Military Censorship

According to Myron Fox, a past vice president of the Military Postal History Society, censorship of American military correspondence expanded in the Great War due to an increased literacy among active soldiers compared to previous American military engagements. Information censors looked primarily for unflattering information about the armed forces, intelligence useful to enemy forces, morale trends, and sexually explicit content. Censors appointed by commanding officers in the field were seldom multi-lingual, so they could not accurately evaluate letters written in languages other than their own. As a result, much correspondence was confiscated and destroyed in the field, whereas those processed by the base censor were opened and examined.[9] The military censored mail from both soldiers and families, although mail from the soldiers at the front was more

[8] George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.)

[9] "Censorship," International Encyclopedia of the First World War (WW1), accessed October 28, 2022, https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/censorship#:~:text=Thus%2C%20in%20all%20warring%20countries,to%20political%20matters%20as%20well.

uniformly scrutinized. Due to suspicion of German spies prowling the US East Coast, soldiers' mail went through the hands of censors before they even left the homeland.[10]

Authorities also tightly controlled and censored Civilian correspondence. British mail was sent through special censorship offices where letters were searched primarily for subversive ideas and letters from Americans passed through post offices established by the Central Censorship board and checked for connection to Spain, Latin America, and East Asia. Officials also monitored correspondence at blockade checkpoints where neutral countries' letters and parcels were included in the examination.[11]

The importance of correspondence between home and war fronts was emotionally and psychologically profound for both sides. Soldiers were reassured by incoming mail that they were remembered, loved, and still had a place in civilian life after the war. Letters communicated their safety, love, and advice. Families at home found comfort in the assurance of the safety of their loved ones with each letter received.[12] Letters, packages, and newspapers sent to soldiers at the front served as a vital connection to their families at home, conveying tangible food, clothing, and letters as well as the intangible love, warm sentiments, and encouragement that prompted their shipment; soldiers were assured that they had not been forgotten.[13] Knowing its importance, writers frequently attempted to circumvent censorship efforts through codes, allusions known only to the writer and reader.[14] American soldiers arrived in combat much later in the war and for a much shorter time than their allied brethren, so they had less exposure to the constraints of official censorship. This impacted the level of circumvention and self-censorship employed by American soldiers.

The Letters

Curry Thomas

The correspondence between Curry Thomas, a volunteer for the Naval Reserves from Virginia, and his half-sister, Ella, preserved in *The Virginia Baptist Register*, consists of eleven excerpts from letters. Though the record is sparse and indicates Curry was only involved in one foray to the front, it nonetheless reveals a deep affection between the solider and his sister. During his training cruises along the East Coast, he wrote to Ella of the demands of training and watch duties—and the fearsome size of the mosquitoes. Curry said he "never knew they grew so large."[15] Ella's concern for her stepbrother and her eagerness to do what she could to improve both his health and comfort is evident in the swift arrival of her package of citronella, mentioned in a letter only four weeks before.

The excerpts mention two furloughs, one before sailing for Europe and one just after returning. On both Curry visited his mother, finding restful quiet and joy. In October and November of 1918, he noted that the influenza outbreak appeared to him to be worse in the United States than in Europe, and he shared his relief that his family had not been infected. The final two excerpts demonstrate a determination to build a postwar life at home. "I feel that my place is at

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[10] Scott L Kent, "Letters from the Western Front: The Correspondence of American Doughboys and American Censorship during the Great War 1917–1918 - ProQuest," accessed October 16, 2022.

[11] "Censorship | International Encyclopedia.

[12] "War Letters: Communication between Front and Home Front," *International Encyclopedia of the First World War (WW1)*," accessed October 28, 2022.

[13] Proctor, *Civilians in a World at War,* 32.

[14] Andrea McKenzie, "Correspondence, Constructs, and Qualification in World War I," *Canadian Journal of Communication* 26, no. 2 (February 2001): 255–76.

[15] Lamar Thomas, "WWI Letters of Curry Thomas," *The Virginia Baptist Register* 55 (2016). 4111.

home…In the Navy you give up any idea of ever having a home and I am one of the home-loving kind," he wrote.[16] Just two months prior, Thomas had written that he planned to remain in the Navy. The rapid change to his plans indicates how his military service fortified his attachment to his home and family.

From Curry Thomas' letters, we can make two connections with the rural German soldiers studied by Ziemann. The first is the two furloughs, where he found joy and rest visiting his mother. These correlate with Ziemann's findings that time away from the front was looked forward to as a break from the stress of military life and a chance to "enjoy seeing their loved ones again."[17] The second is Curry's determination to build a life at home after the war, which parallels Ziemann's finding that "pleasant discourse revolved around a wish to return to the family, a community both of everyday life and of production."[18]

Emil Whitesides

The archive of letters sent between Emil Whitesides, an Army draftee from Utah, and his family is extensive. For these purposes, it will be studied through the analysis presented by Rebecca Anderson in her article, "'Dear Son Emil': The Whitesides Family Letters." Anderson's depictions of the correspondence provides insight to how the family remained close over the time and distance of Emil's deployment in France.

In addition to the surely universal requests for more and longer correspondence, which of itself speaks to the intimacy of the family and the importance of physical items to hold and cherish in place of people, the stationary chosen by each writer identifies them and represents their character.[19] Emil's father chose to write primarily about the farm in almost narrative form using stationary with his employer's letterhead, while his mother was much more poetic in her descriptions of the actions surrounding her and wrote on plain paper. Though the forms they chose were different, each sought to send "home" to Emil through their letters. His mother wrote, "[I] just want to make you think of home as it is, so you can seem nearer."[20] Likewise, Emil sent vivid descriptions of the French countryside home to his family. Emil's family correspondence was so dear to him that he burned the letters he had kept when he thought he might move closer to the front. Perhaps the most important way Emil maintained a close relative proximity to his family was through his commitment to openly maintain his Latter-day Saint identity and faith. He wrote often to his family about opportunities to attend services and his resistance to the vices of liquor, cigarettes, and sex that surround him.

As was seen in Curry Thomas' correspondence, Whitesides' letters connect to Ziemann's research in two ways. First, his father's very business-like letters written on workplace stationery primarily about the farm and Emil's vivid descriptions of the French countryside provide a symmetry with Ziemann's Bavarian farmers who wrote a "litany of discussions on livestock process, how the crops were doing, the slaughtering weight of pigs, and so on…document[ing] their ongoing emotional ties with the civilian contexts from which they came," avoiding descriptions of the realities of the war.[21] Second, Emil's commitment to openly maintain his Latter-day Saint identity

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[16] Thomas. "WWI Letters". 4113.

[17] Ziemann, *War Experiences*. 48.

[18] ibid. 270.

[19] Rebecca Andersen, "'Dear Son Emil': The Whitesides Family Letters, 1917–1919," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 86, no. 3 (July 1, 2018): 273.

[20] Andersen, "'Dear Son Emil,'" 274.

[21] Ziemann, *War Experiences*. 118.

and faith accords with the importance of religion to Bavarian soldiers serving in France. Ziemann discovered that Catholicism, the dominant faith in Bavaria, was an important factor in stabilizing and sustaining the mental and emotional health of soldiers, particularly as they wrote in their letters requests for prayers for their safety.[22] Though Emil's faith served to maintain his identity rather than comfort him in the face of potential death, both outcomes reinforce the idea that frontline soldiers did not fundamentally change during the war because of their connection to their home front lives.

Max Ottenfeld

Max Ottenfeld was an Army volunteer from Wisconsin writing to his parents and family—the "folks." The record of Max's available letters is more extensive than either Curry's or Emil's, though still containing only letters sent home. The First Division Museum website has numbered the letters up to 91 though only 25 are published on the organization's website; there is no context or explanation for the omission of the remaining correspondence.[23]

Max served in the Signal Corp and wrote extensively to his family about his training in Texas, even sending a written sample of the "Wig-Wag" flag signaling system to wish his family "A Merry Christmas" in December of 1917.[24] The letters Max sent his "folks" from training camp are the longest in the collection and routinely open with a wish of good health to his family and a quick reassurance of his own. He gives several accounts of excursions and entertainments provided by the Y.M.C.A. and Knights of Columbus, the girls he took out, and his continuing training.

Max enlisted with two of his friends, Jake and Wally. Several of Max's letters relay information to his family about Jake's and Wally's circumstances to pass on, including when he and his friends were separated by different assignments once they arrived at the front. "You ask in your letter if I heard from Jake or Wally lately. No, I haven't heard from—either for a long time. That is I haven't since August and not at all from Wally since I came over here. I suppose their mail is delayed somewhere also," wrote Max.[25]

Max's early letters from both Texas and England are filled with descriptions of his days, training, eating, "loafing," and often having a good time. But the mood and tone shifted in letter #16 after his arrival in Europe. While he continued to speak of how he was spending his time, he began to include a great many more questions for his family. He asked about their work and expressed his concern when it was not going well, if they had been receiving the allotments he sent home, and how his brother and sister were doing with work, school, and letter writing. At the conclusion of his signal training in France, he anticipated being sent to the front and openly expressed concern, not knowing what he should do with his personal items and letters. His anxiety was also apparent in a drop in his signal examination scores; once he scored high enough, he would be shipped out.

A second shift can be seen in letter #40 when Max wrote from a hospital in France, where he was recovering from an exposure to gas. He was still cheerful about his "chow" and eager to reassure his family of his safety but also anxious about not receiving any letters since leaving the Signal School for the front. A couple of lines in the letter described his experience at the front. "Since I wrote last, I have been through h—a good many times but still am alive and kicking. I've

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[22] Ibid,127-131.

[23] Without doubt, more conclusive findings would be possible with access to the entire collection, particularly if the withheld letters had been sent to Max from his family rather than the reverse or if they were omitted from publication due to sensitive or controversial content.

[24] "Letters From WWI," First Division Museum, accessed November 21, 2022. Letter #5.

[25] "Letters From WWI," Letter #45.

been over the 'tops' a good many times since then and have seen all of the worst horrors of the war. Seeing dead and wounded now is nothing new to me."[26] By far, this letter had the most questions for his family of any in the collection. As Max continued his recovery on light duty at a hospital in Luxembourg, he seemed to recover his positive outlook; in letter #45, sent about a month after letter #40, he resumed his long and cheerful style of writing that he used while in the Waco, Texas camps, full of descriptions of his day-to-day activities. It is likely that the signing of the armistice contributed to his improved mood.

After leaving Luxembourg, Ottenfeld relayed to his family his experience utilizing his knowledge of German to work as an interpreter. He further explained that he worked without any animosity and hostility towards the Germans. The people of Luxembourg were shocked to hear him speak and understand German so well and even more so that he learned it from "living among German people" in his community, not from school or being of German descent.[27] One letter from this time provides insight into his family's side of the correspondence since Ottenfeld specifically referred to letters his family had sent. They had begun to plan to celebrate his homecoming, wanted to know what division he was placed with after he left the hospital, expressed how glad they were to get a letter from him, and shared that things at home were starting to go "back to pre-war ways."[28]

The group of letters #60 through #70 from Max were during his prolonged recovery from an illness suspected of being influenza, as well as waiting for his many lost teeth to be replaced and to finally be sent home. The letters revealed a low time for Max, as he was not getting letters, the weather was bad, and he was confined to the hospital grounds. He complained of being unable to write a good letter because he was nowhere near "news" and that he had no mail since being separated from his unit; still, he seems to write every day asking questions about the work at home, the returning "boys," how life has changed since the armistice, and the progression of the weather, though a few of his letters from this time are only a couple of paragraphs. During his hospital stays, Max more intensely sought comfort from his family through their letters while his mood and tone shifted, as seen in the increased number of questions for his family and his anxiety about not receiving any letters. This suggests that Max's injury, illness, and the lack of communication from home distressed him and that his connection to home was critical to his physical and emotional health.

The letters written during his recovery from possible influenza appeared on the Jewish Welfare Board and Red Cross letterheads; a Jewish Army Chaplain had spoken to him in the hospital, and offered him writing paper, news, and company. The mention of the Jewish Welfare Board and the conversation with the chaplain are the first indications of Max's Jewish faith contained in the letters published by the First Division Museum. In contrast to Emil and the Bavarian soldiers in Ziemann's study, it does not appear that Max's faith was especially important to him in sustaining his will to fight or in retaining his identity.

Letters #76, 82, and 86 present Max as a changed man from the one who began writing from Texas in December of 1917. He has been discharged from the evacuation hospital and finally gotten back to his unit and the letters that awaited him there. The Max writing in April 1919 was much more conscientious of his family and solicitous of how they were living, their health, and the wellbeing of their collective friends. He lamented his parents' moving from Wisconsin to Chicago, but he assured them positively "anything under 2000 miles is walking distance."[29] There is hardly any mention of food, when his previous letters regularly described how well he was fed or complained

[26] Ibid, Letter #40.
[27] Ibid, Letter #45.
[28] Ibid, Letter #56.
[29] Ibid, Letter #82A.

of how bad the food was. He still told his family about the places he visited, but more than half of the letters were about *them* and for the first time, he sent "Best regards to Uncle, Aunt, Harry and the rest" as part of the closing of his letter.[30]

Clearly, Max Ottenfeld was impacted by his service during the Great War; he matured into a greater appreciation of his family and home over himself. Over the course of 21 months and traveling through Missouri, Texas, New York, England, France, Luxembourg, and Germany, he went from a carefree and inwardly focused man to a conscientious one, aware of the importance of family, home, and connections. There is no indication that what he experienced brutalized or desensitized him, that he developed any particular love for violence, or a hatred of the enemy. Rather, his experiences during the Great War did the opposite; they fostered a softer side appreciative of those who loved him, his own life, and how those aspects enrich him more than the pleasures of food and fun.

Max Ottenfeld's letters corroborate Ziemann's analytical findings in ways different from Curry's or Emil's. Max's experience offering to interpret German without any hatred or hostility toward the Germans equates with Bavarian soldiers demonstrating a similar lack of animosity toward the enemy. Though they wrote about their outrage toward Italy after the spring of 1915, Ziemann asserted that it was due to a sense of betrayal; "notions demonizing other countries as the enemy and the stereotypes bound up with them failed to sway how soldiers from rural areas interpreted the war."[31] Interestingly, the lines Max wrote describing his experience at the front deviate from Ziemann's observations in communicating his dangerous activities and injuries. Most Bavarian soldiers "hesitated to tell their relatives about moments of particular danger, or sometimes even injuries, because they wished to avoid 'making [their] loved ones' hearts even heavier.'"[32] Whether this indicates that Max as an American possessed a level of frankness that the average Bavarian soldier did not or that it was simply an individual characteristic must be determined by additional analysis of American soldiers' World War I correspondence.

Max recounts several excursions and entertainment provided by the Y.M.C.A. and Knights of Columbus. Though these entertainments and diversions are not part of Ziemann's analysis, the scholarship of Gagen and Brandemarte on the importance ascribed to familial attachment by the US military in combination with the enthusiasm with which Max refers to them indicate that they were important connections to his home life.

Edgar Andrews

Edgar Andrews was an Army National Guardsman from Massachusetts writing to his parents, sister Sue, and uncle Frank, who was also serving in France. Of the four men selected for this study, Edgar's collection is the only one including letters from home, allowing for a more thorough analysis of the connection between war and home fronts as communicated via wartime letters.

Edgar arrived in France in October of 1917. He filled letters from his early time in Europe with descriptions of the drills and training he and his comrades undertook. He recognized the hardships and danger of his situation but also saw opportunities to travel and learn. He remained well aware of the censorship of outgoing letters, telling his family frequently that he wished he could alleviate their fears by telling them more about where he was and what he was doing but could not on the account of the censors. On March 29, 1918, he wrote to his mother, "It is useless for me to

[30] Ibid.
[31] Ziemann, *War Experiences*. 138.
[32] Ibid, 118.

tell you what has been going on for it would be cut out by the censor." In fact, almost two of every three letters in the collection bears the approval mark of a superior officer. While the censorship was most consistent in the early letters, it waned as Edgar's unit became involved in more heavy action, and oversight disappeared entirely with the armistice.

Like Max, many of the men in Edgar's battalion were friends or acquaintances from home, and he wrote home about them often. He recognized the physical changes in his friends and told Sue she will "not know lots of the boys when we get home. Some look older while others look five years younger."[33] Of the men he billeted with, he spoke kindly, though by the end of his service, he wrote much less about his comrades except to lament how many of them have died.

By December of 1917, Edgar was involved in action. As part of a group "bringing in several hundred horses from one town to another," he injured his ribs when thrown from one of the horses. He wrote about the incident in separate letters to his mother, father, and sister though the telling was different for each. He wrote his mother first, but his father received the most detail. Edgar's concerns were different for each parent; he wanted to assure his mother of his treatment and recovery while his father was told a more adventurous version.[34] Though the way he told the story varied according to his audience, it was clearly important to him to keep his family abreast of his health and reassure them of his safety.

Edgar showed a tendency to plan for his future. He asked his mother to put money that he sent home into savings or insurance (minus what she might need for herself). After facing particularly brutal combat, he told his family that he wanted "the simple country life…lots of room to move about in and lots of pure country air."[35] Edgar informed Sue in an April 10, 1918 letter that he wanted to have a good time just walking into a restaurant with her and ordering a sandwich and glass of milk when he got home. It is a mundane and everyday event to have lunch with one's sister, but writing about a place they both know and thinking of the ordinary suggests he wanted to return to the normalcy of his life with his family before the war.

Just before the first major US military engagement at Seicheprey in April 1918, Edgar indicated that he knew he would be advancing to the front and was apprehensive. He repeated a phrase of uncertainty he used previously in reference to the life insurance policy he took out, "you never can tell what might happen." He let his family know in a way that alerted them without drawing the attention of censors: "after next week my mail might be slower as I don't expect to be able to write as often for a little while." The Andrews' family and friends closely followed the war's progress through the newspapers so they could use Edgar's clues to get some level of news of him when he was unable to write himself. He gave another clue in his letter when he thanked his mother for the checkerboard she sent, appreciative of its suitability for travel and providing "many pleasant hours…when we hit the trenches."[36] In July of 1918, he again counted on the newspapers to tell his family of the engagements he was involved in, choosing his words carefully due to the ever-present threat of the censors. Following the Second Battle of the Marne, he wrote to his mother, "You will notice by the date that I am still in good health and very well at this very important time."[37] Edgar knew by the time he wrote his letter and his mother received it, the events of the battle would have been published at home. Indeed, they were. She wrote back to Edgar upon receiving that news: "Your letter of July 30 just received, you can imagine how very welcome it was. I don't know when I

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[33] Edgar D. Andrews Collection (AFC/2001/001/103623), Veterans History Project, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress. Letter Jan. 6, 1918.

[34] Andrews Collection, Letters Dec. 17 & 21, 1917.

[35] Ibid, Letter May 26, 1918.

[36] Ibid, Letter Jan. 27, 1918.

[37] Ibid, Letter July 30, 1918.

received anything that gave Sue & I more real joy. Pa will be home tomorrow, and he will be just as happy as we are. We have know[n] that you were in [the] thick of the fighting this month and have anxiously watched the papers to follow your movements."[38] In the time Edgar had spent at the front, he had learned how to circumvent the censors in getting information to his family, perhaps from his own experiences with censorship or from the advice of more seasoned European soldiers.

