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HISTORY IN THE MAKING

California State University,
San Bernardino
Journal of History

Volume Nine
2016

**Alpha Delta Nu Chapter, Phi Alpha Theta National History
Honor Society**

History in the Making is an annual publication of the California State University, San Bernardino (CSUSB) Alpha Delta Nu Chapter of the Phi Alpha Theta National History Honor Society, and is sponsored by the History Department and the Instructionally Related Programs at CSUSB. Issues are published at the end of the spring quarter of each academic year.

Phi Alpha Theta's mission is to promote the study of history through the encouragement of research, good teaching, publication, and the exchange of learning and ideas among historians. The organization seeks to bring students, teachers, and writers of history together for intellectual and social exchanges, which promote and assist historical research and publication by our members in a variety of ways.

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Cover photo, corridor of the Uffizi Gallery, Florence, Italy,
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History in the Making

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Introduction

Welcome to the ninth edition of California State University, San Bernardino's annual history journal, *History in the Making*. Every year, CSUSB students compose, edit, and produce a volume of *History in the Making*. The editorial board strives to produce a journal that is both fascinating and relevant by incorporating unique, versatile, and significant topics in history. Our hope is that the journal will spark a curiosity in readers, and ignite passions and interests in the pursuit of historical knowledge. This year's board is honored to present to our readers four full-length articles, one report on student travels, two in memoriam pieces, two unique student papers regarding updates in the history field, and five reviews.

In our first article, "Camp Followers, Nurses, Soldiers, and Spies," Heather K. Garrett examines the historical amnesia regarding women in combat zones during the American Revolutionary War. Specifically, three prominent heroines overshadow the memories of other women and their contributions. This article addresses why gender roles, finances, and assumptions bolstered the memories of a few while precluding the recognition of others.

The next two articles highlight movements in China – the 1989 protests at Tiananmen Square and the May Fourth movement. In the second article, "Daughters of the May Fourth," Hector Lopez explores prominent Chinese women who radically resisted the Confucian male-centric system through writing. In the third article, "Reclaiming Tiananmen," Amanda Castro examines the reclamation and the alteration of space as an act of protest, as well as the meaning of Tiananmen Square as a reflection of identity.

Our fourth article, "Palestinian-Jews and Israel's Dual Identity Crisis," discusses the religious and cultural conflict experienced by the Mizrahim after the establishment of the state of Israel. Rafael Perez highlights the peaceful relations between Arabs and Jews prior to the advent of the Israeli state, and the degradation of these relations thereafter.

Our "Travels through History" section explores the impact that studying abroad has on a student. Rafael Orozco tells of his travels

to Florence, Italy, studying at the CSU-Florence campus, and enveloping himself in the culture, art, and history of Europe. This piece hosts the cover photo of this year's journal—the corridor of the Uffizi Gallery.

The “In Memoriam” section commemorates Bobby Vega and Benedict Anderson. Bobby Vega, founder of the Urban Conservation Corps (UCC), was a community and youth advocate for the city of San Bernardino. Benedict Anderson was a notable historian and political scientist best known for his book, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983). Anderson challenged the notions of government and nationalism, and coined the theory of the “imagined community.”

Our two unique contributions to this year's journal reflect suggested updates for the K-12 school curriculum, and an update on the public history field. Our “Notes from the Classroom” section is a detailed analysis of the appropriate and inappropriate literature used to teach K-12 classes about the Holocaust. The “State of the Field” section highlights an analysis of the public history field, the 2016 Public History Conference in Baltimore, Maryland, and the contemporary topics of discussion and debate in the field.

Rounding out this year's journal are two book reviews, two exhibition reviews, and one film review. First, Jacob P. Banda comparatively reviews Q. Edward Wang's book, *Chopsticks: A Cultural and Culinary History*, and Thomas O. Höllmann's, *The Land of the Five Flavors: A Cultural History of Chinese Cuisine*. Next, Angela Tate reviews T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting's book, *Bricktop's Paris: African American Women in Paris between the Two World Wars*. The exhibition reviews include Amanda Castro and Blanca Garcia-Barron's review of Mount Vernon: Baltimore's Historic LGBT neighborhood, and Bethany Burke's review of the Robben Island and Constitution Hill prisons in South Africa, which were used to house political prisoners during apartheid. Finally, Lauren Adams and Brent Bellah review the film, *10 Days in a Madhouse*, which is based on the narrative of Nellie Bly.

We hope that you find these articles as interesting and informative as we do, and we sincerely thank you for reading the 2016 edition of *History in the Making*.

Heather K. Garrett,
Chief Editor

Acknowledgements

Without the hard work and dedication of CSUSB students, faculty, and staff, this journal would not have been possible. CSUSB affiliates have diligently invested their time and efforts into the development and completion of the cover and every page of this journal. From the “call for papers” to the final editing and formatting process, every step and participant has played a vital role in this journal.

I would like to take this time to extend my gratitude to everyone involved. A special thanks to Dr. Cherstin Lyon, Dr. Tiffany Jones, and Dr. Jeremy Murray for overseeing the development and the completion of this journal. Their continued dedication and support, as well as their impeccable insight and computer savvy, have made this year’s journal possible. The editing process can be a difficult one, and I would like to thank the editorial board, and all of the history faculty members and journal staff, who helped during this process. The editorial board would like to express our appreciation to all of the professors who assisted the editors and authors in editing and finalizing their papers, Rafael Orozco and Dr. Tiffany Jones for creating the cover of this journal with their artistic talents, and Brittnie “Bunny” Anglin who, as Copy Editor, proofread and helped edit the final product. We would also like to thank Laura Sickelsteel and the staff at Printing Services who provide the professional expertise that allows us to print the journal every year, as well as the Instructionally Related Programs at CSUSB and the Department of History for generously funding the printing of this journal.

Thanks to all of the students who made this journal possible. To all of the students who submitted their papers for review and possible publication, I would like to thank you for your interest and support. Also, thank you to authors for working with editors, and congratulations on your publications. Lastly, thank you to the editorial board for your time and efforts. You have done an exemplary job in reading, selecting, and editing the papers included in this journal. Your hard work is greatly appreciated.

Heather K. Garrett,
Chief Editor

History in the Making

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Articles

Camp Followers, Nurses, Soldiers, and Spies: Women and the Modern Memory of the Revolutionary War

By Heather K. Garrett

Abstract: When asked of their memory of the American Revolution, most would reference George Washington or Paul Revere, but probably not Molly Pitcher, Lydia Darragh, or Deborah Sampson. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to demonstrate not only the lack of inclusivity of women in the memory of the Revolutionary War, but also why the women that did achieve recognition surpassed the rest. Women contributed to the war effort in multiple ways, including serving as cooks, laundresses, nurses, spies, and even as soldiers on the battlefields. Unfortunately, due to the large number of female participants, it would be impossible to include the narratives of all of the women involved in the war. Thus, this paper compares the accounts of some of the lesser-known women to the recognized women in the memory of the Revolutionary War, and seeks to understand why the three women mentioned above overshadowed those that were forgotten.

In 1779, on a bustling farm in Setauket, New York, Anna Strong frantically hung a black petticoat on a clothesline among white linens while looking around nervously. Anna's bizarre behavior caught the attention of her workers, but no one inquired the cause. Instead, everyone simply continued their tasks. By hanging the petticoat, Anna signaled Abraham Woodhull and Caleb Brewster that a message or a fellow Patriot had arrived, for this was her task as a member of the Culper Spy Ring, a network of spies behind the British lines that proved a crucial component to the Continental Army's military intelligence. This scene is in the very first episode of Craig Silverstein's *Turn: Washington's Spies* television series.

Ultimately, *Turn* is the 2014-2015 memory of the Revolutionary War. While *Turn* demonstrates the complexities of American loyalties and life during the war, and the unconventional roles that many played, the series also reflects the political correctness of the twenty-first century by including the women involved in the narrative. Still, most remain oblivious to women's participation in the Revolutionary War.¹

The protests of minorities during the Civil Rights, Women's Liberation, and New History Movements of the 1960s engendered and bolstered this interest in women's history, and the incorporation of women's narratives. Consequently, it was not until the 1960s that the women participants in the Revolutionary War receive anything more than scarce mentions. During the war, women were present on the battlefields and in the combat zones, contributing to the war effort as nurses, laundresses, cooks, spies, and even as soldiers. The contemporary public, however, remains unaware of these women's extensive contributions, particularly in the combat zones, because prior to the emergence of the New History Movement in the 1960s, and the consequent rise of women's studies, men dominated the focus and the authorship of history.² In combat zones, women's roles and contributions often overlapped, which blurred the lines of women's titles and positions to the point that most participants received the umbrella term "Camp Follower." These women cleaned, cooked, made and washed clothing, and assisted the injured and ill on and off the battlefields. Nonetheless, these "Revolutionary Heroines" – women Camp Followers and nurses, and the rare female soldiers and spies – risked their lives and suffered the same privations as the men, and therefore, their stories deserve recognition in the memory of the Revolutionary War.³ Ultimately, due to the male-

¹ *Turn: Washington's Spies*, Episode no. 1 (Pilot), first broadcast April 6, 2014 by AMC, directed by Rupert Wyatt and written by Alexander Rose and Craig Silverstein.

² The New History Movement began in the 1960s, and it focused on the social component in recording and analyzing history. The movement coincided with the Civil Rights and Women's Liberation Movements, which drew attention to minorities – the often forgotten peoples in history. Essentially, the rise of this newfound and inclusive ideology over the last fifty years led to new research in ethnic, social, and women's histories.

³ While it is not known who coined the term "Revolutionary Heroine," or how long it has been in use, it is a phrase prevalently used to describe the heroic women participating in any state or culture's revolution. For example,

centric record of history prior to the 1960s, these women have been largely overlooked – until now.

The Memory of the Revolutionary War

There is an overwhelming amount of literature on soldiers, spies, and nurses during the Revolutionary War, but few contain much information about the women that held these positions. While deciphering the women who served contractually under the army proves difficult, as many women acknowledged for their services did not have contracts stating their involvement, the accounts of impromptu soldiers, spies, and nurses deserve remembrance all the same. The term, Camp Follower, however, was associated with women, and therefore, returned results mainly regarding women. Camp Followers rarely had a large number of results, nor were many of the results devoted significantly to them. Frequently, the literature that did contain information of these women resulted in brief discussions, or blips, of the subject. Furthermore, most of these sources do not precede the 1960s, and the major periods of authorship on this subject were the late 1960s throughout the 1970s, the 1990s, and the 21st century.

In the immediate memory of the war, the early republic scarcely recognized any of the women's contributions in the combat zones. This lack of recognition may have been due to the tasks these women performed in adherence to the relatively rigid gender roles defined during the eighteenth century. By the end of the war, women gradually became the moral upholders and the patriotic enforcers of the home and society, and even though female soldiers and spies have never been conventional, the cooking, cleaning, and tending to the soldiers proved simply a part of a woman's role.⁴ Consequently, many of the authors in the

"Revolutionary Heroine" appears in: Kathleen Maher, "Emily Geiger: Revolutionary Heroine," *Constitution Daily* (blog), April 1, 2011, <http://blog.constitutioncenter.org/2011/04/emily-geiger-revolutionary-heroine/>; and Sarah Jane Gray, "Recasting 1789: The Revolutionary Heroine in French and British Literature" (PhD diss., University of Colorado, 2012), ProQuest, UMI Dissertations Publishing (UMI 3527291), <http://search.proquest.com.libproxy.lib.csusb.edu/docview/1082025983?accountid=10359>.

⁴ The egalitarian ideals of the American Revolution extended to the majority of men, but they also drove a larger wedge between the sexes, which resulted in a greater distinction regarding the concepts of masculinity and femininity, and the

immediate aftermath of the war did not differentiate between these roles—they simply referred to them as “women,” if they mentioned women’s effort at all, and hence, the lack of literature providing specific recognition.

Female Spies

As would be expected, documentation on spies and their endeavors proved scarce, and female spies’ contributions remained practically non-existent until the rise of women’s studies in the 1960s due to persistent – yet gradually changing – gender roles, and the consequent unconventionality of the incorporation of women into the historical narrative. For instance, in the early 1960s, Katherine and John Bakeless published a book called *Spies of the Revolution* (1962). Despite extensive accounts of the many spies that served both the American and British armies, the majority of the book focused on male spies. In fact, only one chapter is devoted to the opposite gender, and the entire chapter focused on one woman, the Philadelphia spy—Lydia Darragh (Darrah). There is no mention of any other female spy for either the Americans or the British. Furthermore, a significant portion of the chapter involved her connection with Major Clark, as she may have served him directly. A later chapter dedicated to the Culpers’ Spy Ring, like the *Turn: Washington’s Spies* series, provided extensive accounts of the men involved, but it failed to mention a crucial member of the circle, Anna Smith Strong, who hung petticoats on clotheslines as signals to fellow rebels. Certainly, by failing to mention, or more significantly, failing to focus on, the women so important to the secrecy and the success of the transportation of intelligence to the American lines, women other than Lydia Darragh failed to receive recognition in the historical narrative and the memory of the “Revolutionary Heroines” of the war. While this relative disregard

roles of men and women. These distinctions, in addition to the European eighteenth century social system – the Cult of Domesticity/True Womanhood, reinforced the later ideology of “Republican Motherhood,” as coined by historian Linda Kerber in her book, *The Republican Mother: Women and the Enlightenment – An American Perspective* (1976). According to this term, the American woman not only retained her responsibility to domestic life, she also held the duty of a “Republican Mother” in raising patriotic citizens willing to defend and support their country when needed.

for women's roles in American history is not surprising, as Katherine and John Bakeless published this book just before the New History Movement, the Civil Rights Movement, and the new interest in gender studies, *Spies of the Revolution* marks the end of a historiographical period in which the focus of history and its memory, prior to these movements, remained male-centered.⁵

Ultimately, it is due to this male-centered documentation of history that women, though obviously present throughout history, receive little attention prior to the 1960s. As the 1960s movements gained momentum, authorship began reflecting these growing ideologies through their incorporation of women's histories, as well as women authors gaining recognition and popularity. Women like Gerda Lerner, Elizabeth Ellet, Joan Scott, and Linda Kerber, ultimately helped usher in this new era of female inclusivity. Later, women, such as Carol Berkin, Catherine Allgor, Nina Silber, and Caroline Janney, continued this movement as some of the most prominent female historians of the early twenty-first century.

As of the twenty-first century, historians began incorporating female spies into the narrative. In 2006, Alexander Rose's book *Washington's Spies: The Story of America's First Spy Ring*, on which the television series *Turn: Washington's Spies* is based, was one of the most popular books on spies.⁶ In contrast to Bakeless, Rose does a service to history and the memory of the war by providing the complete story of the Culper Spy Ring, as he includes the importance and the narratives of Anna Smith Strong and others. Still, the Culpers were not the only spies in the Revolution; therefore, while his case study contributes to the overall narrative of the spies during the war, it remains only one aspect of the subject.

In addition to case studies, several early twenty-first century authors started to incorporate the broader context of female participation in the war, but many of the narratives of these women still remained absent or briefly mentioned until later years. In 2005, Carol Berkin's book, *Revolutionary Mothers: Women in the Struggle for American Independence*, in addition to chapters devoted to other categories of women's contributions, provided a chapter (9) to "Spies, Saboteurs, Couriers, and Other Heroines,"

⁵ Katherine and John Bakeless, *Spies of the Revolution* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1962), 150-175.

⁶ Alexander Rose, *Washington's Spies: The Story of America's First Spy Ring* (New York: Bantam Books, 2006).

which mentions the brief stories of several women and their positions.⁷ Also in 2005, a brief journal article focused on not only Lydia Darragh, but also Patience Wright and Emily Geiger, yet the article contained little information about these women.⁸ Five years later, Sean Halverson's article "Dangerous Patriots: Washington's Hidden Army during the American Revolution," provided a background of the various spies affiliated with George Washington's army, as well as some individual stories of spies on both sides. Of the article's twenty-five pages, however, not even four pages were reserved for the female spies of the war. Halverson's section, "Women within the Web of Washington's Dangerous Patriots," highlighted female spies overall, and included the accounts of individual women, such as the Americans, Eliza Wilkinson, Lydia Darragh, and Anna Smith (Strong), as well as Tory women, an anonymous woman and Ann Bates.⁹ Nevertheless, the majority of the section gives a background of the tasks assigned to these women and the brutal treatment of female spies as prisoners of war like that of their male counterparts. Thus, because women, including female spies, remained absent from the historical context and narrative for so long, providing context of women's history and lives dominated the focus of early twenty-first century authorship.

Women Soldiers

Women soldiers also received scarce recognition prior to the 1960s except when their narratives proved useful. Despite historians' common estimates of more than one female soldier (Margaret Corbin as another) in the Continental ranks, typically, only one woman appeared in the literature—Deborah (Gannett) Sampson. However, authors discussing female soldiers emerged earlier than that of spies, in the antebellum era, appearing mostly as a source of inspiration to the American populace preparing for the Civil War.

⁷ Carol Berkin, *Revolutionary Mothers: Women in the Struggle for America's Independence* (New York: Vintage Books, 2005), Kindle book, Loc. 2168-2349.

⁸ Christine Graf, "From Eavesdroppers to Secret Agents: Women Spies of the American Revolution," *Appleseeds* 8, no. 4 (December 2005): 29-30.

⁹ Sean Halverson, "Dangerous Patriots: Washington's Hidden Army during the American Revolution," *Intelligence and National Security* 25, no. 2 (2010): 142-145.

As part of the Antebellum and Civil War era memories of female soldiers, Deborah Sampson stood as the most prominent figure universally remembered, but other women were celebrated according to their states or hometowns. For instance, Prudence Wright's story held a spot in the *History of the Town of Groton*, a book written by Caleb Butler in 1848.¹⁰ As early as 1860, however, Deborah (Gannett) Sampson, labeled a "heroine" of the Revolution and an "American Joan of Arc" in newspaper articles, served as an inspiration to the mobilizing nation preparing for the Civil War and dominated the memory of women in the American Revolution.¹¹ An 1862 article praised Sampson for her patriotism and zeal, but did not condone the action of a woman assuming a man's position as a soldier, for it combatted the social gender norms. Nonetheless, the author of the article stated that "her exemplary conduct... is worthy of record."¹² Therefore, while the populace of this era commended Deborah Sampson directly, they ultimately frowned upon the reason for her praise. This conflict within the 1860s culture and gender ideologies, in addition to her biography, explains why only Deborah (Gannett) Sampson remains in the memory of the revolutionary female soldiers during this era, as remembering female soldiers as a whole would have contradicted the status quo.

More than a century later, Deborah Sampson's narrative still served as *the* female soldier of the war. In 1972, Herman Mann published, *The Female Review or the Life of Deborah Sampson*, which essentially served as a biography of Deborah Sampson's life and her endeavors. Although Mann did mention multiple women and their stories, as well as the subject of female heroism, the book's primary focus was Sampson. Mann provided a background on Sampson's early life, her experiences throughout the war, as well as correspondence and other sources directly to, from, or about her.¹³ While Mann's attempts to include other

¹⁰ Caleb Butler, *History of the Town of Groton* (Boston: Press of T.R. Martin, 1848), 336.

¹¹ "An American Joan of Arc—A Heroine of the Revolution," *Cincinnati Daily Press* (Cincinnati, OH), March 23, 1860, accessed February 21, 2016, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84028745/1860-03-23/ed-1/seq-1.pdf>.

¹² "A Female in the Revolutionary Army," *The Smokey Hill and Republican Union* (Junction City, KS), July 3, 1862, accessed February 21, 2016, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84030186/1862-07-03/ed-1/seq-1.pdf>.

¹³ Herman Mann, *The Female Review; Life of Deborah Sampson* (New York: Arno Press, 1972).

female soldiers deserves appreciation, as he is one of the few, he focused on Sampson and did not devote any significant attention to other women who not only served in the Continental ranks, but also took arms against the British as civilians. However, this is not surprising, as the 1970s reflected the early stages of the movements' growing ideologies of incorporating women's histories.

As of the twenty-first century, however, other women began to emerge in the literature and the memory of the Revolutionary War. In a 2005 children's magazine article, Kathiann M. Kowalski highlighted not only Deborah Sampson, but also incidental female soldiers, such as Prudence Wright, Grace and Rachel Martin, Martha Bratton, and Nancy Hart, under the title "Women Warriors."¹⁴ Some of these women wore their husbands clothing and enlisted as actual soldiers, yet some simply acted as a soldier would in an emergency. Kowalski's article ultimately reflects the twenty-first century historians' interest in women's histories, as well as their intent to include previously overlooked peoples into the nation's cultural and social, history and memory. Furthermore, the article illustrated the relatively egalitarian focus of early twenty-first century historians regarding what they deemed important to teach to the nation's youth.

Camp Followers and Nurses

In contrast to the delayed recognition of female spies and soldiers, authors started acknowledging Camp Followers earlier than their unconventional counterparts due to the alignment of a Camp Follower's duties and early gender roles. The duties of a Camp Follower stood primarily as tasks already assigned to women within the social structure. Washing clothes, making meals, tending to the sick or wounded, all proved simply a woman's role. Therefore, Camp Followers returned a multitude of literature solely regarding women, as the term never applied to men, but only to women and children. Among this literature, several books primarily devoted to Camp Followers appeared, and likewise, several writings only briefly acknowledged their presence. Rarely,

¹⁴ Kathiann M. Kowalski, "Women Warriors," *Appleseeds* 8, no. 4 (December 2005): 24-27.

however, did these sources return a compilation of women in combat zones, in that, soldiers and spies included with the Camp Followers and nurses, hence the reason for this study.

In the Antebellum era memory, American Revolutionary War women seemed overlooked entirely in one source. In Mary E. Hewitt's 1852 book, *Heroines of History*, not a single woman from the Revolutionary period was mentioned. With a general title encompassing the *Heroines of History*, and its publication in New York, one could expect to see at least one woman from the nation's founding. Unfortunately, that was not the case, yet other women from Cleopatra to Joan of Arc achieved recognition.¹⁵ Precisely one hundred years later, however, Walter Hart Blumenthal published his book, *Women Camp Followers of the American Revolution*, which specifically focused on Camp Followers. This book is the most vital source in the discussion of Camp Followers, as it not only devotes its sections equally between the American and the British, but it is also one of the most cited sources discussing the subject. While Blumenthal does not primarily focus on any specific heroine, his book provides more context than any particular set of biographies.¹⁶ Nonetheless, in one century, and prior to the movements of the 1960s, Camp Followers progressed from being unacknowledged entirely to becoming a source's primary focus.

Just a few years later, in 1969, Elizabeth F. Ellet published a three volume series on *The Women of the American Revolution*, which included every type of contributing woman from Camp Followers, nurses, and politicians, to ladies' aid societies and the influential wives of prominent men. The series is specifically a collection of biographical accounts of these women and their contributions during the war. Like Blumenthal, Ellet's series became one of the most cited sources in the discussion of women in the Revolutionary War.¹⁷ In fact, most women's individual narratives found today, such as on websites like AmericanRevolution.org, are copied verbatim from Ellet's series.

¹⁵ Mary E. Hewitt, ed., *Heroines of History* (New York: Cornish, Lamport & Co. Publishers, 1852).

¹⁶ Walter Hart Blumenthal, *Women Camp Followers of the American Revolution* (Philadelphia: George S. MacManus Company, 1952).

¹⁷ Elizabeth F. Ellet, *The Women of the American Revolution*, 3 vols. (New York City: Haskell House Publishers Ltd., 1969).

Almost three decades later and beyond, Camp Followers did not hold the limelight as they had in the 1950s and '60s. Instead, authors incorporated Camp Followers into the larger conversation of women's participation as a whole. In 1996, Joan R. Gundersen published her book, *To Be Useful to the World*, which contained sections and the overall discourse of Camp Followers, but it also included the various other women on the homefront and in the political sphere as well.¹⁸ Moreover, Carol Berkin's book, like Gundersen's, held a broader perspective to the women of the war, and in addition to the chapter on spies, it contained a chapter dedicated solely to Camp Followers, as well as many brief narratives of various women involved in the war.¹⁹ Kowalski's 2005 article, mentioned earlier, also featured a very brief section on Camp Followers without providing any great detail to specific women or their deeds.²⁰ Six years later, Dona M. McDermott wrote a magazine article about the Camp Followers at Valley Forge. Again, this article contained more contextual information than individual narratives. While McDermott does name some of the individuals in the group of Camp Followers under Martha Washington, the content is mostly an overview of Valley Forge and the collective efforts of the women.²¹ While these texts do not primarily focus on the individual women and their stories, most, at the very least, discuss the most famous woman that served as a Camp Follower, nurse, and soldier—Mary Ludwig Hays McCauley, or “Molly Pitcher.”

Twentieth century historians often emphasized Molly Pitcher as the most remembered and the most prominent woman, in a combat zone, during the American Revolution. In 1905, for instance, Pauline Carrington Bouvé published her book, *American Heroes and Heroines*, which contained one chapter on Revolutionary War women. This lone chapter centered on Molly Pitcher.²² Seventy years later, Molly Pitcher was still a prevalent representative of Camp Followers, but she also gained fame as a Revolutionary War nurse. Ida Cohen Selavan's article, “Nurses in

¹⁸ Joan R. Gundersen, *To Be Useful To the World: Women in Revolutionary America, 1740-1790* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1996).

¹⁹ Berkin, *Revolutionary Mothers*, Loc. 880-1134.

²⁰ Kowalski, “Women Warriors,” 24-27.

²¹ Dona M. McDermott, “Remembering the Ladies,” *Cobblestone* 34, no. 8 (October 2013): 26-27.

²² Pauline Carrington Bouvé, *American Heroes and Heroines* (Boston: Lothrop Publishing Company, 1905), 120-128.

American History: The Revolution,” focused on Molly Pitcher as the most prominent nurse of the war.²³ In 1999, reflecting the solidified interest and acceptance of the New History Movement’s inclusion of women in the historical narrative, the Library of Congress published a calendar of historical “Women in Military Service.” The calendar told the stories of interesting women throughout history, such as Molly Pitcher and Isabelle “Belle” Boyd.²⁴ In 2005, however, Berkin argued that “Molly Pitcher” was fictional, in that, this name was given to many women that performed the task of cooling off the cannons; regardless, Molly Pitcher, “like Rosie the Riveter of World War II,” became legendary more as an icon than an actual person.²⁵ Nevertheless, Molly’s legacy has held consistent interest among historians.

Not only historians, however, discussed Molly Pitcher as one of the most prominent Camp Followers, nurses, or soldiers of the war, several states and cities, as well as the United States military and government, honored her service by granting her a soldier’s pay, and later, by erecting monuments, naming establishments and streets after her, and hosting events in her honor. In Molly’s lifetime, the General Assembly of Pennsylvania honored her contributions in 1822 by granting her “a lifetime soldier’s half-pay pension,” in an “act for the relief of Molly M’Kolly,” a total amount of forty dollars; after Molly’s death, in 1876, and later, in 1916, Pennsylvania erected monuments at her gravesite in Carlisle.²⁶ During World War II, the military named a “Liberty Ship” in her honor, the *SS Molly Pitcher*, which was launched and destroyed in 1943.²⁷ In 1978, the bicentennial of the Battle of Monmouth, the United States Postal Service issued a ten-cent postcard, “Molly Pitcher, Monmouth, 1778,” depicting the scene of Molly loading a cannon in commemoration of her heroism

²³ Ida Cohen Selavan, “Nurses in American History: The Revolution,” *The American Journal of Nursing* 75, no. 4 (1975): 592-594.

²⁴ United States, Library of Congress, *Women in Military Service* (Patrick AFB, FL: Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute, 1998), <https://www.loc.gov/r/r/frd/Heritage-Calendar/pdf-files/1999.pdf>, 20, 10. Isabelle “Belle” Boyd was a Confederate spy in the Civil War.

²⁵ Berkin, *Revolutionary Mothers*, Loc. 66.

²⁶ United States, Library of Congress, *Women in Military Service*, 20.

²⁷ Linda Grant De Pauw, *In Search of Molly Pitcher* (Pasadena: Peacock Press of Pasadena, 2007), 57.

in battle.²⁸ “Captain Molly’s” memory, however, is still alive, as current-day establishments and infrastructure host her name. The U.S. government, for instance, hosts an annual event at Fort Bragg, “Molly Pitcher Day,” devoted to the heroine. Moreover, the states also do their part in memorializing Molly, as Pennsylvania named part of its Route 11 freeway, “Molly Pitcher Highway,” and New Jersey hosts the “Molly Pitcher Inn” in Red Bank.²⁹ Certainly, Molly is the most remembered heroine of the Revolutionary period.

The Women and Their Stories: Camp Followers

The term, Camp Follower, represented any women, and often their children, who followed the army to be near their husbands and fathers. Like other women actively involved on the battlefields, these women generally washed laundry, cooked meals, wove cloth and made clothing for themselves and the soldiers, and aided in the hospitals as nurses and matrons.³⁰ The more specialized tasks for women involved making musket balls and pellets, and making hospital supplies.³¹ These women served as nurses regularly or simply when needed, and therefore, due to the informality of the eighteenth century medical field, the titles “Camp Followers” and “Nurses” frequently represented the same women and their comprehensive tasks.³² Women of both the American and British ranks participated in these endeavors.

²⁸ David Blossom, “Molly Pitcher, Monmouth, 1778, UX77,” *United States Postal Service*, 1978, Postcard; also found on “United States Postal Cards,” *Webcitations.org*, accessed March 5, 2016, <http://www.webcitation.org/query?url=http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Crete/9404/post5.html&date=2009-10-25+05:55:25>.

²⁹ For information regarding these establishments, see the websites for the Fort Bragg Press Center and the Molly Pitcher Inn: <http://www.fortbraggpresscenter.com/go/doc/5287/1955838/Molly-Pitcher-Day-Celebration-set-for-November-16>, accessed February 21, 2016; and <http://themollypitcher.com/>, accessed February 21, 2016.

³⁰ Berkin, *Revolutionary Mothers*, Loc. 880-1134; Blumenthal, *Women Camp Followers of the American Revolution*, 57; and others.

³¹ Blumenthal, *Women Camp Followers of the American Revolution*, 57.

³² Selavan, “Nurses in American History,” 592-594.

In addition to the tasks that Camp Followers often did to earn rations and to do their part to alleviate the soldiers' suffering, these women also suffered the same privations as the military. These women and their families often suffered a lack of supplies, contagious and deadly diseases, such as cholera, tuberculosis, pneumonia, typhus, smallpox, rheumatism, and dysentery, and food shortages that caused malnutrition, which exacerbated the susceptibility to illness.³³ Partly due to the adversities of camp life, as well as the necessity to maintain affairs at home, women and their children often could not bear this suffering year-round; therefore, most Camp Followers, and especially the wives of officers, participated only part-time—they stayed at home during the fighting season and traveled with the camps in the winter months when conditions proved too harsh to fight.³⁴

During the war, many considered Camp Followers burdens and did not welcome their presence. George Washington issued an order on August 4, 1777, prohibiting the allowance of the Camp Followers who were not absolutely necessary to the camp:

The multitude of women in particular, especially those who are pregnant, or have children, are a clog upon every movement. The Commander in Chief therefore earnestly recommends it to the officers commanding brigades and corps, to use every reasonable method in their power to get rid of all such as are not absolutely necessary; and the admission or continuance of any, who shall, or may have come to the army since its arrival in Pennsylvania, is positively forbidden.³⁵

While Camp Followers proved necessary for their contributions, their companionship, and their efforts to the camps, the added mouths to feed depleted the already scarce food supplies, and therefore, the government and some of the military viewed these women as burdens. To the soldiers tended to in the hospitals, fed by the cooks, or provided clean clothing, however, the Camp Followers rendered not burdens but welcomed women to comfort

³³ Gundersen, *To Be Useful to the World*, 159; and Selavan, "Nurses in American History," 593.

³⁴ McDermott, "Remembering the Ladies," 26-27.

³⁵ Blumenthal, *Women Camp Followers of the American Revolution*, 64-65.

them in times of need. Welcomed or not, these women came and left with the seasons and contributed what they could.

Due to various factors, such as literacy rates and a lack of time, the narratives that emerged for these women typically involved officer's wives – the stories of the average soldier's wife/Camp Follower proved a rarity. Nonetheless, while the conditions for an officer's wife may not have been as harsh as it was for the family of an average soldier, their accounts still contribute to the historical narrative of women in combat zones.

The following narratives reflect the experiences of the various women involved in the war effort as Camp Followers. Many of these women, regardless of status, contributed by laboring in the same tasks they would have done at home according to eighteenth century gender roles. Despite the ubiquity of their tasks, their experiences suggest the conflicted loyalties of some, the hardships of others, and the prevailing desire to assist their country in its time of need.

Lucy Knox (1756-1824) was a rebel from the start. She was born into a wealthy and prominent Loyalist family, as her father was the Provincial Governor of Massachusetts. In 1774, however, she married the handsome American colonist and bookstore owner, Henry Knox, despite her parents' reluctance and protests.³⁶ As the wife of General Henry Knox, Lucy served as a Camp Follower when her health allowed. Lucy's unsteady health could have also been a cause for the only trial in the Knox's marriage—the death at infancy for ten of their thirteen children.³⁷

Lucy's persistence to experience the adversities of military camp life never ceased after Henry's enlistment into the American army. After the British seized Boston, legend states that as the couple fled the city, "she concealed the sword he wore through the war, by having it quilted within the lining of her cloak."³⁸ During the war and their time in the ranks, Lucy proved a morale booster for the soldiers, as her cheerfulness improved the spirits of the war-

³⁶ "Henry Knox / The Man / Miss Lucy Flucker," *The Knox Museum*, accessed February 21, 2016, <http://www.knoxmuseum.org/henry-knox/the-man/miss-lucyflucker/>.

³⁷ "Lucy Knox," *AmericanRevolution.org*, accessed February 21, 2016, <http://www.americanrevolution.org/women/women7.php>; and "Henry Knox / The Man / Miss Lucy Flucker," *The Knox Museum*, accessed February 21, 2016, <http://www.knoxmuseum.org/henry-knox/the-man/misslucyflucker/>.

³⁸ "Lucy Knox," *AmericanRevolution.org*, accessed February 21, 2016, <http://www.americanrevolution.org/women/women7.php>.

weary and homesick troops. She also served as a silencing agent for the griping soldiers, as it was said that the “soldiers could not murmur at privations which she endured without complaint.”³⁹ While there is little information available as to what specific roles Lucy played as a Camp Follower, one thing is common in most of the accounts, that the soldiers loved her and her presence in the camps.

Catherine Greene (1755-1814) was a young woman during the war. Her aunt and uncle raised her in a middle class household, and she married Nathanael Greene in 1774 at the age of nineteen – just one year before the Revolution began. Catherine was a part-time Camp Follower and an impromptu nurse. She resided in Rhode Island during the active campaigns, but she joined her husband at the winter quarters in the off-seasons. Catherine suffered during the winter at Valley Forge, and after 1781, she relocated to the South with her husband and endured the blistering heat and humidity for the remainder of the war.⁴⁰

Hardships, however, did not always halt for her while away from the camps. The attack on Rhode Island demonstrated how fearfully close the battle could reach, as she was present to witness the rumble of the cannon blasts. At one point, Catherine converted her home into a hospital to provide a location for medical staff to inoculate an army against smallpox, at which time she acted as a nurse and tended to the soldiers. At the war’s end, the state of Georgia presented her husband with a plantation in Mulberry, where she and her family remained for some time.⁴¹ Indeed, Catherine Greene truly represented a Camp Follower.

Mary Ludwig Hays McCauley (1754-1832), better known as “Molly Pitcher,”⁴² was born into a poor family of German ancestry in New Jersey. She worked as a servant throughout most of her childhood and adolescence to contribute to the family finances. Her patriotic father, undoubtedly, instilled in the young red-haired “Molly” her devotion to her country, as she demonstrated later in life on the battlefields of the Revolutionary

³⁹ Ellet, *The Women of the American Revolution*, 1:108.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 1:62-67.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Molly brought water to the soldiers and the cannons on the battlefields in a “pitcher,” rather than a pail, and hence the name “Molly Pitcher.” Bouvé, *American Heroines and Heroines*, 125.

War.⁴³ Prior to the war, Molly freed herself from servitude and married a barber by the name of John Casper Hays. Hays soon joined the army, and he served in the Patriots' First Pennsylvania Artillery with Molly by his side.⁴⁴

Despite Molly's contributions as a Camp Follower, and her previous acts of devotion and bravery, she is best known for her efforts at the Battle of Monmouth, which occurred in the heat of summer in June 1778.⁴⁵ In this battle, like most other battles, Molly's husband loaded the cannon alternatively with his partner who fired it. On June 28, 1778, however, her husband collapsed, and she began loading the cannon, which stood as the origins of the famous image of Molly Pitcher loading the cannon.⁴⁶ As the other gunner, Hays's partner firing the cannon, also fell wounded, Molly assumed firing and loading the cannon herself for the remainder of the battle.⁴⁷

Molly's bravery at the Battle of Monmouth received recognition in the pension given to her by the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, and in the many monuments, establishments, artwork, and plaques in Molly's name. Molly, nicknamed "Sergeant Molly" after the battle, worked as a nurse, and later, she opened and kept a small store.⁴⁸ Molly, indeed, left her mark on history. Interestingly, Molly is known as a Camp Follower and a nurse to historians, but for the public, she is not remembered for her "Camp Following," her nursing, nor her business, she is remembered as an impromptu soldier.

⁴³ "Molly" was a common nickname for "Mary" during the Revolutionary period.

⁴⁴ Bouvé, *American Heroes and Heroines*, 120-123.

⁴⁵ Molly is also known for urgently retrieving a fallen match and lighting a cannon in a battle that occurred months before Monmouth. See Bouvé, *American Heroes and Heroines*, 122-123.

⁴⁶ Interestingly, in Bouvé's account, as well as the majority of other accounts, Molly's husband fell due to a mortal wound, yet in the calendar published by the U.S. Library of Congress, John Casper Hays apparently "collapsed from the heat." See Bouvé, *American Heroes and Heroines*, 125; and United States, Library of Congress, *Women in Military Service*, 20.

⁴⁷ Bouvé, *American Heroes and Heroines*, 125-128; and United States, Library of Congress, *Women in Military Service*, 20.

⁴⁸ Bouvé, *American Heroes and Heroines*, 127.

Female Soldiers

Female soldiers, as they are currently thought of, occurred rarely, as most women were discovered upon their attempted entrance into the ranks, but some slipped through undetected for some time. A few women served in the army disguised as men for several years, such as Deborah Sampson or Sally St. Clair, who served in the army for years and whose gender was not discovered until her death.⁴⁹ Some women had less success; these women still disguised themselves as men, like Anne Smith attempting to enlist in the Continental ranks under the name Samuel Smith, and Ann Bailey, who tried to join under the alias Samuel Gay to collect the enlistee's bounty, but the army discovered their gender and denied their entrance.⁵⁰ Mostly, however, the female soldiers during the Revolutionary War served more as incidental soldiers; that is, women acting as soldiers when circumstances necessitated their involvement. Some women initially participated as Camp Followers, but joined their husbands on the battlefields to lend their assistance. These women worked for their rations, "held regular support positions," and "were subject to military law."⁵¹ Due to this informal service, it is not clear how many women actually served in the army, nor is it clear how many women acted as incidental soldiers throughout the war. Of all of these brave women, however, some narratives have surfaced.