Sue, Edgar, and their mother told each other of their dreams on several occasions. Edgar dreamed of Sue playing the piano, while Sue dreamed of Edgar and the future, and their mother dreamed of Edgar and uncle Frank together on a walk.[39] Sue even tells Edgar that she wished she could be transported to where he was through her dreams so she could see him; she would "retire nights at 5:30 so as to avoid the rush."[40] Everyone dreams but not everyone or every family communicates their dreams to each other; the fact that the Andrews family does indicates that they thought of one another often and that they used their dream stories to maintain a close connection during Edgar's deployment. Another way Edgar made his family feel close was to name his dugout after his sister. He painted a sign, "Villa Suzon" with a dove and flower, and hung it over the door as a visual reminder of his favorite person in the safest place he had at the front.[41] In doing so, he equated family and home with safety and happiness.

By May of 1918, Edgar had been on active duty for six months. Still, he used his limited supply of letter writing materials to describe the beauty of his surroundings—the sunshine, green grass, fair weather, singing birds and owls, and the tame foxes taken in by another group of boys—noting how unfortunate it was to be fighting a war in a place like that. The intentional effort to appreciate the simple splendor of his surroundings in spite of the circumstances is evident in the next line: "As you must know the song of birds is not the only thing we hear or the spring flowers the only thing we see, but they are the best."[42] While clearly aware of the violence and horrors that surrounded him, Edgar was certainly not being brutalized by his experiences in the trenches of the Western Front.

Edgar sent very few letters between August and October of 1918, but his mother and sister sent many to him (for whatever reason there are no letters in the record from Edgar's father). His mother faithfully relayed the steady stream of callers inquiring after his safety, the movement of his father in his work for the railroad, what she learned of the war in the papers, and her anxiety for his physical and mental health. From his sister, he learned of the social events of Boston and all the fellows courting her. Each of these elements of civilian life recalled the vitality of Edgar's home and family and gave no indication of serious concern for Edgar becoming desensitized to violence only "discouraged and downhearted" to which Edgar replied, "never fear, dear sister…I sometimes feel that way, but after thinking of what has taken place since that happy bunch of fellows left the camp at Framingham, I have to laugh, not because there is anything funny about it, but because I am still alive and have all my faculties and that alone is enough to keep anybody happy."[43]

Edgar's letters confirm Ziemann's findings in three ways. First, Edgar wrote often about his plans after the war. Ziemann's rural soldiers also viewed their time at the front as a temporary disruption and looked forward to returning to their civilian lives; the experiences of violence and the soldier comradery of military life did not deter them from wanting to get their lives "back on track

[38] Ibid, Letter Aug. 16, 1918.
[39] Ibid, Letters April 10, May 9, & August 16, 1918.
[40] Ibid, Letter July 31, 1918.
[41] Ibid, Letters May 27 & June 1, 1918.
[42] Ibid, Letter May 26, 1918.
[43] Ibid, Letter October 18, 1918.

after the return home"[44] Second, he sent news home about loved ones at the front. Soldiers from rural Germany too drew comfort from serving with others from their communities and "made much of such encounters in their letters and memoirs."[45] Third, Edgar's conscious choice to contrast the beauty of his surroundings with the ugliness of the war matches the rural German's tendency to write about farm business and avoid attempting to describe their war front experiences.[46] The letters to Edgar from his mother and sister are slight deviations from the findings of Ziemann. While they support Ziemann's conclusion in that they give no indication of serious concern for Edgar becoming desensitized to violence, neither do they lament the wartime conditions at home. Ziemann notes that many peasant German women grew despondent in their communications to their husbands; this difference may be due to the prolonged hardships they endured in relation to American women.[47]

Conclusion

The letters of Curry Thomas, Emil Whitesides, Max Ottenfeld, and Edgar Andrews are unremarkable—that is what makes them supportive of Benjamin Ziemann's conclusions about the effects of front-line experience on Bavarian soldiers. Studying the contents of the correspondence in ways unconnected to social structures and mentalities, allows Ziemann to fill a gap in World War I historiography. His study of wartime correspondence and activities of a specific group of German World War I soldiers and veterans challenges notions that they embodied "the discontinuity produced by the experience of war…uprooting, brutalization, and the aggressive reordering of social relations."[48] Tensions brewed within the German army between regional forces. German forces also suffered significant war weariness effects due to the longevity and harsh conditions of the war. Still, though they felt themselves to be victims of a regime's efforts to advance their own interests, Ziemman concludes they did not feel uprooted or brutalized.[49]

Curry Thomas' restful quiet and joy visiting his mother on furlough and his determination to build a life at home after the war, Emil Whitesides' dedication to his faith and conversations with his father about the farm and the beautiful French countryside, Max Ottenfeld's emotional growth and interactions with Europeans translating German without any animosity, and Edgar Andrews' plans for his future and his assurances sent home about loved ones at the front, and his family's seeming faith that Edgar was not becoming desensitized to violence all confirm Ziemann's findings that "most front-line troops made a constant effort to prevent ties with their civilian identity and families from being severed. This effort depended on a constant stream of communication reaching the field by means of the armed forces' postal service."[50]

What remains to be done now is a further expansion of this initial examination of American correspondence and the extension of the study to other nations' Great War letters, memoirs, diaries, and veterans' activities. In fact, to have his theories subject to further research and analysis was among Ziemann's goals.[51]

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[44] Ziemann, *War Experiences*. 122.
[45] Ibid, 116.
[46] Ibid, 118.
[47] Ibid,. 158.
[48] Ibid, 1.
[49] Ibid, 270.
[50] Ibid, 118.
[51] Ibid, 3.

Exoticism and Orientalism in Claude Debussy's "Arabesque no. 1"

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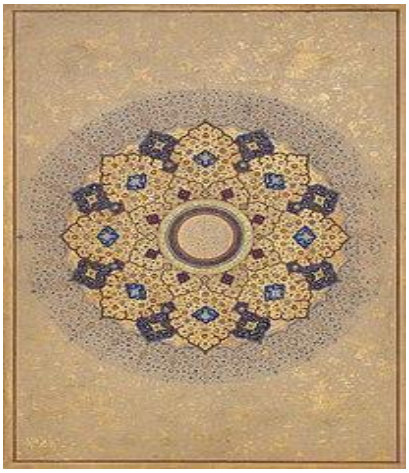
How evocative of Arab music is Claude Debussy's "Arabesque no. 1" for solo piano? Surely, a piece entitled "Arabesque" must have some semblance of Arab musical culture or tradition. In truth, Debussy's "Arabesque no.1" is not "arab-esque" at all—and neither is it arabesque, the ornamental musical style of French Impressionism, Arab. As this study argues, the arabesque is distinctly French. But why is the arabesque and the piano solo for which it is eponymously named, devoid of any Arab musical character? This paper provides a brief history of the arabesque, as well as a musical analysis of "Arabesque no. 1." It will explain how Orientalism, a critical study of the West's construction of the East popularized by Edward W. Said, influences exoticism in this musical piece. It seeks to expose Debussy's "Arabesque no. 1" as an example of Orientalism in music because its exoticist character derives from 19th century French aesthetic preferences based on colonial perceptions of the Orient as the "other."



Unknown Artist, Rosette bearing the names and titles of shah Jahan, c. 1645. Image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Arabesque refers to many aesthetic attributes from the visual artistic style of early Islamic architecture and design to the late 19th century French impressionist musical style. This study will focus on the arabesque as applied to the visual medium found in art and architecture and the arabesque as applied to musicrefer. It refers to them as the visual arabesque and musical arabesque respectively. Perhaps surprisingly (or unsurprisingly for those familiar with French colonialism), arabesque is a term not derivative of any Arabic primary sources, medieval Islamic traditions, or Arab cultures but rather French; itself is further derivative from the Italian arabesco. Even a surface level analysis of the word gives away its character of being arab-esque or "arab-like." Immediately evident in its etymology, we come to understand the term arabesque itself as alienating in its inception. This alienation is apparent because the designation of what is considered "Arab" here is being determined by westerners. Historically, Europeans of the 14th century Renaissance described the ornamental, floral, and geometrically rhythmic designs found in 8th to 9th century Islamic art and architecture as arabesque, including visual arabesques until the 16th-century. As observed below, these patterns are notably geometric.

Much of the cultural contexts behind the artistic and aesthetic preferences of what Europeans have dubbed arabesque are still the subject of much debate and are largely unknown. Some argue the geometric designs have a theological significance and relationship to Islam. However, these arguments are suspect because there exists no written evidence of early Islamic artists' intentions or motivations for their artwork.[1] Stronger arguments have been made relating

[1] Yasser Tabbaa, *The Transformation of Islamic Art during the Sunni Revival* (University of Washington Press, 2001), 74-77.

these designs to Islamic mathematics.[2] What is known, however, is that the people and cultures from areas where these works originate were not the ones to describe them as arabesque. The arabesque is a western designation. In this way, the arabesque is an excellent example of Orientalism in that the Orient is a western construction. Edward W. Said, a scholar of English and Comparative Literature who revolutionized Orientalism as a field of critical study writes, "[f]rom the beginning of Western speculation about the Orient, the one thing the Orient could not do was to represent itself. Evidence of the Orient was credible only after it had passed through and been made firm by the refining fire of the Orientalist's work."[3] It is here, through Said's analysis, that I find the conception of arabesque as a product of the larger construction of the Orient by the West. Arabesque is only arabesque after having been interpreted by the western Orientalist. By its nature, it can only be legitimized by Orientalists.

To elaborate further, Orientalism as a term refers to many different things simultaneously. The Oxford Dictionary defines Orientalism as "the representation of Asia, especially the Middle East, in a stereotyped way that is regarded as embodying a colonialist attitude."[4] This is a fair but somewhat reductive definition. Orientalism in the academic sense, refers to an antiquated title for western scholars known as Orientalists who study, define, and demystify the Orient (also referred to as the East). The Orient refers to the cultures, peoples, and the geographic space from North Africa, Middle East, Asia, East Asia, to South Asia but Orientalism in the academic sense typically refers to the Middle East.

The term Orientalist has fallen out of fashion because of its vague ambiguity and association with western colonial domination and colonialist attitudes. However, according to Said, the impact of Orientalism pervades and permeates in academic fields studying the East despite a change in terminology.[5] In Said's Orientalism, the West constructs the Orient more than seeks to understand peoples from the region. From this perspective, study of the visual and musical arabesques reveals more about late 19th century French colonial attitudes than it will reveal about anything "Arab."

Furthermore, what relationship can be made between the musical arabesque and Orientalism and where does Debussy's "Arabesque no. 1" fit in? President of Bard College and conductor, Leon Botstein, illuminates the character of French Orientalism in music quite comprehensively in his program notes for the concert *Orientalism in France* performed on February 10th, 2012 at Carnegie Hall. He notes that,

> "The term Orientalism does not refer to characteristics or ethnicities located in a massive geographical region that spread from northern Africa, through the Middle East all the way to Asia, termed indiscriminately in 19th-century Europe as the 'Orient.' Rather, it refers to a European fascination and obsession with distant cultures based on an historic accumulation of preconceptions and stereotypes. These developed in the European imagination before the Crusades. They lasted for centuries, with residues still visible in contemporary European and American representations of Islam and Asia. Their currency was enhanced by the experience of colonial and imperial expansion in the 18th and 19th centuries."[6]

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[2] Sheila R. Canby, *Islamic Art in Detail* (London: The British Museum Press, 2005), 20-21.

[3] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 283.

[4] *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

[5] Said, *Orientalism,* 2.

[6] Leon Botsetin, program notes for the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra*, Orientalism in France*, February 12, 2012, Carnegie Hall, accessed May 1, 2023, https://www.leonbotstein.com/blog/orientalism-in-france.

Botstein then delineates an expansive list of French composers interested in evoking and appropriating the Orient for their own artistic goals. Clearly there existed an obsession in 19th century France music with the "exotic other" and according to Botstein, this particular brand of obsession begins with the colonial conquest of Napoleon Bonaparte. As French economic and political power began to wane after its defeat in the Napoleonic Wars of 1815 and later in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, so arose a cultural desire for a new French tradition. A French state and civil society increasingly insecure in their national identity reclaimed their loss of imperial status in the cultural appropriation of the Orient. Botstein continues,

> "A parallel response, evident already at mid-century, was to enhance French distinctiveness by instilling music with elements of the exotic and Orientalism. Bizet's Djamileh can be seen as the musical equivalent of the paintings of Henri Regnault (1843–71), whose Salome and Summary Execution evoke the kind of Orientalist exoticism that became wildly popular at mid-century. The exoticism in French art and music derived from Moorish Spain (North Africa) and the entire Ottoman Empire, as well as Asia (note Debussy's use of a Japanese print for the publication of La mer) and sub-Saharan Africa. Ultimately, it was the Indian subcontinent and the Middle and Far East that seemed to offer the most fertile ground for French Orientalism. This is because, unlike southern Africa or Polynesia, these areas contained civilizations that could be made as complex or reductive as the European artist required. And furthermore, they were seen as decayed and deteriorated, which meant they appeared not competitive with Europe. Although the "primitive" regions of the Pacific might satisfy a Gauguin who tried to escape occidental civilization, a French artist could easily to turn to the East if he or she wanted to say something important about France. At the core of much of the appropriation of the "oriental" in 19th-century music was the intent to critique and explore all things Western, notably familiar romantic mores regarding sexuality and sensuality."[7]

Orientalism in late 19th century France here functions as a vehicle for composers to explore French identity and culture and, as Said suggests, Orientalism illuminates more about the culture that appropriates than the culture it seeks to evoke. The Orient's complexity was malleable and functioned to serve the West. This malleability appears in the arabesque. The arabesque evokes a medieval Islamic "other" that is simultaneously complex and reductive: It is complex in its rich cultural production of art and architecture but reductive in its primitive backwardness and submission to western domination. To the Orientalist, the Orient is frozen in time and maintains a closer proximity to "human nature" because of it. As previously established, the visual arabesque refers to Islamic art from the 8th to 16th century. This spans an incredible amount of time, geographic space, ethnic identities, and cultures which reduces them into a single homogeneous "other" that has not changed or progressed since the medieval era. When French Impressionists utilize the arabesque to express an aesthetic distinctly French, these are the models of the Orient they are interpreting, imitating, and reconstructing for their own projects that further reproduce colonial relationships, attitudes, and dichotomies between East and West.

Subsequently, because the Orient is frozen in time, it shares similar qualities to the West's own past.[8] Louis Laloy, a musicologist, music critic, Sinologist, and close friend of Claude Debussy,

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[7] Botsetin, *Orientalism in France.*

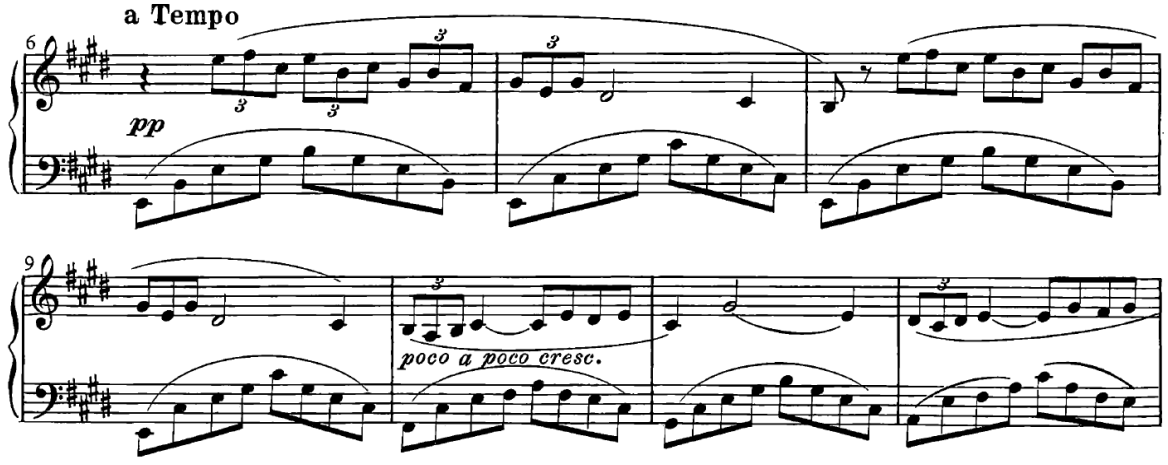
[8] Alexandra Kieffer, *Debussy's Critics: Sound, Affect, and the Experience of Modernism: Music as Truth* (New York: Oxford Academic, 2019), 215.

demonstrates this "frozen in time" perception of the Orient in his writing on Gregorian chant. Laloy says,

> "Exotic music, music of the East and the Far East, has also, in recent years, inspired more than one of our young composers. But if they have been able to imitate these melodies and sonorities with such pleasure, is it not precisely because they came to them without bias, accustomed to notating and harmonizing modes other than major and minor? All the liberty of our music, all its variety of accent, all of its chordal richness and its ease of manner—it owes these qualities to Gregorian chant, in which lives again, as in the vaulted ceilings and rose windows of our cathedrals, the spirit of the Christian Middle Ages."[9]

Laloy is referencing Debussy here, among other Impressionists. To Laloy, the young French composers owe their ability to imitate the music of the East and the Far East to their foundation in Gregorian chant. In his view, Gregorian chant and "exotic" music are similar because they are both liberated from the confines of either major or minor modal frameworks. Laloy implies that they are free from the highly harmonic structures because they represent a more natural form of music. In a sense, he means primitive music. Oddly, he praises music of the East as more liberating; his characterization is that of being "stuck in the past" is a seemingly backhanded compliment.

The aesthetics of French Impression specific to the musical arabesque are best characterized by the imitation of the ornamental, curvilinear, and interlacing visuals of its visual art counterpart. That, however, is not to suggest that the visual and musical arabesques co-developed in the same period. In the late 19th century, French composers composed in the musical arabesque style, which was based on the visual arabesque of early Islamic art. The visual arabesque came first and the musical arabesque later. According to Brown and Hamilton, the arabesque in music utilizes three key compositional devices: development of a theme using counterpoint, the use of gruppetti (trills or turns), and rapidly changing harmonies that avoid strong cadential motion from the dominant to tonic.[10]



Claude Debussy, Arabesque no. 1 (Paris, Durand et Schoenewerk, 1891).

[9] Louis Laloy, *Le Chant Grégorien: Et Le Musique Française* (Paris: Le Mercure Musical, 1907), 81.

[10] Maurice J.E. Brown, revised by Kenneth L. Hamilton, *Arabesque(i) (Ger. Arabeske) (*Oxford University Press, 2001).

These compositional techniques create a sonic image of the arabesque and characterize its exoticism. Counterpoint and gruppetti are key components in evoking the interlacing and interwoven character of the visual arabesque. This was combined with changing harmonies that avoid strong harmonic chordal motion and a melody based largely in E major pentatonic, avoiding tension tones such as Fa and Ti, a captivating image is drawn. Debussy's "Arabesque no.1" complicates these stylistic techniques further by engaging a 3 over 4 polyrhythm between an arpeggiated left hand and a gruppetto right hand. This technical challenge is what makes the "Arabesque no.1" so attractive to piano students and performers alike. These polyrhythms further elevate the piece as an aural metaphor and a recreation of the visual medium it is seeking to embody. Even a cursory examination of the sheet music and notation of Debussy's Arabesque no.1 evokes the visual aesthetic of arabesque with its intertwining lines of 8th notes over 8th note triplets. The curvilinear, interlacing foliage, and geometric shapes apparent in the musical notation are brought to life in their performance.