Prudence Cummings Wright's recognition as a soldier was not due to formally joining the military, but because she organized a militia of women. Prudence organized a militia of thirty to forty wives, called "Mrs. David Wright's Guard" at the time but later acquired the name "Leonard Whiting's Guard," to defend their home of Pepperell, Massachusetts while their husbands were away fighting at the Battles of Concord and Lexington.⁵² These women

⁴⁹ Berkin, *Revolutionary Mothers*, Loc. 1051.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Loc. 1041; and Kowalski, "Women Warriors," 24-27.

⁵¹ Gundersen, *To Be Useful to the World*, 165.

⁵² "Prudence Cummings Wright, Patriot Militia Commander, Captures 2 Spies," *New England Historical Society*, accessed February 21, 2016, <http://www.newenglandhistoricalsociety.com/prudence-cummings-wright-patriot-militia-commander-captures-2-spies/>; Gundersen, *To Be Useful to the World*, 164; and Rebecca Beatrice Brooks, "Prudence Cummings Wright & Leonard Whiting's Guard," *History of Massachusetts*, May 13, 2013, accessed March 2, 2016, <http://historyofmassachusetts.org/prudence-cummings-wright-leonard-whittings-guard/>.

guarded the Jewett's Bridge as soldiers, as they donned their husbands' clothing. The women, "armed with muskets, pitchforks, and such other weapons as they could find," captured two men they thought were spies for the British.⁵³ Supposedly, one of the men captured happen to be Leonard Whiting, a Tory Officer who was trying to carry intelligence to the British Army. There is even an 1899 poem celebrating her endeavors:

The women over field and farm
Kept faithful watch and ward;
Shielded the town from ev'ry harm,
Nor thought their duty hard.
They guarded bridge and forest wood –
These women fair and slight;
And for the right they ever stood,
At morning, noon and night.
The story of their gallant feat
Flew swift o'er hill and dell;
And "Reg'lars" then, cared not to meet
Prudence of Pepperell.
Their country's honor, in an hour
Most serious and grave,
Was thus upheld with grace and power,
By women true and brave.
And on the scroll where heroes' names
Appear in shining light;
With names our country proudly claims,
Gleams that of Prudence Wright.⁵⁴

This poem, written only a few years after the World's Colombian Exposition in Chicago (1893), illustrates the rise in nationalism at the turn of the century and how that generation remembered the "Revolutionary Heroines." Certainly, Prudence Wright and her guard deserve the same recognition as any other woman that took on a "man's work" and stood to defend their homes.

Sisters Grace and Rachel Martin were also incidental soldiers in their husbands' absence. While there is little

⁵³ Butler, *History of the Town of Groton*, 336.

⁵⁴ Susan H. Wixon, "Prudence Wright," *The American Monthly Magazine*, November 1899, 547-549. This quote is just a few stanzas of the three-page poem.

information available about these sisters, one story pervades in the memory of their service. Much like that of Prudence Wright, they donned their husbands clothing and became incidental soldiers in an operation to intercept valuable information traveling to the British lines. While they did not form a women's militia, Grace and Rachel set out on their own, pistols in hand, and posted at an intersection as soldiers to capture British intelligence. As the messenger and his guards approached the women, the Martins seized their papers and fled on horseback through the woods to an American post to deliver the information. Oddly enough, this is partly an account provided by the British messengers the sisters intercepted.⁵⁵

Martha Bratton, the wife of Patriot Colonel William Bratton, precisely fits the category of the incidental soldier. Little of Martha's early life before the war is readily available, but her heroism when faced with the British army proved notable. Martha was tasked to look after a secret American gunpowder supply at their home in North Carolina while her husband fought in General Sumter's army away from home, and when she heard that the British were approaching to seize the supply, she acted as a soldier would. Rather than allowing the Loyalists to seize the ammunition, Martha blew up the supply by leaving a trail of gunpowder from the supplies to where she stood some distance away; as the Loyalist troops approached, Martha lit the gunpowder trail.⁵⁶ Martha's most notable phrase in historical memory was her reply to the Loyalist officer who irately inquired who destroyed the supply. Martha said "It was I who did it...Let the consequence be what it will, I glory in having prevented the mischief contemplated by the cruel enemies of my country."⁵⁷

Later in 1780, she had another experience as an incidental soldier, but this time Martha did not blow up a gunpowder supply. Instead, she nobly refused to give away her husband's position to the Loyalist Captain Christian Huck. Martha is known for yet another phrase; as the captain suggested that her husband join the

⁵⁵ Kowalski, "Women Warrior," 24-27; and "Elizabeth, Grace, and Rachel Martin," *AmericanRevolution.org*, accessed February 21, 2016, <http://www.americanrevolution.org/women/women24.php>.

⁵⁶ Ellet, *The Women of the American Revolution*, 1:247.

⁵⁷ "Martha Bratton (? – 1816)," *National Women's History Museum*, accessed February 21, 2016, <https://www.nwhm.org/education-resources/biography/biographies/martha-bratton/>; Ellet, *The Women of the American Revolution*, 1:247; and Berkin, *Revolutionary Mothers*, Loc. 2302.

Loyalist ranks, she said that she “would rather see him remain true to his duty to his country, even if he perished in Sumter’s army.”⁵⁸ Martha stayed silent even as a soldier held a reaping hook to her throat, threatening her life and that of her son. At which time, a kind soldier pleaded with the Captain to spare her life. The Brattons’ lives were spared, but the captain then ordered Martha to feed his troops. She did so without protest. Later, when the British left her home, she sent word of the enemy’s presence to her husband, who was nearby. The Patriot troops surprised the Loyalists and achieved victory, as the Patriots sent the British running. Martha then converted her home into a makeshift hospital to care for both the wounded Americans and the British prisoners. One of these prisoners was the kind soldier that saved Martha’s life earlier. To demonstrate her gratitude for the soldier’s deeds, she pleaded with her husband and his troops not to execute the soldier, but to keep him alive and exchange him as a prisoner.⁵⁹ Ultimately, this conflict with Captain Huck encouraged other Americans to join the Patriot ranks. Consequently, South Carolina named a city, Brattonsville, in honor of the brave Bratton family.⁶⁰ Martha Bratton conducted herself as a soldier as circumstances necessitated—in sacrificing supplies to keep them out of enemy hands, in refusing to divulge any information of the Patriots considered useful to the Loyalists, and in upholding the honor of a soldier by repaying the soldier that had saved her life.

Margaret Corbin (1751-1800), like Molly Pitcher, was a Camp Follower. Margaret cooked and did laundry for the ranks, and when her husband and the troops needed her assistance, she acted as a soldier. As a child, Margaret lost both of her parents to an attack by Native Americans; her father was killed and her mother was taken captive, never to be seen again. Her uncle adopted and raised her, and at the age of twenty-one, Margaret married John Corbin, and both joined the Patriot militia three years later.⁶¹

⁵⁸ “Martha Bratton (? – 1816),” *National Women’s History Museum*, accessed February 21, 2016, <https://www.nwhm.org/education-resources/biography/biographies/martha-bratton/>.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ “Brattonsville, South Carolina 221,” *Revolutionary Day*, accessed February 21, 2016, <http://revolutionaryday.com/usroute221/brattonsville/default.htm>.

⁶¹ “Margaret Cochran Corbin (1751-1800),” *National Women’s History Museum*, accessed February 21, 2016, <https://www.nwhm.org/education-resources/>

In November of 1776, at the Battle of Fort Washington, Margaret replaced her husband loading the cannon, as his partner fell from his wounds and John assumed firing. After John too fell fatally wounded, Margaret continued firing for the duration of the battle. In fact, Margaret's cannon was the last to cease firing despite the wounds she received during the battle. When the battle ended, the soldiers discovered the physical representations of her sacrifice. Margaret's wounds consisted of four gunshots—three times with musket balls and once with “grapeshot.”⁶² She nearly lost her left arm, and she suffered extensive injury to her jaw and chest. Her arm was so badly damaged that it remained unusable for the remainder of her life.⁶³

After the battle, on June 26, 1776, the state of Pennsylvania awarded Margaret with thirty dollars for her bravery and her sacrifice. Three years later, the Continental Congress granted Margaret half of a soldier's lifelong pension. At one point, Margaret joined the Invalid Regiment of the Continental Army. Despite all of her heroic endeavors and sacrifices, Margaret has only three plaques near the Fort Washington battlefield, she has no monument, and she was not properly buried with military honors until 1926 after she was exhumed and identified by her wounds. Moreover, according to America's National Women's History Museum, Margaret was the “first woman to receive a pension,” and she was the only “Revolutionary War veteran” granted a reburial with West Point's full military honors.⁶⁴ Certainly, Margaret Corbin deserves recognition and celebration in the memory of the Revolutionary War, as her patriotism, her dauntless participation and her physical sacrifices were that of a soldier.

biography/biographies/margaret-cochran-corbin/; and Gundersen, *To Be Useful to the World*, 165.

⁶² The “Grapeshot” of the Revolutionary period was much like the average ammunition of the modern shotgun—not a solid, one-piece bullet, but a bag of small metal fragments resembling a bunch of grapes, which sprayed these fragments at the target when fired.

⁶³ “Margaret Cochran Corbin (1751-1800),” *National Women's History Museum*, accessed February 21, 2016, <https://www.nwhm.org/education-resources/biography/biographies/margaret-cochran-corbin/>; and Berkin, *Revolutionary Mothers*, Loc. 2217.

⁶⁴ “Margaret Cochran Corbin (1751-1800),” *National Women's History Museum*, accessed February 21, 2016, <https://www.nwhm.org/education-resources/biography/biographies/margaret-cochran-corbin/>.

Indeed, it seems the federal government has honored her, but the public remains unaware of her courage.

Deborah Gannett Sampson's (1760-1827) narrative is one of the most famous and the most unambiguous story of all of the women in combat zones during the Revolution, namely because Deborah Sampson wrote her own biography after her military service.⁶⁵ Still, only select portions of her life and her time in service are mentioned sparingly, as she is mostly mentioned in passing as the woman who joined and fought in the army as a man. Deborah has rightfully secured her place in the history books as a prominent woman in the American Revolution, and hence, it is necessary to tell her story here.

A twenty-one-year-old Deborah Gannett Sampson wanted to join the army to fight in the defense of her country. When the army denied her, Deborah dressed in men's attire, groomed herself to look as a man, and in 1781, she joined the Fourth Massachusetts Regiment under her brother's name, Robert Shurtleff.⁶⁶ Deborah served in many battles, including the engagement at Yorktown, and she essentially experienced everything a male soldier did for the years she was in the military's service, including being wounded in battle.⁶⁷

Deborah experienced two wounds and an illness in her time of active service. Deborah's wounds would not lead to her discovery, as she cared for her own leg after being shot with a musket ball, and somehow, the medics treated a gunshot wound to her shoulder, but she stayed undetected. Not until her illness did her gender come to light. Deborah once fell ill with a fever and was taken to the hospital. During her treatment, the doctors discovered she was a woman. The army honorably discharged

⁶⁵ Gundersen, *To Be Useful to the World*, 165.

⁶⁶ The exact spelling of the last name of Deborah's alias is not clear, as it has been spelled differently by various authors: "Shurtlef" by Gundersen, *To Be Useful to the World*, 165; "Shurtleff" by Berkin, *Revolutionary Mothers*, Loc. 1051, and Kowalski, "Women Warriors," 24-27; "Shurtlieff" by "An American Joan of Arc," *Cincinnati Daily Press* (Cincinnati, OH), March 23, 1860; "Shutleff" and "Shirtliff" by Cynthia J. Davis and Kathryn West, *Women Writers in the United States: A Timeline of Literary, Cultural, and Social History* (Cary: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1996), ProQuest ebrary, 28-29; and "Shirtliffe" by "A Female in the Revolutionary Army," *The Smoke Hill and Republican Union* (Junction City, KS), July 3, 1862.

⁶⁷ Gundersen, *To Be Useful to the World*, 165; and "An American Joan of Arc," *Cincinnati Daily Press* (Cincinnati, OH), March 23, 1860.

Deborah in 1783, and the state of Massachusetts paid her a soldier's pension. Some of Deborah's fame as a female soldier undoubtedly stemmed from the honor bestowed upon her from the state, but some of her fame resulted from her biography as well. Nonetheless, the memory of Deborah Sampson is one of the most widespread among the women of the American Revolution.⁶⁸

Female Spies

Women spies were often not labeled as spies, nor were they typically contracted as such. Instead, women frequently found themselves acting as impromptu spies when needed. Similar to Anna Strong's signal to the Patriots in the *Turn: Washington's Spies* series, many of these women have comparable narratives. Often, these female spies risked their lives and their livelihoods to demonstrate their patriotism by acquiring information from behind the British lines to aid the rebels. Like Anna Strong, many of these women remain absent in the popular memory of the women vital to the Continental army's intelligence.

Patience Lovell Wright (1725-1786), not to be confused with Prudence Wright, is probably best known for her work as a sculptor. While pregnant with her fifth child, Patience's husband died, leaving her no way to take care of herself, nor their children. Consequently, Patience began selling her sculptures to provide for her family, and due to her remarkable talent, she quickly became a notable sculptor. Her sculpting also provided her a means to aid the Patriots as a spy.⁶⁹

While Patience resided in England, she sculpted portraits of her clients and other individuals. Sculptures require an extensive amount of time, so Patience conversed with her prominent British clients as she worked. As she completed the sculptures, Patience would hide the notes of the information she had acquired within the sculptures' cores. Therefore, these wax sculptures served as vessels containing valuable information about the British, which

⁶⁸ Kowalski, "Women Warriors," 24-27; Gundersen, *To Be Useful to the World*, 165; and Berkin, *Revolutionary Mothers*, Loc. 1051.

⁶⁹ "Patience Lovel Wright," *Bordentown Historical Society*, accessed February 21, 2016, http://bordentownhistory.org/Current_Exhibits/PatienceWright/index.html.

Patience sent to America.⁷⁰ Perhaps, Patience Wright risked more than the women residing in America, as they simply had the colonizers to answer to, whereas Patience lived in the mother country, surrounded solely by the enemy. Thus, it is a mystery as to why she is often neglected in the memory of the Revolutionary War.

Laodicea “Dicey” Langston (1766-1837) at a young age proved herself valuable to the Patriots as a spy. Dicey lived in Laurens District, South Carolina surrounded by loyalists. Dicey easily mingled with loyalists, some of which were even members of her own family, to get information she could deliver to the American lines. Her fluidity may have been due to her youth, as she was a child when the war began and a teenager at the war’s end, and therefore, the loyalists may not have felt as threatened by a child, and even less by a *female* child. Dicey, ultimately, divulged the information she acquired across the Ennoree River to the Whigs.⁷¹

While little detail as to the specifics of the information she transferred remains, as military journals did not record these details, Dicey was a pivotal part of the Patriot’s intelligence network. She proved herself a staunch patriot and she never betrayed the Patriots despite Tory threats. In one account, as a Tory officer held a pistol to her chest, she still refused to betray her country and relinquish information about the Americans. Young Dicey’s loyalty to the American cause was astounding, and many Patriots were “indebted [to her] for important information.”⁷² Therefore, despite most writings not including her story in the memory of the war, young Dicey Langston served her country in the only way she could, as a spy.

Emily Geiger (1765-1825), just one year older than Dicey Langston, was yet another young woman that risked her life to alert the Patriots of British movement and plans, as she served as an American courier for General Nathanael Greene, Catherine Greene’s husband. In 1781, General Greene needed a courier to deliver a message to General Thomas Sumter some distance away. As young Emily volunteered, General Greene reluctantly agreed to send her. She mounted her horse, rode like a *lady*, side-saddled, part of the way there and decided to seek shelter for the night at a

⁷⁰ Graf, “From Eavesdroppers to Secret Agents,” 29-30.

⁷¹ Ellet, *The Women of the American Revolution*, 1:284-285.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 1:285, 284-291.

farmer's house. Upon realizing the farmer's loyalties to the British, and their disclosure of her presence to some Tory soldiers, Emily fled once more on her horse only to be detained by Tory scouts en route to General Sumter. To destroy the evidence of the message, Emily ripped the note into tiny pieces and ate them – luckily, General Greene had also given her the order verbally in case of such a circumstance.⁷³ Emily told the scouts' commanding officer that she was traveling to her Uncle's house, and when the officers found no trace of foul play, they apologized, released her, and even provided an escort to her destination. Upon reaching her Uncle's house, and the Tory escort's departure, Emily once more mounted her horse and rode to General Sumter where she delivered the message to join General Greene in an attack on the British. To Emily's satisfaction, she promptly witnessed General Sumter and his army riding to meet General Greene for the attack. Emily was an impromptu spy for the Patriots, but her courage and her patriotism knew no bounds for this mission. While Emily is included more than most in the memory of the women in the war, her story is still not as prevalent as say that of Lydia Darragh.⁷⁴

Lydia Darragh⁷⁵ (1729-1789) was a Quaker living in Pennsylvania during the war. Because the Darraghs were Quakers, the British made the mistake of assuming that they remained neutral in the war. On the contrary, Lydia had a son who served in General George Washington's Army. Having a son in the Patriot army would generally be reason enough to spy on the enemy, but Lydia had one more advantage—her location. Lydia resided on Second Street in Philadelphia, and across the street from her large home stood a building that served as the headquarters for the British army in Pennsylvania. Due to her location, the British

⁷³ Interestingly, Carol Berkin and Kathleen Maher's accounts state that General Greene had given Emily Geiger the message both as a physical note and a verbal message *before* she left on her travels, but Christine Graf's account does not mention a verbal order, and instead, states that Emily memorized the note before destroying it and eating it. Berkin and Maher imply Emily was illiterate like most colonists, but Graf specifically tells of Emily's literacy. It is not clear which story is true, but it is interesting nonetheless. Berkin, *Revolutionary Mothers*, Loc. 2317; Maher, *Constitution Daily* (blog), April 1, 2011; and Graf, "From Eavesdroppers to Secret Agents," 29-30.

⁷⁴ Berkin, *Revolutionary Mothers*, Loc. 2298-2317.

⁷⁵ The spelling of "Darragh" varies significantly, and without pattern in regards to eras, authors, or accounts. The typical spellings of Lydia's last name are Darragh, Darrah, and Darracht.

officers frequently held meetings at Lydia's house, forcing her to cook for and host the British officers and soldiers. During these meetings and other discussions, Lydia gained information. This information was written in shorthand by her husband, placed into "wooden button molds," covered with cloth, and sewn into the coat of the Darragh's younger son.⁷⁶ The teenage boy would then pass through the British and American lines to provide his older brother, Lieutenant Charles Darragh, with the message, as he could decode his father's shorthand and relay the message to Washington. This intricate system of passing information was undoubtedly noteworthy, but this system was just half of the story for which Lydia remains known.⁷⁷

Lydia was also known for her own endeavor in passing through the British lines. In December of 1777, Lydia gathered information from another Tory meeting in her home of a planned surprise attack on Washington's army at White Marsh – the same location as her son's post at the time. Lydia, then, told her husband she would go into town for flour in Frankford, at which time she made contact with a Patriot "feeler," or a member of the spy network who waits and *feels* around town for information regarding the enemy.⁷⁸ Upon informing this "feeler," most likely Captain Charles Craig, of the sensitive information, the captain immediately served Washington with this information. Ultimately, the Tory's *surprise* attack failed, as Washington reinforced his army in preparation. Lydia's actions in both relaying secret messages in buttons and risking her life to protect the thousands of soldiers at White Marsh, including her own son, equate to that of an impromptu spy.⁷⁹

Tory Women

The Tory women that participated in the war as Camp Followers, nurses, soldiers, and spies were strikingly similar to their Patriot

⁷⁶ Bakeless, *Spies of the Revolution*, 152.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 150-152; and Halverson, "Dangerous Patriots," 143.

⁷⁸ Bakeless, *Spies of the Revolution*, 156; and Ellet, *The Women of the American Revolution*, 1:174-175.

⁷⁹ Bakeless, *Spies of the Revolution*, 152-162; Graf, "From Eavesdroppers to Secret Agents," 29-30; and Ellet, *The Women of the American Revolution*, 1:171-177.

counterparts. As Camp Followers, Loyalist women washed clothes, cooked meals, crafted and gathered supplies, tended to the sick and wounded, worked for their rations, and experienced the adversities of military camp life. Tory women also acted as impromptu nurses and spies like Patriot women.

As far as soldiers are concerned, however, British women rarely joined, or attempted to join, the ranks themselves. As British women were not fighting for their *homes* – America was more like a temporary residence than their *homes* in England, these women had little desire or ability to challenge eighteenth century gender roles. Consequently, there were fewer female Tory soldiers, if any, than there were Patriots.

Another difference between Patriot and Loyalist women in combat zones was the greater numbers of Tory Camp Followers. Loyalist Camp Followers greatly outnumbered their American counterparts, as the American attitude towards Camp Followers was far more negative than with the British. Therefore, American women were not always *allowed* to travel with the camps, which equated to greater numbers of Tory Camp Followers.⁸⁰

Lady Harriet Ackland (1750-1815), also spelled “Acland,” the wife of Major Ackland who served in Burgoyne’s army, was a woman of devotion and bravery. Harriet was a Camp Follower, as she traveled to the camps and hospitals whenever her husband fell ill or wounded, but when he was wounded at Hubbardton, she followed the camps consistently thereafter. Though she experienced more luxury than most, as an officer’s wife, she suffered under harsh conditions at certain points during the war. For instance, as the wounded Major Ackland became a prisoner of war, Harriet traveled to the American Camp to suffer the privations of a prisoner alongside her husband. Due to her devotion to her husband, and her courage to endure the adversities of imprisonment, Lady Harriet Ackland’s story captured the hearts of Americans.⁸¹

Regarding female Tory spies, Ann (Anne) Bates (1748-?) is probably the most famous. Ann served as one of General Henry Clinton’s most valuable spies, as she collected the details and the quantities of the weapons and the men of the Patriot army by posing as a peddler under the name “Mrs. Barnes” in the camps. While most Revolutionary era women would not have held a great

⁸⁰ Blumenthal, *Women Camp Followers of the American Revolution*, 60, 64-65.

⁸¹ Ellet, *The Women of the American Revolution*, 1:147-154.

knowledge of weaponry, Ann's husband repaired weaponry before the war, so she was knowledgeable in the subject. Ann's knowledge, and the data she collected, proved so valuable that Major Duncan Drummond, her contact, "stated that her information was 'far superior to every other intelligence.'"⁸² As valuable a spy as Ann Bates was, there is no wonder why her story remains one of the most prominent narratives of Tory spies.⁸³

Conclusion

Ultimately, the question that remains is why are there three prominent women – Molly Pitcher, Lydia Darragh, and Deborah Sampson, remembered by historians, states, the public, and the press, that consistently overshadow others in the American historical memory of the Revolutionary War? Ironically, Molly Pitcher is mostly regarded as a soldier in the public's memory, not a Camp Follower. It seems that the populace remembers Molly Pitcher as the woman manning the cannon, as so many images and stories depict, but historians classify her with Camp Followers and nurses. Interestingly, the stories of Margaret Corbin and Molly Pitcher are practically identical, yet Margaret Corbin is remembered as a soldier and Molly Pitcher is remembered as a Camp Follower or a nurse. Moreover, Margaret Corbin was the "first woman to receive a pension" from the Continental Congress, and she served as the only "Revolutionary War veteran" granted a reburial with West Point's full military honors.⁸⁴ Margaret Corbin, like Molly Pitcher, operated the cannon as her husband fell wounded, and in fact, Margaret suffered worse, and permanent, wounds from her service, which should equate to a greater distinction in commemoration. Unfortunately, it may have been because of Margaret's permanent wounds, and according to many accounts, her consequent drunkenness after, that caused Molly Pitcher's narrative to ultimately overshadow hers.

⁸² Sally Smith Booth, *The Women of '76* (New York: Hastings House, 1973), 253, in Halverson, "Dangerous Patriots," 144.

⁸³ Halverson, "Dangerous Patriots," 144; and Berkin, *Revolutionary Mothers*, Loc. 2259.

⁸⁴ "Margaret Cochran Corbin (1751-1800)," *National Women's History Museum*, accessed February 21, 2016, <https://www.nwhm.org/education-resources/biography/biographies/margaret-cochran-corbin/>.

For Deborah Sampson, her narrative dominated the memory of female soldiers due to her financial hardship after her service. Needing a source of income, Deborah told of her experiences as a female soldier in her biography, and she held her book tour to generate revenue. Despite her financial motives, the book and her speeches propelled her story to the forefront, which eclipsed other women's narratives. Ironically, it was Deborah Sampson's patriotism, and not monetary gain like other women, which led to her enlistment in the war, and she suffered throughout the war to keep her story hidden, but financial necessity would make her story famous.

In contrast to Deborah Sampson and Molly Pitcher, in the case of Lydia Darragh, there is no definitive reason as to why her story grew to the fame that it has other than her daughter, Ann, documenting the story as it was told to her.⁸⁵ Truthfully, Lydia's excursion into Frankford was not overtly dangerous or unique; her sewing a message into a button patch was clearly unconventional, but many spies used unconventional methods to transport information; her becoming a spy due to her location was not an abnormal circumstance during the war; and finally, Washington received multiple alerts of the surprise attack, so Lydia did not save the White Marsh camp single-handedly.⁸⁶ Lydia's efforts in the war mirrored many of the women's participation and acts of contribution. Therefore, perhaps one of the only reasons Lydia stood out among the other female spies may have been due to the level of trust that the British had in the family. Because the Darraghs were Quakers, and the British assumed them neutral and expected them not to interfere, the family may have been trusted more than most, which may have equated to more significant information for the Continental Army. There is no definitive reason behind Lydia's fame, but nonetheless, her story overshadowed the rest of the female spies of the Revolutionary War.

Molly Pitcher, Lydia Darragh, and Deborah Sampson are the most prevalent in the memory of Revolutionary War women in combat zones. Ultimately, other women demonstrated equal if not greater acts of courage and contribution than these three. Thus, this compilation of narratives of "Revolutionary Heroines" contributes to the historiography of the brave, yet often ignored, women of the

⁸⁵ Bakeless, *Spies of the Revolution*, 161.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 150-162.

Revolutionary War. Each of the lesser known narratives presented are significant to historical context because they not only provide a broader understanding of the social roles and responsibilities common to the Revolutionary period, they also illustrate what it meant to be an American—man, woman, or child—at a time when the nation was searching for its own identity. These narratives reveal that women, like men, were willing to demonstrate their patriotism by contributing in unconventional ways – even as early as the nation’s founding.

Ultimately, these women suffered alongside their men, they risked their lives to sustain the cause, and some even fought *as* men to repel the enemy. Indeed, women have participated in every American war in some form or another. The calls for women’s participation, however, have not always been fulfilled in the exact parameters requested. Women often demonstrate that they are just as American as men, in that, Americans and women alike typically participate on their own terms, react in an emergency without caution, and when told that something cannot be done, they succeed in spite.

The historiography from the Revolutionary period to the twenty-first century reflects this persistence. Through the activism of the Civil Rights, Women’s Liberation, and New History Movements of the 1960s, authors began filling the void in historical memory with the experiences and the narratives of women and other minorities; prior to these movements, women largely remained absent and ignored. Since the 1960s, however, authors started to gradually incorporate women’s experiences into the broader historical context, and as of the early twenty-first century, the field of women’s studies has propelled to the forefront of historical discussions. Through the persistence of later generations, and the social movements that bolstered change, women have progressed from an almost forgotten peoples in history to one of the most studied topics of the twenty-first century.

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Daughters of the May Fourth, Orphans of Revolution

By Hector Lopez

Abstract: Confucianism, an ideology that dominated Chinese society for millennia, became a stain in Chinese culture. The youth in China at the turn of the twentieth century were determined to rid their society from Confucian influence. There was only one problem; they did so by taking small steps in ridding Confucianism one piece at a time. The biggest issue, filial piety, became the toughest challenge China faced during the revolutionary period. Authors like Lu Xun and Chen Duxiu used literature to protest against filial piety, influencing many others to do the same. Women like Xiao Hong and Ding Ling also exposed the brutal nature of filial piety from a women's perspective. They challenged the status quo on sexuality, marriage, and freedom of choice for women in China. Many of the men who wrote alongside them applauded their literary works; however, their efforts would fall short. As the Chinese Communist Party grew stronger, the roles of women in Chinese society were discarded so that the Party could appeal to the peasantry who heavily relied on family hierarchy to work their crops and manage their homes. As the May Fourth Movement set the stage for Communism, making promises of women's reform, in time the leaders of the movement took on political roles that changed their views of women's reform. As the Party grew, promises were broken and women's reform became a façade in revolutionary China.

For over two millennia, Confucianism has dominated Chinese society. Since its existence, Confucian ideology has shaped many aspects of life in China. Even today, gender inequality remains a significant topic of debate due to entrenched Confucian ideologies. Although men had opportunities to better their own social standing, women had no opportunity for improvement. Women, under Confucian ideology, were at the whim of their fathers, who sold their daughters through marriage arrangements. Once married, women became the property of their husbands, forever servants to

the men in their lives. The three obediences of Confucianism for women dictates that she must obey her father first, until married. Once married, a woman was to obey her husband. If a woman's husband dies before she does, then the woman was to obey her son. This was the role of women under a system dominated by the virtue of filial piety. This also involved a woman's subjugation to the will of her mother-in-law when living in her husband's home. As the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) ended, revolution began and the people of China demanded change. Women like Xiao Hong and Ding Ling played a large role in the changes that took place following the end of the Qing dynasty. They used literature to expose the problems of the ancient ways, which had held women captive to their fathers, husbands, and brothers. Exposed to physical and sexual abuses, transgressions became a burden placed on women. Through literature, women in Chinese society had brought forth their own awakening of an ancient world that needed to move forward into modernity.

During the time of Confucian influence over China, women found themselves as second-class citizens. Some would argue further that indeed they found themselves as slaves to men in Chinese society under Confucian doctrine. "In theory and often in practice, women were supposed to remain in the inner quarters," states Wendy Larson, author of *Women and Writing In Modern China*, "[W]omen were supposed to restrict themselves to relationships within the family and kin circle and define themselves as wives, mothers, and daughters."¹ Women's roles in Confucian society became more than what Larson has described – women were also slaves to their fathers, husbands, and brothers. It was a common theme for women to be sold into marriage for two reasons: 1) to lighten the burden of her family by eliminating a mouth to feed, and 2) to add another worker to the family of the woman's groom. If for any reason things did not work out, husbands could sell their wives. This is just one example of how diminished roles that women played in traditional culture in China.

In 1915, the New Culture Movement began with a literary revolution, which brought to the surface the conditions of women under Confucian society. While male authors dominated literature, there were two women who took on powerful roles: Zhang Naiying (1911-1942), pen name Xiao Hong, and Jiang Bingzhi (1904-

¹ Wendy Larson, *Women and Writing in Modern China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 1.

1986), pen name Ding Ling. These women remain two of the most prominent writers in Chinese history. They wrote about their experiences under ancient society as well as life during the revolution and the great changes they witnessed in China. Their literature reflects women's identities and roles in family and society as China shifted from the rule of the Qing dynasty, to the warlords, to republican nationalism, and finally to communism. The two women came from different backgrounds, and in some cases, their stories take on different settings, yet their writings deal with many of the same issues that women faced. They used literature to present the people of China with the burdens of women with one common objective – change. However, before we look into the writings and lives of Xiao and Ding, we must first look into China's deep history. This will provide a deeper context, and paint a brighter picture, of the lives and the dedication of both these women.

If China became a great power under Confucianism, why was change so important at the turn of the twentieth century? To answer this question, we first have to look back to the Opium Wars beginning in 1839, when the British navy took control of many of China's major harbors. The British merchants in China began to dictate trade with the Chinese merchants by setting prices that China had to follow. This left China with very little money; making it difficult to develop the modern technology to defend itself from foreign invaders. The treaties that followed the Opium Wars granted more openings of ports to foreign powers with Britain gaining the largest advantages. Britain's dominance stemmed from the Treaty of Nanjing, which placed Hong Kong under British control. Foreign concessions also led to foreign policy, taxes collected from foreign magistrates, and foreign troops patrolling the territory. The Chinese who lived in foreign controlled territories were uprooted without ever leaving their homeland. The lands that they had known were no longer theirs culturally or economically.

Compounding the situation even further, in 1895, the Chinese navy fought against the Japanese over control of Korea. Japan destroyed the northern Chinese navy's best ships and took control of Shandong ports. Shandong was the home of Confucius (551-479 B.C.E.), the birthplace of the man who defined the fundamental characteristics of Chinese cultural ideology for two thousand years. After a decade of a self-imposed isolation from

western technologies, Chinese intellectuals realized at this moment that China needed to adopt Western technology to defeat foreign invasion and regain its sovereignty. The multiple defeats throughout the 19th century made this obvious. Western technology overpowered China during the Opium Wars, and it was Western technology that provided the Japanese with increased strength. In order to adopt western technology, China had to change its ideology by ridding itself of ancient ways and leap forward into modernity. The beginning of reform started with education, abolishing the civil service examination system and its Confucian curriculum in 1905 and setting up public schools.

Lu Xun

China began to send students to other countries to attend university and learn about Western technology. This next generation would dig China out of the grave, leap into modernity, and rebuild what once was a strong nation. In 1902, a student by the name of Zhou Shuren (1881-1936) attended university in Japan. Zhou intended to become a doctor to do his part in helping his fellow Chinese become physically healthier people. Whenever there was a break in classes, professors showed war films of the Russo-Japanese War, which began while Zhou was there, lasting from 1904 through 1905. One particular film showed a fellow Chinese man with his hand bound as Japanese soldiers stood around him, and a crowd of the condemned Chinese man's compatriots watched. The bounded man, declared a spy, was beheaded and the crowd of Chinese people seemed to enjoy the spectacle. "The people of a weak and backward country, however strong and healthy they may be, can only serve to be made example of, or to witness such futile spectacles," wrote Zhou, "and it doesn't really matter how many of them die of illness."² This was Zhou's awakening! He realized the Chinese people did not need medical attention, but mental attention. He left university and headed for Shanghai to become a writer, taking up the pen name Lu Xun.³

² Joseph S. M. Lau and Howard Goldblatt, *The Columbia Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 4.

³ Zhou Shuren, more famously known by his pen name, and will further be addressed as, Lu Xun.

When arriving in Shanghai, Lu Xun began writing short stories as he attempted to launch *New Youth* magazine. The magazine did not take off as he hoped, but in 1915, Chen Duxiu (1879-1942), a dean at Beijing University, revived the magazine asking Lu Xun to write a story for its first issue. Lu Xun went to work, creating his short-story collection, *Call to Arms*, encouraging those who read it to awaken. Lu Xun introduced ancient ideologies as an “iron house without windows,” and within the walls are people who are suffocating.⁴ He posed the question – is it kindness to let them sleep so that no one suffers or screams out, awakening the few who may have a chance to survive and destroy the walls of this iron house? Lu Xun provides the answer by stating, “...if a few awake, you can’t say there is no hope of destroying the iron house.”⁵ In this essay, Lu Xun portrays Confucianism as the iron house that is suffocating the people in China and now is the time to scream out and wake up the few who can hear, with hope to destroy the very institution that is killing the people. “Lu desperately believed that something had to be done to awaken the Chinese to what he saw as the destructiveness of traditional culture.”⁶ Lu Xun followed up *Call to Arms* with *A Madman’s Diary* in 1918.

A Madman’s Diary begins with a friend who calls on the narrator to look at the diary of his brother who had gone mad some time ago. The narrator, a doctor, agrees to take a look, and then the narrative shifts to the madman’s perspective. He speaks of the villagers who have taken on the form of cannibals, looking at the madman as if they were craving to take a bite of his flesh. The madman, on request of his brother and the village physician, isolates himself in his room and begins to read a history book titled, “Confucian Virtue and Morality.” The madman lacked sleep, reading “half the night until I began to see words between the lines. The whole book was filled with the two words – ‘Eat people.’”⁷ The madman came to the understanding that Confucianism consumed the people it infected, destroying the social and political structure of China. This leads to the madman questioning his own actions, or believing he too had taken part in

⁴ Lau and Goldblatt, *The Columbia Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature*, 6.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ R. Keith Schoppa, *Revolution and Its Past Identities and Change in Modern Chinese History* (Boston: Prentice Hall, 2010), 109.

⁷ Lau and Goldblatt, *The Columbia Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature*, 10.

cannibalistic practices. He wonders if he had eaten the flesh of his own sister, who, under filial piety was subject to the demands of her brother. Lu Xun finishes this story with, “Perhaps there are still children who haven’t eaten men? Save the children...”⁸ In order to save the children from being eaten or becoming cannibals, they needed to be educated about the destructive ideals of Confucianism. Lu Xun’s work, along with other writers like Chen Duxiu and Hu Shih, who inspired many students and intellectuals to take a stand against Confucianism, savagely criticized the foreign powers that continued to chop up China into their own spheres of influence.

Following World War I, Chinese delegates went to Paris to participate in the Treaty of Versailles. They felt they had deserved a right to sit at the table since they had helped the allied forces, participating in the grunt work of building infrastructure and digging ditches to free up military personnel to fight the battles.⁹ However, allied powers wanted to concede the former German concessions in Shandong to Japan. This did not sit well with students and intellectuals in China, who organized protests forbidding Chinese delegates from signing the treaty. The pressure placed on the Chinese government by protestors convinced the delegates to walk out of the meetings without signing the treaty. On May 4, 1919, what later became known as the May Fourth Movement, began in China the protest and staged boycotts of Japanese products. The May Fourth Movement also brought to the surface a movement for women’s rights in China, and it would largely overlap with the ongoing New Culture Movement noted above.

Women who participated in the May Fourth Movement were restricted to having their speeches and debates indoors only. “At the beginning we, as female students, did not enjoy the same freedom of movement as our male counterparts,”¹⁰ wrote Deng Yingchao (1904-1992), who later went on to marry Zhou Enlai (1898-1976), a founding member of the Communist Party in China. Deng took part in the march to Tianjin (Tientsin) where police started attacking the protestors once they took to the streets. Men and women both stood together, protecting each other, and

⁸ Ibid., 16.

⁹ Guoqi Xu, *Strangers on the Western Front Chinese Workers in the Great War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), 14.

¹⁰ Schoppa, *Twentieth Century China A History in Documents*, 48.

found a way out of the vicious encirclement of police and continued their march. These events became an inspiration to the youth of China, especially to women whose fates were determined by their fathers, brothers, and husbands. Chen Duxiu once wrote, “Emancipation means freeing oneself from the bondage of slavery and achieving a completely independent and free personality.”¹¹ He believed that in order for China to awaken from a two-thousand-year slumber, it needed reforms for all, including women. The downward trend that resulted in the demise of the Qing, and the rise of dissenting voices, would grant women an opportunity to speak on the behalf of women. Women like Jiang Bingzhi and Chang Naiying who found inspiration in the writings of Lu Xun. Coming from upper class families did not allow these two women to escape the privileges of men who still stood on the top tier of filial piety.

Ding Ling and Xiao Hong

Jiang Bingzhi, whose pen name is Ding Ling,¹² was born on October 12, 1904 in Hunan to a gentry family that had been prominent figures within their region for three generations under the Qing Dynasty. When Ding was three years old, her father passed away and her mother moved her family to her own hometown of Changde. Ding’s mother enrolled in school to become a teacher. Following her education, Ding’s mother founded many elementary schools in Changde, becoming a pioneer educator following the abolition of the examination system.¹³ Just before she enlisted in school, Ding’s mother unbound her feet, a painful task. “She soaks them daily in cold water to speed up the process and insists on enduring the pain of running in gym class, even though she could have been excused.”¹⁴ In doing this, Ding’s mother threw away a part of Confucian ideology, and became more of an individual who no longer conformed to ancient ways.

¹¹ Ibid., 51.

¹² Jiang Bingzhi, more famously known under her pen name, and will further be addressed as, Ding Ling.

¹³ Yi-Tsi Mei Feuerwerker, “In Quest of the Writer Ding Ling,” *Feminist Studies* 10, no. 1 (1984): 69.

¹⁴ Ibid., 69.

Her courage to endure the pain of unbinding her feet became the central ideal to Ding Ling's story "Mother."

Her mother was more than just an inspiration to Ding Ling's writing; Ding's mother also helped Ding escape the control of her uncle. When Ding's mother moved her family to Changde, Confucian teachings placed both Ding Ling and her mother under the control of Ding's uncle, who arranged for Ding's marriage. With the help of her mother, Ding Ling broke off the arrangement leading to a "stormy confrontation with her uncle."¹⁵ This was Ding Ling's first taste of the power of the pen by denouncing her uncle and the "whole social spectrum to which he belonged."¹⁶ Ding published her writing, bringing her feelings toward her uncle's ways into the view of the public. She left home and headed to Shanghai to begin studying art and literature, continuing the education her mother started for her as a child.

Chang Naiying, whose pen name is Xiao Hong,¹⁷ was born on June 2, 1911, into a family belonging to the landlord class. She was born on the day of Duanyang, or Dragon Boat Festival, which fell on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month. "Local superstition had it that it was unlucky to be born on that day."¹⁸ Because of superstition surrounding Xiao's birth, the relationship with her parents suffered. Her parents gave Xiao little positive attention. Her mother constantly gave Xiao "nasty looks" and spoke to her with only "mean words."¹⁹ Xiao's father was no better, casting looks that made Xiao tremble whenever she crossed his path. When Xiao was nine years old, her mother passed away and Xiao's father became worse. "He was a man who ruled with fear, with his children and his tenants."²⁰ There was one redeeming feature in Xiao's childhood, her grandfather. He taught Xiao to have compassion for the people in their community, how to work a garden, the importance of education, and how to enjoy life. Xiao's grandfather felt it important to take care of those less fortunate when holding them accountable for their contracts. In one instance, Xiao witnessed her father stripping a team of horses from tenants

¹⁵ Ibid., 70.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Chang Naiying, more famously known under her pen name, and will further be addressed as, Xiao Hong.

¹⁸ Xiao Hong, *The Field of Life and Death & Tales of Hulan River*, trans. Howard Goldblatt (Boston: Cheng & Tsui, 2002), x.

¹⁹ Ibid., 165.

²⁰ Ibid., ix.

who had not paid their rent. Xiao's grandfather argued with his son over the incident, demanding the return of two horses to the tenants. "Two horses to us mean nothing," said grandfather, "but to a poor man those two horses mean his very existence."²¹ Xiao's grandfather, even though a member of the landlord class, understood that peasants also had rights to existence and profession. These rights were not just for peasants, but also related to women, which her grandfather taught Xiao when he educated her with poetry.

Early every morning, Xiao and her grandfather would recite poems, and Xiao learned to memorize the ones she favored. In time, her grandfather taught Xiao the meanings of these poems. The poems were not only wrapped around social qualities or hierarchy, nor hard work and profit, as some poems also discussed life in general: "I left home young, I returned an old man: The speech is the same; though my hair is thin."²²

Her grandfather explained the poem to Xiao, which made her feel sad thinking one day her grandfather will no longer be with her. The reality was harsh, but her grandfather had his reasons; he was preparing Xiao for the harsh life of a woman in China. Along with poems and the meanings of those poems, her grandfather also taught history to Xiao. In the storage rooms in their house, Xiao's family had a collection of items passed down from generation to generation. Xiao found the storage room to be a place of wonder and exploration. She found old clothing, jewelry, tools, household items, and weapons. "Some of the things were falling apart, and others were infested by bugs, owing to the fact that they'd long been neglected by their owners."²³ Once Xiao came across these items, they began to breathe again.

Xiao's curiosity brought the past to life. She had learned about her aunts who had left behind clothing and décor following their marriages. She learned more about her grandparents who stored away their items to make way for their son, who now took ownership of the house and land. Everything in the storage room was dusty and untouched until Xiao ventured into the room. Xiao's grandfather shared his memories, and his knowledge about history and literature, which, later in life, would influence Xiao as an

²¹ *Ibid.*, ix.

²² *Ibid.*, 174.

²³ *Ibid.*, 164.

adult. When Xiao became a teenager, she continued her education in an all-girls school in Harbin in the far northeast of China.

When Ding Ling took up classes in Shanghai, she did not take it seriously, only attending classes on occasion. She attempted to study art and western literature, eventually leaving school and moving to Beijing (Peking). Xiao, on the other hand, studied the works of Lu Xun, Chen Duxiu, and other literary works from authors who contributed to *New Youth* magazine and the May Fourth Movement. This was the same publication in which Ding personally participated. After two years of education, Xiao was expelled from school due to her relationship with one of the instructors. The instructor abandoned Xiao, who was pregnant, making returning home a problem she could not face. For a woman in this time, having a child out of wedlock was extremely difficult, reflecting negatively on the family, and bringing grief and social ridicule to her father.

Xiao brings this reality into her novel *The Field of Life and Death* where a naïve girl becomes pregnant by a man who abandoned her to join the local militia. “After that no man would have her,” wrote Xiao, “Her mother suffered such a terrible shame she couldn’t hold her head up in the village.”²⁴ Xiao goes on to describe the mother’s treatment toward her daughter thereafter – by spitting on her daughter when she addressed her. When villagers found out about the young girl’s impurity, the rumors began and the family became the center of attention in a negative way. Xiao also discovered her father had arranged her marriage to the son of a warlord. To avoid ridicule from her village and father, Xiao ran away roaming the roads of China. Both Ding and Xiao began to pave their own paths, choosing their own lovers, husbands, and careers. They both also mature sexually, but portray their sexuality differently in their literature.

Miss Sophie’s Diary written by Ding, portrays the sexuality of a woman who lived in the city, while Xiao brings up sex in the countryside. However, Xiao only presents women as the objects of dominant men who force themselves on women. In Xiao’s account, the woman took the blame if she became pregnant while the man who raped her suffered no repercussions. Ding, on the other hand, expressed sexuality from a woman’s view and the struggle to conform to social structures. Miss Sophie struggles with

²⁴ Ibid., 19.

her feelings toward a man, saying, “I can’t control the surges of wild emotion, and I lie on this bed of nails of passion, which drive themselves into me whichever way I turn.”²⁵ Miss Sophie is raging with emotions, expressing her lust for the man who has her captivated. She feels out of control with her feelings, but she also begins to question if she is “allowed” to feel this way. “If a woman’s as reckless as that, she’s bound to come to a bad end. Besides, I still need people’s respect.”²⁶ Just like in Xiao’s tale, Ding presents the clash of women’s sexuality and the social destruction that can come from the community. If Miss Sophie gives in to her feelings and throws herself to the man she lusts for, she loses the respect of anyone who may learn of her secret.

Both Ding and Xiao had become mature women ready for marriage, in different ways, expressing the social division with sex. Being a bride in China, particularly in the countryside, was a great disadvantage for women. Filial piety is the family hierarchy established under Confucianism, where fathers sat at the head of the family and everyone had to obey the father. Sisters had to show obedience to their brothers, mothers (widowed) were obedient to their sons, wives to husbands, and daughter-in-law to mother-in-law. If a pyramid was drawn to illustrate this order of hierarchy, women were always at the bottom, especially those who were newly married. Xiao, in her childhood, witnessed the atrocity that a child bride endured when joining her new family. In *Tales of Hulan River*, Xiao depicts the real life tragedies the child bride endured, which lead to her death. In the novel, the Hu family served as a family of obedience who set the example for the village to follow. The Hu’s became the family favored by the gods, and wealth was in their future. “Their family traditions were the best defined and the neatest.”²⁷ The Hu family represented the epitome of filial piety in the village. When a child bride entered the Hu home, the entire village showed up to witness this rare opportunity. Immediately after the child bride showed up, the villagers began to talk about what they witnessed. They saw the child as “too proud and didn’t look or act much like a child bride.”²⁸ The villagers expressed this sentiment because the child

²⁵ Ding Ling, *Miss Sophie’s Diary and Other Stories*, trans. W. J. F. Jenner (Beijing: Chinese Literature, 1985), 60.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 24.

²⁷ Hong, *The Field of Life and Death & Tales of Hulan River*, 188.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 197.

bride ate too much food, not showing any shyness. They expected her to be more timid as a new member of the family. The villagers' views of the child bride was a blow to the Hu family's reputation as the perfect example of Chinese culture. Mrs. Hu used the villagers' disapproval as an excuse to punish the child brutally and force her into the expectations of her character. "We have to be harsh with her from the outset," stated Mrs. Hu, "I've never seen the likes of her."²⁹ Mrs. Hu beat the child bride every night believing that the whip could make the child conform to cultural expectation. Eventually the beatings led to the child's death; consequently, the villagers no longer held the family in high regard.

The death of the child bride appeared to bring no consequence to the members of the village. Xiao did not attend the burial of the child. However, when her uncle and grandfather's cook arrived, Xiao wrote, "It was as if they'd returned from a New Year's celebration."³⁰ Even in death, Chinese people disregarded the loss of women and children. Even in *The Field of Life and Death*, Xiao captures this sentiment when a woman's newborn child dies. "The death of a child is nothing. Do you really think I'd moan and wail over that?"³¹ Children who were not old enough to work and contribute to the daily routines on the land were useless, taking up food and pulling mothers away from their duties in keeping a good home. Animals were valued more than children, and according to Mrs. Hu, more than a bride was. "[S]he didn't lay eggs, and, unlike a pig, if she lost a few pounds it wouldn't make any difference, since she was never weighed anyways."³² This was how the abuse of the child bride was justified along with her death.

Moving Forward

Once Ding Ling and Xiao Hong escaped the shackles of their fathers and possible marriage, they became homeless and struggled to look for their own way. For Ding, that road led to her first husband, Hu Yepin (1903-1931), a poet and playwright. Ding describes Hu as a "rare person with the most perfect qualities, yet a

²⁹ Ibid., 198.

³⁰ Ibid., 230.

³¹ Ibid., 11.

³² Ibid., 219.

piece of completely uncut, unpolished jade.”³³ It was at this time that Ding joined the League of Left-Wing Writers, an organization Hu belonged to when they met, and both became active members in the Chinese Communist Party. Tragically, two months after the birth of their first child, the Republican Nationalist Party arrested Hu and executed him in Longhua prison. “The brutality of the summary executions aroused widespread protest within China and abroad,” becoming “one of the most powerful emblems of literary persecution in history.”³⁴ Following Hu’s death, Ding took on a larger role within the Chinese Communist Party, continuing the cause her husband died for by becoming editor of the Parties’ literary journal. Ding no longer focused only on women, she expanded her writing to include peasants, social injustices, and socialist revolution.

Xiao, following her escape from an unwanted marriage, ended up living in a rundown hotel in Harbin, and eventually, cohabitating with the writer Xiao Jun (1907-1988). She used this experience to create another autobiographical novel, *Market Street: A Chinese Woman in Harbin*. This relationship began in the summer of 1932, and lasted until she fled to Japan in 1936 where she escaped her past but faced severe illness. Xiao Jun, at first, appears compassionate toward Xiao, showing concern over her health and her pregnancy. The couple struggled to find food, as they both were broke and without work. In time, Xiao Jun found work as a tutor and martial arts teacher, bringing in little money but allowing the couple to eat a meal or two a day.

As business picked up, and Xiao was no longer pregnant (giving the baby up for adoption), Xiao Jun became a selfish man. Xiao brought home some bread for the couple to share in a meal. While in conversation, Xiao Jun ate up most of the bread. He insists he is full and expresses, only with words, his remorse. Then he keeps eating.³⁵ Xiao also implies that Xiao Jun had an affair with a young, upper class woman who appears to be “a little too familiar.”³⁶ From the eating of all the food to the closeness of another woman, Xiao Jun became more and more like the men Xiao ran away from over a year ago. Xiao Jun’s transformation

³³ Feuerwerker, “In Quest of the Writer Ding Ling,” 70.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 72.

³⁵ Xiao Hong, *Market Street: A Chinese Woman in Harbin*, trans. Shang Shih Chieh (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986), 22.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 117.

concluded when the story nears the end. Just two weeks before Xiao and Xiao Jun plan to leave Harbin, Xiao gets sick and stays with friends. When Xiao Jun does not visit for eight days, Xiao asks to return home. Xiao Jun replies, “You can’t go home. Once you’re home, you’ll have to start working again.” Xiao insists on going home and the only thing Xiao Jun can say is, “All right, you go home, but if you get sick again, don’t come crying to me!”³⁷ The man had fully transformed into the monster that ruled women under Confucianism. He no longer had any concern for Xiao other than to do her duty as a woman.

The role of a homemaker was one that Xiao dreaded when Xiao Jun had found the couple a permanent place to live. After working a full day, Xiao Jun returned home bringing supplies. Her first awakening to her true role in the relationship came as she cooked a meal, realizing she was no longer Xiao Jun’s equal, but his traditional wife. This proved more obvious when Xiao Jun says, “Who but a housewife would know how to cook a meal?”³⁸ She spent her entire day at home, cleaning and cooking, while waiting for Xiao Jun to return from work. On some days, Xiao had to stand by while Xiao Jun came home just to eat and leave again. Xiao felt lonely, “like a disabled person – I was so lonely.”³⁹ Even though she was home all the time, Xiao managed to witness social injustice, which became another theme in her novel.

On most occasions, Xiao stared out her window watching the people on the streets and seeing into her landlord’s home through their own window. She can see her landlord’s family eating a big meal while Xiao is in her home starving. The upper class had very little to do with the peasant class, or beggars as they are described in Xiao’s novel. The landlords lacked compassion for anyone they felt was beneath them, and tended to remind the peasants at every opportunity. Wang, Xiao’s landlord, had a younger sister who once talked to Xiao about a movie she had seen. It was a love story that ended with the couple getting married. Wang’s sister ends the conversation saying, “Everyone imagined how wonderful their lives together would be if the movie hadn’t stopped where it did.”⁴⁰ This statement alone shows the disconnect between the upper class and the lower class peasants.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 128.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 32.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 44.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 45.

Wang's sister lived in a world of fantasy, while reality, cold and harsh, surrounded them daily on the streets. Xiao's tale ends when she fled foreign occupied Harbin to escape the risk of imprisonment by the Japanese military.

Xiao spent a majority of her career dodging the occupation of Japanese forces. When Xiao and Xiao Jun were in Harbin, they started writing about foreign occupation while protesting against collaborators. This caused some problems for the couple, which is why they left Harbin. There were rumors circulating that Japanese officers were going to arrest Xiao and Xiao Jun, so leaving Harbin was the only way to avoid a prison sentence. Xiao also mentions the terror that the Japanese brought in *The Field of Life and Death*, showing the suffering of the peasants who lost their crops and livestock to the foreigners. The soldiers harassed the local farmers every chance they had, searching their homes for whatever they can take. When it came to the young women in the village, Xiao wrote, "Those Japs are nasty! All the village girls have fled. Even the young married women. I hear the Japs kidnapped a thirteen-year-old from Wang Village. They took her in the middle of the night."⁴¹ Young women became an object of importance for Japanese soldiers, but Xiao does not explain why. She simply mentions the Japanese in passing to add to the struggles of countryside.

Ding also wrote in her stories about foreign invaders who controlled areas in China. In *When I Was in Xia Village*, Ding wrote about a girl named Purity, whose village was overtaken by Japanese soldiers. Once the Japanese gained control, they took Purity into their possession. The girl made it back to Xia Village after spending some time with the Japanese, but the welcome turned out not to be entirely pleasant. A shopkeeper in the village states, "I hear that her nose has gone completely. She was ruined by the Japanese."⁴² He ends his newsworthy gossip by placing judgment on Liu Fusheng, Purity's father. Filial piety and sexuality are brought forth at this time. Purity, seen as a whore, gave herself to the Japanese, catching a sexually transmitted disease (STD) in the process. Purity's aunt, Mrs. Liu, cannot make sense of what actually happened since the only stories Mrs. Liu is hearing are rumors. "[H]ow could she keep herself clean in a place like that,"⁴³

⁴¹ Hong, *The Field of Life and Death & Tales of Hulan River*, 62.

⁴² Ling, *Miss Sophie's Diary and Other Stories*, 243.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 246.

asks Mrs. Liu. This question demonstrates the attitudes some Chinese share about Japan, a place of filth and impurities, a place for the devil. It is fair to say some Chinese hold the Japanese in disgust, but others did not. Ding wrote, “Only eighteen and it doesn’t embarrass her at all.”⁴⁴ It is clear that Purity holds no ill feelings about the Japanese or the men she had been involved with while she was in Japan. Purity may have been taken from her home, but she was also rescued from a marriage she did not want. She places most of the blame for her abduction on her father. If he did not attempt to marry off Purity, against her will, she would have been safe with her family, and would not have fallen into Japanese hands.

Into the Fire

When Xiao Hong left Harbin, she and Xiao Jun ended up in Shanghai where they met Lu Xun. It was with Lu Xun’s help that Xiao’s story, *The Field of Life and Death*, was published, making Xiao an “overnight literary sensation.”⁴⁵ Xiao followed the success of her first novel with *Market Street: A Chinese Woman in Harbin*. She also continued to write many short stories for magazines until her illness worsened. Xiao left for Japan in the earlier months of 1936 to get the medical attention she needed, as well as to escape Xiao Jun, whose abuses were “becoming strained.”⁴⁶ Xiao continued to study and write while in Japan. On October 19, 1936, Lu Xun died. Xiao returned to Shanghai earlier than she had planned to pay her last respects to Lu Xun. From there, Xiao would continue to move from town to town escaping Japanese invasion. By 1940, Xiao ended up in Hong Kong, publishing her final novel, *Tales of Hulan River*, in December. Xiao’s health began to worsen. She entered into a temporary hospital where she died from a respiratory condition in 1941, at the age of 30.

Ding Ling faced hardships in her life that tied to the growing popularity of her work. Agents of the Republican Nationalist Party arrested Ding in 1933. While in prison, the Nationalist Party attempted to persuade Ding to renounce her affiliation with the Communist Party and “place her talents at the

⁴⁴ Ibid., 246.

⁴⁵ Hong, *The Field of Life and Death & Tales of Hulan River*, xi.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

service of the Kuomintang government.”⁴⁷ After three years, Ding escaped prison and made her way to the Communist Parties territorial occupations in Northwest China. She arrived as a hero and Mao Zedong (1893-1976), co-founder and chairman of the Communist Party, celebrated Ding with a feast and two poems in her honor. Ding joined up with a troupe to travel the countryside and perform plays to promote the fight against the Japanese invaders. It was here that Ding met Chen Ming, who she eventually married. Ding made her way to Yanan and took up the position of editor for the Party’s newspaper, *The Liberation Daily*. She became the center of attention when the Party began to question art and literature in relation to their cause. “Although the stories about war and revolution from her Yanan period emphasized heroic characters and positive outcomes, she did not believe that support of collective goals precluded all negative criticism.”⁴⁸ However, as the scope of the Party’s criticism widened, Ding became a target. Dings’ writings came under question by the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party. On March 9, 1942, Ding wrote an essay titled, “Thoughts on March 8.” In her essay, Ding wrote, “[A]lthough women in the liberated areas under Communist control were much better off than women elsewhere in China, the bitter contradictions of their existence remained.”⁴⁹ Ding felt that women had not become the equals the party had alluded to when they first organized. Issues of divorce were the center of Ding’s essay, showing unfairness, as men who divorced did not face persecution. Women were ostracized for initiating a divorce, assuming that “there must be something even more immoral[,] and it is entirely the woman who should be cursed.”⁵⁰ When women grew old, they were “backward,” where in the old society these women were pitied. Now that they are equals, “if she suffered it was ‘her own doing,’ it ‘served her right.’”⁵¹ The Party attacked Ding for her remarks and Chinese Communist Party leader Mao Zedong directed many of his own attacks on Ding through his speech, “Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art.”

⁴⁷ Feuerwerker, “In Quest of the Writer Ding Ling,” 72.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 73.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

Mao opened his speech with what Party members should focus on in order to accomplish their goals. “Our aim is to ensure that revolutionary literature and art follow the correct path of development[,] and provide better help to other revolutionary work in facilitating the overthrow of our national enemy and the accomplishment of the task of national liberation.”⁵² Mao believed that in order for the Communist Party to win the fight for liberation, artists needed to place the needs of the party first. Ding did not. He felt that literature and art were the frontlines in developing a culture for the people of China, a united front that would defeat its enemies. Revolutionary writers and artists were responsible for bringing the Party together to fight with “one heart and one mind” to overthrow their enemies.⁵³ Mao believed that basic Marxist concepts meant objective realities to class struggle, but felt that “some of our comrades turn this upside down and maintain that everything ought to start from ‘love.’”⁵⁴ Love was not exactly what Ding wrote in her essay, but she expressed plenty of emotions. Ding Ling provided a voice that did not do the things that Mao believed Chinese artists should do in order to facilitate the party’s goals.

Ding witnessed the roles of women in marriage and the lack of equality among women within the Party. Women were still the target of criticism, especially for those who were single. “It’s even more of a sin not to be married, and single women are even more of a target for rumors and slanderous gossip.”⁵⁵ In Yanan, women were expected to marry and bear children, to sacrifice their own careers to provide their husbands with sons. If the husband found himself unsatisfied with the conditions of his marriage, receiving a divorce became simple and no one questioned the man’s character. “For the wife to do so, she must be leading an immoral life, then of course she deserves to be cursed!”⁵⁶ On the surface, the Party brought an illusion of equality seen in the more famous picture of Mao and his wife He Zizhen (1910-1984), posing together while wearing the same uniform that represented

⁵² Mao Zedong, “Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art,” *marxist.org*, 1942, https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-3/mswv3_08.htm.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Ding Ling, “Thoughts on March 8,” *New Left Review* no. 92 (July-August 1975), <http://libcom.org/library/thoughts-8-march-women%E2%80%99s-day>.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

the communist party. Ding concluded her essay “Thoughts on March 8” by writing, “It would be better if there were less empty theorizing and more talk about real problems, so that theory and practice are not divorced, and if each Communist Party member were more responsible for his own moral conduct.”⁵⁷ It was more important to the Party to break away from hypocrisy, to practice what it preached in order for the Party to unite. Morality would bring victory and unite a China divided by the Communist Party, the Nationalist Party, and the Japanese invasion.

By 1957, Mao had Ding arrested for her critical assaults on the Party, also banning her literary works from publication. Ding spent twelve years on a farm, sentenced to manual labor following a five-year jail sentence during the Chinese Cultural Revolution, which saw the purge of individuals that the party deemed as dissenting voices. Upon Ding’s release, she was forced to retract her earlier works and her objections to the Party’s transgressions she strongly pointed out in her earlier work. Ding began to feel like Purity, the woman chastised for her actions with the Japanese. No one truly understood their work and both Ding and Purity were unfairly criticized for their roles in revolution. Purity became a spy for her country and on her return, a curse on her family name. “Even my own village treats me like an outsider: some people are friendly and some of them avoid me.”⁵⁸ This is how Ding felt following her twelve-year rehabilitation. Her village was the Chinese Communist Party who treated Ding like an outsider, a woman who knew nothing about revolution or the Party goals regardless of her hard work in bringing together the Party members. On March 4, 1986, Ding Ling died while living in Beijing at the age of 81. Women like Ding Ling and Xiao Hong lived their lives attempting to educate the people of China through their literary works. They hoped not only to change the status quo, but also to lift women’s status into social equality. Women wanted to escape the shackles of the men who ruled them and create their own destinies. The May Fourth Movement was not only a protest to convince Chinese delegates to stop bowing down to foreign nations, it also brought women’s rights to surface, with support from many men who also led the literary culture movement. Men dominated the literary field and spoke on behalf of women during this period in China. For Ding and Xiao, it was not enough. They

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ling, *Miss Sophie’s Diary and Other Stories*, 250.

wanted to provide a narrative where women could represent their emotions, fears, and attitudes. This is something that men could not provide. Wang Xiaojue, associate professor of Chinese Literature at Rutgers, spoke of Ding in an interview saying, “She [Ding] wanted to find the female voices and female identity from a female angle. She had this fascinating idea that we as women we can talk for ourselves. We don’t need to be represented; we wanted to find our different, very unique voices.”⁵⁹ Ding, along with Xiao found their unique voice and spoke of all aspects of the struggles for women in their daily lives.

Disappointingly, women’s reforms would take a back seat to revolutionary needs during the revolutionary period in China. The Chinese Communist Party needed to build their membership among the peasant, “who wanted patriarchal families.”⁶⁰ The family hierarchy was important for those who lived in rural areas because of the amount of labor required for planting and harvesting crops. Men relied on women to provide sons in order to work the fields when sons grew strong enough. Daughters also provided extra hands when it came to work around the home; however, they also provided a source of financial gain when daughters grew old enough to marry. When arrangements were made, dowries were established that included a sale price for a daughter’s hand. Marriage brought great concern, regarding divorce, for the cause of the Communist Party. “The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has not been willing to give serious and sustained support to marriage reform and gender equality because of the nature of the peasant revolution that put the party into power and remains its primary basis of support.”⁶¹ Party leaders felt that if they went against the peasantry, they would lose peasant support. This would cause a great loss to membership, no longer having the numbers the Party needed to win the civil war.

In order to appeal to the proletariat the Party put on a façade of equality. Women dressed in military gear standing alongside their husbands as equals in their cause. Women gained

⁵⁹ Wang Xiaojue, interviewed by Carla Nappi, “East Asian Studies,” Npn podcast, May 15, 2014.

⁶⁰ Rhoda Weidenbaum, “Socialist Revolution in China,” *Political Science Quarterly* 100, no. 2 (1985): 359.

⁶¹ Charlotte L. Beahan, “Women, the Family, and Peasant Revolution in China,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 478 (1985): 190.

positions of authority, as we see with Ding who became editor for the Party's magazine. As the Party shifted from urban areas to the countryside the attitudes for reform also shifted. "[T]hese shifts led to the incorporation and increasing importance of a large rural male constituency whose aspirations strongly contradicted the progressive family reform ideas of women's rights advocates."⁶² Men were the soldiers in the fight against the Japanese and the civil war against the Nationalist Party. In order to secure their memberships, women's reform would have to wait. As intellectuals turned their views from an intellectual realm into a political one, "family reform and women's rights seemed less important to them."⁶³ The Communist Party appealed to women's rights advocates only through the promise of women's reform, but the Party's aim had geared toward promoting the revolutionary struggle.

The Modern Woman

Not much has changed in China since the death of Ding Ling. Some progress was made for women under the Marriage Law in 1950, which allowed women to own property. However, in 2011, the Chinese government added an amendment to the Marriage Law. It specifies, that "unless legally contested, marital property essentially belongs to the person who owns the home and whose name is on the property deed."⁶⁴ In China, traditional ideologies persist, and men have their names on property deeds when married. If a woman in China decides to divorce, and her name is not on the property deeds, she is not entitled to any property. Leta Hong Fincher wrote an article on the issues women face in China today, and her story starts out with a woman under a fictitious name, Wu Mei. When Wu was first married, her family helped her and her husband buy a home that was roughly a million RMB (China currency). In five years, the house nearly tripled in value, giving it a value of over \$400,000 in U.S. dollars. The house was in Wu's husband's name, which, following the divorce, Wu's husband

⁶² Kay Ann Johnson, *Women, the Family, and Peasant Revolution in China* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985), 84.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁶⁴ Leta Hong Fincher, "Women's Rights at Risk," *Dissent* (Spring 2013), <https://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/womens-rights-at-risk>.

received sole ownership. The relationship was an abusive one, and Wu believes that the deed in her husband's name added to the abuse; since her husband controlled all of the assets, the law was on his side. Wu not only lost her home, but also everything in it, including her savings.⁶⁵ Many women face this problem in China today. The Property Law amendment denies women the rights they gained during the revolutionary period.

The workplace is another area in which women in China, once again, are having trouble challenging traditional beliefs. As China is making huge shifts from ruralization to urbanization to compete in world markets, the demand for employees in urban areas is rising. Women out of college are finding jobs easily, bringing the women in the work force to 74 percent. However, this is a skewed number because more than half of China is still rural. When you narrow the work force to solely urban areas, women's employment rates fall to just over 60 percent, which has fallen from 77 percent in 1990.⁶⁶ Why is the urban employment rate important? China is expecting a rising urbanization rate of over 53 percent, and believes that over 60 percent of China's population will be urban by 2020. Back in the 1990s, China began to reorganize the national economy, which resulted in firing tens of millions of workers at state-owned enterprises. At the same time, the "Women Return to the Home" movement rose, expecting all women to quit their jobs and make their way back to the home where they would care for their men. Also in 2007, the government started a propaganda campaign based on *sheng nu*, meaning "leftover" women. This campaign focused on women who were over the age of 27 and single. They were pressured to marry, quit their jobs, and become traditional homemakers once again. This recent transition has brought about an attitude that dates back to Confusion times, where women were to stay home, have sons, feed the family, and perform all other duties tied to the home. Regardless of what the party promised during the revolutionary era in China, women have yet to gain complete equality. Like Ding Ling and Xiao Hong, women in China today still find themselves at the mercy of the men in their lives, the daughters of the May Fourth, the orphans of revolution.

⁶⁵ Fincher, "Women's Rights at Risk."

⁶⁶ Leta Hong Fincher, "China's Entrenched Gender Gap," *New York Times*, May 20, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/05/21/opinion/global/chinas-entrenched-gender-gap.html>.

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History in the Making

Reclaiming Tiananmen: The Politics of Space within Tiananmen Square, 1989

By Amanda Castro

Abstract: The word Tiananmen in any context now brings to mind the 1989 protests and their goals rather than evoking thought of a center for Chinese Communist Party Power. The 1989 Tiananmen Square activists chose to alter their surroundings in two distinct ways in order to create a space that would serve as a tangible representation of their feelings as a whole. The first way in which they chose to alter the Square came at the start of the protests when students systematically transformed the Monument to the People's Heroes in the middle of the square to memorialize Hu Yaobang's death. The creation of the statue named the "Goddess of Democracy" was the second way in which protestors reclaimed the space in the Square. This paper will analyze the ways in which protestors altered Tiananmen Square and will describe how the use of public space by the protestors represented their emotions, political aims, and a distinctive new generational culture.

Beijing's Tiananmen Square was the center of political and social discontent during the spring months of 1989. The need for social and economic reform in the People's Republic of China (PRC) was at the center of this discontent. The nonviolent attempts by protesters to attain these goals in the face of an unwavering government defined these protests. The political center of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), and a symbol of Communist power, Tiananmen Square erupted with demonstrators, political posters, and megaphone speeches.



“Student Protestors Rallying during 1989 Tiananmen Square Protests,” Courtesy of <http://www.wqxr.org/#!/story/how-beethoven-rallied-students-during-tiananmen-square-uprising/>, 1989.

The 1989 Tiananmen Square activists chose to alter their surroundings in two distinct ways, and these alterations became centers of action throughout the span of the movement. This paper analyzes the ways in which protesters altered Tiananmen Square, and how the use of public space by the protesters represented their emotions, political aims, and a distinctive new generational culture. Through these actions, the protesters reclaimed this space within the political center of the Chinese government as their own; through their determination and persistence, they were able to alter the meaning of the word *Tiananmen*. The word Tiananmen in any context now brings to mind the protests and its goals, rather than evoking thoughts of a center for Chinese Communist Party power. This type of reclaiming of space had never been done by way of other protests in PRC history. The square has now become more representative of the people of China than originally intended by its political leaders and city planners. The PRC was originally intended to evoke feelings of patriotism and nationalism, but now it conjures feelings of pride for the protestors that once filled the space. The protestors of Tiananmen Square demanded change, and although it was not granted, they are now a part of Chinese history, much to the despair of the CCP.

The Tiananmen Square protests are a case study in which public history can become a lens in which to analyze its events.

Governments and citizens alike can use public space to grapple with current events and significant events from the past. A public space encourages public interaction with the subject matter and can have shifts in interpretation with the passing of time. “Space is a reality that endures,” writes Maurice Halbwachs. “We recapture the past only by understanding how it is, in effect, preserved by our physical surroundings.”¹ Government agencies and the common individual can use these types of spaces to create an atmosphere that evokes certain emotions or addresses certain events in various ways. Public spaces have systematically become spaces where public memory of an event is established. The political sphere at the center of a government commonly funds projects that create a national image, usually created exclusively by people who work within or for the government. A political system can use public spaces to manipulate stories told about their collective past. Michael Kammen, Pulitzer prize-winning professor, analyzed government commemoration of national heritage and suggests that, “...societies in fact reconstruct their pasts rather than faithfully record them, and that they do so with the needs of contemporary culture clearly in mind – manipulating the past in order to mold the present.”² The tendency to reconstruct the past to mold the present becomes problematic because government funded spaces become engrossed with political satire and myth making. Since its creation, the CCP has focused on retaining its power with condemnation and censorship thrust upon their citizenry. Throughout Communist ruled China, public spaces are areas where images, words, and symbols are carefully chosen to glorify the CCP cause, with little attempt at allowing for spaces where the people of China’s voices can be heard.

Tiananmen Square has been a rallying point for many other protests in PRC history. Among the first is the May Fourth Movement of 1919. Similar to the protests of 1989, these protests were spurred by college students from Peking Universities and surrounding schools. One of the major causes of this movement was demonstration against the Versailles Treaty, which set the stage for the Nationalist and Communist Revolutions. The movement’s opponents were “traditionalists whose antimodernist

¹ Chang-tai Hung, *Mao's New World: Political Culture in the Early People's Republic* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2011), 236.

² Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991), 3.

took the form of a pedantic and obscurantist attachment to Confucian Orthodoxy.³ The May Fourth Movement follows the same trajectory of the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests in that it pushed the agenda of political and social change. The protestors, throughout the May Fourth Movement, used the public space within Tiananmen Square in typical ways that are associated with protests, such as hanging banners and marching down main streets. This movement did make a strong political statement, but did not drastically change the politics within the space the way that the 1989 protests had.

The ways in which the Square changed throughout the 1989 Tiananmen Square Protests, shed light on the protestors feelings of frustration and hope, as well as their goals. The way they collectively viewed the actions of their government is palpable in these transformations of the space. The two transformations of the square illustrate the protestors collective attempts to gain acknowledgement and self-awareness through the alteration of their surroundings. These changes are often engrossed in collectively symbolic meanings and can affect every person, past and present, differently. The first way that they chose to alter the Square came at the start of the protests when students systematically transformed The Monument to the People's Heroes in the middle of the square to memorialize Hu Yaobang's death. The second alteration of space came when the protestors chose to alter The Monument to the People's Heroes on April 16th in order to commemorate his life, adding signs, white cloth ribbons and wreathes to the existing monument; most wreathes were removed overnight by CCP officers.

The transformation of The Monument to the People's Heroes began after Hu Yaobang died on April 15, 1989 due to a heart attack. This transformation was symbolic in memorializing Hu Yaobang, whose death caused the initial march to Tiananmen Square in 1989. This change of setting reflects the emotions that the initial group of university students from around Beijing, who began to march to Tiananmen Square at midnight of that night, felt upon hearing of the death of Hu Yaobang. They had an emotional connection with the ousted political leader and mourned his loss. When they chose to alter The Monument to the People's Heroes on April 16th in order to commemorate his life, and most of the

³ Charlotte Furth, *Reflections on the May Fourth Movement: A Symposium. May Fourth in History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 59.

wreathes were removed overnight by CCP officers, these actions by the government prompted thousands of more students to march to Tiananmen Square and begin protesting their government's actions. The slogans shifted from "Long Live Hu Yaobang" to "reject autocratic rule" and "long live democracy" within days of his death.⁴

Hu Yaobang's death caused a similar reaction from the public as the death of the Premier of the PRC, Zhou Enlai, in 1976. The protests, which erupted after the death of Zhou, were similar to that of Hu since the citizens of the PRC felt that Zhou had worked to better their lives, especially while under the leadership of Mao Zedong. During the last years of his life, Zhou worked to stabilize the nation after the effects of the Cultural Revolution became evident. He pushed an agenda of strengthening by modernizing four major sectors within the PRC: agriculture, industry, national defense, and its fields of science and technology. These periods of mourning for PRC leadership show a lack of a public arena for the citizens of the PRC to address their grievances. The protestors in both of these situations used the deaths of leaders, who they felt echoed their needs, as a figure to stand behind in death. It becomes a way in which they can not only further promote the ideals of the leader who is no longer there to fight for them, but also as an avenue for recognizing that the PRC is capable of addressing their needs with political conversation.



"Student Protestors Linking Hands," Courtesy of <http://1989.enrs.eu/>, 1989.

⁴ *June Four: A Chronicle of the Chinese Democratic Uprising* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1989), 6.

The protests progressed from a memorial setting for Hu Yaobang to an active zone for political debate only a few days after Hu Yaobang's death in 1989. Protesters began to see the need to use provocative imagery within the space that would reflect the goals they hoped to achieve. The largest of the Student Unions, named the Provisional Students' Federation, developed on April 24, 1989. The united slogans of the Provisional Students' Federation were:

1. Support the Communist Party and socialism! Support reform!
2. Long live democracy!
3. Oppose corruption in government; oppose special privileges!
4. Pledge to defend the Constitution to the death!
5. Patriotism is not a crime!
6. The press must speak the truth – oppose slander!
7. Long live the people!
8. Stabilize prices!
9. Every person is responsible for the fate of the nation!
10. The people's army protects the people!
11. Oppose violence! No persecution!
12. Demand dialogue!
13. Reform, patriotism, enterprise, progress!⁵

Similar slogans took this form and were included in various demands taken to the government by not only students, but also other federations and unions developed by protestors. The need for freedom of speech for the presses and an opened dialogue between the government and the people of China were the most prominently argued demands. As illustrated by this slogan, the student protestors wanted the opportunity to engage with their government, rather than destroy it.

Just days before the end of the protests, the last tangible representation created by the protestors stood within the square. The “Goddess of Democracy” was a statue created by the protestors, and has since become one of the most iconic images of the spirit of the protests. Its creation came during a time within the protest in which both the government and the protestors were

⁵ *Cries for Democracy: Writings and Speeches from the 1989 Chinese Democracy Movement* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 72.

making crucial decisions, near the final crackdown in early June. The Goddess of Democracy's construction began at a time when the government was debating whether to violently shutdown the protests, and ongoing hunger strikes were causing many of the relentless protestors to be hospitalized. The statue represented the need for acknowledgement of Chinese citizen's political opinions and the outcry of Chinese under CCP rule to gain a more liberally driven political reality. With the help of these two reclaimed public spaces, the feelings of the protesters took center stage.