Returning to Laloy, his use of the word "imitate" is illuminating. Where is the imitation in exoticist music? Arabesque no.1 does not attempt to replicate any musical tradition native to any Arab culture or Islamic tradition. Authentic imitation is not the goal of "Arabesque no. 1" or the musical arabesque in general. Imitation is of visual art, rather than musical sounds is the aim. As previously established, Debussy creates exoticism in his use of pentatonics and avoidance of strong harmonic motion. The sounds of Arabesque no.1 and indeed the vast majority of exoticist Impressionist music is only vaguely Eastern. In other words, arabesque represents a musical caricature. The caricature suggested by "Arabesque no. 1" is an Orient that is foreign and liberated in its "naturalness." The imitation is not of an authentic East but of the western construction of it. It is quite possible that the inspiration for Debussy in his composition of this piece was the romanticized image of the East. The beauty of "Arabesque no. 1" cannot then be divorced from its desire to portray the exotic Orient as "stuck in the past."

Furthermore, a discussion of the arabesque is incomplete without engaging with discourse on "absolute music" from the late 19th century. Both iconography and depictions of the anthropomorphic in early Islamic art are absent from arabesque, which has led to much speculation by the western scholars, historians, archaeologists, and indeed orientalists. Whatever social, cultural, or political conditions that allowed for the visual arabesque to proliferate are still to be determined. This indeterminacy, however, has not impeded western philosophers and music critics from deriving their own conclusions about the musical arabesque as an example of "absolute music." According to musicologist Zarah Sophia Ersoff, professor of musicology and cultural studies Kant saw the arabesque as having some proximity to purity, as well as having utility for communicating idealist philosophy and its characteristics. Kant's claim that the arabesque has neither "motivation nor content" lacks evidence. Again, the origins of the arabesque are subject to much speculation and could not be determined to have been constructed in the manner Kant suggests. Kant's position on the arabesque elicits the Orientalist tradition of interpreting and reconstructing images of the "other" in order to, and to reiterate Botstein, "critique and explore all things Western."[11] The arabesque is simply a tool and a means for the West to comment on itself because it is ontologically a western construction and a colonial bastardization of whatever its indeterminate origins.

Ersoff's critique of Eduard Hanslick, an Austrian music critic, aesthetician, and historian, further engages with Orientalism. To Ersoff, it becomes clear that Orientalism is strongly tied to the ontology of the arabesque. As Ersoff elaborates, the very inception of a musical arabesque originates from 19th century Europe (which is aside from the visual arabesque which originated from an earlier 14th century Orientalist construction).

[11] Botsetin, *Orientalism in France.*

For Debussy, the Arab (or the image and vague evocation of them) functions as a vehicle to compose exotic music. The aural imitation or replication of anything authentically Arab is not the intention of musical arabesque. In isolation, Debussy paints a well-crafted sonic image and aesthetic of arabesque and is well deserving of praise for his compositional innovations for the early French Impressionist era. However, what this study argues is that those innovative and vaguely foreign aesthetics are accompanied by cultural perceptions and interests in the "exotic other" and these perceptions elevated the musical arabesque's novelty to late 19th century western listeners, but at a cost, as Said has shown. This interpretation owes much to Said, who declared in his book, *Culture and Imperialism* that, "we are at a point in our work when we can no longer ignore empires and the imperial context in our studies."[12] The goal here is not to problematize the composition, performance, or popularity of "Arabesque no.1," but rather to suggest there exists larger cultural contexts surrounding it that are interesting and worth studying.

[12] Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 5.

Justice under Tyranny: How Enlightenment Language During the French Revolution Led to Emancipation and Rights for Freed and Enslaved People in French Territory

Madlyn E. Stead

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The French Revolution of 1789 marked a time of change, sparked by the growing disdain for the monarchy, fueled by the Enlightenment, and made significant by the changes it brought forth in both France and its colonies. Changes happened gradually as the Revolution's flame touched France piece by piece. Shortly before "*liberté, égalité, et fraternité*" became the cry of the new Republic, others in society labored for transformation through pamphlets, poems and plays, or by forming clubs fighting for a similar cause. The Enlightenment of the French Revolution did not solely seek to overthrow the rule of Divine Right; it also extolled emancipation and the granting of limited rights to those in France and the French Caribbean who previously lived without any liberties. How could liberty, equality, and brotherhood be the order of the day if those in positions of power neglected to share rights with their fellow members of mankind or worse kept from calming them enslaved? Influential and "enlightened" figures of the French Revolution recognized the inconsistency of French commitment to equality, specifically the case of slavery, and they set out to make advancements, even if slight in scale. Additionally, their actions were also influenced by those in the French Caribbean who revolted against a system that withheld fair treatment as their fellow men.

After dismantling the "Reign of Terror," the new political governing body known as the Thermidorians took the power of government affairs in 1794. Thermidorians took their name from the French Republican month of Thermidor, which began in mid-July and ended in mid-August, the time in which they came to power. The Thermidorian Convention (the period during which the Thermidors controlled the National Convention, which was essentially the French provisional government), debated the actions of the more radical political faction, the Montagnard. Among the Montagnard policies repealed by the Thermidorians were those that posed threats to property rights. The Thermidorians, however, did maintain abolition.[1]

The first two articles of the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen* support abolition, especially the first article's proclamation that "Men are born free and equal in rights." The articles, however, had limited impact because the French continued to tolerate slavery in certain of its colonies. Still, as historians Jeremy Popkin and William Cormack have argued, the Thermidorians sympathized with abolitionism and with awarding French citizenship to black people in the French

[1] Jeremy D. Popkin, "Thermidor, Slavery, and the 'Affaire des Colonies,'" *French Historical Studies* 38 (2015): 61. Popkin discusses the actions and legislative decisions of the Thermidorian Convention following the fall of the Robespierrists, particularly those surrounding the rights of the black population living in the French colonies of the Caribbean. Popkin focuses on the actions of the Thermidorians to uphold Jacques-Pierre Brissot's campaign of abolitionism, the Montagnard's rule, and the effect it had on the freed populations of the French Caribbean. Philippe Girad, "Making Freedom Work: The Long Transition from Slavery to Freedom during the Haitian Revolution," *Slavery and Abolition* 40 (2019): 87. Girad's article explores the abolition of slaves in the French Caribbean. Girad reflects upon the Haitian (formerly Saint-Domingue) Revolt in 1791, and how it led to its abolition in the early 1790s. The article explains how French elitists advanced this system of abolition succeeding the rise of Napoleon.

Jean-Jacques-François Le Barbier, *Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen*, 1789, oil on panel, Musée Carnavelet.

colonies. Cormack stresses the contradictions and hypocrisy of the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*, but he shows how the French Revolution provided opportunity for emancipation and allowed free men of color and select others to advocate for it.[2] This paper will further develop some of these arguments.

The sources analyzed in this study include those from the time period available in English, such as the Free Citizens of Color's *Address to the National Assembly,* a collection of letters that includes those from the Slave Revolt in Martinique, which occurred in August and September of 1789. Other supplementary documents that have been translated will also inform this paper including speeches from the French Assembly's members during the duration of the Directory and its prior period. Naturally, the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen* (1789) will also be a major source. Through these sources, the history of emancipation and the development of rights for black people living in the French Colonies can be better understood as a complex process that took place both in France and the Caribbean.

The Age of Reason in Europe, also known as the Enlightenment, begin in the late 17th century. The era lasted until the early 19th century, dominating the entire 1700s era. It valued progress, science, tolerance, and the pursuit of knowledge and happiness. Additionally, the Enlightenment challenged traditional aspects of French society and culture. The revolutionary Louis Antoine de Saint-Just declared that "happiness is a new idea in Europe." Not everyone agreed with such a concept. In fact, not everyone accepted the Enlightenment; many still valued religion coupled with tradition as the core concept of their lives. Meanwhile, there were inhabitants of France who agreed with some of the ideals and rejected others. Even those appearing as "Enlightenment thinkers" would use this progressive movement to their own advantage and to suit their own ideals, for better or worse. In spite of the mismanagement of power among French authorities during this period, *philosophes* used the language of the Enlightenment to argue in favor of abolitionism and rights for those who were mistreated at the hands of society as a whole.

The *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen* was a statement about basic human rights put forth by the French National Constituent Assembly. Its authors began the drafting process of this document in the Summer of 1789 and officially completed it on the 26th of August of 1789. Its language incorporated the thoughts of Enlightenment thinkers. The ideas and reforms it addressed were the core concepts of Enlightenment thinking. Historian Lynn Hunt wrote that the Declaration "laid out a new vision of government, in which protection of natural rights replaced the will of the king as the justification for authority."[3] The values emphasized included religious freedom, freedom of the press, an end to cruel or excessive punishment, taxation with the representation of the people,

[2] William S. Cormack, "Revolution and Free-Colored Equality in the Îles du Vent (Lesser Antilles), 1789-1794," *Western Society for French History Meeting* 39 (2011): 155, 163.

[3] Lynn Hunt, "Introductory Essay," to "Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen," in *The French Revolution and Human Rights: A Brief Documentary History,* ed. Lynn Hunt (Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1996), 77.

and protection from people of power.[4] As such, abolitionists and those formerly enslaved in the institution of slavery cited it often.

The rights of man came to be understood in different ways. The Enlightenment was not a completely new construct to France in the late 18th century. The inception of the French Revolution, however, set reform in motion more vividly and rapidly. Still even before the cries of Camille Desmoulins helped to incite the storming of the Bastille, and before the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen* was drafted in 1789, the Society of the Friends of Blacks formed in 1788. It aimed at immediate abolition of the slave trade and equality for freed black people. Meanwhile, out of expedience, the society "relegated the issue of abolition [of all slavery] to a more distant and hazier future."[5] One of its founders was Jacques-Pierre Brissot de Warville, who, upon one of his trips to the Americas, witnessed the horrors of slavery first-hand. After returning to France, he advocated that "emancipation was both necessary in the long-term and difficult to implement in the short-term."[6] This would prove accurate. In 1790, a representative of the society delivered a speech to the National Convention:

> "Might it not be the insistence on weighing them down with chains, when one consecrates everywhere this eternal axiom: *that all men are born free and equal in rights*. . .It is worthy of the first free Assembly of France to consecrate the philanthropy which makes of humankind only one single family, to declare that it is horrified by this annual carnage which takes place on the coasts of Africa, that it has the intention of abolishing it one day, of mitigating the slavery that is the result, of looking for and preparing, from this moment, the means."[7]

The orator recognized the horrors of slavery and the treatment that befell the enslaved. The "eternal axiom" comes from the first article in the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*. However, this speech included a plan that would not be so immediate. "It is therefore not yet time to demand that liberty; we ask only that one cease butchering thousands of blacks regularly every year in order to take captives; we ask that one henceforth cease the prostitution, the profaning of the French name, used to authorize these thefts, these atrocious murders; we demand in a word the abolition of the slave trade," argued the speaker.[8] So, while the speech aimed to defend the Friends, the society pragmatically renounced the claims of wanting to abolish slavery forthwith and refused to acknowledge that it was their own doing that incited the slave revolt in the French Caribbean in 1791. Hunt writes, "the Friends of Blacks wrote in a defensive tone about their position because they faced intense criticism from those who feared a loss of French colonial wealth and power."[9] The society aimed to preserve its credibility with the governing body. Though the Society of the Friends of the Blacks had influence, it mostly fell apart after the fall of Brissot's political faction, the Girondins, in 1793. This was not the end of their efforts nonetheless.

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[4] Lynn Hunt, "Introductory Essay," 77.

[5] Phillipe Girad, "Making Freedom Work," 89.

[6] Phillipe Girad, "Making Freedom Work," 91.

[7] Society of the Friends of Blacks, "Address to the National Assembly in Favor of the Abolition of the Slave Trade (1790)," in *The French Revolution and Human Rights: A Brief Documentary History*, ed. Lynn Hunt (Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1996), 108.

[8] Society of the Friends of Blacks, "Address to the National Assembly in Favor of the Abolition of the Slave Trade (1790)," 108.

[9] Lynn Hunt, "Introductory Essay," Society of the Friends of Blacks, "Address to the National Assembly in Favor of the Abolition of the Slave Trade (1790)," 106-107.

Along with the speeches and statements made by the Society of the Friends of Blacks, others harnessed Enlightenment language to attack unequal human rights. Among these was the Abbé Grégoire, often referred to as Henri Grégoire. In his *Memoir in Favor of the People of Color or Mixed Race in Saint-Domingue,* Grégoire argued that the color of a person's skin should not be a basis for determining equality or societal status. "The whites, having might on their side, have pronounced unjustly that a darkened skin excludes one from the benefits of advantages of society," asserted Grégoire. "Priding themselves on their complexion, they have raised a wall separating them from a class of free men that are improperly called *people of color* or *mixed-race*."[10] In this excerpt, the notion of white people discriminating against and assuming power over those with "darkened complexion" is branded rightfully unjust.

Other enlightened eighteenth-century philosophers argued that "slavery was a moral abomination that was incompatible with the rights of man."[11] Another voice was that of Nicolas de Condorcet, who alongside Brissot, was a leading founder of the Society of the Friends of Blacks. He argued that discrimination based on a person's skin color was an obvious violation of the *Rights of Man*, not just as a governing document, but a violation against nature itself. Even the plantation owners began to understand this. "As the eighteenth-century progressed, and the Enlightenment's critique of slavery became more pointed, planters found it hard to defend the morality of that institution," explained historian Philippe Girad.[12] Not only the voices of political figures advocated for abolition, but a "silent" majority began to ask similar questions regarding slavery; they called for the rights and abolition of slaves in the French Caribbean on the basis of the humanity of enslaved persons. Often, they would write pamphlets or plays on the matter, as did the activist and playwright, Olympe de Gouges.[13]

Yet as there were abolitionists, there were also those that feared emancipation. Some of the speeches and statements made by abolitionists labeled abolition as an absolute necessity, yet one that needed to be accomplished gradually. This was to avoid the ire of anti-abolitionist groups such as the Massaic Club. Brissot was one of these abolitionists who defended the moderate position that he and the rest of the Society of the Friends of Blacks held. On February 5, 1790, the Society of the Friends of Blacks called for the National Assembly to abolish the slave trade. Essentially, this demand reasserted the Society's main mission to end the slave trade, a practice seen as murderous. The Society complained it had been unjustly slandered by claims its members supported outright abolition, and that the claims against them were "cowardly."[14]

A concern of the anti-abolitionists was the negative effect abolition might have on the economy. Seeking to appease the anti-abolitionists, the Abbé Grégoire stated that bringing in black people to French society, and putting them in positions of power, would help keep the institution of slavery while still contending for the abolition of the slave trade.[15] With this, he asserted, the French economy would still operate efficiently. Then over time slavery could be completely abolished without extreme consequences. Abolitionists also appeased groups such as the Massaic Club by offering further means for maintaining trade between the French Caribbean and the country of

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[10] Abbé Grégoire, "Memoir in Favor of the People of Color or Mixed Race of Saint-Domingue" (1789), in *The French Revolution and Human Rights: A Brief Documentary History*, ed. Lynn Hunt (Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1996), 105-106.

[11] Girad, "Making Freedom Work," 89.

[12] Girad, "Making Freedom Work," 89.

[13] Sophie Mousset, *Women's Rights and the French Revolution: A Biography of Olympe De Gouges* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2017), 29.

[14] Society of the Friends of Blacks, "Address to the National Assembly," 107.

[15] Abbé Grégoire, "Memoir in Favor of the People of Color," 105-106.

France functioning. The author(s) of the document *The Abolition of Negro Slavery or Means of Ameliorating their Lot* argued slavery should "only continue to exist for criminals condemned according to the laws," and that slavery should be "like the condition of soldiers by providing an enlistment for a definite time at the end of which freedom would be restored to them."[16] This may have undercut the effects of complete emancipation, but it still provided recompense and thus also undermined racists and anti-abolitionists.

Abolitionists continued to declare human beings could not be considered property and urged that France end the immoral institution of enslavement.[17] The Thermidorian Convention, driven by those who advocated for social reform, upheld abolitionism. The deputies insisted upon a decree ordering abolition immediately. "Abolition would take effect in all the French colonies, not just Saint-Domingue; all freedmen, even those who were African born, would become citizens of France," pronounced the Convention. There was no mention of a waiting period.[18]

Abolition, emancipation, and rights still all came in a series of steps. In 1791, the National Assembly granted political rights to only some free black men. The following year, the Legislative Assembly granted political rights to all free black men. By the next year, the French abolished slavery in Saint-Domingue. On August 29 of 1793 Légér Félicité Sonthonax proclaimed that anyone of mixed-race or of color and currently enslaved would then be free. Finally, in 1794, slavery ceased in the French Empire. The Thermidorians maintained the abolition and emancipation policies of 1793 and 1794 even as they overturned most other Montagnard policies. This continued throughout the Directory period.[19] Georges Danton, a powerful revolutionary figure before his execution, aided the passage of one of these policies: the decree of 16 Pluviôse II (February 4, 1794). The National Assembly passed this decree to abolish slavery in the French Empire.

"That there were pragmatic reasons for maintaining the decisions made in 1793 and 1794 does not mean that the Thermidorians were simply hypocrites with no intention of fulfilling the promise of emancipation," argues Popkin.[20] However, one historical figure of the time offers another viewpoint. The French writer and lawyer Boissy d'Anglas stated, "The one act of justice that tyranny had you pass . . . where is the agreement that turned blacks into slaves?"[21] To this writer, those who passed abolition and emancipation did so not out of genuine compassion and enlightened thinking, but in order to appease others. He also raises the painful question, "Why were black people enslaved to begin with?"

As time progressed, abolition became ever more of a concern. In May of 1791, revolts in Saint-Domingue the previous year sparked debate. Many of the Jacobin Clubs supported abolition. The Abbé Grégoire spoke in these debates as well as the "incorruptible" Maximilien Robespierre and Marquis de Lafayette. Grégoire and Lafayette argued similar points for abolition. Rather than relying solely on moral philosophy for their reasoning, they raised another issue. They argued that those who qualified as colonists were "free, property-owners, farmers, and taxpayers in their colony . . . the people of color in question are tax-payers, farmers, property-owners, and free. Are they men?

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[16] "The Abolition of Negro Slavery or Means of Ameliorating their Lot," in *The French Revolution and Human Rights: A Brief Documentary History*, ed. Lynn Hunt (Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1996), 101.

[17] Jeremy D. Popkin, "Thermidor, Slavery, and the 'Affaire des Colonies,'" 80.

[18] Phillipe Girad, "Making Freedom Work," 95.

[19] Jeremy D. Popkin, "Thermidor, Slavery, and the 'Affaires des Colonies,'" 62-66.

[20] Jeremy D. Popkin, "Thermidor, Slavery, and the 'Affaires des Colonies,'" 81.

[21] Jeremy D. Popkin, "Thermidor, Slavery, and the 'Affaire des Colonies,'" 82.