The lack of attentiveness by the members of China's Communist Party made it all the more obvious when one member showed attentiveness to the masses. Party member Hu Yaobang was popular, both during and after his political run as the Secretary-General because of this attentiveness. Throughout his time in power, Yaobang did not always agree with his fellow party members on official party ideology and behavior. This led other party members to criticize him. On January 16, 1987, Hu Yaobang resigned from his position as Secretary-General of the Chinese Communist Party. Party members accused him of not being able to deal with the student demonstrations in November of 1986, known as the Democracy Movement. He opposed Anti-Bourgeois Liberalization and Anti-Spiritual Pollution movements. Both of these movements focused on preventing westernization in China due to the fear of liberalization and democracy. The Chinese Government was nervous that if the country proceeded toward westernization in any other way, then economically, their power would be in jeopardy.



“Hu Yaobang (r.) and Deng Xiaoping – Sept 1981,” Courtesy of <https://diogenesii.wordpress.com/2014/04/15/april-15-1989-a/>, 1981.

Bo Yibo transcribed the report of the Politburo, or executive committee, meeting that accepted Hu Yaobang’s resignation from his position as Security-General on January 16, 1987. The report included all of the words spoken and actions taken by party members during the meeting. It also outlined various points of contention between Hu’s actions and the party’s perception of them. Hu’s promotion by Deng Xiaoping, which started his career as a party member, did not shield him from party criticism because he did not live up to his reputation at the start of his career. The meeting designated a portion of the minutes for all party members to take the floor and convey their personal opinions of Hu’s actions while he was a member of the party. This became a forum for blatant criticism. Most members expressed their belief that he was guilty of misguided ideological leadership since he did not fully agree with all CCP decisions. For example, they accused him of wrongly opposing the Anti-Spiritual Pollution and Anti-Bourgeois Liberalization Movement. He openly advocated consumption over production, which was a departure from the country’s economic reforms that focused on open door policies driven by production and export. They cited him as making unauthorized statements on political issues and inappropriate speeches on foreign policy and legislative work. The party’s goal

with making these statements available on record was to attempt to gain back control over the party's image.

With many supporters, Hu was a glimpse into a new type of government that the CCP was trying to keep at bay. The Party used his resignation to set an example of what happens to anyone who undermines the party, and to promote the prominence of their power. In essence, the transcript tells the prompted story of Hu realizing the error of his ways and rightfully stepping down, which was the most appropriate action. His resignation and critique only led students and intellectual leaders to feel an even stronger pull towards Hu. He was on the side of the people by veering from the party norm. During the Politburo meeting, Hu Yaobang gave his resignation speech, which altered the public's perception of their system of government even further. In front of his peers, he echoed words similar to those of his comrades about his own actions. He told of his deep regret for veering off the respectful and unattainably rigid Communist path. He stated the reason that men were chosen to be CCP top leaders was "to ensure that [those leaders] would abide by the constitution and party discipline, not engaging in unrestrained autonomous behavior, to put state and party administration basically under the rule of law instead of rule by individual." He abruptly accused himself of not living up to these standards.⁷ The form of his speech, shaped by remnants of previous speakers, gives an insight into how the CCP system works in cases of divergent members. The fact that his statement directly opposes his actions made it clear to the Chinese people that he, in fact, had been on their side and had wanted what he believed was best for China rather than what was best solely for the party. Within the document, Hu recognized the fact that many of the members analyzed his "liberal tendencies" as "bad for his own good."⁸ He acknowledges his actions as detrimental to the people of China throughout his speech, but his actions gained him respect of the majority of the citizenry in China. The official documentation all points to resignation, although the context indicates a purge. Although most people wished that all politicians would adopt Hu's way of thinking, the CCP wanted to uphold their own ideology rather than change drastically.

⁷ E. Tong, "Party Documents on Anti-Bourgeois Liberalization and Hu Yaobang's Resignation, 1987," *Chinese Law and Government* 21, no. 1 (1988): 28.

⁸ *Ibid.*

The CCP worked to keep their power at the center of their political party. Although this was the norm, there were attempts from local leaders throughout China to push for reform and work toward recognizing the issues of the party. Hu Yaobang was not the only party member to recognize the disparity between what the CCP wanted for its people and what the people felt they needed from their government. Gathered by Zhang Liang and edited by Perry Link and Andrew Nathan, *The Tiananamen Papers* is the first book to compile source documents from the Zhongnanhai, the former Imperial Park at the center of Beijing that housed the Party Central Office, the State Council Office, and the residences of some top leaders during the time of the Tiananmen Square protests. This collection of papers includes an excerpt from the Joint Committee on Women and Youth of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, and the Central Office of the Communist Youth Leagues' report titled "Report on a Survey of the Current State of Ideology Among Youth, March 28, Chapter 3, Sec. 1." The report was created in order to put pressure on the CCP's top leaders to listen to the voice of the youth between eighteen to thirty-five years of age. This age group inherently includes those of the university student community who were among the most outspoken of the age group.

From the survey results, it is clear that the two main issues of the Tiananmen Square protest were already showing signs of trepidation in March of 1988. Five major points came from this report, three of which showed signs of the opinions of college students during the Tiananmen Square protests. There was a wide discrepancy between the Party's stance on student protests and those of students themselves. For example, the survey asked the "youth," "are student protests a legitimate way for youth to oppose corrupt practices?" 57 percent answered "yes" to the question. The "youth" also had low confidence in reform during this time—the report concluded that, "young people are sensitive to many aspects of reform and are anxious about the rising cost of living; 63.8 percent of respondents consider the unchecked rise of prices to be their greatest worry."⁹ The topic of public ethics was the most revealing. The document reported:

⁹ Joint Committee on Women and Youth of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, and the Central Office of the Communist Youth Leagues' report titled "Report on a Survey of the Current State of Ideology Among Youth, March 28," chapter 3, sec. 1.

Corruption brings serious harm to the environment in which young people grow up, and if our struggle against corruption makes no progress, the young will naturally feel resentful. Our survey finds that young people...believe...job promotions are based not on the fruits of hard work or pursuit of learning but on one's parents' connections and on the favor of leaders.¹⁰

This report not only compiled the opinions of this group, it also shows that there was a real concern within the Party to hear these voices and work to combat these issues. The report did not fulfill the hopes for a lasting impact. This is apparent by the fact that only months later the “youth” surveyed in the report took those same concerns to the public arena of Tiananmen Square.

Although there were other party members who attempted to give a voice to the citizens of China, Hu Yaobang remained the hero of the nation. The death of Hu Yaobang had an emotional effect on the Chinese populace due to his actions as a party member, as well as his treatment by the CCP while leaving his post. The Beijing students along with other community members organized the initial march to Tiananmen Square in 1989 the day after Hu's death; this march would ultimately lead to the massive 1989 Tiananmen Square protests. Zhao was able to equally assess the point of view of public mourners, as well as the reaction of Hu's death by party members. He was also less judgmental of Hu's convictions, because both men believed that economic reform was key to progressing communist China into a world dominating economic power, and he had a more relaxed approach to interacting with the public. He, like Hu, believed that too harsh of an action toward the people would cause massive dissent, and would do more damage to the party's rule.

Zhao Ziyang, the party member who succeeded Hu as Party Chief, wrote in his private journals what he believed to be the three main reasons why the people of China backed Hu during his life and mourned his death in April of 1989. Zhao Ziyang concluded in his memoir, *Prisoner of the State*, that Hu's death was so monumental to the majority of the Chinese population, and that it transcended into such a politically-centered world news-worthy

¹⁰ Ibid.

protest because:

1. He had a very good public image. He had always been a proponent of reform; most important, he was incorruptible while in power. There was a lot of dissatisfaction with corruption back then, so commemorating Hu Yaobang provided a chance to express this discontent.
2. People were outraged by his demotion in 1987. Many people found it unacceptable the way in which the leadership was changed. Many people were averse to the Anti-Bourgeois Liberalization campaign (Launched in 1987) and continued to be opposed to it. In general, people were expressing a feeling of resentment over how Hu Yaobang had been treated.
3. When the government's reorganization was proposed in 1988, reform programs had been cut back throughout for all government programs. There was no progress for political reform and economic reform had been stopped or even taken off the table altogether. Students were unhappy with the general situation and were expressing their desire for advancing reforms through their commemoration of Hu Yaobang. Since he was such a key figure in the progression of reform, which the public deemed as good for their wellbeing, they began to view Hu as a type of people's politician during his time in office.¹¹

The centrality of Hu's death to the Tiananmen Square protests is very significant to the goals of what the students, and the generations after them, wanted to achieve for themselves. During Hu's time in the party, the public realized that the CCP could be more transparent, and that party members could hold various viewpoints without the whole system toppling down. They felt that more politicians should take Hu's lead and mirror many of his characteristics during his service, such as prompting reform and being incorruptible. Hu's political career outlines the governments focus on ending westernization, and therefore liberalization, that

¹¹ Zhao Ziyang, *Prisoner of the State: The Secret Journal of Zhao Ziyang*, trans. Bao Pu, Renee Chiang and Adi Ignatius (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2009), 12.

would likely lead to democracy, which was a goal that the people of CCP China were craving to achieve.

As the head of the CCP, Deng Xiaoping advocated the promotion of the nation as the number one priority, and thought that it should take precedence over individual party member agendas. Some party members during this time believed that,

“Deng’s failure to move the country faster toward democracy and to support Hu Yaobang in 1986 was the ultimate cause of the conflagration. Deng did believe that officials are the ‘commanding heights.’ [They] have a responsibility to make decisions and that although they should listen to constructive opinions, in the end they must do what they feel is necessary for the long-term success of the country.”¹²

With such rigid Party goals, Beijing’s citizens seized the opportunity of Hu’s death, which turned from a commemoration to a full protest for democracy, to take a stand against this type of CCP behavior and take example from more liberal and democratic types of government. Hu became a catalyst for the students and other Chinese citizens to attain their goals; he was a spark, which lit the fire for intellectual debates and the protest.



“On a Visit to the Ming Dynasty Tombs near Beijing, Hu Yaobang Has a Chat,”
Courtesy of http://english.caixin.com/2013-04-19/100516743_7.html.

¹² Ezra Vogel, *Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011), 638.

On April 18th, four thousand Beijing and People's University students marched to Tiananmen Square to place a banner calling Hu the "Soul of China" on the Monument to the Revolutionary Martyrs, also known as the Monument to the People's Heroes. By April 22nd, fifty thousand students defied a government order to vacate the square and stayed overnight in the square for Hu's state funeral, which was set to take place the next day. Throughout the first week, the people within Tiananmen Square transformed from a group of mourning college students to a group of Chinese citizenry questioning their current government and its actions. By April 24th, tens of thousands of students in Beijing began class boycotts in hopes of receiving their demands for talks with the government.

Protestors and the CCP alike assessed the power struggle that was the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests by measuring who had control of the public space within the square. The statement made by protestors to initiate these political interactions in Tiananmen Square directly grapples with the history of the square as well as what the square symbolizes in Chinese culture under the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the CCP. The students and protestors alike chose a space that holds great significance to the political party and drew even more attention to their cause, with hopes that the people would alter party policy to better suit the public's needs. The political history of the square directly corresponds with the development of the unrest present throughout Chinese society. The centrality and influence of the CCP in the populace's everyday lives was having negative effects on their freedoms and actions. The symbolism seen throughout the structures, buildings and monuments within the space all bring to mind the power and authority of the CCP. It is too easy to conclude that they chose this space because this is the center of the Chinese government, and without looking at the initial creation of the space, the political context of the area is lost.

During 1949, Mao and his closest colleagues moved into an area called Zhongnanhai, which eventually became the new government compound within the former Imperial Palace. It transformed into the center of power for the new regime. Tiananmen Square was located close to Zhongnanhai, and in the eyes of the PRC, was a unique place they felt already contained rich symbolic meaning. The government decided to invest money and energy into altering the square in order to project new PRC

symbolism. Mao felt that since the May Fourth student demonstrations began in 1919 at the site, which would eventually lead to the development of the CCP in 1921, the square was now part of PRC history.



“May Fourth Protest,” Courtesy of factsanddetails.com, 1919.

Here Mao had also proclaimed the founding of the new republic, making the square the birthplace of both the PRC and CCP. Thus, Mao felt that this site was a pivotal ideological link between past and present.¹³

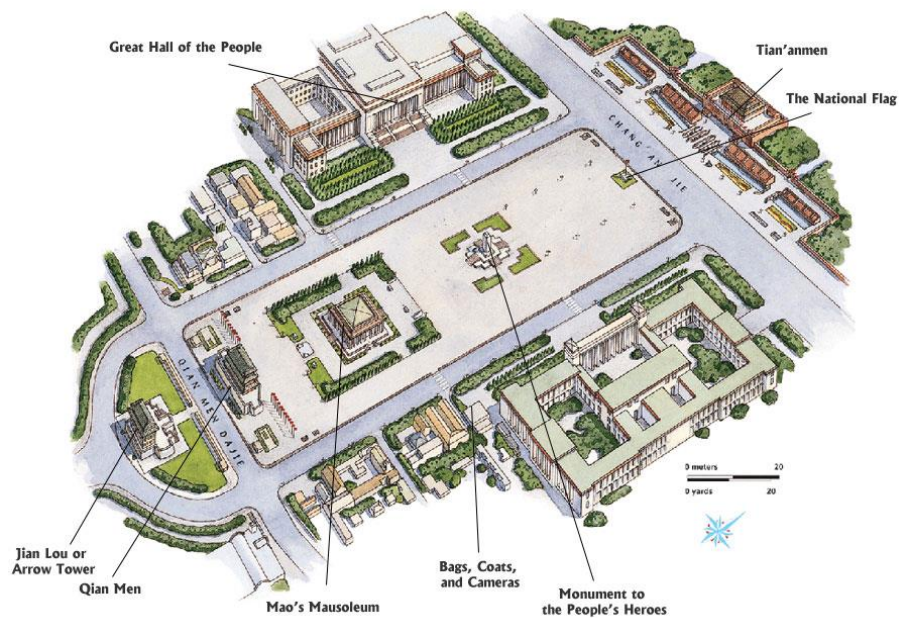
The PRC’s lack of knowledge of urban planning prompted them to ask for Soviet help. The PRC’s ill-preparedness led to a major Soviet influence on both the layout of the square, as well as the architecture surrounding the center of the square. With the help of the Soviets, the PRC was able to expand the space within the square and build ten new buildings, two of which were at the center of the square. These two central buildings were the Great Hall of the People and the Museum of the Chinese Revolution. They included these buildings because they saw the expanded square as a powerful symbol that would affirm their legitimacy to rule. More importantly, this expansion and construction was a way to publicize the doctrines of self-reliance and national

¹³ Hung, *Mao's New World*, 30.

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independence the government wanted the public to feel from learning about or visiting the site.

At the center of these ten buildings at the time of the 1989 protests were the ceremonial flag, Mao's mausoleum, and the Monument to the Revolutionary Martyrs. The names of these buildings and monuments speak volumes of the goals that their Communist creators were hoping to achieve. They focused on the history of the PRC and CCP's creation and the revolution that took place in order to create the current political system within China. Although there were many downfalls of the PRC, such as the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, these topics are invisible within the space. They focus on the positive aspects of PRC and CCP history in order to perpetuate their power over the people of China. Words such as revolution, martyr, workers, and agriculture are prominent within the names of the buildings surrounding the square and further the communist ideals that shifted radically throughout the twentieth century into a struggle to maintain power. The aspirations of the party presented within the space take over the visitors experience rather than present the realities, which were sometimes undesirable outcomes of the new party system.



Modern "Map of Tiananmen Square," Courtesy of www.travelanguist.com.

The use of public space helped the CCP to promote myth making, and to create places where the government reinforces their political power. The collective memory, which is present in the most prominent city centers, such as Tiananmen Square, have been specifically curated to tell the story of PRC with specific goals from the CCP. One of the most prominent challenges in the representation of public history is the fact that the authority is often one sided when choosing what history to tell within these public spaces. Na Li argues in the article “Preserving Urban Landscapes as Public History: The Chinese Context” that the government in China is the entity with the ability to select an “official” version of the past, which is edited and reinforced.¹⁴ The party is able to focus on what they believe to be most important to the government, and therefore, should be important to the citizens of that government. Throughout Communist ruled China, public spaces are areas where images, words, and symbols are carefully chosen to glorify the CCP cause with little attempt at giving space for the people of China’s voice to be heard. The student’s choice to alter this space throughout the course of the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests opened a dialogue where public space was a mouthpiece for the protestors. With so many young people in the crowd from the university, an air of enthusiasm began to take hold. The crowd felt that they would be able to recognize Hu as a people’s politician while starting a conversation with the closed off government. Tiananmen Square was the stage in which protestors demanded recognition. The students were led to this site because it is where the CCP commemorates major political actions and carries out political discussion. The students wanted desperately to be a part of this discourse, so rather than wait for an invitation onto the political stage, they reclaimed the stage as their own.

At the onset of the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests, the first host of college students and professors from Beijing University set out for Tiananmen Square and directed their attention to the Monument to the People’s Heroes at its center. The political and historical significance of the monument attracted the demonstrators, and it became a center of activities during the spring months of 1989. To understand its attraction, an analysis of the monument’s creation and symbolism present throughout the monument is necessary. Construction of the monument began on

¹⁴ “Preserving Urban Landscapes as Public History: The Chinese Context,” *The Public Historian* 32, no. 31 (October 2010): 56.

August 1, 1952, and was completed and revealed to the public on May 1, 1958.¹⁵ In order to build this explicitly nationalistic memorial experience, it took an interdisciplinary team headed by PRC officials, and included historians, architects, and sculptors. The chief architect was Liang Sicheng, with some elements of the monument created by his wife, Lin Huiyin.¹⁶ The Monument to the People's Heroes was a monument created by the PRC to commemorate the martyrs of the revolutionary struggle during the 19th and 20th centuries.

It was Liang Sicheng's job, as chief architect, to oversee all aspects of creation for the state sanctioned monument. He sought to create a massive stele, or stone with an engraved or sculptured surface. A lifted walkway would surround the stele for easy viewing of the inscriptions and sculpted art that would be present on the stele. The planners along with Mao Zedong agreed that the Monument to the People's Heroes was to become the centerpiece of Tiananmen Square since this was "where China's new revolution made its debut."¹⁷ The final product took massive amounts of granite as well as labor to complete.

More than 17,000 pieces of granite were eventually used in the project, with a 14.7-meter, 60-ton slab occupying the central position of the monument. At the base of the shaft were eight gigantic historical reliefs, depicting key moments in China's recent history. To emphasize its importance, the entire monument was supported by two Chinese-style *xumizuo* (decorated bases), embellished with the traditional symbols of pines, cypresses, chrysanthemum, and peonies representing longevity and distinction.¹⁸

Liang Schieng attempted to capture the heart of PRC nationalism by using points of pride throughout its short history. He did this with the help of Mao's choice of events to include. The CCP propaganda department also contributed to the project. The

¹⁵ Hung, *Mao's New World*, 238-242.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 235-256.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 241.

eight historical events chosen to be depicted on the Monument to the People's Heroes stele include: the Opium War, the May Thirtieth Movement of anticolonial demonstrations in 1925, the Nanchang Uprising, the War of Resistance against Japan – with an emphasis on the Communists' guerrilla warfare, and the Yangzi Crossing by the Red Army in the civil war against the Nationalists in South China.¹⁹ All eight images depict a united China. The types of events depict more recent national history in China. In all scenarios, China is depicted as a powerful army – an army with an enemy to pursue and overcome. Considered major turning points in modern Chinese history, these eight events became the collective story of China's most recent past.



"The Monument to the People's Heroes," Courtesy of courtyard7beijing.com, 2011.

The Peoples Republic of China's goal at the time of the monuments creation was national unity, which would help in building the new nation that they envisioned. All events depicted on the stele are overwhelmingly military in nature, since the monument honors war heroes of the PRC, and all of the chosen events resulted with China as the victor. This imagery perpetuated the idea that soldiers of China were heroes of the people. Rather than depict the horrors of battle, the artists of the sculpted art

¹⁹ Ibid., 245.

present on the stele were steered toward showing the positive side of battle, either showing their heroes going into battle ready to win or leaving the battle as victors. Each image was chosen to, “...display the valor, sacrifice, duty, and honor of the soldiers, in line with Party rhetoric. The underlying themes are celebrations of patriotism, nobility of arms, and sacrifice, and thus they are merely exercises in propaganda and hagiography.”²⁰ Mao made a political statement with the creation of Tiananmen Square itself. The message focused on the power of the party, so the monument was another representation of the struggle between reality and myth present within China’s history. This idea is evident because the heroes that are present throughout the monument all helped to make communism a reality and that meant that communist heroes were the people’s heroes. As author Chang-tai Hung explains in the book *Mao’s New World: Political Culture in the Early People’s Republic*, which delves into the political stronghold and myth-making present throughout the architecture, monument building, and the political arrangement throughout the Mao ruled years of China, explains:

For the Chinese Communist Party, however, the building of a giant memorial in the capital’s most sacred location was more than an act of commemoration; it was a cultural production serving the political need to establish the regime’s control over the nation’s collective memory²¹

This attempt to take control of the nation’s collective memory was successful to a certain degree within China. Enchanted by this imagery, the majority of younger citizenry saw these images as a full depiction of their nation’s past. These images of revolutionary martyrdom are present throughout the monument and the events depicted were not as clear-cut and dreamscape laden in the minds of those who had lived through the events. There was a disconnect between the reality of the past, which included famines and loss, and the one presented on the colossus stele in the center of Tiananmen Square. In the depictions of the past created by the PRC throughout the monument, the loss of life was righteous and led to the ideal end, which was the overarching power of the party.

²⁰ Ibid., 254.

²¹ Ibid., 235.

The Monument to the People's Heroes was the first site that the students chose to alter. It transformed from a national monument to a memorial site for their former disgraced party member, Hu Yaobang. This initial demonstration started at noon on April 17th, when about 600 young teachers and students from the University of Political Science and Law went to Tiananmen Square to lay a wreath for Yaobang.²² After the first wreath lay on the monument, more students and citizenry from surrounding communities began to stream into Tiananmen Square to mourn Hu's death. Under the Monument to the People's Heroes, pieces of white cloth and other wreaths began to accumulate. Mourners also hung signs and banners from various heights on the stele and surrounding walkways of the monument. These signs praised Hu and his political focus on the people of China, and began to question the current CCP government's decisions, like the decision to take Hu from his post. Some of those who paid homage to Hu signed their names with other notes of sorrow onto the wreaths they left behind; others did not. As the crowd of mourners grew larger, the police arrived to keep order.²³ This memorial space changed throughout the duration of the protests but was very important for the students who began to demonstrate in honor of Hu. It became the center of the protest, which expanded and would ultimately take up the whole square as well as the surrounding city streets of Beijing.



"The Monument to the People's Heroes Altered by Protestors to Memorialize Hu Yaobang," Courtesy of ajw.asahi.com.

²² Dingxin Zhao, *The Power of Tiananmen: State-Society Relations and the 1989 Beijing Student Movement* (Chicago: University Chicago Press, 2001), 148.

²³ *June Four*, 9.

By altering this space, the students were changing what the definition of a CCP hero could be. They were questioning whether people in their government were heroes only if they subscribed to current CCP ideology. In turn, they were questioning the government, which led to questioning its authority on society's needs. The significance of this initial march did not end with a few prayers said or speeches given. The students then began altering the Monuments to the People's Heroes to give thanks and recognize Hu as a martyr in their eyes. This reclaiming of the space helped mourner's display the problems they had with the party that were sprinkled throughout Hu's life, which were remembered by many of the students and people throughout China. Students and protestors risked their lives and their livelihoods in order to protest against their government, sparked by the death of their most prominent ally. By engaging with the political nature of the monument, the protestors were having a conversation with the past, which had not happened before, in the heart of China. James Mensch describes this type of engagement with public space in the article *Public Space*. Mensch explains that symbolism within public space:

...must be returned to again and again...Like the individuals that employ it, it exhibits its public presence through this return...The openness to the future of such presence appears most clearly in debates regarding collective action. In the plurality of possible outcomes brought out by the discussion, the goal as well as the objects composing it exhibit the openness to the future that they have as being part of the public space.²⁴

By interacting with a state sanctioned collective memory, these demonstrators were grappling with the actions of their government in a peaceful, yet affective, way. They were able to bring to light their feelings about the current government's actions, as well as the government myth of who was important to the ever-evolving history of the PRC.

Students were not calling to overhaul their whole government system, which makes all the difference in

²⁴ James Mensch, "Public Space," *Continental Philosophy Review* 40, no.1 (2007): 36.

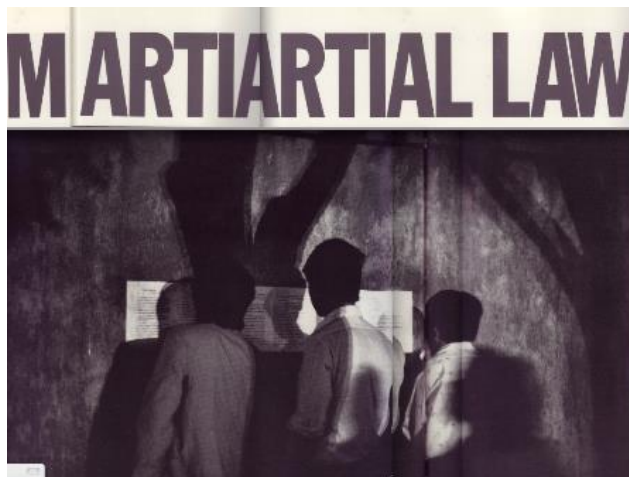
understanding their actions. They instead were attempting to alter the system to work for them. For example, rather than wanting to shut down the whole CCP they were bringing to light their lack of trust in the party. Demonstrators were fighting for actions that are more liberal by the government such as reforms to help the people of China rather than helping the CCP and the economy gain more power. Since Hu Yaobang was one of the first leaders to have these same feelings about the party system and the way it should work, he became a martyr for the people. Demonstrators believed he was a hero and should gain recognition as one by the government. What better way to commemorate a “People’s Hero” than at the Monument to the People’s Hero? The use of white cloths were reminiscent of the pure morals that the students felt Hu had while in power. Mournful yet respectful, banners hung throughout the space echoing the good intentions of the people who left them along with wreaths. The images of Hu became an addition to the monument rather than overtaking the already existing heroes’ space. The political leaders and martyrs of the communist cause were now not the only possible heroes. Activists were recreating a new definition of what a hero in modern Chinese history was.

The “Goddess of Democracy” aided protestors in reclaiming the space that is Tiananmen Square just as effectively as the Monument to the People’s Hero had months earlier. Rather than altering an existing structure, the protestors created one of their own. Instead of engaging with the past, they were now tackling their hopes for their future. The birth and death of the iconic “Goddess of Democracy” statue coincided with the end of the 1989 protests. During the final weeks of May, the CCP was growing tired of the protestors and their so-called antics. On May 20, 1989, Martial Law was issued by Li Peng to be imposed in the main areas of Beijing. The Premier of the State Council Li Peng stated:

In view of the serious turmoil that has taken place in Beijing, which has greatly disturbed social order, security, and the people’s normal life, and in order to extinguish the turmoil, to maintain the city’s peace, to ensure the safety of the citizens and their properties, to protect public properties, and to guarantee that the daily routine of the central and

municipal governments is not disturbed, the State Council hereby announces that, in accordance with the sixteenth regulation under item eighty-nine of the Constitution, martial law will be carried out in certain parts of Beijing beginning at ten o'clock Beijing time on the twentieth of May, nine-teen eighty-nine. The martial law will be imposed by the Beijing People's government, which is entitled to work out the details of these measures as necessary.²⁵

A little more than a week after the state issued martial law for parts of Beijing, which included Tiananmen Square, the figure of the "Goddess of Democracy" took her place in the square. She rose in the square during the night of May 29th, and became a rallying point for the movement in the morning hours of May 30th. During this time in the protest, both the students and the government were making critical decisions. Hunger strikes occurred due to the threat that the government would soon be taking drastic steps to end the protest under the cloak of martial law. These plans did not include opening up a dialogue with the demonstrators, but instead, the government was now willing to take violent action to end the protests.



"Protestors Read Martial Law Edict," Courtesy of underthejacaranda.wordpress.com, 1989.

²⁵ *June Four*, 96.

In order to create the Goddess of Democracy protest organizers furtively recruited students from the Central Academy of Fine Arts and other Beijing schools. The students had a budget of 8,000 renminbi to purchase the materials they were going to need to construct the statue. Using foam, Paper-Mache, plaster, and metal framing the students created their goddess. It took three days to create the statue in a workshop located at the Central Academy of Fine Arts. The figure was made of various pieces and taken to the square on six, three-wheeled, cycles all of which had flat beds to transport the enormous pieces.²⁶ During the unveiling, a young woman read out a declaration. This young woman became the mouthpiece for all who helped in creating the “Goddess of Democracy,” they declared:

We dedicate this statue to the students’ cause.... We dedicate this to the millions of students in China, to the people of Beijing, China and the world who support our movement.... We have won victory after victory because the power of the people cannot be defeated. This government does not have any humanity. They are using obscenities and cheating and lies to cover Beijing in a cloud of darkness. They want to kill the democratic movement in the cradle. But the judgment days are coming for these leaders.²⁷

These powerful words accompanied a powerful figure. The “Goddess of Democracy” stood ten meters tall. The Beijing statue began as a simple figure of a Chinese peasant holding a wooden staff, grasping it above his head. In creating their rendition of this original figure, the students eliminated the bottom half of the rod and fashioned the top half into a “torch of freedom.” They changed the male figure into a woman by giving her collar-length hair that looked as if it was blowing in the wind. She held the torch with both hands as a symbolic gesture for the fear that all hope for the movement was in her grasp and could be taken at any moment.

²⁶ Chris Buckley, “The Rise and Fall of the Goddess of Democracy,” *The New York Times*, June 1, 2014, http://sinosphere.blogs.nytimes.com/2014/06/01/the-rise-and-fall-of-the-goddess-of-democracy/?_r=0.

²⁷ Scott Simmie and Bob Nixon, *Tiananmen Square = Tien-an-men* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1989), 159.

She stood on a pedestal in the square and faced Mao's portrait, which seemed to keep a watchful eye on Tiananmen Square.



"The Goddess of Democracy in the Center of Tiananmen Square," Courtesy of poietes.wordpress.com.

Craig Calhoun, an American sociologist who was in Beijing at the time, wrote in his study of the protest movement, *Neither Gods Nor Emperors*, that "[t]he statue gave the protest a focal point and drew a continuous flow of ordinary people and other visitors into the Square."²⁸ Calhoun also clarifies that although the Goddess of Democracy was a figure of a woman holding a torch, the Beijing statue was not an ode to the Statue of Liberty located in the United States. The student artists felt that their changes to the originally planned figure came organically so they followed their instincts. They did not want the public to focus on the likeness to the Statue of Liberty because they were not trying to promote the Americanization of China but rather were encouraging a resonance of traditional folk goddesses of China in order to create the image of the soul of their movement.²⁹

²⁸ Craig Calhoun, *Neither Gods Nor Emperors: Students and the Struggle for Democracy in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 108.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 108-110.



”Student Putting the Final Touches on the ‘Goddess of Democracy,’” Courtesy of www.boston.com.

The Goddess of Democracy was a symbol of the hopes and aspirations of the 1989 movement. The people who participated in the movement were not attempting to oust the Communist system as a whole, but rather to put an end to the corruption that was pertinent throughout the whole party to create a better China in the coming years. It was such an obvious problem that many knew of it and the problems stemming from corruption reached from the urban cities to the countryside. Protestors also wanted to have more say in the government for the citizenry of China. These were drastic demands which the Communist Party in China directly opposed. In wanting these types of rights, the demonstrators were opposing the government. Holding these beliefs made protestors enemies of the state. Thus, creating such an overtly democratic figure and placing it within the Communist party square was a public statement of their hopes for what the future of China could become. The “Goddess of Democracy” was a symbol that encapsulated the feelings of the protestors and their goals. Unlike the Monument to the People’s Heroes, this alteration to the square was a statement to the government of their hopes for a better CCP, rather than a negative critique of it.



“Two Amateur Photographers take Photographs of the ‘Goddess of Democracy,’” Courtesy of www.pekingduck.org.

When soldiers seized the square on June 4th, they toppled the Goddess of Democracy statue as well and violently ended the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests. As part of their martial law statute any and all imagery, statements, and loitering by the protestors within and around the square became illegal. The Goddess of Democracy was now an illegal display. The destruction of the figure signaled the end of the protests. The fact that the government decided to target the Goddess of Democracy as one of their first threats, which needed to be decimated, speaks volumes to the figure’s impact on both the government and the people. The sculpture’s presence within the square blatantly questioned the CCP system and its future goals for China. Images of the Goddess of Democracy are one of the most iconic images to come from the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests. Authors Robert Hariman and John Louis Lucaites explore iconic imagery of the twentieth century in their book, *No Caption Needed: Iconic Photographs, Public Culture, and Liberal Democracy*. Both authors agree that:

The first icon of the demonstration was a thirty-seven-foot tall statue crafted by art students ...Although seemingly a universal symbol of liberty,

it became festooned with flags, banners, flowers, and other signs that defined the monument within a cultural milieu largely illegible to the Western audience.³⁰

They argue that other prominent images, such as the photograph of a man standing before a row of tanks taken by various photographers such as Jeffery Widener, Charles Cole, and Stuart Franklin, do not truthfully embody the spirit of the protests, but rather the unfortunate end. The Goddess of Democracy images however hold more meaning to the goals and aspirations of the protests, and provide a more meaningful definition to what the protests meant to the protestors and those who supported them.



“Remnants of the Goddess of Democracy after Being Destroyed,” Courtesy of beijingdoll.wordpress.com.

³⁰ Robert Hariman, *No Caption Needed: Iconic Photographs, Public Culture, and Liberal Democracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 210.

Though the Tiananmen Square protests ended violently, the protestors did make their mark on Modern Chinese history as the people who reclaimed the word, Tiananmen. There is a misconception that since the CCP omitted the Tiananmen Square protests from their national narrative that the majority of the nation is not aware of the events that took place in 1989. National amnesia is one way in which the CCP has tried to erase Tiananmen from the memories of their citizens but that has not been possible. As Susan Shirk observes in her book, *China: Fragile Superpower*, although China is one of the fastest growing economies in the world they are a superpower that suffers from insecurities that carried through the past century.³¹ These insecurities are present throughout the nation today, and can be seen in the strict suppression of information pertaining to the Tiananmen Square Protests. Such insecurities were present in the days after the end of the 1989 protests. After the protests, the party committee published a book which contained five of Mao's essays, and booklets, were given to the villagers who inhabited the areas around the square. These booklets were, "an antidote to any reactionary ideas spread by the demonstrators. Thereafter, the village organized frequent mass meetings in which residents were required to study and discuss the book."³² These attempts to flood the public who were witness to the protests were perceived as a threat to the future of China and were seen to need reeducation of CCP core values in order to be less of a liability to the future of CCP power.

The fact that the CCP omits these events from current discussions highlights their awareness of the feeling that can be rekindled by discussing the events. The word Tiananmen in the Chinese context brings to mind the aims of the protestors rather than the display of CCP power it was supposed to evoke. The nation may have been able to rewrite its history, but it has not been able to stop the word Tiananmen from being used in contemporary context. There are citizens of PRC being punished as recently as 2012 for acts of remembrance tied to the Tiananmen Square protests. An activist by the name of Tan Yufu was given a seven-year prison sentence for reciting a poem via skype that included the words,

³¹ Susan Shirk, *China: Fragile Superpower* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 6.

³² James Miles, *The Legacy of Tiananmen: China in Disarray* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 268.

It's time, Chinese people!
The square belongs to everyone.
Your feet are your own.
It's time to use your feet and head to the square to
make your choice.³³

The Party's paranoia is a lingering symptom of events throughout CCP history, such as the Tiananmen Square protests and the May Fourth Movement, where their power has been questioned.

Although no official dialogue between the protestors and the government proved beneficial for either side, protestors were able to have open debates with their government from the onset of the protest by using Tiananmen Square as their mouthpiece.

Public spaces are areas where people can collectively cope with events, past or present, and this is exactly what happened in Tiananmen Square. The alteration of the Monument to the People's Heroes, as well as the creation of the Goddess of Democracy, marked the beginning and the end of the protests, and mapped its trajectory. Starting with the alteration of the Monument to the People's Heroes, protestors were able to grapple with their past in order to demand acknowledgement from the government of its wrongdoing. The Goddess of Democracy symbolized the spirit of the movement, which had democracy as its ultimate goal. This figure boosted the hopes and aspirations of the future of the movement, and it gave these dreams a face. These tangible creations helped the majority of the population deal with a topic in meaningful ways. The symbolism within the space during the protests are now more recognizable in modern times than Mao's mausoleum or any of the ten state sponsored buildings surrounding the square. The shrine-like memorial to Hu created around the Monument to the People's Heroes and the face of the Goddess of Democracy staring into the infamous portrait of Mao have become the iconic images of Chinese modern history, and this can only be seen as a victory for the protestors involved in the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests.

³³ Louisa Lim, *The People's Republic of Amnesia: Tiananmen Revisited* (New York: Oxford Press, 2014), 207.

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"Chinese Students Demonstrate after Hu Yaobang's Death, Photo Dated 21-22 April 1989," Courtesy of diogenesii.wordpress.com.



"Goddess of Democracy," Courtesy of www.reddit.com.

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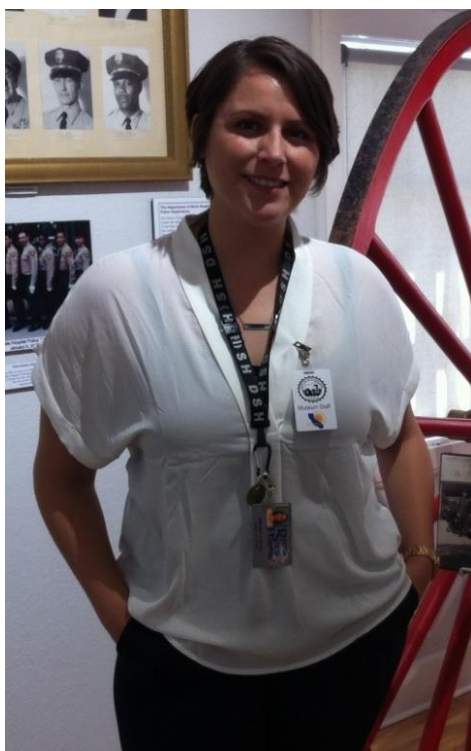
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Palestinian-Jews and Israel's Dual Identity Crisis

By Rafael Perez

Abstract: This paper looks to explore the complex combination of those who are both Arab in culture and Jewish by faith. This complex dual identity is generally known as Mizrahim or Arab Jews. Within the general Arab-Israeli dispute, this identity complicates the conflict by challenging the normative understanding of nationalism. Moreover, this paper examines the history of the Mizrahim through the Palestinian-Jewish experience in pre-establishment Israel and further examines the social changes that affected Mizrahim within the Israeli State after the 1948 War. Various primary source documents, essays, personal accounts, peer-reviewed journals, and surveys are used to understand the identity and role of the Mizrahim within Israeli society. This paper seeks to illuminate the fact that Israeli society is not homogenous, but a state with a diverse population, making it difficult for the Israeli state to establish a strong unified sense of nationalism.

The political conflict between Arabs and Israelis has led to violence and disrupted cultures throughout the region. Furthermore, the various conflicts have been uniquely for those that identify as a blend between nationalities. Although this instability affects people from various backgrounds, this paper focuses on the conflict that resides within Israel, the conflict amongst Jewish people that share the same faith yet not the same culture. Given the longevity of the regional instability, many groups have suffered, however, this paper explores the distinct identity of the Palestinian-Jew. This article seeks to explore the complexities of their identity in relation to their experiences before and after the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948. While Palestinian-Jews are one of the cultural groups considered Mizrahim, meaning Arab born Jew, not all Mizrahim shared the same experiences in the pre-Israel period. The research will focus on the Palestinian-Jewish culture and identity in the time before the

state of Israel, later shifting to focus on all Mizrahim after the establishment of the state of Israel because both groups received similar treatment. The diversity within Israel further complicates this complex conflict, and the unequal treatment of various groups, which causes discord within the state of Israel and undermines Israeli nationalism.

The ruling majority in Israel have been conservative political Zionists of European decent, which means that Mizrahim and other minorities living in Israel have had a smaller role in politics. Ashkenazim became the majority in a place that historically had a majority of Mizrahim and Muslims, in part, because of the ideology of political Zionism. Political Zionism developed in the late nineteenth century in Europe. Those who subscribed to political Zionism believed that man, rather than God, should actively establish a homeland for the Jewish people.

Those considered part of Ashkenazim are typically of European decent specifically Eastern European. Not all Ashkenazim have the same Jewish beliefs, many adhere to orthodox, reform, or other differing forms of Judaism. In addition, there are those whom are not practicing Jews, therefore, there is a widespread ideological demographic within the Ashkenazim subgroup of Jewish people. This will be explored by looking at the policies and actions of some Ashkenazim political leaders in the Israeli government, and how some Ashkenazim supported Mizrahim causes or shared similar frustration with the policies of the government.

Pre-Zion Palestinian and Jewish Life

Arab-Jews (Mizrahim) are people of Arab descent that practice the Jewish faith. As an Arab-Jew, one may follow the rituals, traditions, and language of Hebrew culture, yet still have much in common with Arab cultural traditions. Throughout the various conflicts, and for generations before Zionism came to the shores of Palestine, Jewish culture thrived and interacted peacefully alongside Muslim and Christian cultures. In various parts of the Arab world, Jews shared many of the same leisure activities, spoke the same languages, read the same books, and at times intermarried with those of other religious faiths, such as Muslims, because they

culturally identified with other Arabs.¹ It is difficult to ignore the customs of the majority group in the land that one inhabits, however it is significant that some Arab Muslims and Christians adopted religious traditions from the Arab-Jew minority. In Palestine, Jews spoke multiple languages to communicate with other Jews, such as Hebrew and Ladino, and they had to communicate with their Arab Muslim and Christian neighbors in Arabic. Another language also present in this area was Turkish Arabic.² It would be difficult for anyone in this area to understand or speak just one language because there was such an influence from multiple ethnicities living in the same area. This language exchange facilitated a cultural exchange, for example at some of the Jewish weddings, some songs would be recited in Arabic instead of Hebrew.³ Language, much like anything else in a culture, is affected by the area and regional influences. Much of the dialect of the Palestinian-Jew was different from that of the European Jew and was later used as a way of claiming “Jewish inferiority.” Most societies have the tendency to criticize the way a group speaks a common language based on the dialect of the majority group. Thus, as the Ashkenazi grew as a majority, different local accents were characterized as lesser or associated with those of a lower social standing.

In Pre-Zionist Palestine, the clothing of the Palestinian-Jew was identical to that of Arab Muslims and Christians. The following image shows Palestinian-Jews praying on the western wall dressed in what many would assume to be Arab, Muslim attire.⁴ Because they used the same materials, tools, and shared the same climate there would seem to be no reason to dress differently than Muslim or Christians in Palestine. The Palestinian-Jew has a complex identity that has survived for centuries, as many of the customs were not seen as different or suppressed because of the

¹ Joel Beinin, *The Dispersion of Egyptian Jewry: Culture, Politics and the Formation of Modern Diaspora* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), introduction, <http://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=ft2290045n&chunk.id=ch1&toc.depth=1&toc.id=ch1&brand=ucpress>.

² Menachem Klein, “Arab Jew in Palestine,” *Israel Studies* 19, no. 3 (Fall 2014): 4, accessed January 29, 2015, <http://libproxy.lib.csusb.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=97938778&site=ehost-live>.

³ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁴ Charles D. Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2010), 34.

general way of life in the region. Only later when Israel attempts to achieve conformity to new political Zionist principles, is the acceptance of this dual identity challenged.



Palestinian-Jews praying at the Wailing Wall wearing traditional Arab garb c. 1900.

There are various forms of Judaism practiced around the world. Some of the more popular types of Judaism are Conservative Judaism, Reform Judaism, and Orthodox Judaism. Conservative Judaism follows the Torah, but also utilizes the later texts that changed some of the earlier sets of laws. Reform Judaism is the most liberal of the three as it makes changes appealing to the modern world, a shift that was popular within western societies. Orthodox Judaism flourished amongst Palestinian and Sephardic Jews (North African and Spanish Jews).⁵ Orthodox Judaism is the belief that the Torah does not change with time and that many of the laws dictated by God to Moses should be closely followed. Orthodox Jews do not stray far from scripture and they observe the Sabbath intently by not making a fire to ensure they are resting. Spiritual Zionism is a theological concept within Orthodox Judaism that conflicts with political Zionism, due to the fact that it strays from the orthodox understanding of the establishing of a homeland by God. Orthodox Jewish Zionism believes that God will create a homeland for the Jews not man. Therefore, it can be understood that many Orthodox Jews do not agree with modern

⁵ Arnold Blumberg, *Zion Before Zionism 1838-1880* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985), 30.

Israel being perceived as the homeland that God intended because it contradicts the orthodox interpretation of their holy scriptures.

A common misconception of the Arab-Israeli conflict, according to conservative leaning Likud politicians, Likud being the Right-Wing political party in Israel, is that Jews in Arab countries have been held hostage. In addition, this misconception maintains that Arabs horribly mistreated Jews. On the contrary, there is more than enough evidence to suggest that this is not true. Under Ottoman rule, Jews had plenty of freedom to freely practice their religion. Although Islam influenced the Ottoman Empire, the principles of Islam protected Jews and Christians as people of the book. It was preferred that they convert to Islam, but not required. What was required was the payment of more taxes to the Empire, and certain powers within the Empire were not equal. Even though this population was not completely equal to Muslims, they lived in a better environment than Jews in Europe who suffered from mass persecution. At the peak, right before the fall of the Ottoman Empire, Palestinian-Jews were the majority population in Jerusalem numbering around 45,000 out of the 70,000 total population.⁶ This majority population suggests that Jewish culture may have had a major influence within Palestinian society in Jerusalem because Christians, Muslims, and other religious groups were the remaining 35,000.

In an excerpt from Elie Eliachar's *Living with Jews*, he states, "The beautiful custom of exchanging gifts between Jewish and Moslem (sic) families on the last day of Passover has been preserved to this day. Arabs sent their Jewish friends a *siniyah* (round copper bowl) laden with fresh bread, goats' butter, and honey," and Eliachar further described the exchanging of gifts from Jews to Muslims on Muslim celebrations like at the end of Ramadan.⁷ These interactions suggest that Jews and Muslims were friendly with each other, and lived in the same neighborhoods, rather than the stark European contrast of segregating Jews into ghettos. It is also important to note that Eliachar's story about exchanging gifts illustrates that they not only respected each other's religious practices, but also encouraged their practices by celebrating amongst one another. Similarly, Ya'akov Yehoshua

⁶ Menachem Klein, "Arab Jew in Palestine," 3.

⁷ Elie Eliachar, *Living with Jews* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1983), 59-60, quoted in Salim Tamari, *Mountain Against the Sea: Essays on Palestinian Society and Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 154.

reflects in his memoir, *Childhood in Old Jerusalem*, that “Jews and Muslims shared residential courtyards. [They] resembled a single family and socialized together. Our mothers unburdened themselves of their troubles to Muslim women, who in turn confided in our mothers.”⁸ Confiding in one another implies that they did not see a hierarchy among groups, but a friendship between groups. Thus, those living in the region coexisted in relative peace and stability.

Socially, there were little to no barriers among the different religious groups, especially in regard to charity. If a Jewish peddler found a local mosque, the mosque would offer to house the peddler without hesitation, and many people would house the needy, despite one's religious affiliation. Whether they were Muslim, Jew, or Christian was not considered – they were welcomed into the residencies of others to feel at home, and this was commonplace in Palestine.⁹ This society was one of acceptance and tolerance of various religious practices and traditions. For Palestinians their religious affiliation did not keep them from enjoying public spaces with others of different religions. Their cultural norms encouraged an environment for comingling. During the early twentieth century, the world's cultures were clashing and creating social barriers of segregation, but in Palestine, the cafés were welcoming to all. Jews sometimes preferred the Arab owned cafés, and Arabs would sometimes play music in Jewish cafés.¹⁰ Where a population spends their leisure time is essential to understanding the culture in that region. Furthermore, the fact that most did not care who owned the café suggests that different religious or cultural identities were common and accepted. Although education was often specialized around religion, it was not unusual to have some integration such as Muslims in Jewish schools or Jews in Muslim schools.¹¹ Palestinian society during the early twentieth century was one where religious affiliation did not make a person different, most shared the same cultural exchanges, spent time in the same cafés, and played music together, which shows an exceptional amount of tolerance in comparison to the Jewish experience in Europe.

⁸ Ya'akov Yehoshua, “Childhood in Old Jerusalem,” vol. 2, (Jerusalem, 1979), 213, [Hebrew] quoted in Menachem Klein, “Arab Jew in Palestine,” 5-6.

⁹ Menachem Klein, “Arab Jew in Palestine,” 9-10.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 12.

The historical treatment of Jews in Palestine is essential to understanding the Palestinian-Jews' later shared experience with Mizrahim from other parts of the Arab world in Israel. The hospitality and peace that Palestinian-Jews shared with their Muslim counterparts was soon nothing but a nostalgic memory for many. This peace ended when Israel began to make aggressive land deals for its growing society. The land acquisitions placed Palestinian-Jews at the center of a conflict that created split loyalties. Although the century long conflict does not look as if it will ever end or return to peaceful coexistence, understanding the dual identity of the Palestinian-Jew presents another dimension to the conflict to explore.

Beginnings of the Arab-Israeli Conflict and the Palestinian-Jews

The Arab-Israeli conflict began long before the establishment of Israel as a state and began in Europe with the persecution of Jews. Because of this, in the late nineteenth century, political Zionist ideology began to emerge in Europe. Theodor Herzl, a political activist who also subscribed to the ideas of nationalism argued that Jews were a different group with a different language, different traditions, and deserved their own internationally recognized borders.¹² Political Zionism provided escape from persecution for European Jews. At the time, European Jews were marginalized because they did not fit the linguistic, racial, and historical qualifications of newly emerging nationalistic groups throughout Europe. Those who followed the newly developed political Zionist philosophy lobbied the British to allow them access to develop their own Jewish nation. In negotiations between the British government and Zionist leaders, such as Walter Rothschild, an agreement was reached in the Balfour Declaration of 1917. The Balfour Declaration states that "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object."¹³ The language of the declaration

¹² Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 28-30.

¹³ Leonard Stein, *The Balfour Declaration* (London, 1961), 664, quoted in Charles D. Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2010), 96-97.

is intentionally unclear by neglecting to clarify whether Palestine would be given in whole or in part. This vagueness benefited the British Empire because if the British needed to alter any plans for the region they could do so and rely on the language of the document to justify any changes.

One of the ways that the Jewish community was able to emigrate from Europe to Palestine was by buying absentee land, land not owned by its residents. This would often dislocate the residents of the land in favor of new European settlers. Although the Ottoman Empire did not allow foreigners to purchase land, they used Ottoman Jews and counsels to buy the land for them.¹⁴ This wave of immigration to Palestine caused unrest between the local Arab community and the new European Jewish immigrants. Some of the earliest conflicts occurred because of the vast increase in immigration and land takeovers. One of the earliest conflicts between the arriving European Jews and Arabs was the conflict at the Western Wall in 1929. The conflict happened over the desire to rebuild King Solomon's Temple in order to further establish a homeland under the political Zionist ideology. However, this would disturb the holy site for Muslims. Newly arrived Ashkenazim also tried to place a screen at the Wailing Wall during worship to divide gender, which disrupted the holy site for others. An Arab mob formed and killed Jewish worshippers and in turn Zionists formed a mob and entered a mosque to kill religious officials.¹⁵ This troubled the British because they wanted to make sure disputes regarding politics and religious practices would not happen again. However, during this time, the German people elected Adolf Hitler as chancellor, which sparked many Jews to follow the political Zionist agenda and immigrate to Palestine. The vast wave of immigrants caused problems for all Arabs regardless their religious affiliation and caused more hostilities between immigrants and the local population, resulting in further violent encounters, such as the incident at the Western Wall. The wave also provoked an Arab Revolt in Palestine that caused open violence and would later escalate to armed fighting.¹⁶ This is often misunderstood as a religious conflict, but the discordance between the immigrants and the local population was more complex. In fact, the conflicts of the Arab Revolt and the Western Wall

¹⁴ Charles D. Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 36-37.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 126-128.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 135-137.

affected people of all demographics in Palestine. The British reacted to the fighting by issuing the White Paper in 1939, which would help discourage immigration to Palestine to help alleviate the stress on Palestinians, but this sparked Zionist aggression toward British rule.

The War of 1947, won by Israel, escalated tensions between Palestinians and newly immigrated Ashkenazim. However, not all Ashkenazim were looking to create a homeland in Israel, rather they were trying to escape the persecution experienced in European countries. The War of 1947 gave political Zionists the opportunity to establish a nation state, as Herzl had envisioned. The UN voted in favor of the partition of Palestine but did not guarantee a state's formation. After the war, political Zionists began to form the Israeli state.¹⁷ However, an unfortunate consequence of the war was that Israel managed to acquire more land forcing thousands of Palestinians into refugee camps in the Gaza Strip, Lebanon, Syria, and other neighboring countries. This land acquisition supported the influx of immigrants to the region. With a growing population, Israel developed a need to establish a taxation system to support a military, so that the state of Israel could protect itself from invaders and expand the borders of Israel. These conflicts caused an identity crisis for those of Arab decent, the relative equal treatment of citizens in Palestine for Palestinian-Jews helped causes this identity crisis, a Palestine now occupied by Israel. Thus, these conflicts continue to challenge the loyalty and patriotism of this dual-identity group as Israel continues to go to war with Arab nations and occupy Palestine.

The Establishment of Israel

The establishment of Israel was a major catalyst in the Arab world that altered the ideas of relationships, nationalism, and everyday life for many, including the Palestinian-Jew. On May 14, 1948, *The British Mandate for Palestine* expired. After the war, political Zionist leaders, such as Chaim Weizmann and David Ben-Gurion, released The Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel. The language of the document uses pathos early on to lure

¹⁷ Ibid., 195-196.

outside states into recognizing Israel as a state. The declaration states,

[The state of Israel] will foster the development of the country for the benefit of all its inhabitants; it will [be] based on freedom, justice, and peace as envisaged by the prophets of Israel; it will ensure complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants irrespective of religion, race, or sex; it will guarantee freedom of religion, consciousness, language, education and culture; it will safeguard the Holy Places of all religions...¹⁸

This declaration claims to share many democratic ideologies similar to the West, but the implementation of these principles is questionable toward Jews of Arab decent, women, and minority non-Jewish communities in Israel. Over the years, Israel has barred Palestinians from visiting the Noble Sanctuary and blocked access to anyone under the age of fifty in Palestine from the pilgrimage, which is in violation of the declaration's claim that access to holy sites be open to all religious faiths. Throughout the decades that followed, the state violated this clause repeatedly against the Palestinian-Jewish and Mizrahim communities. This subjected them to disenfranchisement which, unresolved, has fractured the façade of a united Israeli society.

Many political Zionists arrived before the establishment of Israel and many kept record of their feelings toward the community that lived in Palestine before the declaration. Some newly immigrated Ashkenazi observers argued that Palestinian-Jews and other Arab born Jews acquired the worst of both cultures saying that the way they sit, smoke hookah, and pray with beads were signs that Jews in Palestine had assimilated and adopted habits that were not considered appropriate for Jews.¹⁹ For this reason, the political Zionists framers did not want to integrate with the Arab population present in Palestine. Instead, they hoped to create a completely new, "civilized" society within the Arab world.

¹⁸ Israel, *The Declaration of the Establishment of Israel* (Tel Aviv: Official Gazette, 1948), <http://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/foreignpolicy/peace/guide/pages/declaration%20of%20establishment%20of%20state%20of%20israel.aspx>.

¹⁹ Gil Eyal, *The Disenchantment of the Orient: Expertise in Arab Affairs and the Israeli State* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 52.

Palestinian-Jews were an example of what happens to Jews that assimilate into Arab culture. According to David Ben-Gurion, they take on the poor qualities of the Arabs as well as the poor qualities of Jews. Ben-Gurion, the first prime minister of Israel, stated that there were three groups in Israel: the Bedouins, urbanites, and the fellahin. The latter of the three, he argued, were the original Jews of Palestine and were forced to convert years ago.²⁰ His labeling of these three seemed like an attempt to create a strong connection with those who were there before him to continue to legitimize the political Zionist rights to the land, but much of his descriptions of these people were not favorable.

The War of 1947 complicated the lives of Arabs and Israelis in Palestine; especially for Palestinian-Jews because the establishment of Zionist Israel was recognized as the homeland for Jews. Although many did not embrace the ideas of political Zionism, some Jews in Arab countries were misclassified as political Zionists. For example, Egyptian Jewry felt alienated from both Egypt and Israel because many Egyptians felt they should be Zionist, while Israelis saw them as Arab.²¹ The War placed Palestinian-Jews in a complicated position because they may have been Arab in culture and community, but they were Jewish by faith and tradition. This made it difficult for them to choose a side because they had something to lose on both sides. The war also fractured the relationships that Palestinian-Jews once had with their neighbors of various religious backgrounds because non-Jewish Palestinians were forced off their lands.

Once the state of Israel was established, the government looked to create incentives to persuade Ashkenazim from Russia and other parts of Europe to move to Israel. The immigration of Ashkenazim to Israel was vital to the country's economy, military, and infrastructure because the political Zionist framers believed that a Jewish work ethic would establish a sustainable future for the country. Naturally, for any growing country, a strong population was necessary, and the framers reached out to Ashkenazim who, historically, had been persecuted around the world, and offered them in a country that embraced them. The goal was to build a lasting future for a modern Israeli state. A problem for the new Israeli government was that they were unable, at first,

²⁰ Ibid., 53.

²¹ Joel Beinin, *The Dispersion of the Egyptian Jewry*, From Pillars of the Community to Compradors.

to gain a reasonable flow of immigrants from the West because many Jews from the United States felt that there was no need to move to Israel.²² Many Jews in the United States did not feel as disenfranchised as European Jews when comparing the anti-Semitism in Europe to the anti-Semitism in the U.S. A couple of ways that the newly established government attempted to recruit Ashkenazim was through various media outlets and offering special benefits. Political Zionism used agents such as *The New York Times*, conservative media outlets, and Christian fundamentalists to market Israel to Ashkenazim. Their hopes were to encourage immigration to Israel by highlighting anti-Semitism around the world. They did this by distributing advertisements suggesting that life would be better in Israel.²³ Israel still struggled to convince Ashkenazi to immigrate to Israel. Therefore, they began to give economic incentives, such as housing privileges, low cost loans, tax credits, and exemption from paying the importation tax on foreign goods, which gave them great economic advantages over non-Ashkenazi Jews.²⁴ From the foundation of Israel, an economic gap began to grow between the Ashkenazim, Mizrahim, and other minorities. As the new state of Israel was emulating prosperous European countries as a model to create a lasting nation, the aggressive and unjust policies, that they learned from countries like the U.S., such as ingathering and segregation, complicated the Arab-Israeli conflict because it caused further division of groups within Israel.

The Identity of the Palestinian-Jews and Mizrahim in Israel

Before the Balfour Declaration, Palestinian-Jews did not identify their dual identity as problematic.²⁵ This also caused a great problem for Israel because this hyphenated identity created internal problems, especially since these groups were disadvantaged. Since

²² International Organization for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, *Zionism and Racism* (Tripoli: International Organization for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 1977), 49-51.

²³ International Organization for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, *Zionism and Racism*, 55-57.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 111.

²⁵ Tamari, *Mountains Against the Sea*, 155.

Zionist leaders came from a European culture and did not have much in common with Mizrahim, they did not include Mizrahim effectively into a Zionist-European vision of Israel. Israel regarded Mizrahim as Arabs only and constantly pressured them to identify solely as Israeli. This was problematic for Mizrahim because to disregard their Arab identity would be to ignore an essential part of themselves. Since they identify so closely with Arab culture, making such a change would leave them feeling alienated within Ashkenazi culture. Furthermore, Israel was in conflict with an Arab Palestine. The pressure from the Israeli government on Mizrahim to identify solely as Israeli exacerbates a polarity between Arabs and Jews. For Palestinian-Jews there were split loyalties because they share a religious culture with those living in Israel, but they also share loyalty to the land that they tended to for centuries and share an Arab ethnic culture. Unfortunately, they witnessed the destruction of those former lands in various battles.

Conservative Zionists of Ashkenazim descent were a vast majority in the government of Israel and oversaw all aspects of Israeli life. Political Zionists took control of education and its curriculum to change the perception of citizens by altering the history of the region. Israel altered the history to marginalize Arabs and solidify unity among citizens against Arabs. This marginalization and alteration of history polarized Arabs and Jews. These policies, led by conservative thinkers, started manipulating the history of the Middle East. The framers of such policies often exaggerated in their textbooks, events where Arab Muslims attacked Mizrahim were inaccurate. This shows that the Israeli government was attempting to portray an image of Arabs and Mizrahim in perpetual conflict with one another.²⁶ The Palestinian-Jews that lived in Israel before its establishment read the same distorted history books, which conflicted with factual history, and this caused classification problems and it misrepresented Palestinian-Jews. The earlier understanding of the cultural identity of the Arab Jew showed that they had more in common with Arabs than they did with many European Jews, but the political leaders in power continued to pass legislation to establish a sense of Jewish identity and unity dictated solely by European ideals.

The educational policies of the government not only revised historical facts, but began to establish an image that

²⁶ Ella Shohat, "The Invention of the Mizrahim," *Journal of Palestinian Studies* 29, no. 1 (1999): 3, accessed January 29, 2015, doi: 10.2307/2676427.

described the ideal Israeli citizen. Unfortunately, an all-encompassing image of Jews could not include the diversity of the country or Jews throughout the world. This attempt to create one image of Jews resulted in an Ashkenazi image. This was difficult for Palestinian-Jews because they identified with their old non-European neighbors culturally, but Israel attempted to influence them to adopt the ideas of Zionism, European culture, and Ashkenazi history. However, Palestinian-Jews identified more with Israel's Arab enemies than Israel. This Eurocentric perception was a false representation of Israeli culture because there were a variety of social, cultural, and Jewish religious orders in the country. Another aspect of Ashkenazi culture and history imposed on Mizrahim was the Holocaust. Since Mizrahim geographically avoided the genocide, the Holocaust in Europe did not emotionally affect Mizrahi communities in the same way it did Ashkenazim. Although the Holocaust only affected Ashkenazim, Israel still attempted to make it a part of the national identity. They did this by doing state sponsored Holocaust memorials and attempted to include Mizrahim to try to connect the Holocaust with the altered history of persecution of Jews in the Arab world, but the differences between the persecutions of Jews in Europe were severely different from that of Mizrahim persecution.²⁷ Although Palestinian-Jews and Mizrahim sympathized with Ashkenazim, they could not relate to the atrocity in the same way. Thus, making it another alienating topic for the Mizrahi community in Israel.

Not only did the Israeli government place societal pressures on Palestinian-Jews and other Arab born Jews, they made outward attacks using the media and other public outlets. Israel shows specific intolerance toward Mizrahim who choose to continue to identify as Arabs, such as intellectual Arab Jews like writer Shimon Ballas.²⁸ Shimon Ballas is dangerous to the façade that Israel created about the Jewish homeland, arguing that:

I came from an Arab environment, and I remain in constant colloquy with the Arab environment...I also didn't change my environment. I just moved from one place to another within it. The whole project of nationalist conception, of Zionist ideology, of the

²⁷ Yochai Oppenheimer, "The Holocaust: A Mizrahi Perspective," *Hebrew Studies* 51, no. 1 (2010): 2-6, accessed March 3, 2015.

²⁸ Shohat, "The Invention of the Mizrahim," 4.

Jewish point of view, the bonds between Jews in the diaspora and Israel, all of this is quite marginal to me and does not play a major role; it's not part of my cultural world.²⁹

Although he is from Iraq, his feelings are in line with the feelings of many Mizrahim, and especially Palestinian-Jews who have lived in the region for generations, yet never felt the great disconnect from Zion. The problems that Israel faces with racial stratification are a natural result of unequal Zionist practices. Ballas further criticized Israel's policy that encouraged Jews to return to the homeland, for which Ballas argues that Mizrahim never left. Another way that Israel attempted to make Arab Jews identify as Israeli was by discriminating against this group and by stereotyping their Arab identity.³⁰ Much like colonization and imperialism around the world has shown, the colonizer will view themselves better than the colonized and differentiate the natives as inferior, some Ashkenazim viewed Mizrahim as inferior. This was natural for the historical period, since much of the world had and continues to have issues with racial stratification. The European Zionists referred to themselves as civilized and referred to the Levantine/Sephardic Jews, which are the Palestinian-Jews, as savages or primitive Jews because they have similarities with Arabs.³¹ The support for this assumption was that they smoked hookah in the cafés with Arabs and this was viewed as assimilation into Arab culture. This could stem from European countries viewing the Ottoman Empire as a non-industrialized society requiring the help of superior European education. With the influence of European sentiments, newly immigrated Ashkenazim political leaders felt the need to break away from the old ways of the Ottoman Empire and establish a state that would earn the respect of the rest of the world. Using discrimination to pressure Palestinian-Jews to assimilate presented a challenge for them because they had to sacrifice their culture to become part of the

²⁹ Ammiel Alcalay, *Keys to the Garden: New Israeli Writing* (San Francisco: City Lights Publishers, 1996), quoted in Yehouda Shenhav and Hannan Hever, "'Arab Jews' After Structuralism: Zionist Discourse and the (De)formation of an Ethnic Identity," *Social Identities* 18, no. 1 (2012): 4, accessed February 2, 2015, doi: 10.1080/13504630.2011.629517.

³⁰ Ella Shohat, "Zionist Discourse and the Study of the Arab Jews," *Social Text* 21, no. 2_75 (2003), 4.

³¹ Shohat, "The Invention of the Mizrahim," 6.

majority that criticized their way of life. Relating to the nationalism established by the Ashkenazi political Zionist leaders of Israel was not only difficult for Palestinian-Jews, but also difficult for other non-Ashkenazim. The irony of the situation is that political Zionists of Europe were fleeing anti-Semitism because it caused them to feel so alienated that they had to move to a new place. In the process, they expelled the native people living there and subjected some of the people living within their boundaries to a similar form of racism and prejudice. By emulating countries that many of these Ashkenazim immigrated from, they also brought the prejudice of the cultures of other nations. The U.S. had civil rights problems that were calmed by the Civil Rights Act in 1964, but it can be argued that Jews immigrating from the U.S. to Israel would carry the prejudices of that nation. Prejudice against Mizrahim aimed to discourage them from procreating by making them a targeted stereotype in a dominantly Ashkenazim region. This type of prejudice paralleled the Ashkenazim anti-Semitic experience in Europe.

There were not many social or economic differences between Jews and Muslims in Palestine before the establishment of Israel, but the elevated status of Ashkenazim created a problem for Palestinian-Jews because the peace that they shared with their Arab neighbors would become a principle of the past. The dialogue between Ashkenazim and Mizrahim were not friendly because Ashkenazim not only viewed Mizrahim as inferior, but they reminded them of Arabs. Often, some Ashkenazim, would not sit with Mizrahim in public places or invite them into their homes.³² The experiences that Palestinian-Jews endured became worse as they found themselves in conflict with derogatory propaganda toward Arabs. According to the Israeli government, the establishment of Israel brought relief for the mistreated Mizrahim from the oppressive environment of the Arab world. However, the evidence suggests that the actions of the state of Israel destroyed the peace that Mizrahim had with their Arab multi-religious neighbors.

Since the Palestinian-Jews were considered inferior to the Ashkenazi, there was a system of racism against all non-Ashkenazim, which included Palestinian-Jews and other minorities such as Ethiopian, Egyptian, and Persian Jews. Much like other

³² International Organization for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, *Zionism and Racism*, 116.

segregation movements, the segregation of Mizrahim and other non-Ashkenazim was often disregarded. The Israeli government put in place a housing authority that would help regulate where Jews lived as they came to live in Israel. This housing authority was also in charge of relocating citizens if there was a problem with their flats. Since Ashkenazi political Zionists regulated the government of Israel, they had the ability to offer better housing to other Ashkenazim and gave the poorer properties to Mizrahim and other minorities. This better housing also contributed to the incentives to gather Jews from the U.S. and parts of Europe. Mizrahim and other minorities received smaller housing than Ashkenazim. Sometimes, Mizrahim would only receive one or two bedrooms for families larger than four people. This was done to persuade them not to have more children, which was essentially a population control tactic.³³ This type of housing project attempted to systematically diminish the Mizrahim population to achieve a dominant unified Israeli Ashkenazi population. A letter from a Mizrahi stated that his daughter was sickened with rheumatic fever and the doctor said that it was the overcrowding in their home that caused her sickness. When this man went to the housing authority to ask to be relocated, it was not granted; naturally, he wondered why their lives were not equal to those European immigrants coming into Israel.³⁴ The Mizrahim were confused because they were not treated the same as Ashkenazim. The Declaration of Independence for the Establishment of Israel also stated that it would treat everyone fairly and protect the rights of all of its inhabitants despite religion, race, and gender, but housing authority policies aimed at the mistreatment of Mizrahim and non-Jewish Arabs was in violation of the declaration.

This selective housing process shows that Israel did not honor the declaration of equity to all citizens. Since Mizrahim did not receive the same benefits as Ashkenazim and lived in the slums, their education suffered as a result. At almost every grade level, Ashkenazim densely populated schools in comparison to Mizrahim populations. Also, Ashkenazi wealth, status, and living arrangements created a better environment to stimulate learning.³⁵ Before the establishment of Israel, Palestinian-Jews often sent their kids to Islamic schools and Muslims would send their children to

³³ Ibid., 109-111.

³⁴ Ibid., 110-111.

³⁵ Ibid., 112-113.

Jewish schools. Thus, there were little cultural barriers in education. In the early decades of the establishment of Israel, these groups were pushed out in every socioeconomic sector. There were varieties of racially discriminatory practices used within Israeli society, and it was because of these discriminatory practices that Mizrahim and Palestinian-Jewry had difficulty forming a patriotic sense of nationalism toward Israel. Palestinian-Jews and other Mizrahim share the same struggles in Israel because they encounter a racial system that disenfranchises them and divides Israel.

Religiously there is a divide between Mizrahim, Orthodox Ashkenazim religious leaders, and some of the secular leaders of Israel. Jewish law defines descendants through the matriarchal line; this constantly calls the true identity of Mizrahi Jews into question.³⁶ This Jewish law is called Halakhah, an old set of laws, often observed by Orthodox Jews. In Israel, the Orthodox Jews in charge of law are not the same Orthodox Jews found around the world, and they interpret the laws differently.³⁷ This caused problems for those of Arab descent because the legitimacy of their “Jewishness” is called into question. Not being classified as Jewish within Israel would cause the Rabbi not to grant sacramental rights to these groups based on Halakhah, such as the ability to marry another Jew.³⁸ Not only were Mizrahim disenfranchised politically, economically, and socially, but they were also disenfranchised within their religious community. As a result, these groups were treated much worse than they were treated in their own communities before the establishment of Israel.

Although it was common for Palestinian-Jews and other Mizrahim to acknowledge and celebrate their Arab identity, some openly rejected their Arab identities to embrace the nationalism of Israel. A man named Sasson Somekh, a Jew from Baghdad, embraced his Israeli identity and he claimed that in Baghdad there was nothing to connect him to his Jewish culture, so it was a way for him to embrace his Jewish side.³⁹ This is an intriguing personal

³⁶ Beinín, *The Dispersion of the Egyptian Jewry*, “The Karaite Community of the San Francisco Bay Area.”

³⁷ Uri Davis, “Being Jewish in the Context of Israel,” *Dialectical Anthropology* 19, no. 2/3 (1994): 4-12.

³⁸ Beinín, *The Dispersion of the Egyptian Jewry*, “The Karaite Community of the San Francisco Bay Area.”

³⁹ Sheri Lev Ari, “The Last Arabic Jew,” *Haaretz*, interview, December 22, 2003, quoted in Salim Tamari, *Mountains Against the Sea*, 156-157.

account because it shows a contrast to the Palestinian-Jewish experience. In Baghdad, it seems that he was a minority, but in Palestine, specifically Jerusalem, Jews were a majority and Hebrew was widely spoken. An interesting aspect of his narrative is that he explains that anyone can be successful in Israel, but foreign Jews have to abandon their dual identity for the sake of Israel. This is an example of the many different ways that Israel tries to influence minority residents to embrace Israeli unity in order to receive better treatment in Israel, but if one does not abandon their other cultural identity, then they may be disadvantaged in society. Although he does say he was treated better, he does not mention whether or not he was treated equal to Ashkenazi Jews.

Another complication resulting from Israeli nationalism is that hyphenated identities are seldom accepted because they have and will always be seen as inferior outsiders in their own homeland. Being marginalized disenfranchised them from power in society and they would not make a significant change for themselves by having less power. Their disenfranchisement has led them to lose job opportunities, equal housing, education, religious freedom, and peaceful social coexistence. Even Palestinian-Jews could not clearly distinguish themselves as distinct from Ashkenazim because before they would just refer to themselves as Jews. Since political Zionists turned the identity of the Jew into a nationalistic term, as Arab nationalism was also competing in the region, this created an identity crisis among Palestinian-Jews and other Mizrahim because they have ties within both nationalities. The dual identity was problematic for Israeli society because the policies enacted by the government did not fully consider or understand the effect on Mizrahim. A lack of understanding of Mizrahim culture created internal strife among the different groups within the State in regards to reform, foreign policies, and domestic policies.

Modern Palestinian-Jews and Mizrahim

This problem continued into the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries with Mizrahim being treated like second-class citizens, although they themselves are Jewish. Since the establishment of the state of Israel, there have been multiple conflicts between

Arabs, and throughout these conflicts, the Palestinian-Jews along with other Mizrahim and even Muslims, became victims of scrutiny and were thought to be possible sympathizers to various intifadas. Although it seemed that non-Ashkenazim were the only groups in conflict with the majority, Orthodox Jews and other leftist Jews in Israel joined Mizrahim in protest against political Zionist policies.⁴⁰ The early problems of Zionist Israel have forced some Palestinian-Jews and other Mizrahim in a position of rebellion because they have tolerated the disadvantages for too long. Within any country that acts to stratify ethnicity and race, there exists growing conflict and rebellion that later arises out of the lack of equality that is deserved. Israel's Declaration of Independence argues that the state will protect the rights of all, yet in the short time after the establishment there was an immediate favoritism for Ashkenazi Jewry and the continued disenfranchisement of all Arab-Jews and Arab citizens. The housing departments' favoritism of Ashkenazim continued until Arab-Jews stood up for their rights in the seventies. During the "Beit Yam 22" incident on April 19, 1973, Mizrahim residents of Hatikva, a slum quarter of Tel Aviv for Mizrahim, took over Beit Yam, a suburb of Tel Aviv reserved for Ashkenazi Jews, and refused to leave until the government agreed to relocate them to better living quarters.⁴¹ This event can be interpreted as a reaction to the long-term neglect that many of these people received from a nation that was considered to be their homeland.

Within modern Palestine, many Arab-Palestinian Muslims also acknowledged the legitimacy of connection with the land that some Palestinian-Jews had. Hamas, in their 1988 covenant, argued for the expulsion of Zionists and the state of Israel. However, what is more significant about their charter is that they indirectly argue to keep those who had rights to the land before Zionism, including Palestinian-Jews, because the language is only directed at the Israeli government.⁴² Although Hamas is an organization that is not representative of all the inhabitants of Palestine, they

⁴⁰ Charles Glass, "Jews Against Zionism: Israeli Jewish Anti-Zionism," *Journal of Palestinian Studies* 5, no. 1/2 (1975): 7-9, accessed January 29, 2015, doi: 10.2307/2535683.

⁴¹ International Organization for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, *Zionism and Racism*, 111.

⁴² *Hamas Covenant of 1988*, (Palestine: 1988), http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp.

acknowledged that not all Jews are supporters of the political Zionist ideology, and some are entitled to the land they owned before the establishment of Israel.

Israel has long exempted all Orthodox Jews and former Palestinian citizens from conscription. The Orthodox Jews were exempt because Israel wanted them to focus on the teaching of the Torah and other types of Jewish learning. For former Palestinian citizens, it was to ensure that loyalty was not challenged, so they kept them from serving as well. In 2014, Israel changed the legal status of those who can be conscripted to the military to include former Palestinian citizens and Orthodox Jews in Israel. This caused a massive protest that joined all the minority groups together in solidarity against the state. Although many Orthodox Jews may belong to the Ashkenazim ethnic group, they were willing to collaborate with Mizrahim for a common cause and to express frustrations with a policy. This has revealed a fractured state and suggests that the ideal of Pan-Judaism that Israel's founders envisioned had not come to fruition because of the division between the diverse groups of people living in Israel.⁴³ Israel refused to acknowledge the needs of the minority citizens, which also caused a prolonging of the Arab-Israel conflict.

Another component of Israeli nationalism was the state sponsored Holocaust remembrance and the attempt to incorporate it into the national history. This continued to cause conflicts for modern Mizrahim and Palestinian-Jews. One Mizrahim filmmaker did a movie based on children in the Holocaust, which boldly critiqued Ashkenazim and their use of the Holocaust as the defining historical act of anti-Semitism. Vicki Shiran the filmmaker argued that:

The work on the Holocaust taught me many things about the Ashkenazim, including the great gnawing question: what happened to them, to what extent, what happened to that population, to that large, mighty, and wonderful entity called Judaism, the Ashkenazi Judaism that arrived when its immigrants arrived in the country. What happened? What

⁴³ Inna Lazareva, "Israel's Ultra-Orthodox Jews in Mass Anti-Draft Protest," *The Telegraph*, March 2, 2014, accessed February 18, 2015, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/israel/10671162/Israels-ultra-Orthodox-Jews-in-mass-anti-draft-protest.html>.

dreadful split tore us apart that they could do this to us too? How could European Jews who experienced the Holocaust put Mizrahi Jews through this racism?⁴⁴

Her claim is one that many Mizrahim might also contemplate because most are treated as second-class citizens and mistakenly classified as Palestinian Muslims, a threat to Israel, and as a result given less opportunity to succeed. The idea that Israel speaks for the Jewish community can be called into question based on some of the policies practiced against Mizrahim. The Ashkenazim, with the strongest voices in the government, perpetuated some of the racist practices learned in Europe towards Palestinian-Jewry and other Mizrahim through racial stratification.