I believe so."[22] Lafayette spoke these words on the twelfth of May 1791. Robespierre was more reserved about these matters. He believed, though, that refusing rights to the men of color would only cause further divisions in society, specifically between white people and black people.[23]

Uprisings in the French Caribbean driven by the freed black people was the other great factor leading to abolition. The revolts that began in 1789 cannot be ignored, but historians are split on how much weight the revolutions should be given. Some attribute agency to French legislation, while others credit the Afro-Caribbean enslaved people who led the rebellions.[24]

This section of the paper focuses on black voices of those who called for equality and who indeed played a role securing their own freedom. By the autumn of 1789, France had previously undergone massive governmental policy changes. In Paris, many freed black people began to organize. On the twenty-second of October, freed blacks appealed to the National Assembly with their grievances. Wealthy Frenchmen delivered the complaints because any reforms blacks proposed would likely be disregarded by the planters.[25] The demands of the freed black people included, like many others advocating for abolition, emancipation and rights. In this cause, they made a reference to the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*. Early on, they stated that even though they are born Frenchmen, true citizens, they "find themselves enslaved even in their liberty."[26] During the time of this statement, citizens of color in France found themselves lacking political power and living under the burden ensued by the deputies who did not share the said power. Their voices were represented by the white citizens, with whom the citizens of color did directly communicate. If they protested, their demands were often ignored. The address that the Free Citizens of Color delivered to the Assembly asserted that the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen* created a new consciousness among colonists of color: they were "worthy of the dignity" bestowed upon them, and that they are just as worthy and qualified as their white fellow citizens.[27] Near the close of the address, words such as "ambition" and "greed" were used to describe the situation and support their argument for abolition. Black petitioners clearly realized their demands only would be heard if they benefitted the ones who held more power.[28] In 1793, Jean-Baptiste Belley and James Mills, the first black representatives, were elected to the French National Assembly.

During the French Revolution, the Enlightenment drove social reform. Writers, thinkers, philosophers, and even politicians took part in advocating for the abolition and emancipation of enslaved people. Undeniably, the revolts and voices from those in the French Caribbean played a large role in these developments as well. However, after the heat of the French Revolution died, and the Thermidorians and the Directory's rule ended, Napoleon Bonaparte took over and made plans to resume slavery in the French Empire. His attempt to reinstate it in the Caribbean was not completely successful: slavery returned only in French Guiana. It was not until decades later, in 1848, that it was abolished, ending slavery finally in the French Empire.

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[22] *The May 1791 Debates* (1791), In *The Haitian Revolution: A Documentary History,* ed. David Patrick Geggus, 51-56, (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2014): 55.

[23] *The May 1791 Debates* (1791), 56.

[24] Phillipe Girad, "Making Freedom Work," 87.

[25]The Free Citizens of Color, "Address to the National Assembly (1789)" in *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean, 1789-1804: A Brief History with Documents,* eds. Laurent Dubois and John D Garrigus, 55-58, (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2017): 55

[26] The Free Citizens of Color. *Address to the National Assembly*, 56.

[27] The Free Citizens of Color. *Address to the National Assembly,* 57.

[28] The Free Citizens of Color. *Address to the National Assembly,* 58.

Tsar Nicholas II: the Bloody, the Tragic, the Saint

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On August 20th, 2000, in the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour in Moscow, the Russian Orthodox Church proclaimed the canonization of new saints before an immense crowd of the faithful.[1] Though canonization is never a minor event, this particular ceremony had extraordinary subjects: Tsar Nicholas II, the last ruler of the Romanov dynasty of imperial Russia, along with his wife, Alexandra, and their five children, Olga, Tatiana, Maria, Anastasia, and Alexei. The move proved incredibly controversial: many saw Nicholas as the man who brought Russia to ruin with his despotic rule, culminating in World War I, and the subsequent dominion of Soviet Communism for eighty years.[2] Others considered the canonization by the Russian Orthodox Church long overdue; in fact, the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia, known as ROCOR, had canonized Nicholas and his family years before.[3] It is clear that, although Communist gunmen murdered the Tsar and his family in 1918 (at the time of this canonization, almost one hundred years ago), his legacy has remained a divisive subject, not just to Russians, but to the world at large.

Despite the controversy, the canonization of Nicholas shows that his legacy is progressing, slowly but surely, in a positive direction— one that, I believe, is long overdue. How has a man, once known as "Nicholas the Bloody" and a tyrant, come to be counted among those whose place in Heaven is assured beyond doubt? The answer, as shall be shown, is found in the changing historiography. From the first historical treatments of Nicholas II, in order to countenance support for revolution, he and all his actions were portrayed in an extremely negative light. In the post-revolutionary era, scholarship brought by liberal and radical Russians fleeing to the West cemented these ideas, which would form the basis for treatments for decades. During the Cold War era, historiography turned away from the irredeemably negative towards a neutral, even passively positive interpretation of Nicholas, depicting him to be a personally good man, but a weak and tragic one who could not stop the events unfolding around him. Finally, in the post-Soviet, post-Cold War era (in which this essay is being written), the floodgates seemingly opened and produced the most positive, and most controversial, historiography on Nicholas II, showing him as an actively good ruler and a saintly person, thus solidly challenging earlier historiography. To clarify, "passively positive" indicates scholarship that highlighted or indicated good qualities about Nicholas as opposed to previous scholarship. On the other hand, "actively positive" denotes scholarship in which Nicholas, beyond having good qualities, actually affected good policies in conjunction with his personal qualities. In its conclusion, this overview reflects on opportunities for future scholarship and, by extent, the impact of such historiography for the future of Russia.

[1] Daniel Williams, "Sainthood Granted to Last Czar And Family," *Washington Post*, August 15, 2000.
[2] Williams, "Sainthood Granted to Last Czar And Family."
[3] Williams, "Sainthood Granted to Last Czar And Family."

Nicholas "the Bloody"

In a bit of irony, to address the negative historiography on Nicholas II, we will start not with pure history, but with fairytales. However, these fairytales will be shown to have a profound effect on the scholarship that will be forthcoming about Nicholas in this paper.

In Russia, before, during, and after the Russian Revolution, folk-tales, called *skazki*, were spread and promoted to foster animosity against the tsar.[4] *Skazki* had been part of the culture of Russia for centuries, but before, during, and after the Russian Revolution, such stories took on a radical flavor by revolutionaries eager to feed revilement of Nicholas, as well as of his family.[5] These revolutionaries were the product of Marxist thought, prevalent since the mid-1800s, which portrayed all of history as a battleground between the oppressors and the oppressed. Such struggles, Marxists believed, would eventually lead to revolution and the creation of a classless society. In this case, the oppressors were the tsar, state, and church. Meanwhile, the oppressed were the vast numbers of people within the Russian Empire. Revolutionaries committed all efforts to bring down such gargantuan obstacles to the freedom of the oppressed. No small number of revolutionary *skazki* were published concerning Nicholas II, and these stories portrayed him in no small number of negative ways, some of the most popular showing him as effeminate, nervous, indecisive, weak, evil, and tyrannical.[6] In order to delegitimize the tsar and imperial Russia, these *skazki* inverted everything possible about Nicholas, such as portraying a supposedly mighty tsar as dominated by his mother, his wife, and of the infamous Rasputin (to the point of being portrayed as a cuckold by the latter two).[7] Many of these *skazki* were produced by a writer named Lev Nukulin, who later became a major, award-winning figure in Soviet Russian literature and history, writing such books as *Fourteen Months in Afghanistan* and *Russia's Faithful Sons* (among others), but very little (or nothing at all) was ever mentioned about his time writing these *skazki*.[8] Whitewashing Nukulin's past may be due to Soviet attempts to further justify their own version of history, particularly about Nicholas II and the Russian Revolution. Regardless, as shall be shown, many of these portrayals shaped subsequent scholarship on Nicholas for the remainder of the twentieth century.

Due to the success of the October Russian Revolution and the victory of the Communists in the following Russian Civil War, Russians of all backgrounds fled to the West, and some would become contributors to Nicholas' historiography. These emigres perpetuated narratives released by the revolutionary *skazki*. T. Chernavin, in 1939, wrote an in-depth analysis of Nicholas' home, commenting on everything from the palaces themselves down to the furniture. Writers emphasized the sinister domination of Alexandra over Nicholas: secret passages were built in these buildings ostensibly to allow her to listen to his meetings, demonstrating the power of the empress and, consequently, the puppet-like, powerless situation of Nicholas.[9] Liberal Alexander Kerensky, former leader of the Provisional Government after the abdication of Nicholas, insisted the Russian Empire might not have fallen if a palace revolution had been organized to remove Alexandra and Rasputin from power, claiming they had been the true rulers of Russia for many months during the First

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[4] Elizabeth Jones Hemenway, "Nicholas in Hell: Rewriting the Tsarist Narrative in the Revolutionary Skazki of 1917," *The Russian Review* 60, no. 2 (2001): 186.

[5] Hemenway, "Nicholas in Hell," 186.

[6] Hemenway, "Nicholas in Hell," 186.

[7] Hemenway, "Nicholas in Hell," 197-203.

[8] Hemenway, "Nicholas in Hell," 197-198.

[9] T. Chernavin, "The Home of the Last Tsar: As Material for a Study of Character," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 17, no. 51 (1939): 666-667.

World War at the expense of Nicholas.[10] Furthermore, Kerensky portrays Nicholas as a danger to his own throne and government, destroying everything that could have helped him for no intelligible reason.[11] Leon Trotsky who, although was one of the main leaders of the October Revolution and the Communists during the Russian Civil War, was eventually exiled from the Soviet Union as well and published his own account of the Russian Revolution. In it, he devotes an entire chapter to the analysis of Nicholas, portraying him as utterly incapable, cowardly, cruel, and weak. Several times Trotsky noted Alexandra's domination over the tsar at crucial junctures in his reign.[12] Despite the diverse political allegiances of the various Russian emigres, their scholarship aligns and bolsters each other. As historian Elizabeth Jones Hemenway wrote in her analysis of the *skazki*: non-communist Russians joined in the fostering of these fairytales after 1905 which allowed multiple political groups to use them for their own goals.[13] Therefore, both Communist and non-Communist Russian studies of Nicholas analyzed him according to Marxist views. Thus, directly following the events of the Russian Revolution, scholars produced an immensely negative portrayal of Nicholas, especially when connected with his wife. This set the groundwork for much of the scholarship that would follow in the decades to come. Negative attitudes toward Nicholas later dissipated into depictions of a passive, yet personally good man, an ultimately tragic figure that was doomed to fall with his empire. Even so, the influence of scholarship that originated with these revolutionary *skazki* has not fully disappeared.

"Nicholas the Tragic"

Just before the outbreak of the Second World War and through the Cold War era, a curious trend began to emerge in historiography on Nicholas II: it started to become, if not more actively positive, at least passively so. In conjunction with this, the scholarship begins to take an air of tragedy— the tsar as a figure more or less, doomed by forces beyond his control. Overall, a general softening of the tone appeared during this period, much in opposition to the earlier scholarship.

Russian political activist Basil Maklakov wrote in 1939 that many believed Nicholas would have been a good constitutional monarch, as opposed to the autocratic role he struggled to maintain.[14] Russia, Maklakov argued further, was on a path to growth and prosperity under Nicholas, particularly after the 1905 Revolution, but war would ultimately end this.[15] In the war, Maklakov insists that Nicholas had no goals to win fame or glory for his actions. Instead, the tsar wanted to offer himself as a sacrifice to redeem the country and defied everyone to do it.[16] Here is where whispers of earlier interpretations emerge: Maklakov writes that this decision to leave to fight the war and the determination he set out to do it was far out of character for him—a reflection of the earlier idea that Nicholas was weak.[17] To cast aside any doubt about his opinion of Nicholas'

[10] Alexander Kerensky, "Why the Russian Monarchy Fell," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 8, no. 24 (1930): 497.

[11] Kerensky, "Why the Russian Monarchy Fell," 512-513.

[12] Leon Trotsky, *The History of the Russian Revolution* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1932).

[13] Hemenway, "Nicholas in Hell," 187.

[14] Basil Maklakov, "On the Fall of Tsardom," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 18, no. 52 (1939): 73.

[15] Maklakov, "On the Fall of Tsardom," 74.

[16] Maklakov, "On the Fall of Tsardom," 76.

[17] Maklakov, "On the Fall of Tsardom," 76.

character, Maklakov later clearly states that views of emperor's character as weak were regrettable.[18] However, here is where tragedy and passive positivity merge together: Maklakov writes that the emperor and empress (some of the first positive treatments seen about her) were "filled with the best of intentions and the spirit of self-sacrifice; both sincerely desire to serve their country, and in this endeavour they destroy it. For themselves they have no thought; so it had always been."[19] This is certainly a far cry from previous treatment portraying Nicholas as bloodthirsty, evil, weak, cowardly, self-serving and the empress as domineering, vain, and anti-Russian. American historian Raymond Esthus, in his scholarship on Nicholas, specifically focused on events during the Russo-Japanese War. Esthus delves deeply into the personality of Nicholas and addresses misconceptions about him, arguing that he was a difficult people to understand because the scholarship is so limited and that his character was extremely complicated.[20] He posits that current assessments of Nicholas are almost entirely the same: indecisive, weak, gentle, shy, and a family man. Esthus sees certain grains of truth in these depictions, but his research on Nicholas during this war demonstrated a stubbornness and determination to succeed that many overlooked.[21] Again, we see a positive portrayal of the tsar in this scholarship, which, while not absolving Nicholas of character flaws, credits significant achievements to him and his reign. In the end, Estus sees the tsar as an active, positive leader in the empire.

The most important scholarship of this period that reflected passive positivity and tragedy appears within the book *Nicholas and Alexandra* by journalist Robert K. Massie. Written in the late 1960s, the book is a joint biography of the two monarchs, and it rose to such popularity and acclaim that it would go on to be made into a movie of the same name in the 1970s. Massie discusses the personality of the tsar at great length and documents how the Russian leader's personal traits shaped his leadership. For example, in his early reign, Massie regularly acknowledges how enemies believed the tsar weak and dominated by those around him, such as his mother, uncles, or teachers. A fairer interpretation, according to Massie, would be that the Tsar had no proper education on how to rule, instead he adapted as he progressed.[22] Furthermore, Massie extols the tsar's proposal for disarmament which led to the International Court of Justice, a proposal which shocked Europe.[23] Some may have seen selfish motives in Nicholas' proposal, perhaps a maneuver to avoid fighting Austria, but Massie highlights how Nicholas understood the horrors of modern war and thus attempted to calm the conflict between Austria-Hungary and Serbia before it spiraled out of control.[24]

Massie also addresses "Bloody Sunday," yet casts no blame on Nicholas for these events. In fact, Massie wrote that Nicholas was horrified by the event.[25] Instead, Massie attributes the misfortunate disease of hemophilia that afflicted Nicholas' son, Alexei, as the cause of the major issues of his reign. This was a constant source of stress to both him and his wife, who increasingly became dominated and influenced by Rasputin, making the Russian Revolution all but inevitable. Alexei's illness added to the view of Nicholas as a tragic character, albeit an inherently good one.[26]

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[18] Maklakov, "On the Fall of Tsardom," 91.

[19] Maklakov, "On the Fall of Tsardom," 77.

[20] Raymond A. Esthus, "Nicholas II and the Russo-Japanese War," *The Russian Review* 40, no. 4 (1981): 396.

[21] Esthus, "Nicholas II and the Russo-Japanese War," 396-397.

[22] Robert K. Massie, *Nicholas and Alexandra* (London: Head of Zeus, 2013), 67.

[23] Massie, *Nicholas and Alexandra*, 68.

[24] Massie, *Nicholas and Alexandra*, 68-69.

[25] Massie, *Nicholas and Alexandra*, 104.

[26] Massie, *Nicholas and Alexandra*, iii.

Massie even weaves in the *Annales* school of history, which views history as the culmination of decades or hundreds of years of development, into his scholarship on Nicholas. Massie develops the background of hemophilia over thousands of years and traces it back to Queen Victoria's line This eventually led to Empress Alexandra being a carrier and passing it onto Alexei, a factor that could not be controlled by anyone; it was only the product of generations of genetics which ultimately led to the end of the monarchy.[27]

Massie's writings in the later 1960s resulted in two unique developments in the historiography of Nicholas II. The first was a much more human portrayal of Nicholas, quite likely the most positive portrayal of him during this time, especially the biographer's treatment of the tsar's family life. The second was opening the door to a wider audience, the biography becoming a perfect example of the emerging field of public and popular history (especially once his book was made into a film), prompting an increased interest in the tsar, as well as an increase in opinions about him. The culmination of a widening awareness of and range of opinions on Nicholas resulted in a post-Cold War historiography that was at its most divided. Historian Dan L. Morrill, writing close to the time Massie's biography hit bookstores, continued with the interpretation of Nicholas as devoid of self-confidence and hardly responsible for the disarmament proposal and lacking any true idealism, an argument Morrill borrows from Soviet scholarship.[28] Thus as some scholarship declaring the tsar to be not merely actively positive but nearing sainthood appeared, others maintained more vitriolic interpretations of Nicholas.

"Nicholas the Saint"

With the end of the Soviet Union and the Cold War, scholarship on Nicholas entered its third, and present, stage. This period would see Nicholas II portrayed in a wide variety of ways. Some scholars saw a horrible leader, and others insisted that he was a personally good man but incompetent ruler. At the same time, new scholarship emerged portraying the tsar as competent, pious, and a good person, especially in the aftermath of his canonization by the Russian Orthodox Church.

Marxist historian and archeologist Neil Faulkner emerged a leading critic of Nicholas revisionism. Faulkner's scholarship, which was produced in the 21st century, depicts Nicholas as an incompetent, stupid, indecisive figure, full of superstition, and unable to do anything to preserve the Russian Empire.[29] Faulkner, however, does not attribute the collapse of Russia to Nicholas in particular. Instead, leaning on the Annales school concept of the *longue duree*, Faulkner sees a process that took hundreds of years to bring it to culminate in the Russian Revolution. Nicholas II just happened to be the one in charge at the time.[30] Marc Ferro, an *Annales* historian, is in agreement. In the opening chapter of his book, Ferro insisted the stage had been set for the Russian Revolution long before by the events of the Enlightenment, the subsequent French Revolution, the spreading of these beliefs during the Napoleonic Wars, and the actions of previous Russian monarchs who sought to crush any trace of liberal and democratizing ideas in Russia.[31] To Ferro, Nicholas was a figure burdened by destiny, and this burden forced him to resist the changes that were unfolding; Nicholas was not ignorant of these things, but he remained aloof to the warnings that history had

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[27] Massie, *Nicholas and Alexandra*, 146-163.

[28] Dan L. Morrill, "Nicholas II and the Call for the First Hague Conference," *The Journal of Modern History* 46, no. 2 (1974): 313; Morrill, "Nicholas II and the Call for the First Hague Conference," 298.

[29] Neil Faulkner, "The Regime," in *A People's History of the Russian Revolution* (Pluto Press, 2017), 8.

[30] Faulkner, "The Regime," 9.

[31] Marc Ferro, *Nicholas II: Last of the Tsars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 7-12.

provided to correct course. The tsar never acted, instead he always reacted.[32] These two historians represent the *Annales* school of thought on Nicholas, as they show that he was in the wrong place at the wrong time in regards to forces set in motion long before his birth. Due to his personal character, Nicholas could do very little to stop them.