There are many other issues plaguing the Israeli system of Pan-Judaism, and the lack of rights for Palestinian-Jews and Mizrahim communities is just one of the many issues that has prolonged the regional conflict. These favoritisms have fueled hostilities because the disadvantaged have been ignored. The Ashkenazim that govern Israel must understand that there are many people living within their society that share dual identities with other cultures, and refusing to recognize this has caused internal strife between groups.

Conclusion

Palestinian-Jews have a dual-identity that has complicated the Arab-Israeli conflict. The identity of the Palestinian-Jew complicates the situation on both sides of the conflict because they belong to both sides, but they do not fully fit into the nationalistic ideals of either. At the root of this identity conflict is the idea that identity transcends what it means to be Palestinian or Israeli. For many Palestinian-Jews feel they belong to the land and argue that they are both Palestinian and Israeli and should not relinquish one identity for the sake of the other.⁴⁵ The great push to gain more

⁴⁴ Vicki Shiran, "Response," *Kolot Mizrahiyyim* (ed. G. Abutbul, L. Greenburg, and P. Muzafi-Haller; Masada, 2005), 220-221, quoted in Yochai Oppenheimer, "The Holocaust: A Mizrahi Perspective," 20.

⁴⁵ Suzanne Zima, "Israeli Arabs Want Equal Status Under the Law Put Into Practice," *Washington Report On Middle East Affairs*, 14, no. 7 (1996):129-131.

land through military force has been problematic for those who have a dual identity because it puts them in conflict with their identity or their nations politics. The peace that Palestinian-Jews felt before the establishment of the state of Israel is being challenged by policies that encouraged inequality and the labeled marginalization of neighbors they once called friends. The peace that once resided in the region can be achieved once again if the government can make a humane solution and recognize the backgrounds of the diverse community that it serves. When recently asked about a future peace agreement for Israel, former president Shimon Peres stated that “We will see terror, bloodshed, hatred, victims, everything. So the choice is having a solution which is humane, just, right, and that is a two-state solution. We shouldn’t run the lives of the Palestinians. And I think sooner than maybe most people think. If not, we will see the spread of terror.”⁴⁶ The former president offers his opinion on the possibility of peace in the future and what is needed to achieve that peace.

The misconceptions of the origins of this conflict have often been misunderstood because the political Zionists of Ashkenazi decent controlled a majority of government offices; they also controlled the representation of history and how the causes of the conflict were explained to the public. The hybrid identity of the Palestinian-Jew highlights one facet of the conflict that contributes to escalating conflicts within the borders of Israel, which contributes to the ongoing tensions. Many Arabs (Jew and non-Jew) believe that Israel can be a homeland for the Jews and a home for Arabs. Many Arabs are likely to have little difficulty with peaceful coexistence and inter-communal relationships with the immigrating Ashkenazi Jews.⁴⁷ The Israeli government has experienced a byproduct of modernizing rapidly which caused inequalities. In order to achieve equity among citizens and peace with its neighbors the government must evolve its policies to meet the needs of all citizens. The multi-cultural community that resides in Israel would experience better intercultural relations if the government allowed minority groups more political power, economic mobility and equal social rights that are respected and

⁴⁶ Yardena Schwartz, “Exclusive: Shimon Peres on Peace, War and Israel’s Future,” *Time*, February 15, 2016, <http://time.com/4224947/exclusive-shimon-peres-on-peace-war-and-israels-future/>.

⁴⁷ International Organization for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, *Zionism and Racism*, 116-117.

protected. The special case of Palestinian-Jews and Mizrahim has revealed a problem that is often overshadowed by the larger conflict. If they continue to be ignored, we can only expect to see more aggressive protests in Israel that will continue to fragment the state and prolong the Arab-Israeli conflict. For Palestinian Jews, the words of a villager captures the mixed sentiments behind the conflict perfectly: “We sang together and wept together. It was only after Zionism and Israel appeared on the scene that this human structure collapsed...”⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Ibid., 52.

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Author Bio

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Travels Through History

Florence, Italy: My Daily Life in History

By Rafael Orozco

As I sat on the plane, waiting to depart to Italy, the only thoughts that ran through my head were that I could not believe I was leaving to another country again. I had a feeling of wonderment because not many people have the opportunity to study abroad while in college. Fewer still have the opportunity to study in two places, but to study in three places, is remarkable. During the summer of 2012, I embarked on the first of three journeys that would not only change my views of different cultures, but would also change the perspective in which I see the world. Three different countries, three different experiences, each one with its own pros and cons, but it is the connection that I had in Florence in 2014 that made my life journey much more enriching.

I enrolled in the California State University-International Program Florence where I wanted to concentrate more on future career prospects, such as working in art museums. I did not know how I would succeed in getting those opportunities, other than taking the museum study course offered by the school. However, I knew that studying in Florence would allow me to get a valuable education in Italian Art History. One of the classes that I participated in was Museum Studies: The Uffizi and Florence. This class provided me with opportunities to go behind the scenes of some major museums in Florence, to see the inner workings of how things are set up within a museum, and the preservation of historically significant artworks. I wanted to gain more experience in understanding how I could obtain a job in these respective fields, and I wanted to find opportunities in which I could both talk about art and write about it. For these particular reasons, I decided to participate in this program in Florence for an entire academic

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year. I studied at the CSU-Florence study center located about a fifteen-minute walk to the city center.



Corridor of the Uffizi Gallery, Photo by author, 2015.

I knew going in that this city had a grip on me because of the historical significance that it had in Western Europe. During the 15th century, Europe experienced a rebirth after the fall of the Western Roman Empire centuries earlier. The Renaissance started in northern Italy, and had a profound effect in the city of Florence where new wealth was springing up, and new ideas started happening. That is what made this place so special, and I wanted to embrace it differently than my previous experiences.



Overview of the city of Florence from atop Palazzo dei Vescovi, Photo by author, 2014-2015.

One of those experiences came with a class I took there – Museum Studies: Uffizi and Florence. Our professor, Giovanni Giusti, also served as the director of the Departments of Tapestries XIX–XX, Contemporary Art, and Catalogues at the Uffizi Gallery. This class dealt with going to restricted places, where it was not accessible to the public, in several museums located in the city. One place we were allowed to see was the famed Vasari Corridor. According to Professor Giusti, it was designed by Giorgio Vasari for the marriage of Francesco I de’ Medici to Johanna of Austria. In addition to that, we also got the opportunity to look at other aspects of museum studies, such as preservation work. This hands-on skill is what I intended to learn from the program, as it helped me understand future career opportunities in museum work. Two opportunities presented themselves when we visited the restoration laboratories. One of those laboratories was located in Palazzo Vecchio, and it focused on restoring tapestries.



Tapestry Restoration Laboratory, Photo by author, 2014-2015.



Palazzo Vecchio, Photo by author, 2014-2015.

The other laboratory we visited was at the famous Fortezza di Basso, located near the center of Florence. There, we were able to see up close three very significant works, such as an amazing Jackson Pollock piece, and the famed, Leonardo Da Vinci's *Adoration of the Maji*. This old Florentine fort had one interesting aspect added to it in the modern age – a restoration laboratory for various mediums of art. The tour of the facility consisted of various methods of restoration procedures. From high tech equipment that scans the items in a non-invasive way, to where they delicately clean the artwork, one-inch square at a time. They showed us the different techniques they would use on all manner of artworks, from paintings to sculptures to carvings. The process showed how painstakingly long it takes to clean such big pieces of art one square inch at a time. All the various chemicals and the preservation process were difficult to understand. I asked what it would take to work in a place like this, and both the tour facilitators and my professor stated that I would need at least a background in chemistry. Having no interest in studying chemistry, I decided this line of work was not for me. However it is still possible to do similar work, but I decided I should look into other options.

Within this particular study abroad program, the school set up many types of activities for the students. There were volunteer opportunities, community service involvement, and writing

opportunities for magazines. Around December, three months into my time abroad, my roommate Gregory Combes of CSU-Channel Islands, told me about an opportunity to write for a magazine. He talked to the editor on my behalf about my interest in professional museum work. Soon after that, I met with Rosanna Cirigliano who created *Vista Magazine*. According to their website, her publishing house, *Magenta*, is the first English publishing house in Florence, Italy. The purpose of this magazine is to write about what is going on in and around Florence, dealing with the topics of food, music, films, festivals, and many more things that Florence had to offer.



CSU-Florence, Vista Magazine team, From left to right, Rosanna Cirigliano (Executive Editor), Jacob McCarthy (CSU-Northridge), Samantha Nickel (CSU-Chico), Gregory Combes (CSU-Channel Islands), Rafael Orozco (CSU-San Bernardino), Photo by author, 2014-2015.

For my first assignment, I reviewed a new exhibition at the Uffizi Gallery, one of the most visited museums in all of Europe that displays about a thousand years of Italian art history. Founded by Francesco I de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1581, the building snakes around three floors of some of the most famous art works Italy has to offer. I went on assignment there to cover the opening of the Gherardo delle Notti: Quadri Bizzarrissimi E Cene Allegre (Gherardo of the Night: Art of Bizarre Dinners), an art exhibition featuring one of the most prominent followers of the Italian Renaissance, master Caravaggio, the famous 17th century Italian artist that depicts signal point light realistic paintings.

Having taken several classes back at CSUSB that dealt with museums in various functions, and writing about them, I felt

confident in doing this. However, this experience proved to be a bit challenging. Having never been to a press conference, it had me feeling a bit nervous, as if I was not supposed to be there. That soon went away when the conference began. At the conference, the curators of the exhibition talked about the process of bringing this specific artist and his works together. The entire conference was in Italian, and having only studied Italian for three months, the people talking at the podium made little sense to me. I could only capture every fifth or sixth word, but I managed to fulfill my duties, and analyzed the content and flow of how effective the curators put together the exhibition. The piece that I wrote for the magazine served to inform the English speaking public in the city about the exhibition. After the press conference, I was given a packet with a catalog of the exhibition, detailing each work of art. Looking around the exhibition, I was amazed by how well put together it was, and I gave it a positive review that was then published for both the magazine (*Vista*) and *La Repubblica*, a Florentine newspaper. Having this experience was great because it really made me want to think more about becoming a curator one day.

After that, I did two more exhibition review openings, *Il Medioevo in Viaggio* (Medieval Voyages) in the Bargello museum – famous for its collections of marble statues. I also observed a press conference, and was given a catalog of the exhibition. The purpose of this exhibition was to inform the public about why and how people in the Middle Ages traveled in Europe. The title of the next exhibition was *I'Arte di Francesco: Capolavori D'Arte Italiana E Terre D'Asia Dal XIII Al XV Secolo* (The Art of Francis: Masterpieces of Italian Art and Lands of Asia From the 13th to the 15th Century). The St. Francis exhibition was held at the *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze*, more commonly known as, *La Accademia*. This is also where Michelangelo's *David* is housed, and it provided a great backdrop for the press conference. The St. Francis exhibition was created due to Pope Francis' Florence visit in November 2015. The city of Florence decided that it needed to display the history of St. Francis for the Pope's visit. Although these two articles did not end up being published, I was still excited view the exhibition before the public.



View of Santa Maria del Fiore, Photo by author, 2014-2015.

In addition to those experiences, I also volunteered at the famed cathedral, Santa Maria del Fiore (St. Mary of the Flower). My main responsibility there was to give an overview of the art works and history within the cathedral to various groups of tourists. Each tour was free and lasted about half an hour to 45 minutes. I mentioned the architects who worked on the building and the artist who provided the pieces of art that graced the inside. I also did some independent research to include in the script given to me so I could provide a bit more background history of the building. The experience that I gained while doing this goes a long way in proving to myself that I can describe to visitors what is on display in an effective manner. Before this, I did not have much confidence in public speaking, but now I know I can handle speaking in front of a large group of people.

During the tours, I discussed the history of the building. I informed the public that the architect and designer of the building was Arnolfo di Cambio, and construction first began in 1296. The first art piece that I discussed was the insignia on the front door, which is a lamb. I asked them what they thought it meant. Most people thought it was a symbol of Christ. Although that may be

partially true, the piece actually paid homage to the financial backers of the building, who were in the guild of wool merchants, one the most powerful and wealthy guilds at the time.

Next, I escorted them down the side aisle while I gave them small descriptions of what made the church gothic in style, and other small art pieces right before arriving at the famous dome of the cathedral. Here, I stopped and allowed the visitors to look at the fresco that was drawn on the dome before continuing with my dialogue. I went into the history of the dome and its creator, Filippo Brunelleschi. Initially, the builders of the cathedral did not know how to build the dome, but still constructed the cathedral in hopes that in the future someone would come along and build it. This was because the technology of building a dome of this size was lost after the fall of the Western Roman Empire. After losing the commission to build the baptistery doors to Lorenzo Ghiberti, it is known that he went to Rome and studied architecture for about ten years. There, he rediscovered the way to build the dome, and brought his ideas back to Florence. In 1423, the ambitious project began and lasted until 1436 when Pope Eugenius IV consecrated the finished cathedral. However, it would take another hundred years before the dome ceiling was decorated.



View of Copula (Dome) of Santa Maria del Fiore, Photo by author, 2014-2015.

Originally, Brunelleschi intended the domes ceiling to be a mosaic; however, that method became outdated and too expensive by the mid-16th century. In 1572, Giorgio Vasari received a commission to paint the ceiling. However, in 1574, he died and the project stalled for two years, until Federico Zuccari restarted it again in 1576, and finally completed it in 1578. I explained only

the front facing panel (that had eight panels in total), and what it depicted. I discussed the central figure of Christ, the figures of Adam and Eve, the Arch Angel Michael with a sword in hand, the figure of John the Baptist, the Virgin Mary, the cherub striking the Earth (representing the end of the Earth), the three Christian Virtues (Hope, Faith, and Charity), and the woman at the bottom who was being crowned the queen of all churches (she is the allegorical figure of the church Santa Maria del Fiore). I continued to explain the depictions of the old man with a broken hourglass representing the end of time, and the skeletal figure representing the end of death, as well. I discussed the main panel and pointed out other small figures that I knew from the other seven panels, including the depiction of the devil on the opposite side of the Christ panel.



Panel of Christ Fresco, Photo by author, 2014-2015.

After this, I ended the tour by pointing out the clock at the front of the cathedral and gave a small description of it. I told them that it is not a regular clock, in which the day is divided into twelve hours, but that the face of the clock was marked by the twenty-four hours of the day. I explained that back then, a working day started when the sun first rose and the day ended when the sun set. I

explained further that when Florence was a walled city, the bells rang from Giotto's bell tower an hour before sundown. Located next to the church, the bells rang and served as a signal to the people outside the city gates that they had one hour before the gates closed. The clock would reset to zero once the sun went down. During this final point of the tour, I gave the groups a chance to ask questions. People often thanked me and asked questions that did not pertain to the tour itself such as food recommendations, other places to sightsee, and the best place to catch the sunset. I gladly answered most of their questions and thanked them for their time.

In conclusion, living in Florence for nine months, and studying Italian art history, was one of my greatest life achievements. To have been part of that society for that brief time will always have a profound impact on how I view different cultures and societies in this world. The ultimate benefit proved to be all the professional experience that I gained. Working for the magazine was an enriching experience as I learned the complexities of structuring and creating exhibitions. Moreover, giving tours in one of the most famous cathedrals in the Christian faith was an exciting venture to take. As far as career options go, I learned that I would love to work in a field that provides me the opportunity to travel while discussing the history of different cultures. Overall, my time in Florence was amazing. I hope to go back one day, and stay indefinitely.



Façade of Santa Maria del Fiore, Photo by author, 2014-2015.

Author Bio

Rafael Orozco graduated from California State University, San Bernardino in June 2016 with Bachelor of Arts degrees in both public and oral history, and art history, with a concentration in museum studies. He hopes to obtain a Master's degree in museum studies, and plans to pursue a Ph.D. in that field. He has been a part of the History Club at CSUSB, and is a member of the historical honors society, Phi Alpha Theta. He has also participated in the organization, Upward Bound, by assisting high school students in passing the A.P. history exams. Rafael has studied at the University of Valladolid in Spain (2012), Dankook University in South Korea (2013), and at CSU-Florence Italy (2014-15). He also participated in an internship at Walt Disney World in Epcot during the fall quarter of 2013. He hopes to work for the Walt Disney Company's archives one day. He would like to thank Dr. Thomas Long for changing his life by giving him the idea to study abroad. He would also like to thank, Professor Mary Copland, Professor Edward Gomez, Dr. Cherstin Lyon, Dr. Jeremy Murray, Mr. Emilio Rodriguez, and Mrs. Amy Chien for making his college years an adventurous one.



In Memoriam

Bobby Vega

By William Howlett

The *San Bernardino Sun* published an article, titled “Some called Bobby Vega the Spirit of San Bernardino,” after his death on February 7, 2014. Bobby Vega will always be a man celebrated as one of the few who attempted to help the disadvantaged. He dedicated a lifetime to the city of San Bernardino as a youth advocate. He built an organization that continues to provide the city with the hope and assistance that it so desperately needs. “Bobby was this community,” said U.S. National Forest Service ranger Gabe Garcia. Garcia was truly moved by Bobby’s legacy, even saying, “His concern, passion, and vision was focused around making something for them (the youth of the city).”¹

The dreams of Bobby Vega live on. The young men and women who he aided, and set along the right path, are now the ones passing along his leadership to the next generation in an attempt to save the city that he loved. “I wouldn’t be here if it weren’t for Bobby,” said Rebecca Miller, who now works for the Urban Conservation Corps, “besides the vocational training and the life skills, it mostly gives you hope. We know we’ll be somebody.”² Jason Ciabatti, whose story mirrors that of Rebecca Miller’s, said “Bobby took me in immediately and took me under his wing. Every young person needs to feel needed to push themselves to work harder.”³ What these individuals show is how deeply Bobby affected the community around him, and how his legacy will continue to live on through the lives he touched.

¹ Anthony Victoria, “Waterman Gardens Community Center Named after Youth Organizer Bobby Vega,” *Inland Empire Community News*, IE Community News Group, Aug. 7, 2014.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

The End of an Era

Violence and crime have become commonplace in the once great city of San Bernardino. Gangs, prostitution, and drugs litter the landscape, and in 2012, the city filed for bankruptcy. Similarly, the juvenile population has also been negatively impacted. Yet, there has always been a ray of hope shining like a beacon in this violence-ridden city. That beacon was a man, a community advocate, and the founder of the San Bernardino Urban Conservation Corps, Robert “Bobby” Vega. “There is always hope,” Bobby Vega would say.⁴

San Bernardino used to be the epitome of the American dream. Before WWII, the city was a central transit point that connected Southern California to the rest of the world. After the war, it blossomed into an “All-American City.” This is the world that Bobby Vega wanted for future generations, but this is not what he experienced. Contemporary San Bernardino is not the city that he envisioned for today’s youth. What happened to the hope that Bobby Vega spoke of?

The efforts by the city of San Bernardino to put a halt to its own downward spiral have been ineffective, at least until recently. Since the city was awarded the distinction as an “All-American City” in 1977, the lengthy, reprehensible descent achieved its apex in August 2012, when the city itself declared Chapter 9 bankruptcy. The city had been engaging in a multi-decade long crusade against unemployment, crime, and drugs. There was a steady deterioration of the working class accompanied by the rise of poverty. Urban decay and a broken political system tore apart the city’s foundations. Positioned behind Detroit as the second-poorest U.S. city in its size range, the city became the third in California to file bankruptcy as a result of the Great Recession.⁵

The start of these issues can be attributed to the closing of the Kaiser Steel plant in 1982. This alone resulted in the loss of over 8,800 jobs. Then in 1986, the Santa Fe Railroad Yard was permanently closed, resulting in the loss of another 4,500 jobs. As

⁴ Jessica Keating, “Bobby Vega's Fight Continues On: Opinion,” *San Bernardino County Sun*, The Sun: Opinion, Digital First Media, Feb. 14, 2014, accessed April 28, 2016.

⁵ Ian Lovett, “A Poorer San Bernardino, and a More Dangerous One, Too,” *New York Times*, Jan. 14, 2013, accessed Apr. 28, 2016.

the city's population continued to grow into the 1990s, the biggest blow would be the closing of Norton Air Force Base in 1995, which resulted in the loss of 12,000 jobs.⁶ An analysis performed at George Mason University revealed that 60,000 to 90,000 jobs were lost in total.⁷ The rise in the city's poverty was accompanied by the rise of pension-fund earnings in the late-1990s. This would prove unsustainable, and would lead to the city spending the majority of its general funds on civil services. When the housing market crashed in the mid-2000s, the city of San Bernardino was left with few options but to declare bankruptcy. Bobby would sum up what the fall meant to the city's youth very nicely by saying that "there are no more opportunities like that around here for the young people of this town to work. What are young people supposed to do? They don't have an education and can't afford one."⁸

There was an aggressive gang intervention effort, aided by Bobby himself, that helped cut the homicide rate by nearly half since the 2005 peak, and in 2011, the program was held up by the National League of Cities as a model for other cities to follow.⁹ During the final years of Bobby's life, violent crime had steadily dropped. During the final year of his life in 2014, the city saw the passing of a new effort to control youth crime, the CalGRIP program, which was assisted by the same Urban Conservation Corps that Bobby Vega helped found. It was actions and achievements like this that made Bobby so significant to his hometown community.

Family and Community

Bobby Vega had always been a strong advocate of youth intervention, and one of the leading activists in the city of San Bernardino. The ideologies and beliefs that Bobby passed on to the

⁶ Ryan Hagen, "Norton Air Force Base Marks 20 Years since Closure," *San Bernardino County Sun*, The Sun- Economy, Digital First Media, March 22, 2014, accessed April 28, 2016.

⁷ "Case Study Overview: San Bernardino - George Mason University," *Center for State and Local Government Leadership* (Fairfax: George Mason University, 2014).

⁸ Joyce Hanson, "Interview: Bobby Vega," April 28, 2005, n. p., print.

⁹ Lovett, "A Poorer San Bernardino, and a More Dangerous One, Too," *The New York Times*, Jan. 14, 2013.

children and young adults that he worked with were built on the foundations of family and community. Both of these beliefs were imparted upon him by his parents. Bobby Vega's father, Robert L. Vega, was born June 8, 1931 in East Highland, California. He worked for the East Valley Transit agency starting in the mid-1960s until the late 1980s when the company was changed to Omni-Trans. He worked every day of the week and even the weekends. Both his strong work ethic and his ability to overcome adversity were things that he passed down to his son, Robert "Bobby" Vega. Striving to be a positive role model for his children, he would make every effort to raise his family and provide for them in the face of whatever adversity thrown his way.

Bobby's mother, Martha Ortega Vega, was a native of San Bernardino. She was born July 29, 1938, and she would grow to love the community around her, which would be a trait that she would pass down to her son. Martha in turn was also responsible for introducing Bobby to community activities and service. She also preached the power of authority, order, and respect. In her and Robert Sr.'s household, there was no talking back to adults, no arguing, and no fighting. There was a respect for rules, and an adherence to authority. Bobby was shaped by his upbringing, between the work ethic and love for family that he learned from his father, and the respect of authority and love of community he learned from his mother.

Bobby himself was born March 25, 1958, during a high-point of San Bernardino history, yet he would witness the negative transformation of the city he loved. His first community work took place in the mid-1970s, as the non-profit organization "Casa Ramona" transformed a closed school into a community center. Living across the street, Martha and her mother Mary Hernandez Ortega would volunteer on a regular basis. Mirroring his mother and grandmother's actions, Bobby's life revolved around helping his community and striving to create a better environment for those around him.

Bobby's extensive history of aiding the community has encompassed instructing in youth programs at Casa Ramona, the Boys Club, Casa de San Bernardino, as well as Los Padrinos of Southern California, the founding of the Urban Conservation Corps, and in extension, the more recent youth intervention programs. It was in the youth community that Bobby had the most resounding impact. Since the 1970s, he would find himself

involved in youth programs. He had seen the difficulties of life in the community. He witnessed the violence. He was familiar with gang life. He believed he had the knowledge and the ability to make a change. Gaining experience from the many community organizations he involved himself in, he was confident in his abilities to turn the tides against youth violence in his community. Bobby said in an interview:

Growing up in the neighborhood of the Mt. Vernon area, I had many opportunities to give back to the community. I learned early and was taught by the best. I'm still doing it today, some 30 years later. I probably have worked in every, if not most of, the community based organizations in the past thirty years on the Westside of San Bernardino...Casa Ramona, The Boys Club, Los Padrinos of Southern California, Home of Neighborly Service for Jim Penman, now our (city) in 2005.¹⁰

Bobby lived his entire life on the ragged streets of San Bernardino. He did not get to experience the "All-American City" that preceded his youth. He knew the people, the culture, and the violence. He wanted something more for the next generation. "I've noticed that our neighborhoods have deteriorated. The problems have gotten worse. I don't blame it all on the people that live in this community. Some of the blame has to fall on the leadership as well as our so-called community leaders."¹¹ Bobby spent much of his life battling youth violence. He worked for a variety of non-profit and afterschool programs that worked primarily with gang affiliated youth in the city. He has presented at many national conferences and local universities on the topics of Latino youth gangs and the need for what he called "prevention." His work was showcased at Georgetown University, and he assisted in developing the Cultural Brokers in Gang Prevention.¹²

The actions and beliefs of Robert and Martha would dictate the path that their son would follow in his pursuit for community renewal. As founder of the Urban Conservation Corps, Bobby was

¹⁰ Joyce Hanson, "Interview: Bobby Vega," April 28, 2005, n. p., print.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² "Youth Gang Violence and Guns: Data Collection in California," *Violence Policy Center*, February 2009.

able to combine all these aspects of his upbringing in a way that would truly transform the community around him. “I responded with this. The program and a group of community people came together to stop the senseless killing that were taking place within our young people, in our community. That was our goal, to teach them social skills in which they could use to go out and interact with one another, to try to get steady jobs.”¹³

Bobby Takes Action

In response to the structural and economic decline that undermined the city, and left the population vulnerable, Bobby Vega founded and organized the Urban Conservation Corps (UCC) with the intention of improving the lives of the city’s youth who ran the risk of being involved with street gangs or who were troubled by other social ills. “I’ve always had jobs that pay me to do what I love to do – keeping kids on the right track and away from organized gangs, teaching them how to go get jobs, teaching them life skills and showing them recreational opportunities in other places.”¹⁴ He dedicated his whole life to enriching the lives of the younger generations, helping them to become productive and more accountable members of the community. He wanted to return the city to its roots, and he sought to do it by harnessing the power of the city’s youth.

The Urban Conservation Corps’ mission is to take young adults and provide them with conservation projects in the San Bernardino National Forest in an attempt to get them off the streets and out of trouble. “This is a place for second chances, third chances,” he said. “If we said it was gang intervention, no one would want anything to do with us, so we say we’re the conservation corps. And that means they get to be outside – in a place that’s theirs – and they learn a skill that can take them someplace.”¹⁵ Bobby knew that the opportunities for work in the city were lacking, and many of them did not have an education or could not afford one, so he helped develop a program to correct these issues:

¹³ Joyce Hanson, “Interview: Bobby Vega,” April 28, 2005, n. p., print.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

We convinced them also to come work for us and that together we could stop the violence in our neighborhoods. In an exchange deal, they could work for a minimum paying job painting over graffiti and doing weed abatement in our town. They also had to enroll in school to get their *G.E.D.s*, if they were not already in school. It sure did work! It sure did stop the gang violence in our neighborhoods.¹⁶



Bobby Vega standing outside of the facilities of the Urban Conservation Corps, 2014.¹⁷

The pinnacle of Bobby's efforts, the UCC, was also an attempt to reduce gang membership and gang violence throughout the area. The Urban Conservation Corps is in agreement with the state of California to attempt just that through the CALGRIP program (California Gang Reduction, Intervention and Prevention), which provides adolescents and young men and women with life-skill training, as well as pay for their work, if they attend school.¹⁸ According to Mayor Pat Morris, Bobby had grown

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Michel Nolan, "Bobby Vega, Longtime Advocate for San Bernardino Youth, Dies at Age 55," *San Bernardino County Sun*, The Sun-Obituaries, Feb. 7, 2014.

¹⁸ Michel Nolan, "Nonprofit Urban Conservation Corps to Close Its Doors Because of Government Shutdown," *San Bernardino County Sun*, The Sun-Government Policy, Oct. 10, 2013.

the nonprofit from its fragile beginnings to a well-funded program that is a statewide model of “how to go from gang membership to community membership as a fully responsible, tax-paying adult.”¹⁹ Twice-a-week participants of the CalGRIP program get a chance to expand their horizons by attending life skills classes offered by Catholic Charities and by receiving work experience through the Urban Conservation Corps. “Community partnerships like CalGRIP have a huge impact on the community,” said Catholic Charities CEO Ken F. Sawa. He would also say, “For every youth who participates in this program the neighborhood is lifted up. The neighborhood will now have kids moving in a positive direction: going after high school diplomas, securing new employment, and enrolling in higher education programs. Their focus is shifted toward productive achievements.”²⁰

The issue of youth gang violence is still a significant topic today. According to 2013 statistics, the city is the sixteenth most dangerous city in the United States, and of the 4,000 known gang members in the city, 15% of these individuals are between the ages of 16 and 21.²¹ A multitude of factors influence the situation – lack of employment, poverty, low levels of education, and above average dropout rates. In early 2010, the San Bernardino Unified School District was labeled as the district in California with the highest percentage of schools in the “Bottom 5% School List.”

The Urban Conservation Corps challenges all of these issues. Since the founding of the UCC in 2007, the number of homicides in the city was reduced from a high of 58.²² In the years 2010 and 2011, the UCC served over 100 youth between the ages of 17 and 21, including 52 individuals on probation. Since 2008, the juvenile felony arrest rate in San Bernardino County has steadily decreased, as seen in the figure below. According to the 2014 CalGRIP Grant Proposal, one of the most successful CIPP (Crime Intervention Partnership Program) partnerships in deterring

¹⁹ Nolan, “Bobby Vega, Longtime Advocate for San Bernardino Youth, Dies at Age 55.” *San Bernardino County Sun*, Feb. 7, 2014.

²⁰ Greg Kirwin, “Calgrip Program Opens Doors for Inner City Youth,” *Catholic Charities News*, Catholic Charities San Bernardino & Riverside Counties, Sept. 23, 2011.

²¹ “Proposal to the OJJDP,” *2013 Community-Based Violence Prevention Demonstration Program* (City of San Bernardino).

²² “SB Cal GRIP 2014 Grant Proposal,” *2014 Report to the Fiscal Committees of the Legislature*, Rep. San Bernardino, 2014.

high-risk youth from gangs has been with the Urban Youth Conservation Corps.²³

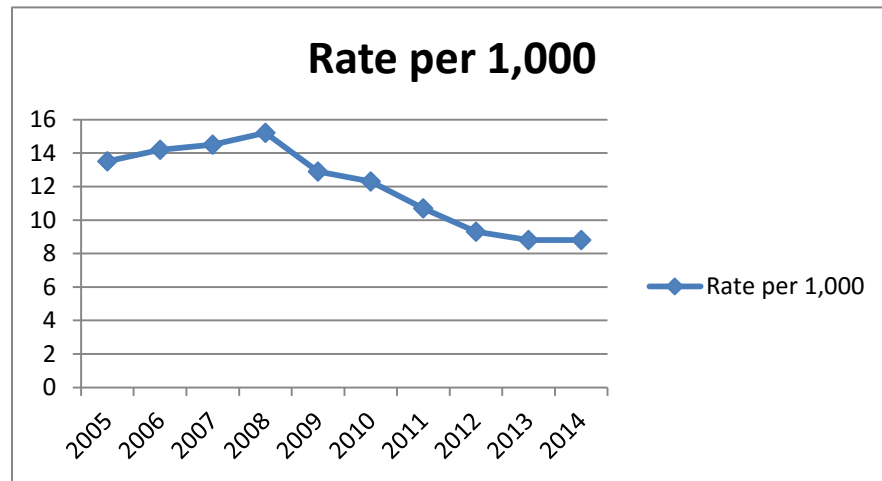


Figure 1: Percentage of Juvenile Felony Arrests in San Bernardino County per 1,000 youth ages 10-17.²⁴

There is significant proof that Bobby Vega and the Urban Conservation Corp’s attempts to provide San Bernardino’s youth with the means to break the cycle of juvenile crime, which have been shown to be fairly successful. According to the California Sentencing Institute, the number of juveniles held in state youth correctional facilities was reduced from 22 per 1,000 cases in 2009, to just seven per 1,000 cases in 2013.²⁵

The city of San Bernardino still has a long way to go to recover the prominence that it once had. Bobby Vega spent his whole life trying to make things better for his community in the face of adversity. He dedicated his whole life to enriching the lives of the younger generations, helping them to become productive and more accountable members of the community. He wanted to return the city to its roots, and he sought to do it by harnessing the power of the city’s youth. He made significant strides in certain aspects, but he still had a lot planned before his untimely passing.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Lucile Packard Foundation for Children's Health, “Juvenile Felony Arrest Rate,” *Kidsdata.org.*, n.d.

²⁵ “All Counties » San Bernardino County,” *A Project of the Center For Juvenile and Criminal Justice*, California Sentencing Institute, 2016, accessed Apr. 29, 2016.

History in the Making

He was truly a strong role model and one of the foundations of the city of San Bernardino. His dreams will live on. His hope has been passed on to people like Rebecca Miller and Jason Ciabatti, whom will carry his dreams into the future.

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Benedict Anderson

By Jingqiu Zhang

Benedict Richard O'Gorman Anderson, one of the world's most outstanding historians, political scientists, and polyglots, passed away at the age of 79 on December 13, 2015.¹ Anderson is best known for his 1983 book, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, which profoundly explored the origins of nationalism. As one of the most widely cited works in various academic fields, no single phrase occurs as frequently as “imagined communities” in the literature of nationalism. In fact, the author's entire life is closely connected with the questions he asked in his own book – “what is nationalism, and where does it come from?”

Anderson has an extraordinary Anglo-Irish family background. His grandfather used to be a loyal senior officer of the British Empire while his grandmother, on the other hand, belonged to the Gaelic MacGorman clan, the famous active clan that strongly supported Irish nationalist movements for centuries. His father, James Carew O'Gorman Anderson, after failing to pass the entrance examination of Cambridge, moved to the Republic of China and found a position in the Chinese Maritime Customs.²

On August 26, 1936, Anderson was born in Kunming, a major city in southwest China, and two years later, his younger brother, Perry Anderson, who is often identified as one of the most outstanding Western Marxism intellectuals in the contemporary period, was born. During his childhood, Anderson grew up in a special environment full of oriental elements. In 1941, in order to avoid the escalating Second Sino-Japanese War, Anderson's family decided to go back to Ireland via the United States.³ The return trip, however, was shelved because of the unexpected outbreak of the Pacific War. As a result, Anderson had to settle in

¹ Thor Kerr, “Ben Anderson's Legacy for Our Modern Communities,” *The Conversation*, December 15, 2015, <http://theconversation.com/ben-andersons-legacy-for-our-modern-communities-52323>.

² Perry Anderson, “My Father's Career in the Chinese Customs Service,” *London Review of Books* 20, no.16 (1998), accessed February 26, 2016, <http://www.lrb.co.uk/v20/n16/perry-anderson/a-belated-encounter>.

³ Ibid.

California where he received his initial education. The family eventually returned to their motherland at the end of 1945. After that, Anderson continued his education in England. He first studied at Eton College, and then went on to attend Cambridge. At the beginning of his college life, Anderson did not show any obvious political tendency. One day in November 1956, when Anderson was roaming the Cambridge campus, he witnessed a public speech launched by several Indian people that criticized Britain and France's invasion of Egypt for control of the Suez Canal. Soon after, the speech was obstructed by a group of upper-class British students. When Anderson tried to stop the British students' attack on the Indian people, he was beaten as well, and lost his glasses in the chaos. After breaking up the Indian crowd, the British students stood together and proudly sang the national anthem.⁴ This incident became Anderson's political enlightenment – an enlightenment that pushed him to be an anti-imperialist, Marxist, and anti-colonialist thinker in the future. It deeply influenced his criticism on imperialism as well as his sympathy towards the colonial nationalism movements.

In 1957, Anderson earned a B.A. in classics from Cambridge University. There, he developed an immense interest in Asian politics, which later led him to enroll in Cornell University's Indonesian studies program. Anderson worked on his Ph.D. under the guidance of experts George Kahin and Claire Holt.⁵ Anderson went to Jakarta, Indonesia in 1961. From 1961 to 1964, Anderson spent most of his time in the countryside areas of Indonesia for his doctoral research.

During this period, many great political struggles occurred in Indonesia. On September 1965, an attempted coup happened in Jakarta, but was shortly countered by the military led by the Major General Suharto. This failed coup was blamed on the Indonesian Communist Party later. As a result, Suharto-led troops led a wide-ranged anti-communist purge, which eventually became one of the worst mass murders of the 20th century.⁶ Meanwhile, Suharto, the military strongman, quickly wrested power from Indonesia's founding president, Sukarno, and started his dictatorship, which

⁴ Ruiren Wu, "Weight of Identity," review of *Imagined Communities*, by Benedict Anderson, *Oriental Historical Review*, March 31, 2014, accessed February 28, 2016, <http://cul.qq.com/a/20140327/005286.htm>.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

lasted for the next three decades. After the 1965 communist coup and massacres, Anderson, as a bystander, published three studies. One of which became known as the “Cornell Paper,” in which Anderson argued that discontented army officers, rather than communists, had been responsible for the coup and questioned the military government’s claims to legitimacy.⁷ Unsurprisingly, Anderson was no longer welcomed by the military government. He was banned from entering Indonesia by the authorities for twenty-seven years. Due to the prohibition that he could no longer do his research in Indonesia, Anderson gradually turned his study to other Southeast Asian countries, such as Thailand, Cambodia, and the Philippines. At the same time, because of the increasing expansion of the Vietnam War, Anderson began to pay more attention to the research of local communist movements as well as participating in various anti-war activities during the entire 1970s. His masterpiece, *Imagined Communities*, was also conceived in the late 1970s. One of the direct contributions to Anderson’s writing was the outbreak of the triangular war between China, Vietnam and Cambodia in 1979.⁸ This historical event raised a significant question in his mind – why would nationalism be powerful enough to force those three self-proclaimed “internationalist” and “socialist” countries to declare war against each other?

Indeed, that is a fact seen again and again in humankind’s history – nationalism is such a powerful idea that could easily induce millions to willingly die for its name. Hence, how is it that such a unique notion became Anderson’s chief concern? In fact, finding the source of nationalism has plagued scholars for several generations. In past studies, the mainstream focused on the relation between “nation” and “nationalism.” Academia tried to find some solid reality, which could be identified as the “nation” at first, in order to construe the origin of nationalism.⁹ Nevertheless, Anderson did not blindly follow the previous experience. On the contrary, he chose the opposite and stood alone. Anderson noticed that all the former research with limited progress was largely due to the preconception that nationalism must be based on the concept

⁷ Kerr, “Ben Anderson’s Legacy.”

⁸ Cynthia Foo, *Invisible Culture*, October 1, 2008, accessed March 4, 2016, http://www.rochester.edu/in_visible_culture/Issue_13_/foo/index.html.