Although his scholarship does not present Nicholas II in a good light, Christopher Read does mention that, due to the relaxation of policies in the late Soviet Union, the tsarist regime under Nicholas has begun to look much better in comparison with the regimes of those who came later, such as Lenin and Stalin.[33] He further points out Nicholas' popularity has increased recently and has garnered more sympathy due to his canonization. To some, his regime has been seen increasingly as a model of governance.[34] Columbia University historian Richard Wortman, too, depicts Nicholas II as a weak figure, but not one passively buffeted around by events. In fact, Wortman argues that Nicholas actively took measures to rule in the same fashion as tsars of the past before Peter the Great; this included tying his power to the Orthodox Church and the Russian people.[35] In particular, Wortman describes Nicholas' travels throughout his empire to promote close ties of paternity between the tsar and people.[36] Additionally, he delves into how the tsar sought to run his government by maintaining "ancient" forms of Russian governance to achieve these goals.[37] In conjunction with this aforementioned scholarship, Robert D. Warth wrote that although Nicholas had many inadequacies, he did have strengths as well, such as intelligence and a level of common sense. Meanwhile, his shortcomings alone do not account for the end of the monarchy and the Russian Revolution.[38] Warth also suggests that, in light of the Soviet Union under Stalin or of Germany under Hitler, a leader such as Nicholas and his government had much to commend it.[39] British scholar Dominic Lieven was one of the first to promote Nicholas as an active good and to cast aside assumptions that Nicholas was stupid and weak. To Lieven, evidence of indecisiveness is due to the tsar's awareness of the many competing points of view; thus he would waver on decisions.[40] Highlighting his positive qualities— his love for his country, loyalty, kind, caring, and giving nature— Lieven emphasizes that Russia needed something different from such a ruler; anyone would probably have suffered the same fate as Nicholas did in his position. To Lieven, it is ironic that the tsar was remembered amongst 20th-century Russians as "Nicholas the Bloody."[41]

In 2020, possibly the most positive scholarship on Nicholas to date was published by the Saint John the Forerunner Monastery of Mesa Potamos, Cyprus. The cooperative product of multiple scholars offered a much different account of Nicholas' life. In this version, Nicholas was a saintly and effective monarch despite major events such as the 1905 Revolution and Bloody Sunday,

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[32] Marc Ferro, *Nicholas II: Last of the Tsars*, 2-4.

[33] Christopher Read, "In Search of Liberal Tsarism: The Historiography of Autocratic Decline," *The Historical Journal* 45, no. 1 (2002): 196.

[34] Read, "In Search of Liberal Tsarism: The Historiography of Autocratic Decline," 196.

[35] Richard Wortman, "Nicholas II and the Revolution of 1905," in *Russian Monarchy*, Representation and Rule (Academic Studies Press, 2013), 199–218.

[36] Wortman, "Nicholas II and the Revolution of 1905," 201-203.

[37] Wortman, "Nicholas II and the Revolution of 1905," 204-206.

[38] Robert D. Warth, *Nicholas II: The Life and Death of Russia's Last Monarch* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1997), 275-276.

[39] Warth, *Nicholas II: The Life and Death of Russia's Last Monarch*, 275.

[40] Dominic Lieven, *Nicholas II: Twilight of the Empire* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 261-262.

[41] Lieven, *Nicholas II: Twilight of the Empire*, 261-262.

events (and Nicholas' involvement with them) the scholars dismiss these events as having been misconstrued by previous scholarship.[42]

Other recent scholarship includes the works of Boris Kolonitskii and Yisrael Elliot Cohen, who explore the changing Russian history through the lens of New Cultural History and the politics of memory. Nicholas II, they argue, as well as other figures of the Revolution, are models through which ordinary Russians see the events of the Russian Revolution today.[43] Cohen and Kolonitskii thoroughly explore "politics of memory" and the Russian Revolution, which they see as the Revolution continuing even today. The authors make a case that Russia is still seeking to reconcile events about the Russian Revolution and its leaders— a topic addressed below.[44]

Conclusion: the Future of Nicholas II and the Future of Russia

As this historiographical review has shown, scholarship on Nicholas II has progressed in a generally more positive direction, shown poignantly (though by no means conclusively) with the most recent book of *The Romanov Royal Martyrs: What Silence Could Not Conceal* produced by the Greek Orthodox monastery of Mesa Potamos. However, not all the scholarship has proceeded in this direction. Many key western scholars maintain the traditional view carried over from these earliest days, one emphasizing Nicholas' folly, weakness, and overall incompetence. Modern scholarship, with its diverse range of opinions, might be seen as a reflection of the world since the end of the Cold War, as well as a reflection of the turmoil within Russia after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The West may have had a more sympathetic view of Nicholas II during the Cold War, especially when the chief antagonist, the Soviet Union, was his murderer. However, since the end of the Cold War, opinions escalated and diverged to either adulation or revilement. It is my opinion that this reflects to a great degree the political reorientation of the Cold War world: as the West became the more liberal side, scholarship on Nicholas turned towards the negative, while the East became more conservative, seeking to revitalize cultures and traditions repressed under communism, elevating Nicholas II and his family to sainthood and writing a much more positive appraisal. Of course, this is not an absolute fact: historians do not write as a collective geographic bloc, but the scholarship, as well as the canonization, does show a shifting perspective on Nicholas II.

And what of Russia specifically? I believe that the changing treatment of Nicholas reflects the identity crisis present within Russia since the fall of the Soviet Union. The canonization was controversial within the Russian Orthodox Church and outside as well, as many were split on how to remember the tsar, and some worried how Soviet figures such as Stalin would be reinterpreted in such a light.[45] Russia, since the end of the Soviet Union, has exhibited a seeming split-personality in regards to its past: on one hand, wanting to reinvigorate the culture, traditions, and religion of imperial and Orthodox Russia; on the other, wanting to embrace the power and dominance that the Soviet Union embodied during the Second World War and at the height of the Cold War— a history still in living memory. Forecasting the future of Russian historiography on Nicholas II (at least for myself) thus leaves one in incredibly murky waters. In recent years, there has been a rise in the West of literary works rehabilitating those monarchs who reigned during revolutions, such as George III of Britain, Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette of France, Charles I/IV of Austria-Hungary, Kaiser

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[42] Reverend George Lardas, trans., *The Romanov Royal Martyrs: What Silence Could Not Conceal* (Cyprus: Mesa Potamos Publications, 2020), 17-18.

[43] Boris Kolonitskii and Yisrael Elliot Cohen, "Russian Historiography of the 1917 Revolution: New Challenges to Old Paradigms?" *History and Memory* 21, no. 2 (2009): 34-35.

[44] Kolonitskii and Cohen, "Russian Historiography of the 1917 Revolution," 34–59.

[45] Williams, "Sainthood Granted to Last Czar And Family."

Wilhelm II of Germany, and now Nicholas II. This may indicate a growing countercultural conservative, traditionalist trend, countering the idea of pro-democratic Whig or Progressive trends that have been dominant in many places in the West.[46] If these suspicions are correct, in the coming years, more positive appraisals about Nicholas will be written, complemented by equally negative treatments by historians who do not identify with this conservative trend. As the popularity of the Romanovs as saints continues to grow, as well as the popularity of imperial Russia, more positive treatments of Nicholas II will flourish there as well. However, because Russia is torn between two diametrically opposed pasts, there will eventually be political reckoning as well. While neither the restoration of the Romanovs nor restoring the Soviet system of government are likely, the divide between these two pasts will eventually prove to be irreconcilable politically. Currently, the government under Vladimir Putin has been able to maintain a balance of the two, but beyond him it is hard to see compromise continuing. Because of this, it is likely Russian interpretations of Nicholas II will turn towards whichever side the government begins to support. However, because Nicholas was declared a saint by the state church, it will always be difficult, if not impossible, to paint him as totally incompetent, bad, or evil in Russian history from this point forward. In the West, however, although positive opinions on the tsar have increased in recent years, the older, negative attitudes persist with vigor, and it is likely that these two opposing interpretations will continue to do battle over a man who bears both monikers of "the Bloody" and "the Saint."

[46] Andrew Roberts, *George III: The Life and Reign of Britain's Most Misunderstood Monarch* London: Penguin Books, 2023.; Roberts, Andrew. *The Last King of America: The Misunderstood Reign of George III*. London: Penguin Books, 2021.; Johnson, Alison. *Louis XVI and the French Revolution*. Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2013.; Vidal, Elena Maria. *Marie-Antoinette, Daughter of the Caesars: Her Life, Her Times, Her Legacy*. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2016.; Coulombe, Charles A. *Blessed Charles of Austria: A Holy Emperor and His Legacy*. Charlotte: TAN Books, 2020.; Croft, Christina. *The Innocence of the Kaiser*. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2015.

Little Choice in the Matter for Comfort Women: Tales of Hope and Survival During the Second World War

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During World War II, Japan acted as an imperialistic powerhouse that took over most of Southeast and South Asia. In this time of conflict, Japan committed atrocities that are still being questioned to this day. One of Japan's lesser-known war crimes was the enactment of so-called comfort stations during the war. These stations provided Japanese military men with sex from females, dubbed "comfort women." After the Nanking Massacre, Japanese officials established such stations widely throughout the Japanese Empire to prevent rapes of women in captured territories and to protect Japanese soldiers from venereal disease.[1] The Japanese Army obtained comfort women from all over Asia, mostly from their colonial holdings. After the war ended, Japan proceeded to erase any and all records of the crimes they had committed, including those related to comfort women.

It was not until around the late 1980's and early 1990's when the issue of comfort women came into public view through redress movements. Movements emerged to spread awareness of the issue of the comfort women and to hold the Japanese Government accountable. The issue of comfort women remains controversial to this day, and many perceive that the Japanese government has yet to unequivocally apologize and provide appropriate recompense to former comfort women.[2] As the years go by, more and more comfort women pass away, making it ever so important for redress groups to elicit an appropriate apology from Japan. This paper argues that those who became comfort women had limited agency and were forced to make tragic choices to survive and improve their situations. To support this claim, this paper will use firsthand accounts to describe how the Japanese military coerced, tricked, and kidnapped women, and this study also will examine what the women did to survive their captivity.

Japanese historian Yoshimi Yoshiaki has provided a contextualized version of the history of comfort women, including an explanation of how the comfort stations were established and how they were run. Yoshiaki also discusses what these women went through: rape, violence, diseases, and other trauma. The study concludes with commentary about the weight of trauma on survivors, and how the Japanese government acted towards reparations. By contrast, Chinese scholar Li Hongxi's main argument surrounds how the Japanese army bypassed regulations set in place for the comfort stations. The Japanese government required its army to have travel permits when taking women to and from certain areas.[3] Government officials wanted to have regulations and guidelines set in place to protect themselves and their reputation. Hongxi overall focuses on the Japanese army's

[1] Yoshimi Yoshiaki, *Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery in the Japanese Military During World War II*, Translated by Suzanne O'Brien (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 49.

[2] The comfort women issue is a controversial site of dispute amongst many in Japan as well in the United States. Japanese politicians felt that Japan has done enough in the past and cannot seem to understand why the issue is still on-going.

[3] Li Hongxi, "The Extreme Secrecy of the Japanese Army's 'Comfort Women' System," *Chinese Studies in History* 53, no. 1 (2020): 30.

experiences to show that the military knew what it was doing: they avoided the regulations set in place by the Japanese government. Yoshiaki and Hongxi's writings both concur about the nature of atrocities committed by the Japanese army. They also detail how the Japanese army broke several international treaties by abducting women under the age of 16.[4] The only women that could be legally taken to these military brothels were officially licensed prostitutes from brothels in Japan. Ultimately, Hongxi and Yoshiaki take the stance that the Japanese government and army committed grave human rights violations and that these women were treated inhumanely. Instead of providing a contextualized history like Yoshiaki, this paper will build on Hongxi's claims and explain the process of kidnapping, as it was one of the major ways the Japanese military revoked the agency of comfort women.

Historical denialism is nothing new, and it continues today. In their respective pieces, George Hicks and Yuji Hosaka discuss how many historians and the Japanese government neglected the story of women forced into sexual slavery for the Japanese army. Hicks explains how the issue of comfort women was ignore since it was awkward and troublesome in Japanese politics.[5] Hosaka elaborates that some historians fail to see the factual evidence that supports the horrors these women faced.[6] Like Hosaka and Hicks, this paper seeks to reveal that there is undeniable evidence supporting the existence of comfort women. It focuses on the testimonies of survivors to accomplish this. To better understand how soldiers were able to commit such atrocities against comfort women, historian Aaron William Moore looks into the minds of soldiers. Moore focuses on how Japanese soldiers mobilized themselves to fight. Soldiers frequently saw unspeakable horrors that made them question themselves and how they would keep going. In most cases, their motivation came from fighting for their fallen comrades.[7] For soldiers, Hicks explains, the threat of death was constant and real which in turn led them to comfort stations to seek relief.[8] While soldiers desired consolation, this paper will discuss how comfort women in turn sought relationships to make their service more bearable. In short, to survive, some women befriended soldiers or high-ranking officers of the Japanese army.

This paper will review oral testimonies and personal narratives of women who survived serving as comfort women during World War II to illustrate the human rights violation of sexual slavery. The interviews and personal narratives come from Park In-hwan's *Can You Hear Us?: The Untold Narratives of Comfort Women,* Keith Howard's *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Women* and Maria Henson's *Comfort Women: A Fillipina's Story of Prostitution and Slavery Under the Japanese Military*. Park In-hwan's sources features the narratives of eleven women who served as comfort women and provides insight on not just how they were mobilized but what their entire time was like at these camps. Howard provides 19 testimonies of former comfort women, laid out like a diary in which the woman's stories are written from their point of view. Finally, Henson spends a part of her book explaining what she went through during her time as a comfort woman. The reason these sources were chosen was because they provide a personal account and voice for the comfort women. The sources reveal the limited nature of these women's choices in becoming comfort women and what they did to survive. This paper will first establish how comfort women were mobilized by the Japanese military; this was largely through kidnapping, coercion, and deceit. Next, this work will discuss why some women took these jobs, and what they did to survive when they became comfort

[4] Hongxi, "The Extreme Secrecy of the Japanese Army's 'Comfort Women' System," 38.

[5] George Hicks, *The Comfort Women: Sex Slaves of the Japanese Imperial Forces* (Australia: Allen & Unwin, 1995), 173.

[6] Yuji Hosaka, "Contracting for Sex? True Story of the so-called 'Comfort Women' during World War 2," *Journal of East Asia & International Law* 14, no. 1 (2021): 163.

[7] Aaron William Moore, *Writing War: Soldiers Record the Japanese Empire* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2013), 104-5.

[8] Hicks, *The Comfort Women*, 7.

women. The analysis will end with a discussion of how the Japanese military kept women in captivity.

"Comfort Women" in custody of Chinese troops, September 3, 1944, Songshan, China. Photo courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC.

One of the most common methods that the Japanese Army used to recruit women was kidnapping. Park In-hwan's book *Can You Hear Us? The Untold Narratives of Comfort Women* documents several cases in which women were abducted and forced into becoming comfort women. In-hwan introduces victims' confidentiality, using only three letters to identify the women.[9] For example, one of the women interviewed is referred to as AOO. Japanese used two main methods to kidnap women: either they were lured away, or just taken suddenly with no warning. Most of the girls taken from villages and other towns came from rough backgrounds and were largely unaware of the outside world. BOO was fifteen when she was taken by a Korean man while visiting family. From there, the man turned her over to the Japanese army. BOO recalls that, "When I came out of the relative's house, someone, a Korean, waved me to come close, 'Come with me, girl. I have something to tell you.' So I followed him."[10] BOO later recalls that she did not know any better as she was too young and ignorant.[11] She was later taken to a comfort station in Harbin, Manchuria where she was forced to be a comfort woman. HOO's experience resembled somewhat BOO's ordeal, as she was lured away while working at a mill. HOO was fifteen when she went to work at the mill to avoid the draft that was enacted by the Japanese army. HOO elaborated that one evening she was working when she noticed a car near her mill and heard someone calling her to come before she was ambushed by another man.[12] IOO and KOO experienced direct kidnapping. At eighteen, IOO was taken away from her home by the Japanese army. IOO explained her mother thought of marrying her off to protect her from the draft, but recruiters had broken into her home and took IOO in front of her mother.[13] From there, IOO went to a comfort station in Keelung, Taiwan. KOO's ordeal also began as a direct case of being taken without any warning; she was sixteen when it happened. KOO recalls her story, "I went to the seaside to catch some conches, where I was snatched by Japanese bastards."[14] KOO was not alone when she was taken: her cousin was with her, and they ended up taking her too. She and her cousin ended up becoming comfort women in Shanghai and Manchuria.

Park In-hwan's book is not alone documenting cases of kidnapping and being forced into sexual servitude. Keith Howard's book *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Women* and Maria Henson's *Comfort Women* include other examples of the Japanese army kidnapping women into sexual slavery. Maria Henson, a Filippino, operated a part of a resistance group in the Philippines that resisted the Japanese occupation. For a while, Henson managed to evade capture by Japanese soldiers, but she

[9] Many comfort women kept quiet for decades because of Korean traditional values on chastity. Activist Mina Chang explains that "Addressing a culture and generation dictated by Confucian chastity, advocates too initially worried that the shame of defilation and lost virginity would elicit ostracism and negative public reaction." Mina Chang, "The Politics of an Apology: Japan and Resolving the 'Comfort Women' Issue," *Harvard International Review* 31, no. 3 (2009): 36.

[10] Park In-hwan, *Can You Hear Us?: The Untold Stories of Comfort Women*, trans Media Joha Translation Committee (The Commission on Verification and Support for the Victims of Forced Mobilization under Japanese Colonialism in Korea, 2014), 104.

[11] In-hwan, *Can You Hear Us?*, 104.

[12] In-hwan, *Can You Hear Us?*, 253.

[13] In-hwan, *Can You Hear Us?*, 293.

[14] In-hwan, *Can You Hear Us?*, 359.

became a victim when she was caught smuggling goods. The soldiers stopped her and took her to a comfort station.[15] The cases of Kim Haksun and Yi Okpun are similar. Kim Haksun and her foster father were traveling to China to find work for Haksun when they both encountered Japanese military police. Here an officer seized Haksun when the officer labeled her foster father a spy, leaving her vulnerable.[16] This officer then brought her to a comfort station to serve the Japanese military. Yi Okpun was another similar case as a Japanese and Korean man led her away at the age of twelve. Okpun was playing with her friends one day when a Korean and Japanese man approached her telling her that her father was calling for her; she followed them.[17] Soon after this, a Japanese man took Okpun to a comfort station in Taiwan.

Howard shares stories of Mun Okchu, Kim T'aesŏn, Kang Tŏkkyŏng, and Yun Turi—all were Korean women kidnapped by the Japanese army. A soldier took Mun Okchu in 1940 when she was sixteen. He found her walking home from her friend's house and forced her to follow him to a police station where her journey as a comfort woman began.[18] She ended up forced to serve as a comfort woman in Manchuria. Kim T'aesŏn is a unique case: she and her uncle had already planned to keep her safe from the Japanese draft, and it was pure coincidence that got her caught. Her uncle hid her, but she was caught when she came out of hiding. A Japanese and Korean man came into the home and took T'aeson and promised her good work without asking for consent in the matter.[19] At eighteen, she went to Burma to serve as a comfort woman. Tŏkkyŏng was sixteen when she went to Japan to join the Women's Volunteer Labour Corps in June of 1944. In Japan she worked at an aero-plane plant under terrible conditions. Along with the long work hours, her co-workers were unkind, and she was constantly berated. One night, she tried to escape and was successful. A Japanese military officer, however, later caught her and took her to a comfort station.[20] Yun Turi was another woman kidnapped by the Japanese army. Like Kang Tokkyong, she endured horrible work conditions and was treated cruelly. Because of this, she wanted to switch jobs. One day while walking home, Turi encountered a police officer who offered her a new job if she followed him; she did and became a comfort woman.[21]

The method of kidnapping by the Japanese military reveals that the Japanese government disregarded all rules and regulations set up for the mobilization of comfort women. The first major rule that the Japanese military broke was that they recruited women under the age of sixteen. BOO, Maria Henson, and Yi Okpun were all under the age of sixteen. The Japanese military cared little about age but only what these women could provide for their soldiers. The cases of kidnapping started to rise, and the Japanese military took people without warning. Asked why she quit school, HOO answered that, "You could not go out on the street in those days. You'll be snatched off the

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[15] Maria Rosa Henson, *Comfort Woman: A Filipina's Story of Prostitution and Slavery Under the Japanese Military*, 2nd ed. (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2017), 39-40.