⁹ Rod Benson. “The Nation: A State of Mind,” review of *Imagined Communities*, by Benedict Anderson, *Journal of International Affairs* 45, no. 2 (1992): 640-641.

of a nation-state. In order to break the long-standing deadlock, Anderson boldly proposed his view that “nationalism” is a “cultural artifact of a particular kind.” In other words, nationalism, national identity, and even the nation-state are all realities constructed by human imagination. Anderson believed that this invention of nationalism was full of artificial fabrication. He emphasized the fundamental notion that a nation is actually imagined because “members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members[,]” but “in the mind of each lives the image of their community.”¹⁰ Then, how did such an imagined reality come to be a lived reality? Why did nationalism become so sacred that no mere political ideology could replace it?

Anderson looked for answers by studying the eighteenth century when nationalism arose. The eighteenth century was a turbulent time when ancient verities - religion, dynasty, and cosmological perceptions, were all being rapidly overturned. Anderson deeply believed that the birth of nationalism should be best understood by situating it within the context of culture transformation rather than ideology innovation. For Anderson, the explanation for such significant cultural transformation is due to the intersection of economics and technology as the global market was gradually constructed. Anderson put his emphasis on so-called “print-capitalism” as undoubtedly the greatest driving force of nationalism’s rise.

The dawn of the printed word forever changed Europeans’ consciousness. Because of the advent of printed languages, speakers of the numerous dialects of French, English and Spanish could, for the first time, imagine themselves as part of a united community.¹¹ Thus, language helped to build that image of antiquity so central to the subjective idea of nation. Anderson gives language greater credit for advancing the birth of nationalism. He believed only a nationalism rooted in language, rather than blood, could allow anyone to be “invited in” to the imagined community.¹² Furthermore, Anderson’s theory that a nation is “imagined” does not mean that a nation is unreal. Rather he proposed that a nation is constructed from popular processes through which residents share the same language first, and then the

¹⁰ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1991), 6.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 44.

¹² *Ibid.*, 45.

same culture and tradition, until a uniform national identity is formed. With such strong ideological ties, those “imagined” nations would be eventually conceived as “a deep, horizontal comradeship” regardless of “the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each.”¹³ As a result, patriotic calls become an irrefutable right, and the necessary duty, of all national residents. During war periods, national citizens would be equal, and class boundaries would disappear, because of the communal struggle for national survival and greatness. As Anderson claims, “ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much as to kill, as willing to die for such limited imaginings.”¹⁴

Another remarkable aspect in Anderson’s study of the development of nationalism is the role of “Creole pioneers,” which totally opposed the traditional Eurocentrism research method. Anderson noticed that during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century those who fought for national independence in the New World had the same ancestry, languages, and traditions as the colonial powers they opposed.¹⁵ He affirmed that these American “Creole communities” actually developed conceptions of nation-ness much earlier than the notion of nationalism blossomed in Europe.¹⁶ Anderson believed that conflicts between metropolitan countries’ stricter control and the increase of power in the administrative units of the New World were the reasonable explanation for why American residents conceived their new belonging to a common and potentially sovereign community. The colonies detested the tighter regulations imposed by suzerains, such as imposed new taxes, enforced metropolitan commercial monopolies, and obliged trade ships to first go through the ports of suzerains.¹⁷ Another reason for the early development of national consciousness in the New World was the rising popularity of the newspaper. Reporting both provincial and world news, the newspapers further encouraged and fortified the imagination of nation-ness. By reading about events both local and around the world, the New World elite were able to develop a consciousness

¹³ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 47.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 50.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 50-51.

about the existence of other nations, a sense of “us,” versus “them.”¹⁸

Anderson’s historical research is impressive, and it opened an entirely new field of inquiry on nationalism from cultural criticism rather than traditional social science. *Imagined Communities*, first published in 1983, immediately received great attention from scholars in different fields. More specifically, Anderson’s concepts caused academic debates through their impact on interdisciplinary studies of nationalism. The book is widely studied and discussed in the intellectual community, and is continually as much critiqued as it is praised. Primarily, Anderson’s arguments are questioned by many postcolonial scholars. They criticize that Anderson is too linear in his explanation that political structures and institutions change from dynasties, through the standardizing influence of print capitalism, to sovereign nations. The most vocal critic has been Partha Chatterjee, who contends that the imagination of political communities has only been limited by European colonialism.¹⁹ In addition, Chatterjee also challenges that although the processes of print capitalism were important, Anderson’s formulation of them as standardizing language, time and territorial extent is too simplistic to impose on the diverse, multilingual and asymmetrical power relations of the colonial situation.²⁰ Another major critique comes from a feminist perspective. With a focus on the “fraternity” experienced by members of a nation, the protagonists in Anderson’s conceptions of nationalism are typically assumed to be male. Therefore, Mayer argues that Anderson envisions “a hetero-male project...imagined as a Brotherhood,” eliding gender, class and racial structures within and between national communities.²¹ A third challenge comes from Fadia Rafeedie. In her book review, Rafeedie voices concern over the lack of representation of the Arab world in Anderson’s book. She asserts the importance of examining Arab nationalism because Arabic is one of the world’s only languages to have survived throughout history in its classical form. Thus, Anderson’s treatment of language as the key to

¹⁸ Ibid., 62-63.

¹⁹ Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 5.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ T. Mayer, “Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Setting the Stage,” *Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Sexing the Nation* (London: Routledge, 2000), 7.

evoking nationalist sentiments has not been proven in the Arab world. Moreover, whereas the nation-nesses of other countries have “modern” origins, Arab-ness has enjoyed mature linguistic, ethnic, and geographic solidarity since 7th century.²²

Overall, Anderson’s *Imagined Communities* has been a profound masterpiece since the first day it was published. Its worldwide impact across academic disciplines led to a revised edition in 1991 as well as its reprints numerous times thereafter. It has been translated into dozens of languages and has become the most regularly cited work on the topic of nationalism. Anderson himself enjoyed a great reputation due to his work. He appeared on television, and addressed committees of the United Nations and the United States congress regarding Indonesia and East Timor in the 1980s and 1990s. Throughout his life, Anderson received praise and backlash in equal measure, but there is no doubt that Anderson has been one of the most influential scholars of our time. His death is a great loss for the entire human community.

²² Fadia Rafeedie, “Review of *Imagined Communities* by Benedict Anderson,” July 19, 1999, accessed March 8, 2016, <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~mescha/bookrev/Anderson,Benedict.html>.

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Author Bio

Jingqiu Zhang graduated from California State University, San Bernardino in 2015 with a Master of Arts degree in social science, with an emphasis in Chinese history. He also has two Bachelor's degrees in history and finance. As an international student, Jingqiu served on the Chinese Student Association as Secretary and Vice President for two years. He also participated in the CSUSB History Club/Phi Alpha Theta during his graduate study period. He enjoys furthering his interest in modern Chinese history through studying more popular theories in Western academic circles. He would like to express his appreciation for Dr. Jeremy Murray, who continually helped, encouraged, and inspired him in his academic researches. He would also like to thank Elvis Rivera Salinas, the editor of this project, for his great and meaningful advice for the writing.



Notes from the Classroom

Past, Present, and Future: Connecting to the Holocaust through Literature

By Danielle Demke

According to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum:

The Holocaust was the systematic, bureaucratic, state-sponsored persecution and murder of approximately six million Jews by the Nazi regime and its collaborators. During the era of the Holocaust, German authorities also targeted other groups because of their perceived “racial inferiority”: Roma (Gypsies), the disabled, and some of the Slavic peoples (Poles, Russians, and others). Other groups were persecuted on political, ideological, and behavioral grounds, among them Communists, Socialists, Jehovah’s Witnesses, and homosexuals.¹

The Holocaust is an important and complex historical event, and it is one that cannot be ignored. In the present moment, it is vital that students be correctly and responsibly taught in order to prevent future genocide. By using quality Holocaust literature in the classroom, students will be able to emotionally connect to the events, and respect and remember the historical details that will drive home the lessons of the Holocaust. It is through excellent literary choices that students will be able to take the lessons of the Holocaust to heart and “never forget” what they will come to know.² Therefore, by effectively using appropriate and historically

¹ “Guidelines for Teaching about the Holocaust,” *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, accessed February 29, 2016, <https://www.ushmm.org/educators/teaching-about-the-holocaust/general-teaching-guidelines#define>.

² “Museum Motto,” *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, accessed February 29, 2016, <https://www.ushmm.org>.

sound Holocaust literature in the classroom, students will better be able to grasp, learn, and emotionally connect to the events of the Holocaust, and thus, further work to prevent future genocides.

Recommended Literature

Not all books are written with equal value or merit. In discussing and teaching about the Holocaust, it is important to understand and decide which books are suitable for a classroom lesson. The following books are appropriate for classroom use.

Night by Elie Wiesel is the memoir of Wiesel and his father as they survive in the concentration camps of Buchenwald and Auschwitz from 1944 to 1945. Wiesel's personal thoughts and fragmented moments invite readers into this moment in time and into this particular era in history. As Wiesel contemplates further on the reality of his situation, readers see the father-son relationship change with Wiesel becoming a reluctant caregiver and his father regressing into a helpless state in the face of the atrocity they endure. Wiesel's *Night* is the first book of his trilogy, and while reading all three books may be overly ambitious in a classroom, the first book is ideal for introducing or furthering Holocaust education. Wiesel's account is a first-hand experience, and his point of view as a frustrated teenager can relate to students. The purpose of Wiesel's book, as he has made clear in many interviews, is to inspire people and drive home the message that the horrors that transpired during the Holocaust must never happen again. As students emotionally relate and empathize with the protagonist, they will be further tied to the outcome. The goal of Wiesel's writing is one that can be achieved in every classroom.³

The Devil's Arithmetic by Jane Yolen follows twelve-year-old Hannah. She is tired of every Passover (and every holiday) being spent reminiscing about the past with her relatives, especially when she would much rather spend time with her friends. A frustrated Hannah finds herself transported back to 1942 where she is known as Chaya (her Hebrew name) and is eventually ushered into a concentration camp. Hannah's experiences in the Holocaust and in the camp force her to understand the relevance of

³ Elie Wiesel, *Night*, trans. Marion Wiesel (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006), 115 pages.

the memories her family insists on reliving. The past and its horrors are not irrelevant. While Yolen's book is fictional, the author is able to investigate the Holocaust from a modern point of view. Hannah is not a girl from 1942; she is from the present. Her attitudes, concerns, and ideas about human decency are ones that students and readers today can relate to. As she undergoes the horrors of being transported in a cattle car, having her head shaved, and eventually dealing with the realities of life in a concentration camp, students will be able to emotionally connect to this protagonist. Her life as a frustrated teenager who would rather spend time with friends than family is not a foreign concept to modern students. As the novel concludes and Hannah comes back to her family at their Passover meal, she is an altered girl. She has seen, felt, and experienced the nightmare. Hannah sees the value of remembering and reverencing the past. Her misadventures in 1942 can help readers feel the reality of life in a concentration camp, and thus further empathize with Hannah. This book appeals to modern readers, and the time traveling portion, while not realistic, will allow modern sentiments to be transported to the past as well. Making emotional connections is essential because it allows the readers to ask themselves how they would have acted or responded.⁴

French Heroines, 1940-1945: Courage, Strength, and Ingenuity by Monique Saigal is a compilation of stories about eighteen women who are not well known yet stand out because of their incredible deeds of heroism during the Holocaust. The book is broken up into different sections based on the heroic actions the women performed. The women interviewed in these chapters stood up for what they believed in, and while their motivations may have varied, their goals were the same. They saw the atrocities of the Holocaust taking place around them, and it was not acceptable. These outstanding women were brave and noble in their fight to save lives and nurture souls. Many of the narratives of World War II and the Holocaust come from men, soldiers, victims, or young girls who kept diaries. However, Saigal's book provides the unique point of view of eighteen bold women who fought from the outside. They were not in camps, but their homeland had become occupied by German forces. The official explanation of the book sums up its purpose well – "Reading these texts takes us back to a

⁴ Janet Yolen, *The Devil's Arithmetic* (New York: Puffin, 2004), 170 pages.

time of terror when women fought back with every ounce of strength and wit at their disposal. What a splendid example they provide for today's youth who are searching for meaning in their lives!"⁵ Advantages of using this book in the classroom are that readers will benefit from the different points of view of the women, and students will have the opportunity to read about the many ways that people took a stand. This book has the designed purpose to inspire, to help readers feel what the heroines felt, and, hopefully, stand up for what is right themselves. Through these voices from the past, students will have the chance to learn about a different side of history. Most importantly, the reader will develop his or her own conscience to stand boldly while others sit by and allow the tragedy.⁶

Survival in Auschwitz by Primo Levi is the first of his Auschwitz trilogy. In 1943, Primo Levi was twenty-five years old and a talented chemist. He was arrested in Italy and taken to Auschwitz, where he endured systematic cruelty in addition to showing and witnessing amazing endurance for ten long months. His story is complex, detailed, and unique in its openness with nuances. Levi named these complex nuances "grey zones" and aptly explains the reality of life inside a concentration camp and how it was never as clear-cut as it has been made out to be today. Levi openly discusses bullies amongst the victim prisoners and kindness from the typically villainized guards. These grey zones are emotionally draining to comprehend and upturn many previously held beliefs. For these reasons, the book *Survival in Auschwitz* is unique and important in its point of view and also for its hard look into the pragmatic truth of human interaction. Human nature does not naturally polarize into categories of "good" and "bad" during wartime; it is more complicated than that. Levi's bluntness with the cruelty he witnessed makes this memoir ideal for older, emotionally mature students.⁷

⁵ Monique Saigal, *French Heroines, 1940-1945: Courage, Strength, and Ingenuity* (Los Angeles: S.N. Publishing, 2010), back cover.

⁶ Saigal, *French Heroines, 1940-1945*, 184 pages.

⁷ Primo Levi, *Survival in Auschwitz* (La Vergne: B.N. Publishing, 2004), 187 pages.

Not Recommended for Classroom Use

The following books are entertaining and may be enjoyable to read for entertainment, but they should not be used in the classroom as teaching tools.

The Extra by Katherine Lasky is about a fifteen-year-old Gypsy girl, named Lilo, who is chosen, along with her family, to be extras in Hitler's propaganda films. Lilo describes life on the film sets as twisted and fragmented as she "acts" in beautiful places, yet is kept in a barn along with the other extras where they are given little food and are guarded like prisoners. Lilo decides to escape, and the novel follows her daring attempt. The issue with *The Extra* is in Lasky's softened and idealized descriptions of the Holocaust. The author down plays the horrors of the Holocaust and often does not describe it at all; using the Holocaust as a "backdrop" cheapens the event's magnitude. The book is also problematic in that the main character struggles with feelings of attraction towards the abusive and violent guard that is in charge of keeping the Gypsy extras in the barn. While the book can be read for enjoyment, it is not accurate and should not be brought up in lectures.⁸

The Boy in the Striped Pajamas by John Boyne follows the story of Bruno, a nine-year-old German boy, whose father has been granted the assignment to be in charge of the concentration camp "Outwith" (Auschwitz). Bruno soon ventures to the edge of his new home and finds another little boy on the other side of a fence. To the reader, it is obvious that this little boy is a Jewish prisoner in the concentration camp. What begins as a playful relationship culminates when Bruno decides to sneak under the fence to play with Schmel, and the boys are led to a gas chamber. Bruno's parents are horrified at what has happened and begin to question their actions that have led them to this point. While the book is emotional and entertaining for mature readers, it is also fraught with historical inaccuracies and factual impossibilities. This novel does not convey an accurate tone of the Holocaust, nor does it enlighten the reader of the father's role in these atrocities. This book can be read for entertainment value for readers of young

⁸ Katherine Lasky, *The Extra* (New York: Candlewick Press, 2013), 320 pages.

adult literature yet should not be recommended in a classroom setting.⁹

Hitler's Secret by William Osborne revolves around teenagers Otto and Leni who have escaped from Nazi Germany to England only to be sent back as spies for the Crown. Their secret mission is known as Wolfsangel. Their purpose is to find and kidnap a special girl who could be the key to bringing down Hitler. Osborne's novel is fast paced, action packed, and a great read for a reader who is timid to learn about the Holocaust. The author further incorporates real people such as Winston Churchill, and Rudolf Hess into the story to interact with the two protagonists. While the book does contain facts about Germany and the structure of the Third Reich, it offers an inaccurate image and understanding of the Holocaust and its lasting effects.¹⁰

The Book Thief by Markus Zusack is an intriguing and quirky book about a young girl named Liesel Meminger as told through the perspective of Death. The novel tells the story of Liesel as she is shuffled onto a train car bound for a concentration camp with her mother and sister but is let off due to a misunderstanding. She is then cared for by a German family, assimilates into village life, and eventually helps to hide a Jewish man in the family basement. While the novel is creative and uniquely written, it is not accurate, nor should it be used as a teaching tool in a classroom setting. Liesel is not in a typical living situation nor are her experiences based on fact, and thus, she should not be used as an example of a typical, young girl living through the Holocaust. By being able to leave the train car when she did, Liesel circumvented Death until later in her life. *The Book Thief* is entertaining and well written, but is not appropriate for an educational setting.¹¹

⁹ John Boyne, *The Boy in the Striped Pajamas* (New York: David Fickling Books, 2006), 224 pages.

¹⁰ William Osborne, *Hitler's Secret* (New York: Chicken House Publishing, 2013), 333 pages.

¹¹ Markus Zusak, *The Book Thief* (New York: Knopf, 2006), 552 pages.

Suggestions

It is crucial to remember to “strive for balance in establishing whose perspective informs [a student’s] study of the Holocaust.”¹² This is especially important in dealing with Holocaust literature, as it is easy to assume the books the students read will tell the whole story. No single piece of Holocaust literature will offer the full depth and breadth of the Holocaust. It is essential that teachers convey this information to their students. It has been too often assumed that by reading *Anne Frank: The Diary of a Young Girl* they have been given the scope of the Holocaust; however, this conclusion is incorrect.¹³ By following this advice, students will be able to better see that history has many different viewpoints and perspectives. The pieces of recommended literature outlined previously offer different points of view and thus allow students to read about a variety of protagonists that interacted with the events of the Holocaust differently.

Conclusion

The words “Never Forget” are the motto put forth by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C.¹⁴ Many concepts of the Holocaust are not understood by people today; most people cannot even define the Holocaust. The complexity of the Holocaust needs to be appreciated by educators who can then pass on their knowledge to a new generation of students. By adopting responsible literature in the classroom and properly handling the topic of the Holocaust with young learners, students today can become primed to become the strong leaders of tomorrow. They will be better equipped to see wrongs in the world and will be educated in identifying the first steps that can lead towards genocide.

The Holocaust’s foundational lessons are that understanding and growth lie in the fact that all people are living

¹² “Guidelines for Teaching about the Holocaust,” *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, accessed February 29, 2016.

¹³ Anne Frank, *Anne Frank: Diary of a Young Girl* (New York: Bantam, 1993), 283 pages.

¹⁴ “Museum Motto,” *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, accessed February 29, 2016, <https://www.ushmm.org>.

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and breathing creatures and have more in common than those who seek power want to acknowledge. Once those similarities are revealed, people realize in the end all are human.

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Author Bio

Having two B.A. degrees, one in English literature and another in history, and loving them both, Danielle Demke combines her loves into one with this paper. Helping our youth emotionally connect with history through literature is a passion of Danielle's. She is able to make this goal a reality as she works with today's youth as a librarian. Names and dates become real people with amazing adventures as she reaches hundreds of children weekly through book talks, personal interactions/recommendations and choosing appropriate literature for her library. She will continue her educational pursuits with a Master's program, as learning is her passion. Danielle is immensely grateful to Dr. Pytell for teaching with such feeling, inspiring her to dive into the tough subjects without fear, and for his help throughout her history studies.



State of the Field

National Council for Public History: Challenging the Exclusive Past

Baltimore, Maryland. March 16-19, 2016

By Blanca Garcia-Barron

In April 2015, local Baltimore residents and social justice activists challenged Baltimore authorities when police took a local resident, Freddie Gray, into custody. The video of his arrest went viral on the internet after Gray fell into a coma as a result of the injuries he sustained during his arrest. On April 19, 2015, Gray died of a spinal injury. Gray, along with Tamir Rice, Michael Brown, and Eric Garner, joined the list of unarmed African-American citizens who died at the hands of police in recent years. Following Gray's coma and death, local residents wanted answers and accountability for what they felt represented an ongoing problem of police brutality and abuse of power. Activists came to Baltimore to bring national attention to Gray's death. Protests began on April 18th and continued days after Gray's death. The representation of the protests by television media portrayed the unrest as violent and chaotic. President Barack Obama called the isolated acts of violence during the protests as the work of criminals and thugs. Yet, he pointed out the media's failure to acknowledge those who were committed to positive change and dialogue.

Similar to the unrest of 2015, the Baltimore riots of 1968 following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., characterized Baltimore's African-American community as violent. Images used to describe the events told a destructive narrative. The aftermath of the riots caused \$12 million in damages to both public and private properties.¹ Both events pose two critical

¹ Police Department, City of Baltimore, Maryland, "1968 Riots," <http://archives.ubalt.edu/bsr/archival-resources/documents/baltimore-police-reports.pdf>.

questions – who tells the narrative, and how is that narrative written?

As Baltimore is only thirty-five miles south of the Mason-Dixon Line, and is considered the northernmost city in the South, the clash between public and historical memory has intensified. Like most cities in the South, monuments to confederate memory most notably characterize the exclusive history and past of Baltimore. In recent years, Baltimore and communities throughout the South have begun to contest these exclusive narratives. For example, following the unrest surrounding Freddie Gray's death, social media changed the way community members and activists chronicled the event. Much like the Arab Spring in Egypt and Tunisia, images and information during the 2015 Baltimore uprising were disseminated on social media platforms like Twitter. In the local Mt. Vernon community of Baltimore, residents began a fundraiser to construct a monument to the actress and gay icon, Divine. The effects of the 1968 riot are still being explored and challenged in a variety of ways that had not been done before. The use of oral history methods offers different perspectives on the events of 1968.² These efforts challenge the dominant narratives and shift the power of whom and how they are written, constructed, and told.

Amid these contested memories, Baltimore, Maryland served as the setting for this year's conference for the National Council on Public History (NCPH). The majority of sessions, discussions, and poster presentations were connected by this year's theme – "Challenging the Exclusive Past." Although Baltimore was selected three years in advance, with no way of knowing that the conference would follow just a year after Baltimore became the center of national attention once again (much as it had in 1968), the combined history and recent events made the city an ideal location for a conference organized around this theme. Over the course of four days, conference attendees participated in workshops, networked, and went on tours. Sessions provided attendees an opportunity to hear about various public, oral, and digital history projects from around the country.

Ideas, minds, and challenges all convened at the Public Plenary – *The Uprising in Focus: The Image, Experience, and*

² Jessica Elfenbein, Elizabeth Nix, and Thomas Hollowak, eds., *Baltimore '68: Riots and Rebirth in an American City* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011).

History of Inequality in Baltimore on Friday March 18th, hosted at the Ebenezer AME Church. Elizabeth Nix, Assistant Professor of History at the University of Baltimore, moderated the plenary. The panelists included Devin Allen, a local photographer whose work on the Baltimore uprisings of 2015 was featured on the cover of *TIME* magazine. J.M Giordano is a local photojournalist and Al-Jazeera contributor who covered the 2015 uprisings. Paulo Gregory Harris is a local community member and director of the Ingoma Foundation who had been concerned about the contentious relationship between the community and the police force before the uprisings. The panel also featured Devon Wilford-Said who in 1968, at fourteen years old, experienced the unrest firsthand. Finally, Robert Birt, a philosophy professor, who also shared his experience about the 1968 unrests in Baltimore.

The plenary conjured up echoes and memories that transcended Baltimore history. The issues that occurred in 1968 and 2015 share the unjust representation of a community by a mainstream majority that ignored their narratives and experiences. Both events had different circumstances, yet the causes of civil unrest and discontent have remained the same. The 1968 riots were triggered by the assassination of King, but in official state reports, the unrest had its foundations in the discrimination, poverty, and unemployment that plagued the African-American community.³ The trigger for the 2015 uprising laid in Gray's death, but the history of discrimination and poverty in Baltimore affected the unrest as it did in 1968. Unlike the riots of 1968, the 2015 uprising became chronicled immediately. Platforms like Twitter provided an initial archive, but soon after the unrest, the website, www.baltimoreuprising2015.org, served as digital repository and archive. The website aims to preserve the multiple perspectives of the complex narrative that occurred in April 2015.

Devin Allen, who had no professional experience prior to the uprisings, photographed the events from his perspectives. Being a local, he knew the frustrations of the community and he experienced the abuse of power by authorities. Some of his photographs of the events were ultimately published by *TIME* magazine. His testimony, along with the other community panelists provided the perspectives of complex historical memories. These

³ Police Department, City of Baltimore, Maryland, "1968 Riots," <http://archives.ubalt.edu/bsr/archival-resources/documents/baltimore-civil-disturbances.pdf>.

crucial dialogues were indicative of the conferences' themes, as they challenged privilege and exclusive narratives.

Sessions like, "Not Lost and Not Forgotten: How to Help Cultural Communities Preserve Their Sacred Traditions and Sacred Spaces," facilitated by Marian Carpenter of the Delaware Historical & Cultural Affairs, followed the plenary's idea of letting the community speak for itself. The project presented involved the preservation of the musical traditions of the African American singing and praying bands of Maryland and Delaware through oral history and archive methods while addressing the challenge of the oral historian as an "outsider." The session brought in the actual singing and praying band of Maryland. Headed by Pastor Jerry Colbert, the praying band, made up of 15-20 men and women, passionately sang one of their prayer songs. Pastor Colbert and panelist, Anthony Johnson, headed the roundtable discussion after the presentation. The panelists emphasized that the prayer band were not performers, but rather they interpreted themselves as being living history.

"After Charleston: Exploring the Fate of Confederate Monuments in America" used the recent controversies surrounding the calls to take down confederate monuments. The panelists explored possible solutions and middle ground that could ease the heightened emotions brought on by the complex memories of the monuments. Session attendees publicly noted that the session was problematic. Some felt as though the underlying issue of race had been completely ignored. Others called for a complete destruction of confederate monuments. One attendee posed the issue of an all-white panel addressing a predominantly white audience. The session proved to be a clash of ideas, political aims, and even perhaps generational shifts within the field. It further revealed that solutions to the controversies of confederate monuments remain stagnant due to the complex emotions and ideas that such dialogues invoke.

The issue of race raised at the confederate monument session did bring up an important question at the conference – how does the public history field address the issues of underrepresentation of marginalized groups? To work with underrepresented communities, public and oral historians must be careful in how they exhibit or write the narratives of those communities. Trust is most often a primary component and must be established between historians and communities before a project

begins. However, that leaves the question – how does the field address underrepresentation from within?

In 2008, the NCPH conducted a survey of public history professionals. From the 3,800 participants, 88.5% identified as white, 7% self-identified “of color” (a term that encompassed Native-American, Hispanic/Latino, Asian or Pacific Islander, Black, and Multiracial), 4.5% did not choose to answer.⁴ Because of the stark lack of racial diversity in the profession, a working group formed, titled “How Do We Get There? Racial and Ethnic Diversity in the Public History Profession,” organized by Modupe Labode, Assistant Professor of History and Museum Studies at Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis, and Calinda Lee, historian at the Atlanta History Center. The group set out to discuss possible solutions to the lack of diversity within the field, such as scholarships for students to attend annual NCPH meetings and maintaining relationships with other organizations and their approach to diversity. The most important solution proposed was that of the NCPH taking an active role in supporting and sustaining diversity initiatives.⁵ This focus is evident in many of the post-2008 survey conference themes, such as “Crossing Borders/Building Communities” in 2011 and “History on the Edge” in 2015.

Most importantly, the NCPH remained committed to finding solutions to the issue by supporting the ad-hoc committee, Diversity Task Force, which formed in 2015. The task force is co-chaired by Brian Joyner of the National Park Service and Kristine Navarro-McElhane of Arizona State University. Its other members include Modupe Labode, Alima Bucciantini of Duquesne University, Mary Rizzo of Rutgers University-Newark, Kathleen Franz of the National Museum of American History, Aleia Brown of Middle Tennessee State University, and myself. The task force aimed to challenge issues of representation that go beyond issues of race. The broad term “diversity” encompasses gender, disabilities, identity, race and sexuality. Initially, the goals of the task force aimed to remedy the issue of underrepresented groups within the field by promoting discussions surrounding the issue.

⁴ NCPH, “A Picture of Public History Preliminary Results from the 2008 Survey of Public History Professionals,” *Public History News* 29, no. 4 (Sept. 2009): 1-20, <http://ncph.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/12/2009-September-Newsletter-Compressed.pdf>.

⁵ Ibid.

As discussions and inclusive conference themes proved to not be enough, the task force organized an “un-conference” in Baltimore. The un-conference was scheduled at the Teavolve restaurant in the Fells Point area near the Inner Harbor, and served as a relaxed way to network with other conference attendees who were committed to the same issues. Attendees who identified as members of marginalized groups, and/or of color, were able to share more than just ideas on how to rectify the issue. They were able to connect with one another based upon shared experiences. From isolation to tokenism, graduate students, professionals, and scholars found a safe and open space at the un-conference to bring forth underlying issues of race, exclusivity, and privilege that affect the field.

The task force also organized a social media component to the discussions taking place at the conference. To amplify the goals and discussions of the task force, Aleia Brown hosted a twitter chat on Thursday March 17th.⁶ The twitter chat, #HistoryinMyImage, kept those who could not attend the conference included in the conversations. Attendees and those at home could also join twitter conversations about conference sessions. Twitter has proven to be a powerful digital tool for the NCPH. It not only keeps graduate students and professionals connected, but the dissemination of information and ideas between emerging and established scholars keeps dialogues open, transparent, and active.

The panel that I facilitated, “Public Historians of Color: Challenging the Profession,” alongside my fellow panel participants Camille Bethune-Brown of the American University, Ashley Bouknight of The Hermitage: Home of Andrew Jackson, Amber Mitchell of Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis, and LaQuanda Walters Cooper of the University of Maryland, Baltimore County, also became archived on the *Storify* platform.⁷ The panel continued the conversation that Labode and Lee had started at the 2009 conference. It confronted the issues of graduate student recruitment and its practices, rethinking the public history “pipeline,” and diversifying the established public history

⁶ “#HistoryInMyImage Twitter Chat (with Images, Tweets) - BetterGuyX,” *Storify*, <https://storify.com/BetterGuyX/getting-started>.

⁷ “Public Historians of Color #s29 #NCPH2016 (with Images, Tweets) - Anichellemitch,” *Storify*, <https://storify.com/anichellemitch/public-historians-of-color-s29-neph2016>.

literature to include historians and scholars that write on or identify as members of marginalized communities specifically.

As an undergraduate student, facilitating the panel was a nerve-wracking experience. As a future scholar, however, it proved to be a positive and rewarding introduction into the field. I am not only in debt to the valuable connections I made at last year's conference in Nashville, but my public history preparation also contributed to my determination in putting this panel together. Since being introduced to the study at the undergraduate level, it has exposed me to various options within and outside the field. It has taught me practical skills such as grant writing, and introduced me to project management. Most importantly, it gave me the confidence to openly discuss issues concerning race and identity and how they intersect with our academics, our work, and our projects.

This year's NCPH conference provided valuable platforms for different groups, people, and ideas. Diversity, representation, and contested memories are issues that, like confederate monuments, will not be resolved easily or soon. It is a gradual and ongoing process that can only succeed with proactive efforts of NCPH members. Assembling groups like the Diversity Task Force is one approach, and being inclusive of diverse projects and themes is a step in the right direction for the council. Public historians often commit themselves to public causes and shared authority; this year's conference proved true to that spirit.

Author Bio

Currently, Blanca Garcia-Barron is a public and oral history major, and is finishing her last quarter at CSUSB. In the fall of 2016, Blanca will begin a doctorate program at the University of Texas, El Paso. UTEP's unique concentration in the history of the U.S. Borderlands will offer Blanca an opportunity to continue her research in local and national Mexican-American history, social movements, and community formation. Blanca's studies at CSUSB were integral in preparing her to advance to not only graduate study, but doctorate level studies as well.



Reviews

Comparative Book Review: *Chopsticks and The Land of the Five Flavors*

By Jacob P. Banda

Food and foodways provide a valuable window into Chinese history and culture. Scholars have, until recently, not sufficiently explored them as great potential frameworks for analyzing Chinese history. They are rich potential sources of insights on a wide range of important themes that are crucial to the understanding of Chinese society, both past and present. Historians have tended to favor written sources and particularly those of social and political elites, often at the expense of studying important cultural practices and the history of daily life. The creative use of unconventional sources can reward the scholar with a richer view of daily life, with food and foodways as one of the most important dimensions. From class distinctions and wealth disparity in Chinese history, to essential themes of regional diversity and cultural transformation over time, to global flows of ideas and culture, studying Chinese food and foodways provides an urgently needed addition to our understanding of China.

In recent years, there has been a gradual increase in the serious scholarly attention to the history of food and its importance as a reflection of cultures and societies. This review acknowledges the efforts of two such scholars in their rich explorations of food in China, namely, Q. Edward Wang in his book *Chopsticks: A Cultural and Culinary History* (Cambridge, 2015), and *The Land of the Five Flavors: A Cultural History of Chinese Cuisine* (Columbia, 2013) by Thomas O. Höllmann. These two books examine the distinctive taste of Chinese food and the quintessential Chinese eating utensils, and the culture surrounding them. The authors engage the reader with works that are both lively and scholarly. Wang and Höllmann also pay particularly close attention to current political, social, economic, and cultural trends to make

their analyses relevant to the reader interested in China today. Issues like income or wealth disparity, cultural identity, and others ring true and reflect the authors' awareness of current issues in China.

In *Chopsticks: A Cultural and Culinary History*, Wang takes us on a journey through time starting in the Neolithic Age, sometime between 6600 and 5500 BCE, with the discovery of bone sticks that were found in the ruins of tombs at Longqiuzhuang, in what is today Gaoyou, Jiangsu Province.¹ Some believed them to be just a couple of old hairpins, but after further examination they were determined to be eating utensils, since they were found symbolically placed near the hands of the deceased as opposed to near the head. However, it was during the Bronze Age, during the Shang Dynasty (ca. 1600–1046 BCE), that the use of chopsticks became more common in the preparation and consumption of everyday meals.

The bone chopsticks were not the only type of chopsticks found while excavating ancient tombs in China. Archeologists also found gold, jade, ivory, and metal chopsticks.² Of course, there have been no discoveries of the bamboo and wooden chopsticks that most peasants were using in this period, since most artifacts made from those materials have naturally decayed over the centuries. However, as Wang notes, there are many cases in recorded history by the Han imperial historian, Sima Qian (ca. 145–86 BCE) and others that refer significantly to chopsticks.

For example, one colorful figure in Wang's narrative is that of King Zhou (1105–1046 BCE) the last ruler of the Shang. The later philosopher and political strategist, Han Feizi (ca. 280–236 BCE), wrote of the extravagant excesses that the Shang king used to show off his wealth. Han Feizi writes of King Zhou's luxurious tastes, which, in the traditionally moralistic Chinese telling of history, caused the downfall of the Shang.³ King Zhou's ivory chopsticks figure prominently in this account, though elephants were nowhere to be found in the Shang realm of northern China. This conspicuous consumption by corrupt kings and elites has echoes in China today, where party officials and wealthy business people have been accused of throwing lavish banquets, often at the

¹ Q. Edward Wang, *Chopsticks: A Cultural and Culinary History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 2.

² *Ibid.*, 18.

³ *Ibid.*, 68.

government's expense, and at the expense of the people of China. Wang's analysis is timely in pointing out that food can be an economic battlefield where the excesses of the wealthy arouse the fury of the common people. This is as true today as it was in China's imperial past, and the elites of China would do well to note Wang's analysis.

Another example comes in the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE), when Sima Qian wrote of Liu Bang, who would become the first Han emperor, Han Gaozu. In this example, Liu agreed with a counselor on a flawed plan of military action to be taken to seize power from the ruling dynasty; but it was another trusted advisor that changed Liu Bang's mind, using chopsticks as a metaphor to make his point. It was this advisor's plan of action that ensured victory for Liu. Wang deftly incorporates dimensions of military history here, using his exploration of chopsticks as a window on this aspect of Chinese history.

It was in the Late Zhou that we see chopsticks becoming more of an eating utensil and not only used for cooking, which had been their first recorded use. Chopsticks had been used by cooks to avoid burning their fingers in the kitchen when sampling a tasty morsel from a hot pot, be it a stew of vegetable or venison, longhaired buffalo, or unborn leopards.⁴ Of course, meat of any kind was a luxury item usually reserved for the rich. That is why the elites were last to conform to only using chopsticks, because knives were needed to cut meat, and that was something the poor did not usually have. The poor typically ate grains such as millet and rice, as well as vegetables as their main source of nutrition.

However, one could point to Confucius (551–479 BCE) and his followers as the reason for the total change of how one conveys their food from plate to mouth. In the *Classic of Rites*, enshrined by Confucius as one of the most important texts in China for centuries to come, the text advocates eating with proper manners by which one is to eat smaller portions and not have large, uncut chunks of meat on one's plate. Not only is it easier to grasp the smaller pieces of food, but in this view, one also looks less barbaric eating small morsels than trying to pull apart a huge piece of pork or cut up any of the many types of fowl living in China. In the years that followed, food would be cut and prepared in small morsels before being served, and this promotion of proper etiquette

⁴ Ibid., 37.

helped popularize chopsticks. This preparation of most Chinese food continues to this day, precluding the need for knives on the table.

Wang writes of the differences of chopsticks, noting that one can tell where the chopstick is from by just looking at it. Long and pointy? They come from Japan. Metallic and used with a spoon? Korea,⁵ and as for your everyday run-of-the mill type of bamboo or wood? China and Vietnam. Moreover, Vietnam is the only South East Asian country to use chopsticks as their main culinary tool to convey food. However, Wang reminds us that chopsticks are not just for eating. They are used in religious ceremonies, and as gifts at weddings and for the birth of children. Chopsticks are seen as a metaphor for life and companionship, namely, that one cannot do all the work alone (as a single chopstick), but rather one needs the other to accomplish life's goals!⁶ In bringing in this aspect of the analysis, Wang grounds his study in the daily cultural practices of everyday Chinese. The anthropological element here is rich and bypasses the reliance on the elite, and often elitist written sources, of ancient China.

Wang finds that chopsticks are to be respected not just seen as expendable. In the west, they also bridge the gap between cultures. Everyone likes to take a shot at using chopsticks either for fun or for impressing a friend. The easy disposal of chopsticks, however, is also hurting the environment with numbers ranging as high as 3.8 million trees cut down so that China, Japan, Korea, and the U.S. all have disposable chopsticks, which contributes to deforestation in China and around the world. Each year some 10,800 square miles of forest are destroyed leading some manufactures to start using other materials for making chopsticks.

Wang's work is extremely effective in demonstrating that this crucial component of Chinese culture can help us trace Chinese identity not only within its borders, but also far beyond and around the globe. Today, chopsticks are common as the main eating utensil in China of course, but also in Korea, Japan, and Vietnam, as well as being commonly used by millions every day around the world. This indicates not only the longevity of Chinese identity, or acceptance of Chinese culture, but rather the global influence of a pan-Chinese culture that is today free of the political boundaries of Chinese regimes.

⁵ Ibid., 72.

⁶ Ibid., 98.