[16] Kim Haksun, "Bitter Memories I Am Loathe To Recall," in *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Woman*, ed. Keith Howard (London: Cassel, 1995), 34.

[17] Yi Okpun, "Taken Away at Twelve," in *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Woman*, ed. Keith Howard (London: Cassel, 1995), 96.

[18] Mun Okchu, "Back to My Wretched Life," in *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Woman*, ed. Keith Howard (London: Cassel, 1995), 106.

[19] Kim T'aesŏn,"Death and Life Crises," in *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Woman*, ed. Keith Howard (London: Cassel, 1995), 152.

[20] Kang Tŏkkyŏng, "From the Women's Volunteer Labour Corps to a Comfort Station," in *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Woman*, ed. Keith Howard (London: Cassel, 1995), 180.

[21] Yun Turi, "Shut Away Close to Home," in *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Woman*, ed. Keith Howard (London: Cassel, 1995), 185-6.

street right away with no reason."[22] The Japanese military clearly mounted a vicious assault on women's agency, and kidnapping became common during the war.

Another method that the Japanese military used to trick women into the system was by "promising" good employment. With poverty endemic in the region, everyone sought good work, and the Japanese military used this to get the women to follow them and become comfort women. This method often involved deceit and coercion. In-hwan offers testimonies by COO, DOO, EOO, FOO and GOO, all of whom were deceived into becoming comfort women. A Japanese man lied to COO when he told her he could find her a factory job in Japan. COO had run away from home to follow the man.[23] DOO also wanted to escape her home life. One day, she saw men recruiting women to work abroad doing laundry and nursing work.[24] She ended up taking up the offer and went to a recruiting office. EOO was working in a textile factory when someone told her better jobs were available in Japan.[25] EOO went along with several others and left for Japan. FOO was persuaded by her village chief that he could get her a nice job at a factory, and she took him up on the offer.[26] GOO had come to Seoul to find a job and encountered a woman who asked her if she was interested in a good job, and GOO followed her.[27] Vulnerable women ended up being lied to and forced to become comfort women. COO served in Singapore, Timor, and Kuala Lumpur. DOO ended up serving as a comfort woman in Singapore and Burma. EOO served in Palau and Rabaul, while FOO served in Hankou and Hainan Island. GOO ultimately ended up in Palenbang.

Howard also introduces several women who were also coerced and lied to about job opportunities. Few details were given to comfort women about the work they were expected to perform before they soon realized their true fate, to sexually serve Japanese soldiers. Yi Yŏngsuk, an orphan, had worked many jobs to make ends meet. Her friend mentioned someone promising work in Japan, and the two decided to take the job overseas in Guangdong serving as comfort women.[28] Ha Sunnyŏ left home to find a job and eventually worked as a housemaid for several years until she was approached by a Japanese and Korean man who offered her a job in Osaka. She never asked about the nature of the work; she just trusted the man.[29] Yi Yongnyŏ was also unaware of what job awaited her. Yongnyŏ worked at a bar when she was approached by the owner who asked her if she was interested in a job. "I had worked there for about a year when the woman asked me if I would like to go elsewhere where I could earn lots of money. She told me I would not go alone, but would be with several others, so I shouldn't be afraid," Yongnyŏ explained.[30] From there she traveled to Japan and became a comfort woman. The Japanese military knew that these women needed jobs and coerced them to take the work that they offered. Most of the time, promised jobs would be overseas, and the women were told that they would be paid handsomely. To the women who wanted independence and some prosperity, this seemed like a good idea. Except in the end, they had to serve as comfort women.

In most cases, recruiters lied to the women about the jobs that awaited them. Oh Omok also lived in a poor family and wanted to make money, so she sought a higher-paying job opportunity.

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[22] In-hwan, *Can You Hear Us?,* 251.

[23] In-hwan, *Can You Hear Us?*, 141.

[24] In-hwan, *Can You Hear Us?*, 159.

[25] In-hwan, *Can You Hear Us?*, 177.

[26] In-hwan, *Can You Hear Us?*, 199.

[27] In-hwan, *Can You Hear Us?*, 225.

[28] Yi Yŏngsuk, "I Will No Longer Harbour Resentment," in *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Woman*, ed. Keith Howard (London: Cassel, 1995), 51.

[29] Ha Sunnyŏ, "I Would Rather Die," in *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Woman*, ed. Keith Howard (London: Cassel, 1995), 58.

[30] Yi Yongnyŏ, "I Thought I Would Die," in *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Woman*, ed. Keith Howard (London: Cassel, 1995), 145.

One day, a man from Chongup named Mr. Kim came to Omok's home offering her a relatively good-paying job as a weaver at a textile factory in Japan.[31] She followed him and ended up being turned over to Japanese soldiers to serve as a comfort woman. In order to dodge the labor draft enacted by the Japanese, some women took measures to hide themselves. Yi Sunok is a prime example of this. She hid herself from recruiters by acting as a married woman. The reason she did this was because many women were married off to avoid being drafted as the Japanese did not take women who were married. Time passed and she grew tired of having little money which led her to seek a job. A man named Mr. Oh told her that she could get a job at a silk factory in Japan, and she left with him for this job.[32] At this moment her fate was sealed, and she became a comfort woman in China. These were just some of the specific cases of women being lied to in order to convert them into comfort women. This stripped them of the freedom to make their own choices and forced them into sexual servitude.

Recruiters would often obtain more women as a result of one women bringing in others. Some women were coerced into joining because other women were influencing them to join. This was the case for Yi Yongsu and Yi Sangok. Yongsu's friend and a Japanese man coerced her to go with them. It happened one evening when her friend knocked on her window beckoning her to follow. Yongsu soon met with the Japanese man who gave her a dress.[33] Unbeknownst to her at the time, this was a Japanese recruiter. Yi Sangok had run away from home and encountered a recruiter outside of an escort agency. There she saw a Japanese man in a brown uniform recruiting women and when some of them left with him, she joined.[34] She was then forced along with the others to become comfort women.

In some cases, women appeared to have volunteered for service or been recruited by the Japanese, and some followed others as they did not know any better. Some did this to get away from their homes or to make a new life. Though these women went of their own volition, they were still subjected to sexual slavery.

During the war, many were desperate for jobs. Many Asians–especially in Korea–were desperately poor and struggled providing for themselves and their families. This led them to take whatever jobs they could, including becoming comfort women. In-hwan introduces three-women referred to as Kang, AOO, and JOO who sacrificed themselves to provide for their family. Do-ah Kang had a rough upbringing as the oldest in her family who took care of everything in her home. Do-ah recalled her recruitment: "One day, I was told, 'Do-ah! Go to where they say. We'll get rich. You can have a better life.'"[35] Do-ah's family pressured her into doing this so that it might help their family, and she agreed; in the end she was tricked into becoming a comfort woman.[36] AOO also had a similar experience. She was in the market when a middleman approached her with a job offer to work in Manchuria at a cotton yarn factory. These men told her that she could make great money.[37] Little did she know that she was signing up to be a comfort woman. JOO grew up in a steady household until her parents passed away, leaving her to take care for her siblings. While searching

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[31] Oh Omok, "I Thought I was Going to a Textile Factory," in *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Woman*, ed. Keith Howard (London: Cassel, 1995), 65.

[32] Yi Sunok, "It Makes Me Sad that I Can't Have Children," in *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Woman*, ed. Keith Howard (London: Cassel, 1995), 116-7.

[33] Yi Yongsu, "Return My Youth to Me," in *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Woman*, ed. Keith Howard (London: Cassel, 1995), 89.

[34] Yi Sangok, "I Came Home, But Lost My Family," in *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Woman*, ed. Keith Howard (London: Cassel, 1995), 126.

[35] In-hwan, *Can You Hear Us?*, 53.

[36] In-hwan, *Can You Hear Us?*, 57.

[37] In-hwan, *Can You Hear Us?*, 83.

for food, JOO overheard news about a potential job opening and went looking. When JOO met the people offering the job, she recalled that, "They, two Japanese men, and an old Busan native, said I can make good money if I worked at the rubber shoes plant in Busan."[38] From there, she agreed to go, unaware of what was about to happen to her. Howard shares the story of some women who had similar experiences.

Hwang Kŭmju became a foster child after her father died. Indebted to the man that offered her a place to stay, when her new family received a labor draft notice, she chose to go in place of her sister.[39] Kŭmju was then put on a train that took her to China, where she spent her days as a comfort woman. Pak Sunae, like Hwang Kŭmju, offered to go work, in her case for the sake of her own child. Sunae's husband sent her to an introduction agency that gave her work. It was there that she heard about the comfort corps that paid well supposedly for tending to wounded soldiers and washing clothes.[40] Sunae, however, was then forced into becoming a sex slave. Ch'oe Myŏngsun was very poor and wanted to help provide for her family. She was approached by the Neighborhood Community Center urging her to get a job, and she took comfort work to help her mother. "After all, she was our sole breadwinner, and I thought if I worked it would ease our financial difficulties," she recalled.[41] Soon after, Myŏngsun became a comfort woman against her will. These women did whatever they could to help provide for their families even if it meant sacrificing their bodies. Aware of the poverty and destitution around them, Japan offered jobs to women to exploit their economic situations. While these women were not directly forced by the Japanese military into joining, most of them felt that they had no other option: it was a matter between life and death. These women had little agency; they could either take the jobs recruiters offered or continue to suffer. Both options were insufferable in the end.

While acting as comfort women, some took desperate measures to ensure their survival. Most of the time women were malnourished and sleep deprived. In order to get by, some comfort women befriended soldiers in hopes that they would help them. Some soldiers were even sympathetic. When BOO and HOO were serving as comfort women in Manchuria and Nagasaki, they both had soldiers who took pity on them. BOO recalls that a second lieutenant often visited her and let her rest; he also gave her a tiny bit of money.[42] "There were a lot of nice ones among the Japanese people. Yoshimura would just sit there smoking cigarettes and leave." HOO explained.[43] Kim Tŏkchin was a comfort woman who was fortunate enough to have befriended a high-ranking officer. His name was Izumi, and the two spent many days together. Tŏkchin was able to leave her service as a comfort woman because Izumi let her go. "About three years after I had become a comfort woman, in February or March 1940, Izumi said that I should go back home since my health was getting worse just as the war was becoming more serious," Tŏkchin recalled.[44] Because of her relationship with the officer, she was able to get the help she needed and was also allowed to go home. Mun Okchu likewise was able to leave her sexual servitude because she befriended an officer who let her leave. Okchu was serving as a comfort woman when she realized that to survive, she

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[38] In-hwan, *Can You Hear Us?*, 324.

[39] Hwang Kŭmju, "I Want to Live without Being Treated with Contempt," in *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Woman*, ed. Keith Howard (London: Cassel, 1995), 71-2.

[40] Pak Sunae, "Hostage to My Past," in *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Woman*, ed. Keith Howard (London: Cassel, 1995), 159-6.

[41] Ch'oe Myŏngsun, "Silent Suffering," in *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Woman*, ed. Keith Howard (London: Cassel, 1995), 169-70.

[42] In-hwan, *Can You Hear Us?*, 122.

[43] In-hwan, *Can You Hear Us?*, 277.

[44] Kim Tŏkchin, "I Have Much to Say to the Korean Government," in *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Woman*, ed. Keith Howard (London: Cassel, 1995), 47.

needed to make friends with a soldier. Okchu explains "I made him special garters and I put them on him. I bought him something special when we went shopping, I bought groceries and I cooked him fine meals in the kitchen."[45] Because of these actions, the officer allowed her to leave, and she was free.

While some women used the help of officers to leave, others managed to escape comfort stations themselves. Yi Okpun was one who managed the near impossible. She spent many nights training herself not to sleep and learned the routine of the guards in her station which allowed her to escape.[46] Kim Haksun, unlike Yi Okpun, had help escaping but it was not from a soldier. In some comfort stations, people other than Japanese soldiers were allowed to use the services. In Haksun's case, she served a Korean man who was a peddler, and she begged him to take her with him. Haksun was able to escape the next morning with the help from this Korean peddler and afterwards she stayed with this man.[47] Maria Henson was also able to escape a comfort station but had outside help. A captain named Tanaka—who had assaulted her numerous times before her arrival at the station—took care of her and allowed her to stay in his room on several occasions.[48] She was later liberated by a man from her village. The man led a guerilla group that attacked the station, allowing her to flee.[49] These testimonies show that some individuals could be humane, but the institution itself was not.

Some women did not have the opportunity to leave and instead did what they could to survive. When GOO first arrived at her comfort station, she was shocked at what she had to do. She did not want to serve soldiers and took it upon herself to try and get out of her situation. "I was so disgusted with my duty that I had to lie that I was pregnant. Then they let me work at the ticket booth," she recalled.[50] GOO lied to make sure that she would not have to serve and got away with it. Oh Omok befriended a high-ranking officer named Lieutenant Morimoto. Omok elaborates "Sometime later, I became quite close to a Lieutenant Morimoto, who arranged for Okhui and me to receive only high-ranking officers."[51] Omok explained that after this, her experience as a comfort woman became bearable.[52] These testimonies help show the desperate and hopeless situations these women experienced due to the Japanese military and the circumstances forced upon them in order to survive.

Comfort women were often not allowed to leave, and the Japanese military used several methods to keep them in captivity, including violence. "No one tried and no one ever thought about running. You get discouraged once you hear about the failed attempts," FOO explained.[53] If women were caught trying to leave, they were often beaten severely or killed. Mun P'ilgi also recounts how heavily guarded they were, which made it difficult to leave. "The guards were always there, watching us. They were afraid that we might plan an escape together, so they didn't allow us to congregate and talk," she lamented.[54] Another major factor that prevented women from escaping the comfort stations was the fact that they had no idea where to go. Women were often taken far away from their homelands, leaving them no refuge if they were to escape. Water surrounded many of the comfort stations in South Asia, such as those in Indonesia and other territories. This made escape

[45] Okchu, "Back to My Wretched Life," 108.
[46] Okpun, "Taken Away at Twelve," 98.
[47] Haksun, "Bitter Memories I Am Loathe To Recall" 38.
[48] Henson, *Comfort Woman*, 51-2.
[49] Henson, *Comfort Woman*, 56.
[50] In-hwan, *Can You Hear Us?*, 230.
[51] Omok, "I Thought I Was Going to a Textile Factory," 67.
[52] Omok, "I Thought I Was Going to a Textile Factory," 67.
[53] In-hwan, *Can You Hear Us?*, 212-3.
[54] P'ilgi, "I So Much Wanted to Study," 85-6.

near impossible. When GOO acted as a comfort woman, she had no means of fleeing whatsoever. She arrived at her station by boat, and the camp was surrounded completely by water.[55] "We could not run away. We had nowhere to run. We could not even go outside," she remembered.[56] Mun Okchu also felt helpless as well in this position. "No one watched over us. But we dared not run away because we simply didn't know where we were or where we could go," she recalled.[57] The Japanese policy of dispatching women to distant areas proved disorienting to the comfort women and hindered severely their ability to escape.

Probably one of the biggest factors that kept women at stations, besides the threat of violence, was debt. Oftentimes, the Japanese barred women from leaving since they owed money to the station or some other benefactor. Recruiters racked up debt on the accounts of women to keep them in stations. Beaten and afraid, Yi Tŭngnam tried to leave a station, but was denied because she owed money to a recruiter that she was forced to pay back.[58] She had no choice but to work as a comfort woman to pay off this debt. COO was in a similar situation. She was asked later if she was compensated for her services. "I wasn't paid at all because I owed so much debt. He said I have nothing to get minus my debt," she responded.[59] Debts spiraled out of control as managers purchased items to rack up comfort women's debt to keep them working. GOO elaborates that her journey to the comfort station added to her debt as the Japanese paid for her transportation and other expenses, but they expected repayment.[60] EOO also could not leave as her manager kept increasing her debt. EOO explains that she was told she was making money, but her manager kept buying her clothes which just made her arrears ever greater.[61] The debt made it near impossible for comfort women to leave their situations. The Japanese military held comfort women as prisoners, refusing to let them escape. Once these women arrived at comfort stations, their agency was stripped as threats of violence and debt immobilized them. The only way they could leave was by death, escape if it was possible, or until they were liberated in August of 1945.

Stripped of agency, comfort women sought mainly to survive. The Japanese military and other recruiters used many methods to capture women, and kidnapping was very common. Several women like KOO were minding their own business when kidnapped by the Japanese military. This act of abduction left these women with no choice but to act as comfort women. The Japanese military often promised women great jobs overseas and deceived them into becoming comfort women when the job they were given was not what they were told it was going to be. Women like Oh Omok were eager to make money and often followed the Japanese military to Japan where they became comfort women. These women made the choice to take jobs from the Japanese, but never expected that they had to serve as comfort women. Some women were so desperate for jobs that it did not even matter where the job was or what they did because they needed money. The Japanese army capitalized on their economic weakness if comfort women and provided them with a hellish occupation. Some learned to endure their jobs while some did not. When women arrived at comfort stations, they adopted many measures to ensure survival including forming relationships with officers or attempting to escape. If that did not work, women were left to either serve until they died or wait to be liberated. Such measures kept thousands of women enslaved to the Japanese military against their will. Overall, the stories of these women manifest the brutality of the comfort women

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[55] In-hwan, *Can You Hear Us?*, 230.

[56] In-hwan, *Can You Hear Us?*, 309.

[57] Okchu, "Back to My Wretched Life," 106.

[58] Yi Tŭngnam, "Wandering around Manchuria, China and Sumatra," in *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Woman*, ed. Keith Howard (London: Cassel, 1995), 137.

[59] In-hwan, *Can You Hear Us?*, 150.

[60] In-hwan, *Can You Hear Us?*, 240.

[61] In-hwan, *Can You Hear Us?*, 192.

system. We as historians have a duty to show the truth no matter how harsh. By doing so, we allow ourselves a better lens on the world. In the case of comfort women, people need to be aware of what happened. The comfort women and comfort stations were a horrible chapter in history that affected the lives of thousands of people and still continues to do so. To put this issue to rest, empathy and acceptance is needed so something as horrific as the comfort women never happens again.

Cold War Fears and Algerian Independence: American Public Opinion on an Independent Algeria, 1954-1962

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During the Algerian War of Independence, Algerians fought for independence from their long-time colonizer, France, which as an American ally. While the independence movement essentially started during World War I, war did not break out in North Africa until late in 1954. The conflict came not even a decade after World War II, in the thick of the Cold War, as the Soviet Union and the United States competed on an international stage and as pressure for decolonization grew in the "third world." For Americans in the 1950s, maintaining international order was paramount. They had been through the recent chaos of global war the previous decade and now were immersed in a Cold War. Americans of all social statuses worried about their country's security, reputation, alliances, and role in protecting the world from the spread of communism.

This paper explores how these factors shaped American public opinion of Algerian independence by examining media reports from the United States from 1954 to 1962. Of course, like any historical issue, the Algerian War and US public opinion were complex matters. While not definitive, this study addresses the American perspective by examining publications including the *New York Times, Chicago Defender, Chicago Tribune, Daily Defender, Evening Star* (Washington), and *American Mercury*.

Most American publications concluded that the Algerian War of Independence, and even Algerian independence itself, was a threat and potential hindrance to the international interests of the United States. Key American media outlets came to see the Algerian independence movement as potentially exacerbating the spread of communism and that a newly independent Algeria would be a breeding ground for communists wanting to take advantage of the power vacuum. Less prevalent but still significant was a fear that war in Algeria would weaken the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) if the French could not fulfill their obligations to NATO because of Algerian distractions and the allocation of resources to the region. Additionally, many Americans feared that the reputation of the United States would be harmed if it failed to step in either as a mediator or liberator if it wanted to be true to its occasional anti-imperial ideals.[1]

Secondary scholarship written after the war rarely has addressed American public opinion. Most scholarship focuses on the Algerian and French perspectives as well as the war's place in the larger decolonization movement. The war has generally been regarded as one of many within the decolonization movement and not of any special significance. Yet Andrea Brazzoduro, an assistant professor at the University of Naples L'Orientale who teaches social history, argues that the conflict was central and essential to the decolonization movement and that it prompted the emergence of

[1] Geoffrey Wawro, *Quicksand: America's Pursuit of Power in the Middle East,* (New York: Penguin Press, 2010), 219.

many new ideas that have been tied to characteristics of the 1960s.[2] Others have come to share this view, and the Algerian War of Independence's place in history has been repositioned in the past decade.

While the United States government was involved in the war, and there have been articles written about its role, the thoughts and feelings of the American press and people have rarely been researched extensively by historians. For this reason, the historiography that pertains most closely to the topic of American public opinion focuses on differing opinions within the United States government about the conflict: specifically, what policies to pursue regarding the belligerents and how to handle the conflict publicly.

The debate within the United States government centered on whether the country should align itself with France or Algeria. Those in favor of sticking by France believed that keeping Algeria under French control would prevent the spread of communism. Those who wanted to support countries attempting to decolonize generally believed that it was important for strong capitalistic and democratic societies to support newly formed nations to prevent them from aligning with communist powers, like the Soviet Union.[3]

Scholars argue this debate existed for the entirety of the war but became a prominent issue once John F. Kennedy took office as president of the United States in 1961. As a senator, Kennedy was a strong supporter of the Algerian independence movement. In 1957, he bluntly made clear his disapproval of President Eisenhower's handling of the situation. Eisenhower seemed to be attempting to maintain a position of neutrality, supporting French efforts to keep Algeria an internal issue. As president, Kennedy was more outwardly supportive of the Algerians than the Eisenhower administration had been. This was a move that effectively publicly nullified the French-American alliance in this context, even though the United States was still contributing resources on behalf of the French through NATO. While the Eisenhower administration may have privately been hoping that the Algerians prevailed, they never spoke against their French allies. This demonstrated what they valued most. Yet political scientist Jeffrey Lefebvre argues that while Kennedy voiced his support for Algeria's National Liberation Front (FLN), his policies were just as neutral as those of Eisenhower when it came to supporting either side.[4]

Many historians agree that both presidential administrations, while differing in terms of rhetoric, had approximately the same view of the Algerian cause itself. Miloud Barkaoui of Badji Mokhtar-Annaba University also argues that the United States displayed neutrality when it came to action in the situation. The United States chose to proceed in a way that benefited itself and that did not disrupt NATO. Barkoui argued that the United States did not try to make France end the war at all. Americans wished to maintain their position of relative neutrality because, according to Barkoui, Eisenhower did not believe that the Soviet Union was actually involved with the FLN, so the United States did not need to become directly involved. The Kennedy administration did not take a very different position in practice. Barkoui reports that Kennedy was not as impassioned in his view of

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[2] Andrea Brazzoduro, "Algeria, Antifascism, and Third Worldism: An Anticolonial Geneaology of the Western European New Left (Algeria, France, and Italy, 1957-1975)," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 48 no. 5 (October 2020): 958-978. Another work that puts the Algerian war at the center of Cold War developments is Matthew Connelly, *A Diplomatic Revolution: Algeria's Fight for Independence and the Origins of the Post-Cold War Era* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

[3] Jeffrey A. Lefebvre, "Kennedy's Algerian Dilemma: Containment, Alliance Politics and the 'Rebel Dialogue,'" *Middle Eastern Studies* 35 no. 2 (April 1999): 71.

[4] Lefebvre, "Kennedy's Algerian Dilemma," 61-82; Connelly, *A Diplomatic Revolution*, 215-275.

Algerian independence as president as he was as a senator.[5] However, the Kennedy administration expressed more ideological support for the Algerians than Eisenhower. It also seemed to the public that the Kennedy administration was more inclined toward the FLN, while the Eisenhower administration favored the lines of alliance and stuck by the French. This is complicated by an assertion put forth by CIA agent turned author Charles Cogan in an article on relations between the United States, France, and Algeria during the war. Cogan shows that Eisenhower was very concerned about nationalism in Algeria and the surrounding countries, but the president believed that the United States should support the Algerian effort in some way because he thought of them as similar to the founding colonies of the United States that fought for independence.[6] Obviously, this was a strained comparison, but it demonstrates Eisenhower's feelings of moral obligation towards the Algerians and further explains the position of neutrality displayed by the US government.

Because there has been no significant historical treatment of American public opinion on the war, this paper seeks to start the conversation on this topic. With the government avoiding discussing the war and the media publishing articles linking communism to the FLM, it follows that the American public would hold a negative view of the revolution.

This study approaches American public opinion on the Algerian War by examining newspapers and magazines published during the war. It concludes that American media outlets and the public felt Algerian independence did not align with American interests. This resulted from fear that the conflict and an independent Algeria could further spread communism and weaken France, which would in turn weaken NATO. In the end, the winner, Americans feared, would be the Soviet Union. US media almost always focused on the negative potential impact to the United States that the situation had or could have. This is not to say that all Americans and newspaper publications thought and wrote this way, as some were supportive of the Algerian cause.

As mentioned, one of the US critics of France was John F. Kennedy. The senator from Massachusetts made clear that he fully believed that Algeria should be independent, and later President Kennedy congratulated Algerians when they finally won out over the French. JFK, however, appears the exception: most Americans maintained negative feeling towards Algeria out of fear of communism, of Algeria emerging a weak ally hindering American interests, and potential damage to the reputation of the United States.[7]

The spread of communism was arguably the largest obstacle standing between common Americans and their support of the Algerian struggle. There are countless examples of journalists linking communism to the Algerian War of Independence. One such journalist was David Lawrence, who wrote an article titled, "'Cold War' Shifts to North Africa," published in the Washington, D.C. newspaper, the *Evening Star*. Lawrence opened by making the statement that in North Africa, "Nationalist movements are reaping the benefit of Soviet strategy," and he followed a few paragraphs later with: "It is in the interest of the United States to see rebellion squelched in North Africa." Lawrence explained a little later in the article that the communists wanted to come between the United States and France and heavily implied that they were using the North African conflicts to make progress in seeing this goal come to fruition. Finally, he asserted that "The communists are making progress in the 'Cold War' in Africa because too many Americans are duped by the outward appearance of legitimacy which some of the so-called nationalistic movements have been able to

[5] Miloud Barkaoui, "Managing the Colonial Status Quo: Eisenhower's Cold War and the Algerian War of Independence," *The Journal of North African Studies* 17 no. 1 (January 2012): 125-141. Charles Cogan, "France, the United States and the Invisible Algerian Outcome," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 25 no. 2 (2002): 138–158.

[6] Cogan, "France, the United States and the Invisible Algerian Outcome," 138–158.

[7] Russell Baker, "Kennedy Urges U.S. Back Independence for Algeria," *New York Times,* July 3, 1957.

publicize."[8] There are many things to be taken into account in this text. Accuracy aside, Lawrence said that there were communists in North Africa who were in direct opposition to American interests and ideology and that an independence movement in this region would spell trouble for United States interests.

Such statements were common in articles published in the *Evening Star* which appears to be unquestioningly pro-American when dealing with the issues of North Africa and communism. Such sentiments were also found in newspapers like the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, which often intertwined communism with North African independence movements though they often referred to the movements as "rebellions." An article published in the *Chicago Daily Tribune* reported on death tolls from a few battles. The author of the article drew information from the French reports and did not fail to mention the arrests of 30 suspected communists by the French in Algerian capital Algiers, one of whom allegedly supplied Algerian forces with a large amount of weapons.[9] The result of this story, which was told from the French perspective and stressed the dangers of communism, was the villainization of the FLN.

American Mercury, a generally conservative magazine founded by H.L. Menken, published a piece written by Hilaire du Berrier in 1959 entitled, "FLN, Communism's Ball-Carrier in North Africa." Du Berrier wrote of a group of German communists allegedly working with the FLN. The article went so far as to say that the FLN would not have gotten its start or been able to build strength without communist support. "Who is paying for it [the FLN], and how much has been spent are questions a loyal American should ask," he warned.[10] Again, one can see the rhetoric linking Algeria and the FLN to the global spread of communism, something in total opposition to the Cold War-era United States.

An article published in 1960 in the *Daily Defender*, Chicago's African-American newspaper, reported a statement by a "rebel leader" that negotiations with the French were effectively abandoned and that the FLN was relying on "Soviet and Communist Chinese help" to defeat the uncooperative French forces and government.[11] Less than two weeks later, Phil Newsom wrote an article for the same newspaper claiming Algerians had indicated that Soviet and Chinese forces could be making their way to Algeria to fight with rebel groups. Newsom wrote that "experts" from France did not quite believe that this would be happening. However, he added, "[t]hings are already going too well in Algeria for world communism." Newsom later claimed that the Soviet Union was distributing propaganda in North Africa to spread the message that "The United States and its NATO allies were trying to perpetuate colonialism."[12] Newsom left readers with a strong sense of Soviet collusion and North African anti-Americanism.

However, six years before printing these articles, in 1954, *The Defender* reported the admonishment of Reverend James H. Robinson of New York City's Church of the Master. Just returned from six months touring Africa, Robinson decried the idea that communists were causing rebellions in North Africa and instead pointed to rising nationalism as the cause. He also argued that, in addition to nationalism, autonomy was a logical desire and response to the treatment of colonized African nations; he called upon black Americans to help them in their quest.[13] This article,

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[8] David Lawrence, "'Cold War' Shifts to North Africa," *Evening Star,* September 5, 1955.

[9] "Battle French in Algeria's Hills; 230 Die," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* April 8, 1956.

[10] Hilaire du Berrier, "FLN Communism's Ball-Carrier in North Africa: Whose sinister money backs Algeria's National Liberation Forces?" *American Mercury* 89 no. 429 (1959): 140-146.

[11] "Algerian Rebels Seek Soviet Help," *Chicago Daily Defender,* October 31, 1960.

[12] Phil Newsom, "Hint Red 'Volunteers' May Fight In Algeria," *Chicago Daily Defender,* November 10, 1960.

[13] "Says Nationalism not Reds Stirring Africans," *The Chicago Defender,* November 27, 1954.

read primarily for a black readership, portrays a very different attitude than the articles from late 1960. The anticommunism so prevalent in other newspapers appears missing from the *Daily Defender*.

Overall, a shift in tone can be detected from 1954 to 1960. Nationalism emphasized by the press early on, now was seen much less frequently as an issue compared to communism. It would not be a stretch to say that this change in focus could be the result of six years of discussion of communism in Algeria since the war had started. Also, it is important to note that in the 1954 *Chicago Defender* article, the threat of communism in Algeria did not go unmentioned; it was instead refuted. The journalist covering the event quoted Rev. Robinson as dismissing allegations of a communist influence on Algeria as a "'complete distortion of the facts.'"[14] This view, however, was an outlier. Increasingly coverage of the FLM was linked to the threat of communism in Algeria.

Another observable obstacle to US support for the Algerian liberation movement was concern France was being weakened by the war. There was also increasing resentment between NATO allies because of France's preoccupation with the conflict instead of its NATO commitments. Anxiety about NATO is well-showcased in a *Chicago Daily Tribune* article published in 1955, not even a year into fighting. Henry Wales, a veteran foreign correspondent for the paper, claimed troops destined for NATO forces were now being shifted to reinforce French units already fighting in Algeria. Wales made sure to specify that American supplies intended for NATO use were also to be used. Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers in Europe (SHAPE) evidently had not approved of the transfer, and the reader gets the impression it occurred simply by France's own volition. Wales noted that this was not the first time the French had diverted NATO resources to North Africa, and he claimed France had pulled its forces out of NATO divisions to be sent to Tunisia in the recent past. NATO's original units were still without their required numbers.[15] Any politically informed American of this time would likely be concerned by the selfishness displayed by France. They might fear that French actions in Algeria would compromise US commitments to NATO, but they likely understood that France would not give up on Algeria. The only option left was to hope the Algerians would fail in their fight for autonomy, as their success would bring an end to the war, but potentially lead to other issues.

As if the actions of France were not concerning enough, Wales reported that "[m]embers of NATO have expressed apprehension that the transfer of another French division from the continent would place the Western nations' armies in a vulnerable position in the event of an attack by Russia."[16] Though in a different sense, this statement tied the war back to the threat of communism. If Americans believed that Algerian independence would strengthen a Soviet attack on the United States, it is very difficult for one to imagine that they would be in support of the group waging it.

Politically, the war in Algeria caused issues in France. A 1956 article published in the *Evening Star* reported that French Premier Guy Mollet had been criticized by members of his party for his handling of the Algerian war. Members called for a committee to be brought together to work on strategy as the war progressed. The author of the article speculated that the political worst was yet to come for Mollet especially once budgets had to be approved.[17] This situation gave the appearance that many in the French government were not wholeheartedly supportive of Mollet as premier. When members of a leader's party do not publicly stand behind them, it translates quite badly for

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[14] "Nationalism not Reds."

[15] Henry Wales, "French Diversion of Arms and Troops from Europe to Africa Stirs NATO: Recall U. S. Protest on Weapon Shift," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* June 9, 1955.

[16] Wales, "French Diversion of Arms."

[17] "Policy Fails Spell Trouble For Mollet," *Evening Star,* December 6, 1956.

political stability on an international stage. News of disagreements about something as important as a war impacting the health of NATO undoubtedly worried many. With this, one can begin to examine a third factor regarding the question of American public opinion on this conflict. This is a consideration of how the war impacted the reputation of the United States because of its association with France.

John F. Kennedy was the most famous politician to express concern about Algeria. Kennedy, already a proponent of Algerian independence from the start of the movement, was more outspoken about it during his senatorship than his presidency. Because of its colonial history, the United States, the senator insisted, should not support those who are colonizing and oppressing other nations. He was also concerned about communism in North Africa, but Kennedy believed France's position and actions were to blame for it, not the Algerians. Russell Baker wrote in the *New York Times* that, in 1957, Kennedy took to the Senate floor to denounce the United States government's handling of the war. He went so far as to describe the Eisenhower administration's attitude as being "'head-in-the-sands.'" He criticized the position as metaphorically standing by as the French still claimed the conflict was internal, and therefore no other nations had the right to intervene. The war in Algeria could no longer be treated as an internal matter because it was impacting the NATO allies, among others. America's reputation was on the line. Baker wrote, "He [Kennedy] taxed the United States with following a line of genial compliance to French policy that had weakened United States leadership, aided the Communist cause and denied this nation's anti-colonial legacy." Of course, such harsh remarks would not go unpunished. After stating that he would not want the country to become involved in North Africa, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles asserted Kennedy would be better off focusing on communists instead of the French if he wanted to oppose colonialism, implying that they were the real threat.[18] It is interesting that even in the discourse surrounding support for the Algerians, communism remained an issue. Even when Kennedy made points about communism, he was criticized for not focusing more on it. When the emphasis was on communism instead of the core reason for the fighting, Americans likely found it difficult to focus on the latter.

The aforementioned *American Mercury* article also blasted Kennedy. Du Berrier described the FLN as a "trojan horse" for communism. In the next sentence, Du Berrier described Kennedy as an American supporter of FLM. He then suggested Kennedy's words essentially supported the alliance between the Algerians and the Soviet Union and China. "Rumors of a Red Chinese intervention in the near future have given them [FLN] the same sort of lift in '59 that Senator Kennedy provided in '57," wrote Du Berrier.[19] In making these close associations, du Berrier left the cold impression that Kennedy was just as bad as the communists for supporting the FLN.

An intense fear of communism, concerns of a major ally being weakened, and a desire to protect America's reputation and interests all led Americans to take an unfavorable view of the Algerian independence movement. Cold War tensions exacerbated all of these factors and made it all the more important that the United States had strong, loyal allies committed to democracy, such as France. To the American public, these concerns mandated support for French colonialism in North Africa.

[18] "Kennedy urges U.S. back independence."

[19] Du Berrier, "FLN Communism's Ball-Carrier," 142,143.

Review of *Consuming Painting: Food and the Feminine in Impressionist Paris* by Allison Deutsch (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2021).

McKenna A. Payton

McKenna A. Payton, of Syracuse, Utah, is a senior History with International Studies major at Eastern Illinois University. She graduates in May 2024. After graduation, she will be joining the master's program at EIU, specializing in Modern World History.

Allison Deutsch's *Consuming Painting: Food and the Feminine in Impressionist Paris* is absolutely delicious. Deutsch, with the desire to make the aesthetics and culture of Impressionist Paris and its critics digestible, has crafted *Consuming Painting* into six impeccable courses for the public and specialists alike. Her introduction paints a vivid scene of life (or sets an immaculate table, for a more apt comparison) in 19th century Paris, which serves as the perfect background for the main course: Deutsch's analysis of the growing trend of observing the act of viewing as synonymous with the act of consuming. Her analysis is supported by understanding the various metaphors and tools used by visual art critics, that, when combined with the growing food culture in Paris, produced a way of thinking about food and consumption as analogous with the action of viewing. Turning up the heat on existing narratives, Deutsch additionally challenges the common belief of Impressionist Art as being purely optical, as suggested by legendary 20th century critic, Clement Greenberg, and widely accepted by contemporary scholars, to suggest that Impressionist Art is similar to the feminine it portrays multi-sensory and intersectional.

By interacting with literary and culinary metaphors, as well as the material culture surrounding gourmet cooking in Paris; examining the visceral depictions of the female form, in relation to both the paintings of nudes and the metaphoric display of women's bodies in butchered meat; equating the innocence, naivety, and fluff of pastry to the constructed, gluttonous, and desirable feminine form; and extrapolating on representations of women across the various social classes of Paris, Deutsch offers up a page-turning read that is self-aware, witty, and fantastic on readers palettes. Equipped with fifty-eight illustrations, Deutsch additionally tackles one of the hardest challenges of visual arts, communicating their importance and compositional qualities across mediums from the visual to literary. *Consuming Painting* is a classic in the making, a most certain welcome to the collection of any connoisseur of the arts, visual or culinary.

Review of *The Struggle for Supremacy in the Middle East: Saudia Arbia and Iran* by Simon Mabon (London: Cambridge University Press, 2023)

Anthony Talamonti

Anthony Talamonti is a Senior History with Teacher Licensure Major from Manteno, IL.

The Middle East has been rife with conflict throughout the 2000s. Often the region is associated with terror and sectarian violence. However, if one looks closer, they will see the varying layers of diplomacy in which Middle Eastern nations engage. Simon Mabon, a professor of international politics at Lancaster University, looks to explore the Middle East's web of relations.

Mabon's book takes a close look at the nomos of each county and how they compete. He defines nomos as "[v]isions of regional order—which play out across the transnational field and resonate within states" (52). The focus on nomos changes how the reader views the competition between Saudi Arabia and Iran. Mabon argues that Saudia Arabia and Iran have competing ideas about how the Middle East should be organized. Iran's government was created by revolution, while Saudi Arabia is conservative kingdom. This makes aligning each other's nomos near impossible. In Mabon's book, each chapter, after the introduction, goes through how these differing orientations play out in domestic, regional, and international relations.

The book takes the reader on a deep dive through the weeds of international relations. The neighboring countries of Iraq, Bahrain, Lebanon, Syria, and Yemen also are discussed. Mabon focuses on how sectarianism, transnationalism, and economics shape these relationships. He also discusses how each nations domestic politics is influenced by Saudi Arabia or Iran.

For any reader who would like to have a deeper understanding of the Middle East, this book provides a good starting point. While requiring some knowledge of political theory, the book effectively revises what has been an ineffective and simplistic way of analyzing the relationship between Saudi Arabia and Iran.

Review of *Race for Profit: How Banks and the Real Estate Industry Undermined Black Homeownership* by Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019).

Michael Armah

Michael Armah is a historian from Ghana, West Africa, with a Bachelor of Arts degree in History from the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST) in Kumasi, Ghana. Currently, he recently completed his graduate studies in History at Eastern Illinois University.

Northwestern University Professor of African American Studies, Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, thoroughly exposes the hidden methods that sustained racial discrimination in the American housing market in her book *Race for Profit: How Banks and the Real Estate Industry Undermined Black Homeownership*. Taylor dissects historical events and policy measures to reveal the intricate network of institutional racism that has impeded Black homeownership, maintained economic inequities, and entrenched segregation in America.

Taylor adeptly chronicles the development of housing regulations from the post-World War II period to the present, revealing the collusion of government agencies, financial institutions, and real estate operators to exploit Black neighborhoods. Taylor demonstrates how supposedly progressive efforts like the Fair Housing Act were sabotaged by banks and the real estate industry's profit-driven motives, resulting in the rise of predatory lending, discriminatory zoning laws, and the deliberate undervaluation of Black-owned properties.

Taylor excels at placing historical events into larger socio-political contexts, which is a key strength of the book. She reveals the power mechanisms that sustained racial disparity in housing by analyzing the interaction of race, class, and capitalism. She adeptly maneuvers through the intricacies of urban growth, gentrification, and housing policy, providing readers with a detailed discussion of how systematic racism functions on both large and small scales. Taylor's writing is accessible, effectively conveying complicated ideas to a broad audience while maintaining intellectual rigor. Her writing is captivating and persuasive, pulling readers into the story and prompting thoughtful consideration of the historical influences that still impact modern culture.

Race for Profit is not only a recounting of history, but a summons to take action. Taylor invites readers to address the painful realities of America's history and current situation, encouraging them to acknowledge their involvement in sustaining systematic racism while encouraging significant change. Taylor focuses on the perspectives of Black homeowners and activists to give voice to underprivileged individuals and inspire readers to advocate for social justice. Some readers might see Taylor's analysis as repetitious due to her frequent reiteration of specific topics and points throughout the book. Taylor's understanding of structural impediments for Black homeowners might be enhanced by a more detailed examination of intersectionality and its effects on disadvantaged populations beyond race.

Ultimately, Taylor's work is a pertinent and crucial addition to the literature on race, housing, and inequality. This book is essential for anybody interested in comprehending the origins of systematic racism in the American housing market and envisioning a fairer and more equitable future.

Review of Mark Forsyth, *A Short History of Drunkenness: How, Why, Where, and When Humankind Has Gotten Merry from the Stone Age to the Present* (New York: Crown Publishing, 2018).

Lex Coniglio

Lex Coniglio is a junior at Eastern Illinois University currently majoring in History with International Studies, as well as minoring in Public History and Video Production.

Mark Forsyth's book, *A Short History of Drunkenness: How, Why, Where, and When Humankind Has Gotten Merry from the Stone Age to the Present*, sets out to answer the question of what it means to be drunk, and not just that, what it means to be drunk throughout history. From the very beginning of the introduction when the author first raises this question, to the very end of the epilogue, Forsyth analyzes what some of the most prominent eras in history had to say about being intoxicated. Moving chronologically, Forsyth discusses everything from the evolution of ingesting alcohol all the way to Prohibition. All to answer the question of why? Why do humans drink and how did they do it? Where did they do it? And when did it occur?

A prominent British writer, Forsyth has written other notable works such as *The Etymologicon*, *The Horologicon*, and *The Elements of Eloquence*. So, although his background is not in History, Forsyth still provides a strong historical understanding of his subjects in a way that shows the depths of his research. He also clearly has the ability to write for a larger audience.

In the prologue, Forsyth explains that drunkenness is universal. The intent behind this work is to discuss the what, where, why, and how's of drinking, not who did it. This is made very clear at the end of the prologue before jumping into the origins of alcohol. From the very beginning, the earliest single cell microbes secreted beer as a waste product back in the days of primordial soup. The first fruits that humanity ingested had alcoholic sugars in them from fermentation, from which our ability to digest alcohol stems. Some animals are quite the similar. Where alcohol is prominent, like through overripe fruit, species with the gene to digest it appear as well. But even in species that do not have access to it, alcohol can still have its effects as seen through experimentation done by humans. Drunkenness is not exclusive to humanity, Forsyth argues. What is exclusive, however, is the social aspect of being drunk.

There is not much to know of the prehistoric period since writing had not yet been invented, but some of the earliest indications of drinking can be found in murals painted onto cavern walls. And once civilization began its development in the Middle East with the Sumerians, with it came the first bars. It was not just bars: religions often incorporated alcohol into their practices as found with the Sumerians, Egyptians, and Greeks. Meanwhile, in the case of Ancient China and Rome, alcohol would even be looked down upon for its ability to scramble the human mind. As time went on, however, the use of alcohol more often than not became a staple of social life and recreation. From the dark ages until prohibition occurred in America, Forsyth recounts the many ways in which alcohol was consumed by the masses. From the days of mixing barley with water to fermenting wine professionally, Forsyth argues that alcohol has been a crucial part of culture since the very beginning.

Human history is also alcohol history; and though aspects of imbibing might change over time, its origins stay the same. As Forsyth claims, alcohol was—and always will be—a means to come together.

Review of *Lenin: Responding to Catastrophe, Forging Revolution* by Paul Le Blanc (London: Pluto Press, 2023).

Matthew Triaszin

Matthew Triaszin is working towards his master's in history at EIU. His primary areas of interest are the 19th and 20th century international workers movement, the Soviet Union prior to the 1936 Stalin Constitution and intellectual history pertaining to politics and philosophy.

Paul Le Blanc is a historian and activist in the intellectual tradition of the United Opposition, the unified left and right of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He is tied closely in views and actions to historian Lars T. Lih (author of *Bread and Authority in Russia: 1914-1921* and *Lenin Rediscovered: "What is to Be Done?" In Context*) and *Weekly Worker* editor Mike Macnair (a self-described "ex-Trot political hack,") in his distinct reappraisal of Lenin and the Bolsheviks as (albeit flawed or even failed) democratic republican Marxists.[1] To this end, Le Blanc sets out to counter a series of historiographical myths and constructions that have dogged his subject from both the right and the left.

Le Blanc takes aim at these myths from several directions: demolishing the constructions of "Leninism" via an analysis of the Bolsheviks in action during Lenin's life and via a recontextualization of the ways in which certain strategies such as democratic centralism and "vanguardism" functioned while Lenin lived. Rather than applying a dogmatic set of quasi-rituals that became "Leninism" as constructed by Stalin and others after Lenin's death, Le Blanc asserts a dynamic organization in which Lenin himself was simply at the helm and not some sort of party dictator.

Part of Le Blanc's (and his compatriot's) contribution is the recontextualization of Lenin's thought within the context of the Second International and his own contemporaries, including the likes of Georgi Plekhanov and Karl Kautsky, rather than attributing a pure "originalism" to the man. Le Blanc's study of Lenin takes the reader through his life, from birth to his leadership of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR) and Bolshevik party through the revolution of 1917 and subsequent Civil War. Uniquely, however, Le Blanc spends more time on the context in which Lenin existed than on the man as a single individual actor upon history. As an example, when Lenin's April Theses are introduced, Le Blanc does not frame them in terms of the leader of the party changing the party's direction, but as an argument which sparked widespread debate amongst the party, which *eventually* was implemented by a majority of the party's membership (at least in Petrograd). Le Blanc rejects any notion that the April Theses represented a level of "break" with the important concept of the "democratic republican" coalition made up of the Socialist Revolutionaries and both factions of the RSDLP alongside others.

Le Blanc's work, alongside the work of his contemporaries, presents a wonderful recontextualizing of the Russian Revolution, Lenin and the ever phantasmic "Leninism" in such a way that it can become a historical lesson—rather than a lecture about success or failure from authors of the right or left. It is hence an easy recommendation for readers interested in both the workers movement and Lenin himself.

[1] Mike Macnair, "Bio," *Weekly Worker*, accessed 12 May 2024, https://weeklyworker.co.uk/worker/authors/mike-macnair/.

Review of The *Making of a Terrorist: Alexandre Rousselin and the French Revolution* by Jeff Horn (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2021).

Madalyn Stead

Madalyn Stead is a senior History Major from Teutopolis, IL.

The Making of a Terrorist: Alexandre Rousselin and the French Revolution was published in 2021 by Manhattan College historian Jeff Horn. His book focuses on the "eyewitness" to the French Revolution, young Rousselin de Saint-Albin, who was a supporter of the Terror of the Revolution. The narrative follows him from a young age before the Revolution, through the Terror, and then the Napoleonic Era, to his death in 1847.

Horn uses many documents, including legislative records from before and after the Reign of Terror and letters written by contemporaries of Rousselin. Horn's protagonist, Rousselin de Saint-Albin, was a terrorist. This term is used to describe proponents of the French Revolution's Reign of Terror. The term "terrorist" today is often used to describe acts of violence committed by a group of people intended to invoke fear in those they attack and those witnessing the violence. In 1793, when terror was declared "the order of the day," it simply meant a policy of unyielding justice. This unyielding justice targeted those who threatened the Revolution. The idea of the Reign of Terror itself is one debated among historians of the French Revolution. It is now sometimes thought of as propaganda designed by Thermidorians; those who took over after Maximilien Robespierre.

Horn is not particularly sympathetic towards Rousselin. Surprisingly, Horn believes Robespierre was a scapegoat when other treatments of the French Revolution depict Robespierre as the god of the Terror, while ignoring his opponents' actions. However, Horn focuses on these Terroristic actions, including the ones committed by Rousselin.

The book is broken up into seven sections, including an introduction and a conclusion. The first chapter focuses on the years 1773-1792, 1773 being the year Rousselin was born, and 1792 being significant since Rousselin began writing about himself that year. Before then, Horn focuses on Rousselin's education, which was similar to many of his class. Most of his early learning focused on the history and society of Ancient Greece and Rome.

Rousselin's activity during 1792-1794 saw him becoming more prominent in the Revolution. He joined the Cordelier's Club, and he denounced the September Massacres. However, later on, he supported the de-Christianization efforts, and "justified the use of state-sponsored violence in terms of both tactic and strategy" (32-52). Horn does mention that Rousselin did not intend for priests to be punished, or to call into question if it was permissible to hold mass, but he advocated that the old order of the Gregorian calendar not be acknowledged, and Holy Days not be exchanged for the Republican holidays.

From 1794-1796, Rousselin's activities in the Terror put him in a watchful state, particularly when he warned Georges Danton and Camille Desmoulins, two other notable revolutionaries, of their impending doom. Both chose to face their fate. Horn mentions this part of Rousselin's activities in a more positive light. Rousselin was arrested in 1794 for his affiliations with Danton, and for having a disagreement with Robespierre (Horn, 78). Horn writes that it is hard to tell how Rousselin felt during his imprisonment, but his Report hints that he felt he did nothing wrong, and that the accusations towards him were not fair (Horn, 80). This imprisonment was not his last one.

Following his survival of the Terror and White Terror, Rousselin focused on erasing his involvement in the Terror. He still held Republican values, but he believed such virtues needed different methods to preserve the Republic, not Terrorism. Due to his reputation as a Terrorist (supporter of the Terror), he had to reconstruct this part of his identity to partake in government offices. The fifth and sixth chapters focus on Rousselin's involvement in the press and how he became a liberal constitutionalist.

Horn's review of Rousselin's career shows both his positive qualities, but also his negative ones. Horn's statements on Robespierre were more sympathetic than most historians. He blames those who overthrew Robespierre for attempting to cover themselves for some part of the Terror. Horn described Rousselin as living an "extraordinary" life, a man among a few who were able to change France's history (181). His extraordinary accomplishments include acting as a private secretary for Georges Danton and Camille Desmoulins. Horn traced Rousselin's life with much detail, allowing space for much perspective.

Review of *Ku Klux Kulture: America and the Klan in the 1920s* by Felix Harcourt, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2017).

Alexander L. Pearson

Alexander is a senior honor student from Charleston, Illinois. He plans to complete his master's degree at EIU in American History as a graduate assistant. Alex hopes to pursue future research in modern American cultural history.

Felix Harcourt's *Ku Klux Kulture*: *America and the Klan in the 1920's* offers an interesting account of the deep roots that the Klan sank into American culture in the 1920s. Harcourt, a professor of History at Austin College, strives to paint the image of a 1920's America that was as much influenced by the Ku Klux Klan as it was by, say, Babe Ruth. The book understands posits the cultural influence of the 1920s KKK as not in opposition to mainstream culture but intertwined with it. Harcourt argues that the view of the Klan as a cultural movement rather than an organization provides a better representation of its impact and role in 1920's American society (11). Harcourt explores the Klan's influence on American culture by looking at its positive and negative press, publications, movies, radio broadcasts, and sports teams. The Klan's utilization of the then modern cultural outlets provides evidence of its quiet assimilation and staggering outreach with a population of four million members by its peak in 1924 (5).

Harcourt deeply explores both the positive and negative media accounts of the Klan throughout the 1920s by looking at reception and sales data. His argument about the KKK's influence on American cultural publications is best viewed on page 36, where he describes how a large number of businesses were not only willing to be associated with the Klan, but would pay to have their advertisements placed in their publications (36). Harcourt relies heavily on these contemporary publications and deftly interprets their meaning as an indicator of cultural influence, which had great significance to the greater American population.

Harcourt describes the *New York World* newspaper and the film, *Birth of a Nation* as certain types of press that would grow the influence of the KKK. Much of the blatant propaganda that the KKK utilized, such as the *Birth of a Nation*, was a product of the American culture of the 1920s, not exclusive to just the Ku Klux Klan (183). The author argues that the KKK, "consciously and unconsciously appropriated the culture around them, even as the organization denounced that culture" (183). Thus, argues the author, the culture produced by the KKK was imbedded within the greater American culture of the 1920's. The last chapter referring to the Klan's sports teams provides an excellent argument for how the KKK embraced the cultural environment of the time. The organization strived to assimilate and coexist within the context of the American 1920's.

Overall, Felix Harcourt's exploration of the Ku Klux Klan's expansion and cultural influence and how it is intertwined in the 1920's American society was very thorough and based on impressive research. The book perhaps relied too heavily on newspaper publications to determine public sentiment as the results remained largely inconclusive besides supporting the idea that many groups were speaking about the KKK. It does, however, lend itself to the argument that the KKK had a notable impact on their surrounding communities as they were often the topic of many news headlines and articles. Harcourt paints the picture of a Klan that was as American as baseball itself, even if the organization is now forgotten as an integral part of the 1920's narrative. As Harcourt's fine work suggests, historical culture must be viewed through an objective lens that views the good,

the bad, and the ugly equally. *Ku Klux Kulture* desperately wants readers to alter their perspective of 1920's America, and it provides compelling research that effectively accomplishes just that.

Review of *The Isolated Presidency* by Jordan T. Cash (New York: Oxford University Press, 2023).

Caleb R. Kowalewski

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Jordan T. Cash's book, *The Isolated Presidency*, is an imperative read for those who want to understand the formal powers at the US president's disposal. Cash underscores the need for a strong executive armed with clear enumerated powers while justifying presidential actions through the use of constitutional logic. *The Isolated Presidency* is an incredibly interesting read, which weaves many together primary source and secondary source research to educate the reader on the formal powers of the executive and various "through lines" in seemingly powerless presidents. As daunting as that task may seem, Cash masterfully structures *The Isolated Presidency* with a series of case studies that nicely flow. In this way, readers can easily digest the material and arguments Cash presents while also critically engaging with evolving historiographical scholarship about the presidency through a contemporary lens.

Cash began thinking about writing *The Isolated Presidency* during his first year of graduate school, and the study evolved through different forms until it transformed into a book. Cash received his bachelor's degree from the University of Nebraska-Omaha, and later his master's and doctorate in Political Science, from Baylor University. He acted as the "director of the Zavala Program for Constitutional Studies" from 2021 to 2022, and he currently is an assistant professor at Michigan State University.

Cash's thesis for the paper ingeniously argues that the president must have a "minimum" number of powers: enumerated abilities which every president is able to make no matter their circumstance. Cash then explains how the origin of this idea spawned from a flood of recent scholarship which argues that a majority of presidential power is formed through informal avenues and many powers are attributed from outside of the Constitution. Cash then posits the idea of examining "weak" presidencies and reviewing their core constitutional authority and how they utilized constitutional logic to empower their position as an isolated presidency. Cash explains that an "isolated" presidency is a constructed term which best describes past presidents with three commonalities, in particular a lack of political and public support. All three presidents chosen as case studies for this book (John Tyler, Andrew Johnson, and Gerald Ford) were all unelected presidential office holders, who presided over a divided Congress during their tenure and were involved in factious political party. Cash's theme throughout *The Isolated Presidency* follows a chronological, narrative structure which profiles each presidential case study and defends the need for a strong Executive.

Cash's drive to educate scholars and the public about the presidency and the importance of constitutional logic is evident through two techniques utilized in *The Isolated Presidency*. Structure and order is the most prevalent technique Cash utilizes. Every chapter has a well-defined framework that is simple to navigate as well as complex in detail and content engagement. Cash's use of listing and numbering exhibits dry academic content for the Introduction and Chapter 1, but his dive into each case study through a narrative lens improves *The Isolated Presidency*'s readability.

The Isolated Presidency offers a unique perspective on the presidency that applies specifically to modern political climates. Cash's inquiry into the baseline powers of the presidency and the utilization of constitutional logic is a must-read book for scholars who want to delve deeper into the meaning of the presidency in American society and the historiography of American presidential power.