Thomas Höllmann starts *Five Flavors* with a quote from a famous Chinese writer named Lin Yutang (1895-1976). Lin wrote in his book *My Country and My People*, “If there is anything we [Chinese] are serious about, it is not religion or learning, but food.” Reading Hollman’s book, one realizes that we as Americans are missing out on what Chinese food really has to offer. *Five Flavors* introduces the many fantastic delicacies that China has brought to the table, as well as its diverse and brilliant cooking techniques.

The careful reader finds, though, that *Five Flavors* focuses almost exclusively on what the elites of China consumed on a daily basis, and we learn little of what the great majority of the population were making for themselves to eat. This is one significant blind spot in Höllmann’s otherwise outstanding book, and a more rustic companion volume to *Five Flavors* that introduces the cuisine of the wider population might also make for a delightful read! As it stands, Höllmann’s work offers a visceral and rich depiction of Chinese dishes, even providing recipes along with the many insets and sidebars, and yet this reader found that his work neglects crucial aspects of social history that should have been within the purview of the study. While it is noted above that food and foodways are a valuable potential window into the study Chinese history and history more broadly, Höllmann still needs to be engaged with the critical issues of inequality of the time, since no analysis can exist in a vacuum. The growing wealth disparity that is such a pressing issue in Chinese society today was manifestly apparent in the historic moments of Höllmann’s analysis as well, but he is effectively silent on these.

An emphasis on the elite and sometimes exotic dining habits of China may be accused of falling back on an Orientalist perspective, to borrow a phrase from the great Palestinian scholar, Edward Said in his seminal 1978 work, *Orientalism* (Pantheon). An emphasis on the delectable and sometimes bizarre foods of the Chinese elites as noted above, can be in danger of engaging in exotic history, and Höllmann’s analysis can tread close to not only the exotic, but the exoticization and fetishization of Chinese cultural practices. As a German scholar, it is possible that Höllmann remains somewhat constrained by the old “Sinology” of his European predecessors, where there was an emphasis on the perceived strangeness and otherness of China within the non-European world. This residue of the European imperial past unfortunately is apparent in even the most recent scholarship from

many of the best China historians in that part of the world. While Höllmann's subject is inherently challenging to the sensibilities of the non-Chinese reader, he should be aware of this historical bias, and also note the more common and palatable daily foodways of the vast majority of the Chinese population, which would not seem strange or exotic to the average western reader.

In Höllmann's book, we also learn something of the politics of food in Chinese history, including the strict laws that dictated the handling and storage of all grains and cereals, and that violation of these laws came with serious consequences when the stored items either rotted or were taken over by pests. This insight to the importance of food and its preservation as enforced by the state shows a Chinese imperial government that placed food and its provision and storage high among its priorities. The magistrate's granary, where he stored the in-kind taxed wheat, sorghum, millet, and other grains, is in Chinese political history a symbol of imperial control, and can be an indicator of the political health of a regime. A traditional symbol of political success and economic plenty was an overflowing granary, with seeds pouring out the cracks in the walls, and grain sprouting around the structure. An empty granary, or one with rotting grain inside, on the other hand, was a symbol of either incompetence or corruption on the part of the local magistrate, and perhaps even an indictment of the dynasty's very legitimacy.

Höllmann provides an amusing insight into regional diversity in China. One of the most significant misperceptions about China on the part of too many foreigners is the profound diversity of cultures within its borders. From the earliest records of Chinese history up to the present day, China's many regimes have included hundreds and perhaps thousands of different languages, political identities, and daily cultural practices, including foodways. The considerable myopia on the part of many non-Chinese people in seeing China as homogeneous is a debilitating misunderstanding of the most populous country on the planet. The misperception of China as a monolithic cultural zone fails to consider the cultural and ethnic diversity of the enormous country. From Mongols in the north, to Uighurs and Tibetans in the west, to the Dai, Li Zhuang, Hakka, and dozens of other groups, China has always been a rich and complex cultural tapestry. Too many foreigners see China as a place dominated by a single ethnic group, namely the Han, who make up the majority of the population.

These regional divisions, often unappreciated by foreign observers of China, are treated well in Höllmann's book, and in his work, they are reflected in the way that people around China poke fun at the eating habits of those in other regions. This is best summed up with a saying that the people of Beijing like to use in referring to the southerners of Canton (Guangzhou), namely that they eat everything with four legs except for tables.⁷ The Cantonese, however, for their part, also have a modern reply, saying that the people of Beijing "eat all that flies and swims as long as they're not planes and submarines."⁸ The consumption of dog in the north and snake in the south, for example, are not considered edible in the other region.

Höllmann's book takes the reader through countless aspects of Chinese food. From food preservation and storage and the government's role in its regulation, to the profound cultural diversity of China as reflected in its wide-ranging cuisines, Höllmann's book has a remarkable scope. He even provides the reader with glimpses into the taverns and teahouses, and leaves little to question in terms of his methodology and engaging writing. The reader even takes a trip to modern China to learn of the westernization that is influencing China by way of fast food, and its impact on China's rising middle class.

Using food as a way to study a society as a whole is an essential way to see the inner workings of its culture and of its transformation over time. These books are a great contribution to the field of Chinese history, and they are a welcome addition to the serious academic conversation developing around food and foodways. The serious student of Chinese history can find a rich trove of leads for further exploration in both primary and secondary sources throughout these two books. Taken together, they represent a notable recent interest in food and foodways in Chinese history, and they stand as rich and engaging introductions to the subject. While not exhaustive, they serve to introduce the reader to important current themes in understanding China and Chinese culture, and they add an important dimension to the study of Chinese history and the study of daily life in history.

⁷ Thomas O. Höllmann, *The Land of the Five Flavors: A Cultural History of Chinese Cuisine* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 11.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 10.

Book Review: *Bricktop's Paris: African American Women in Paris between the Two World Wars*

By Angela Tate

For Americans, Paris holds the promise of creative freedom, culture, egalitarianism, and beauty. Thomas Jefferson discovered this in the eighteenth century; Edith Wharton in the nineteenth century; and the Lost Generation – Hemingway, Fitzgerald, Stein – in the twentieth century, after the devastation of the First World War.

For African-Americans, Paris has *literally* held the promise of freedom. Thomas Jefferson experienced many sleepless nights when James and Sally Hemings discovered they were free the day Jefferson brought them to Paris. Over one hundred years later, African-American soldiers and stevedores landed “over there” to fight the Germans, and discovered French people’s eagerness to snub the A.E.F.’s racist mandates against fraternization. T. (Tracy) Denean Sharpley-Whiting, a Gertrude Conaway Vanderbilt Distinguished Professor of French and African American and Diaspora Studies at Vanderbilt University, continues and hones the conversation about African-Americans in twentieth century Paris initiated by the following texts: Tyler Stovall’s *Paris Noir: African Americans in the City of Light*; Theresa Leininger-Miller’s *New Negro Artists in Paris: African Americans in the City of Light, 1922–1934*; William Shack’s *From Harlem to Montmartre: A Paris Jazz Story*; and Michel Fabre’s *From Harlem to Paris: Black American Writers in France, 1840–1980*.

African-American women, according to Sharpley-Whiting, discovered a freedom in Paris particular to their race, class, and gender. *Bricktop's Paris* presents the story of twenty-five black women for whom Paris, between the years 1919-1939, played a “singular role in the shaping of their lives as women, as a community, and as American artists, writers, and thinkers.”¹ By making Ada “Bricktop” Smith, a cabaret singer and nightclub owner who lived in Paris from 1925 to 1940, the focal point, *Bricktop's Paris* is provided with a stable character around which

¹ T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting, *Bricktop's Paris: African American Women in Paris between the Two World Wars* (Albany, NY: Suny Press, 2015), 24.

the *dramatis personae* – many of whom were prevented from a prolonged stay by economic and racial barriers – can naturally revolve. These black women found a community, a post office, job opportunities, connections with the Who's Who of the Lost Generation, and even a kitchen, as in the case of singer Ethel Waters, who wearied of Parisian food and used the nightclub's kitchen to cook her favorite Southern dishes after performances, at Bricktop's.

Sharpley-Whiting breaks the book into five themed sections: "Les Dames, Grand and Small, of Montmartre: The Paris of Bricktop," "The Gotham-Montparnasse Exchange," "Women of the Petit Boulevard: The Artist's Haven," "Black Paris: Cultural Politics and Prose," and "Epilogue: Homeward Tug at a Poet's Heart—The Return." These sections follow Bricktop and other black female entertainers, writers, and artists in Paris, the Pan-African movement within the context of Paul Robeson's wife, Eslanda, whose writing focused on a specific notion of Black Paris that was both American and African/Colonial, and the forces that pushed most of them back to America—Hitler's invasion of France in 1940 being the most pressing.

Though there is considerable overlap in the relationships between the twenty-five women, the connection to Ada "Bricktop" Smith grows nebulous in chapter three, titled "Women of the Petit Boulevard: The Artist's Haven," which focuses on artists Lois Mailou Jones, Selma Hortense Burke, Augusta Savage, and Nancy Elizabeth Prophet. This chapter also breaks with the slightly exuberant tone of Bricktop's story, particularly in the case of Prophet, who suffered from acute poverty and starvation, and struggled to secure funds to pursue her art overseas. Prophet, like Anita Thompson Reynolds, who is briefly profiled in the chapter about writers, is also the most adamant about not being classified as "Negro" in identity and in artistic production. This refusal to be labeled outside of the United States creates a tension between the overall argument of *Bricktop's Paris*, and presents another argument about race, identity, and place that is not fully explored.

Ultimately, the African-American women abroad obtained just a taste of freedom from Jim Crow America. Precarious finances, family obligations back home, and an increasingly chilly atmosphere towards foreigners often burdened their experiences in interwar Paris. Sharpley-Whiting nevertheless succeeds in her goal of restoring these women to the historical narrative of Americans

in Paris, in spite of their unique challenges due to their race, class, and gender. To fully reinforce this restoration, Sharpley-Whiting devotes the second half of *Bricktop's Paris* to an engaging mystery narrated by Ada "Bricktop" Smith. She plays with public memory and the power of place in 1920s Paris much in the manner Woody Allen's 2011 film *Midnight in Paris*, which Sharpely-Whiting points out in the introduction, merely alludes to Chez Bricktop's and Josephine Baker.

Bricktop's Paris is a robust vignette of biography and place, enhanced by the colorful and indomitable personality of Ada "Bricktop" Smith. The myriad of layers of these women's experiences that Sharpley-Whiting uncovers deepens the perspectives of African-American women in the global community, as well as the unique intersection of race, class, and gender with identity in specific places. The text is augmented by maps, illustrations, and photographs, which lend a material texture to these women and the places they created and gathered, and what they produced.

Author Bio

Angela Tate is a senior at California State University, San Bernardino, and is a double major in the fields of public history and American studies. She has interned at various museums, archives, and cultural heritage sites since transferring to CSUSB in 2014, and plans to continue her research in material culture, public history, historic preservation, social justice, and heritage studies at the doctorate level in graduate school.



Exhibition Review: Mount Vernon: Baltimore's Historic LGBT Neighborhood

By Amanda Castro and Blanca Garcia-Barron

Before John Travolta played Edna Turnblad in the 2007 remake of John Waters' *Hairspray* (1988), the actress known as Divine played the famous role first. Divine, born Harris Glen Milstead, had been John Waters' muse for twenty years prior to his most famous and successful film, *Hairspray*, in 1988. As a filmmaker, Waters has had a reputation for making underground satirical films set in the Baltimore, Maryland area that have often been deemed obscene. In the early 1960s and 1970s, Divine played many of the titular roles in films like *Pink Flamingos*, *Female Trouble*, and *Polyester*. Central themes of the films were fetishes, ennui in suburbia, and Baltimore. Deconstructed, Waters' films reflected an exaggerated portrayal of the repressive attitudes toward homosexuality and sex in 1950s America.

Both Divine and Waters grew up in Baltimore, and eventually became icons within the city and the gay community. Divine, widely regarded as one of the most recognizable drag queens, passed away in 1988. Waters continued to direct films well into the 2000s. He currently resides in Baltimore's Mount Vernon neighborhood. Not only did he film some scenes of his early films in Mount Vernon, he also first screened *Pink Flamingos* at the Emmanuel Church. Over the years, the cultural contributions of Waters and Divine within the neighborhood's community have been significant enough that local residents started a campaign to fund a monument, "A Divine Monument," dedicated to the memory of Divine and the legacy of John Waters' films. As of February 2016, the proposed monument received unanimous approval from the Public Arts Commission in Baltimore.¹

¹ "Divine Monument Gets Nod by Arts Panel," *Baltimore Brew*, February 18, 2016, <https://www.baltimorebrew.com/2016/02/18/divine-monument-gets-nod-by-arts-panel/>.



“A Divine Monument” flier, Photo by Blanca Garcia-Barron, 2016.

The historic Mount Vernon neighborhood in Baltimore currently stands as the cultural center of the city. It is home to the Walters Art Museum, The American Visionary Art Museum, and the prestigious George Peabody Library of the John Hopkins University. The architecture of the neighborhood consists of numerous churches erected in the 18th century that feature Neo-Gothic facades. At the center of the neighborhood is Mount Vernon Place, where the first and oldest George Washington Monument stands. The center includes four small square parks, and features other prominent monuments, such as the one dedicated to the Marquis De Lafayette, the French military officer who fought on the American side during the Revolution against the British.

Most notably, locals promote Mount Vernon as the “gayborhood” in Baltimore. The annual Pride festival takes place in Mount Vernon, and is home to many of the city’s most popular gay bars and businesses. Beyond the contributions of John Waters and Divine, Mount Vernon has a rich LGBT history and active

community. The neighborhood served as one of the walking tours offered at the 2016 conference of the National Council for Public History. The “Mount Vernon Pride Walking Tour,” provided conference attendees an opportunity to explore various places and events that shaped Baltimore’s diverse LGBT community. It was organized by Baltimore Heritage, Inc., and led by Kate Drabinski of the University of Maryland as well as other community members.



Historic Mount Vernon Square, Baltimore, Maryland, Photo by Amanda Castro, 2016.

One of the first sights of importance during the tour was the home of John Work Garrett, president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. After his death in 1915, his daughter, Mary Elizabeth Garrett, inherited the thirty-room mansion (no longer standing) located across Mount Vernon Place on Washington Monument Street. Garrett also inherited her father’s immense wealth that made her one of the richest women in the 20th century. Along with other wealthy elite women like Julia Rogers, Bessie King, Mammie Gwinn and Martha Cary Thomas, they helped establish the John Hopkins University School of Medicine in 1893. They had also helped to establish the Bryn Mawr School, a college preparation school for girls, in 1885 that currently stands in North Baltimore. Garrett, Gwinn, and Thomas were lesbians who used their wealth and family name to fund and promote women’s rights and education. Along with Rogers and King, the women had an

instrumental role in Hopkins being the first school to accept women.

Other historical homes of LGBT icons included the home of Gertrude Stein during her time at the John Hopkins School of Medicine. She attended the school in 1897 but left in 1901 after losing interest in the medical field, but most importantly, due to the anti-Semitism and sexist attitudes that persisted within the school. Stein was most famously part of the literary group, *The Lost Generation* that included Ernest Hemingway and F. Scott Fitzgerald during the 1920s. Her most famous work, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, was a memoir written in the perspective of her life partner, Alice B. Toklas. During her time in Baltimore, she rejected the gender conformities of femininity. One of her earliest books, *Fernhurst* (1904), is a fictionalized account a love triangle between Mary Cary Thomas, Mamie Gwinn, and Alfred Hodder, the latter who was a friend of Stein's.

The tour also focused on the political history of the LGBT community. Mount Vernon Place served as a pivotal site during the strife and fight for gay rights in the 1970s that has come to define a different aspect of public memory of the space. For example, The Washington Monument was at the center of rallies in 1975 and 1984. In 1975, the first pride rally was held at the foot of the Washington Monument. This rally centered on the attempts to pass a "gay-rights bill" in the Baltimore City Council. This bill would officially ban discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in housing, employment, and public accommodations for people in the LGBT community. The second major rally took place in September of 1984. A crowd of 300 gay rights supporters gathered in Mount Vernon Square in support of the 1975 bill. Some of the community members and supporters wore masks while participating in the rally. The demonstrators took the rally through the community and down to the Inner Harbor where they held a candlelight vigil in front of the Maryland Science Center. The struggle to gain basic human rights culminated in the City Council bill becoming law in May of 1988 with the help of Baltimore's gay and lesbian community members and its supporters. These two rallies are now seen as the foundational events in Baltimore for the annual pride celebrations and events that now take place every year in June.



Mount Vernon Place, Photo by Blanca Garcia-Barron, 2016.

At the center of the square of the Washington Monument, the juxtaposition of diverse historical and public memory contexts is indicative of the diverse history of the neighborhood. Different groups within the community have been able to claim a space and become more than symbolically visible. The history of women transcends Mount Vernon place, as they were responsible for the construction and inclusion of women at the Hopkins school. The area has remained the site of the annual gay pride celebrations and has hosted important rallies in the fight for equal rights in the last forty years. While it celebrates this history, colonial memory is represented through the various statues dedicated to Revolutionary and Civil War heroes. This coexistence defines the multiplicity of identities and meanings of various groups within the community. However, as popular and important the Mount Vernon neighborhood is, many of the older LGBT establishments and businesses have begun to close down. This has presented a new issue in the preservation of history within the community. As corporations begin to take over small businesses, the history and visibility of underrepresented groups, like the LGBT community, declines. Efforts to preserve and capture stories of important events, like the AIDS epidemic of the 1980s, are being aided by the Gay and Lesbian Center of Baltimore and the University of Baltimore.² New archives and oral histories that encompass stories

² Kate Drabinski, "Recording the Rainbow Revolution: As Gay Bars in Baltimore Shut Their Doors, Activists Work to Document LGBTQ History,"

of the fight for equal rights, discrimination, and how the 1980s AIDS epidemic affected Baltimore, take a conscious effort to preserve the history.

Physical sites of significance, however, are often times lost. The fight to save The Hippo bar in Mount Vernon proved to be a failure as CVS will be moving into the former bar. The bar opened in 1972 and became a center for political organizing and a safe space for the gay community. More than a bar, it helped fund numerous nonprofit causes, including early AIDS fundraisers. Although stories can be collected, and are valuable, physical spaces represent more tangible representations of public memory and history. It also allows different and underrepresented groups to be equally and visibly represented among the monuments honoring the dominant historical narratives.



The Hippo, as it stands today, Photo by Amanda Castro, 2016.

Conference attendees who participated in the walking tour were able to experience Baltimore through an interactive experience. The topics of LGBT local history, legacies of colonial history, and women's history within the Mount Vernon neighborhood came to life with the help of tour guides and

Citypaper.com, July 21, 2015, Baltimore City Paper,
<http://www.citypaper.com/news/features/bcp-072215-feature-preserving-lgbt-history-20150721-story.html>.

beautiful scenery. It is important to remember that without a walking tour, it would be difficult to get such rich information about the “Gayborhood.” Tours held by the Baltimore Heritage organization provide an insider’s perspective that is valuable to the work, history, and preservation efforts of various community groups. Inclusivity of public spaces is an important aspect of a community’s heritage and story. Historical organizations and cities must find a way to connect with the public, and more importantly, they must connect with their own community. The possibility of having a monument dedicated to the memory of Divine, a 300 pound drag queen, that would coexist with monuments of George Washington and Lafayette, would be a pivotal step in changing the historical landscape of Baltimore. Most importantly, it challenges communities and local governments on how they want to represent their history; it reframes and contests the question of *who* and *what* exactly deserves visible space.



Mount Vernon Place Methodist Church and Asbury House, Baltimore, Maryland, Photo by Blanca Garcia-Barron, 2016.

Author Bios

Amanda Castro received her Bachelor's degree from CSUSB in public and oral history. She is currently a graduate student at CSUSB in the social and behavioral sciences program with an emphasis in public history. In the fall of 2015, she became Project Manager at the Patton State Hospital Museum and Archive where she is helping to create an accessible archive for researchers. Amanda has an interest in community-based projects and outreach where her knowledge of public history helps to organize and carry out such projects.



Currently, Blanca Garcia-Barron is a public and oral history major, and is finishing her last quarter at CSUSB. In the fall of 2016, Blanca will begin a doctorate program at the University of Texas, El Paso. UTEP's unique concentration in the history of the U.S. Borderlands will offer Blanca an opportunity to continue her research in local and national Mexican-American history, social movements, and community formation. Blanca's studies at CSUSB were integral in preparing her to advance to not only graduate study, but doctorate level studies as well.

Exhibition Review: Two Prisons, One Goal: Using Memories to Reconcile the Past

By Bethany Burke

South Africa has undergone multiple forms of governmental control from British segregationism to apartheid, which left numerous people disenfranchised. It was not until 1994 that the country was able to start its reconciliation process. When Nelson Mandela was elected president of South Africa in 1994, the country underwent a drastic change. Not only did it adopt democracy as its main form of government, it also adopted a policy of “remembering.” According to Veronique Riouful, “in the ‘new’ South Africa, taming memories [remembering] means downplaying past divisions and conflicts and appeasing memories of suffering and hardship in order to foster reconciliation and transformation towards a more democratic, peaceful and unified South Africa.”¹ The process of remembering was done via the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The idea of truth and reconciliation was to publicly and overtly shed light on the violations of human rights in the past. The belief was that truth and reconciliation would allow for healing and movement toward a “new” South Africa. In light of this process, many projects have developed to remind people of the past. There are multiple museums, monuments, and other forms of art across the country dedicated to remembering.²

Between the 17th and 20th centuries, South Africa experienced constant power struggles between the Afrikaans, English-speaking, and African populations. Apartheid, which officially lasted from 1948 to 1994, was the period in which the white National Party held political power. Black South Africans and coloured peoples – i.e. people of ‘mixed’ decent – were separated, targeted, further disenfranchised and ultimately imprisoned. The number of human rights violations quickly accumulated, causing black Africans to find different ways to fight

¹ Veronique Riouful, “Behind Telling: Post-Apartheid Representations of Robben Island’s Past,” *Kronos*, no. 26 (August 1, 2000): 26.

² Joseph O’Reilly, “Memories in Transition: Memory and Museums in the ‘New’ South Africa,” *The Journal of Museum Education* 29 (Spring 2004): 12.

back. In the wake of apartheid, the “new” South Africa has used oral histories in conjunction with public spaces to heal, educate, and remember this sordid history.

This past summer I had the opportunity of a lifetime – to study abroad in South Africa. Having been a student of African history, getting the chance to travel to places I had studied was overwhelmingly exciting. The trip was a total of three weeks long. I spent the first two weeks in Cape Town and the last week in Johannesburg. Prior to the trip, I had taken a class specifically on apartheid, which gave me historical background. However, no amount of classroom education could have prepared me for the experience.

While in Cape Town, I visited many museums³ and historical sites, hiked Table Mountain and immersed myself in the culture. Much of the trip was an eye opening experience that was emotional and quite fulfilling. Similarly, while in Johannesburg, I visited multiple museums,⁴ went on a Safari and went on a tour of the township, Soweto. Of all the places we visited in Cape Town and Johannesburg, there are two that stuck with me – Robben Island and Constitution Hill. Both of these sites have been turned into “remembering” sites that take different approaches to truth and reconciliation.

The first historical prison, Robben Island, is located off the coast of Cape Town, South Africa in Table Bay. Robben Island is one of the notorious prisons in South Africa’s history. In 1488, the Dutch found Robben Island and used it as a docking station for ships to replenish their water and supplies. With a large amount of wildlife living on the island, visitors could hunt and gather the meat they needed in order to continue their travels. In 1652, the Dutch also established a refreshment station on the mainland. This also served as a stop for ships to dock at to replenish their supplies. Not only did the Dutch open a refreshment station, they also built homes and began to farm the land. However, in 1671, the Dutch started to use the island as a place to banish the criminals and undesired people.⁵ In 1812, after Britain took control of the Cape Colony, the island was used as a place to house the mentally ill,

³ District Six Museum, The Slave Lodge, and Robben Island are just a few of the museums I attended.

⁴ Constitutional Hill, Hector Pieterse Museum, and the Apartheid Museum.

⁵ "Robben Island," *Sahoboss*, accessed March 07, 2016, <http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/robben-island>.

lepers, the chronically ill, and other undesirables. This continued until 1961, when the “patients” were moved to the mainland, and during World War II, the island was used as a military storage area for guns. Thirty years later, Robben Island opened up as a prison once again, this time housing average criminals and political prisoners.⁶ The prison closed in 1991. Then, in January 1997, the Robben Island Museum (RIM) opened.⁷



Welcome sign on Robben Island, Photo by author, 2015.

The goal of the RIM is to recast the negative history of Robben Island into a positive one. Veronique Riouful argues that “the island is now mainly portrayed as a site of resistance to – and victory over – apartheid’s oppression and racism.”⁸ Changing the negative images of Robben Island was a large undertaking. In order to do so, it was imperative that the information presented focused on the positive achievements of the prisoners on Robben Island between 1961 to 1991. To achieve such change, the museum downplays the violence and human violations that took place on prison grounds. Instead, it discusses the way political prisoners joined together to help each other survive, keep hope, and grow individually and collectively.

On July 2, 2015, I went to Robben Island with one of the former political prisoners, Lionel Davis. Davis spoke on the tour about his experience working in the limestone quarries on the island. He briefly mentioned the hardship of such manual labor. In fact, his testimony was quite positive. For example, he describes a situation in which the political prisoners and guards were able to “work together.” He says that the guards were not familiar with

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Riouful, “Behind Telling,” 24.

⁸ Ibid.

political prisoners when the quarries first opened, and they thought that they could treat them the same way they do the criminal population. They would cite the prisoners for menial things like not working fast enough. However, because many of the prisoners were educated, when they went to the prison court they would win their case. When the prison guards realized that they could not treat the political prisoners in the same fashion as the criminal ones, they started to build a system of understanding. Davis says that the guards' inability to force labor on the prisoners led them to do less work, hold "class" and talk politics. Yet, if the guards' supervisors were to come around and see that the political prisoners were not working, the guards would get in trouble. Therefore, to benefit all involved the guards would use a code word when people approached the area and the prisoners would start to work. When the "coast was clear" they would go back to prior activities. Davis believes that during that time political prisoners, like Nelson Mandela, had the opportunity to learn how to work with people of multiple belief systems, races, and backgrounds. While Mandela served eighteen years on Robben Island, the informal education he received allowed him to grow into the leader South Africa needed. At the end of Davis' testimony, he says, "He [Mandela] called on South Africans to build a 'new' South Africa, but we cannot build a 'new' South Africa with pain, with bitterness, with hatred."⁹

This closing statement by Davis is an ideal statement of reconciliation. Former President Mandela saw this hope for a "new" South Africa as a way to move forward. Clifford Shearing and Michael Kempa discuss the use of hope to create the RIM. They argue, that "perhaps, it is appropriate to characterize the Robben Island Museum as an institution...that has worked to transform private and collective hopes into a public hope through drawing on and extending collective memory."¹⁰ It is clear that the use of memory has played a great part in the reconciliation process in post-apartheid South Africa. The RIM shows that a negative past can be transformed into a positive building block for a better future.

⁹ Lionel Davis (ex-political prisoner) during the tour of Robben Island with CSUSB South Africa study abroad students, July 2, 2015.

¹⁰ Clifford Shearing and Michael Kempa, "A Museum of Hope: A Story of Robben Island," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 592 (March 2004): 75.

Knowing the history of Robben Island and its sordid past, I had been excited to visit the monument. I do not want to say that I was disappointed, but the experience on the island was not the one I expected. I was expecting there to be a haunting feeling or a feeling that eluded to the tragedy that occurred here; this was void, at least for me. I thought that maybe walking through the cells of B-block would be the place for such feelings, yet again nothing. On reflection, I know it was the goal of the RIM to remove those negative, sobering, and haunting feelings from the prisons. The way that the creators of the museums use “remembering” play a large role on the experience of the visitors. I left feeling conflicted, I felt as though the void of true negative experience took something away from the people who were exiled from their lives. You miss the hardships of the prisoners and their families. There is a famous image of Mandela standing at the window of his prison cell in B-block, looking out toward the mainland, with a somber, longing expression on his face. This simple snapshot emotes the true story of Robben Island, for me, more than the actual tour of the prison did. Regardless of my disappointment, the experience was still spectacular, especially getting to have a personal tour from Lionel Davis.



The author with Lionel Davis, Photo by author, 2015.

The second historical prison, Constitution Hill, is located in the greater Johannesburg area. This area is a historical district in Johannesburg that has multiple heritage sites that pay homage to many of the struggles during apartheid. These sites include Constitution Hill, the Apartheid Museums, Kliptown in Soweto, as well as the Hector Pieterse Memorial. Constitution Hill sits on twenty-four acres, and is comprised of “various constitutional commissions, a public square, commercial and retail rental space, up-market residential apartments, and leisure and entertainment facilities, as well as the significant heritage components of various prison buildings.”¹¹ The area itself is impressive and shows the juxtaposition between the atrocities of “old” South Africa and the hope of “new” South Africa. The Constitutional Court became the new home of the constitutional judges on March 21st, 2004, Human Rights Day. Near the newly built Constitution Hill is the Old Fort Prison Complex. Currently, the complex includes the Number Four prison and the Women’s Jail.¹²

The Old Fort Prison was founded in 1893 by Paul Kruger, then, the President of the South African Republic (Transvaal) for the purpose of keeping *uitlanders* (foreigners) in line while they were on mining assignments. When the British raised the fort in 1896, the fort became a military base for the Boers. In May of 1900, the British took control of the fort and used it to imprison the Boer soldiers. Churchill Madikida, Lauren Segal, and Clive van den Berg state that this shift “marked the beginning of the long history of the Old Fort as a place of punishment, confinement, and abuse of prisoners of all political persuasions.”¹³

The Women’s Prison was used to house many women who protested the passbook laws and were in a conspiracy against the apartheid government. The museum of the Women’s Prison is very touching. The use of multimedia exhibits allows the visitor to understand the life of the women in the prison. The treatment of the women was inhumane and humiliating. For example, women were denied undergarments, so when a woman would start her

¹¹ Elizabeth Delmont, "Re-Envisioning Greater Johannesburg: South African Heritage Development in the First Decade of Democracy," *African Arts* 37, no. 4 (Winter 2004): 32.

¹² O'Reilly, "Memories in Transition," 14.

¹³ Churchill Madikida, Lauren Segal, and Clive Van Der Berg, "The Reconstruction of Memory at Constitution Hill," *The Public Historian* 30 (February 2008): 18.

menstrual cycle she would have to prove that she was bleeding to the guard.¹⁴ The length of the sentence determined how many pads a prisoner got. The pads were not accompanied by underwear; the women were required to hold them up between their legs, and if the pad fell, they would be hit. If a woman was lucky, she could steal shoelaces from the storeroom and use them to help hold the pad up.¹⁵ While walking around the Women's Prison you could feel the sorrow and pain of the women who had been housed there. It was haunting and depressing. When you walk in, the feeling in your chest becomes heavy, almost as if you were carrying the burden of the women who once spent time there. Much of the information in the exhibit were testimonies or biographies from prior prisoners. While their words were written down on plexiglass, you could somehow read the pain, the sorrow, the humiliation, and the rawness of their memories. This was the aim of the Women's Prison. They wanted to embrace the life of the women in these prisons; women like Albertina Nontsikelelo Sisulu, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, and countless others.



Women's sanitary pad from the Women's Prison, Photo by author, 2015.

After leaving the Women's Prison we went to the men's prison -- the Number Four prison. This section of the prison has held many political leaders including Mahatma Gandhi and Nelson Mandela. When entering the prison there was a sign above one of the doors that read, "It is said that no one truly knows a nation until one has been inside its jails."¹⁶ This statement is so powerful and speaks volumes about the people incarcerated for political reasons.

¹⁴ The Sanitary Pad, (Johannesburg, SA: Woman's Prison at Constitutional Hill), Museum exhibit label.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Door Way Quote, (Johannesburg, SA: Number Four Prison at Constitutional Hill), Museum exhibit label.

Like the tour of the Women's Prison, the men's prison left a very heavy feeling in my chest. As the tour continued, it became heavier and heavier. There was a haunting feeling as if you were standing among the prisoners. They slept in large crowded rooms, where "gangs" established sleeping patterns and would take blankets away from other prisoners to make themselves as comfortable as possible. We saw the courtyard where prisoners worked, showered, used the restroom, and spent most of their days. Men were humiliated and tormented by the white wardens of the prison. For instance, they were often watched while they used the restroom and showers. As we moved past the courtyard, we came to two rooms. The first was a room that displayed blanket sculptures. The room with these sculptures showed how prisoners could win the favor of the prison guards, even if it was for a short time. On Sundays, the prisoners would manipulate blankets into the shapes of tanks, couches, flowers, and other objects. Then the guards would come in and pick the best sculpture for the week. The prisoner who created that sculpture would win extra food for the week. Directly across from this room, inside, was a tall case with glass windows in it. Each window displayed a different "tool" used for torture. The feeling that you get when you look in the first glass window is heart wrenching. The case displayed items like chains, handcuffs, police batons, and a number of other devices associated with torture. I did not think that this place could emotionally and mentally weigh me down any further, but I was wrong.

The last place we visited in this Number Four prison was a hall entitled *Emakhulukhuthu* "Deep Dark Hole." This was a row of small cells with white doors and the smallest of windows on each, and in front of that door was a cell door. This was the place no one wanted to go. These isolation rooms were reserved for only the most extreme cases and for people who needed to be severely punished. A person in isolation would spend 23 hours inside the dark cell and was restricted to a diet of rice water. These rooms were home to prisoners from between a month to over a year.¹⁷

¹⁷ "*Emakhulukhuthu* 'Deep Dark Hole,'" (Johannesburg, SA: Number Four Prison at Constitutional Hill), Museum exhibit label.



Left: Open door to a cell in Emakhulukhuthu, Photo by author, 2015.

Center: Image of Emakhulukhuthu hall, Photo by author, 2015.

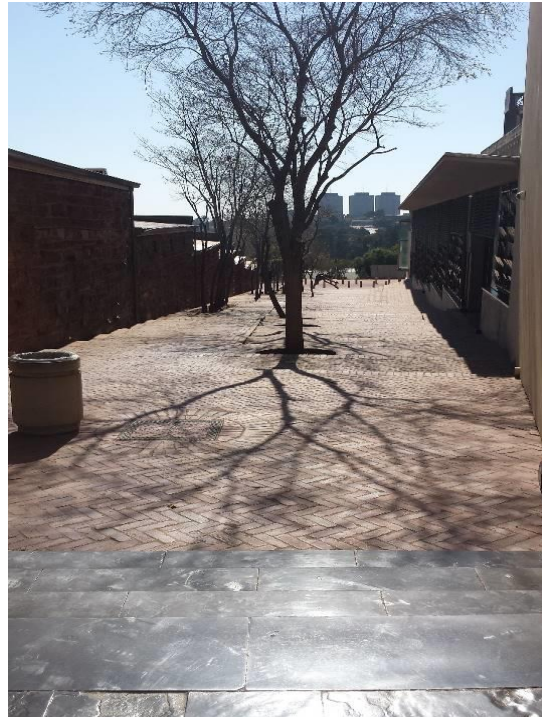
Right: Open metal cell door to a cell in Emakhulukhuthu, Photo by author, 2015.

When leaving the prison, we walked less than 100 feet to the doors of the Constitutional Court; the new court for handling cases to deal with human rights. The new court stands tall. The doors to the front are solid wood with the twenty-seven constitutional rights carved into them. Much of the front of the building is open glass window. Above the doors to the left, the words “Constitutional Court” are listed in the eleven official languages of South Africa. This building is meant to remind us that the past can repeat itself if we are not mindful. There is a walkway between the Constitutional Court, to the left, and the Number Four prison, to the right. This walkway was designed and built as a physical, metaphorical, and commutative walk that joins the past with the present. The Great African Steps were completed in 2002. The steps were made out of bricks that came from some of the building of the Old Fort.

Both of these heritage sites use remembering and personal testimony as a way to educate, heal, remind, and move forward from the past, and they do so in different ways. The museum at Robben Island takes the stories of past prisoners and puts their experiences in a positive light. It allows people to see, that even when there is an overwhelming amount of bad going on around you, there are still positive things the can come from it, like Mandela’s hope for a better South Africa. By downplaying the negative and horrible tragedies that happened during lock up, Robben Island almost becomes the symbol of hope for the “new”

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South Africa. Hearing testimonies from political prisoners like Lionel Davis, who give tours of the island, show visitors that even places that were often devoid of humanity did not take the humanity away from others. Without the hope of a better future, many of the prisoners on Robben Island may not have left with their humanity.



The Great African Steps, Number Four Prison (left) and Constitutional Court (right), Photo by author, 2015.

The heritage site at Constitutional Hill achieved the same remembrance but took a different approach. Both the Women's Prison and Number Four Prison were very haunting, depressing, disheartening, and heavy. Instead of using survivor testimony to reflect the positivity of the time spent behind these walls, the testimonies told a different story. The stories of the men and women who were housed in these prisons were brave, strong and revolutionaries, and reflected many pillars of political change. They tell stories of humiliation, dehumanization, and the violation of basic human rights. Visitors are able to enter the cells of the Women's Prison to hear and read the stories of the people who

slept in the cells, locked away. In the men's prison, visitors are able to go into the isolation rooms, to be in the darkness like those who were imprisoned there. No words can express the feeling of being in a place like the Number Four prison. If you can make it through the tour, visitors are rewarded with the visions of the "new" South Africa. Knowing that the Constitutional Court is housed so close to a place where human rights were violated on an enormous scale gives hope to visitors that the past will not be overlooked. The Great African Steps allow visitors to reflect on the past and hope for the future.

When Nelson Mandela became president of South Africa in 1994, he had big dreams. He hoped that he could rebuild a country that had been built on the disenfranchising of its people. His dream was to reconcile the differences of the South African people, and to do so he had to break the cycle of oppression. Sure, it would have been easy for the black Africans to take over and oppress the Afrikaners. However, Mandela knew that was not the change needed for his country. Truth and reconciliation were the first steps in changing the culture of the country. The key to the reconciliation process would be the stories of those who survived apartheid, places like Robben Island, and the Old Fort prison. The legacy of these brave survivors will live on to build a better future for the peoples of South Africa.

Overall, my time in South Africa was beyond words. This trip let me live and interact with people who experienced the struggles of apartheid first hand. It allowed me to experience the true South Africa, not the "Africa" that is shown in the media (in particular the western media). In the end, it made me want to continue my studying of African history – and gave me the confidence and passion to push forward.

Author Bio

Bethany Burke, a philosophy major at CSUSB, found her way to the history department in 2014 when she took one of Dr. Jones' African history classes. She had an interest in African history, primarily in the development of HIV/AIDS, when she started. She is currently minoring in history, spending the majority of her time studying African history. Bethany traveled to South Africa in the summer of 2015 and soon realized that she wanted to continue her studies in African-related topics. After graduation, she will be attending UCLA as a graduate student in the African studies program. Her hopes are to travel to East Africa as a graduate student, and to intern with non-governmental agencies that focus in partnering with African countries.



Film Review: *10 Days in a Madhouse*

By Lauren Adams and Brent Bellah

The 2015 film, *10 Days in a Madhouse*, written and directed by Timothy Hines, follows the story of Nellie Bly's time at Blackwell's Island Asylum in New York. Bly's investigative story defined the history of the world of mental illness for women in 19th century America. Nellie Bly was a young journalist in the late 1880s whose investigations exposed many of the atrocities against humanity at insane asylums. Her works provided insight into the lives of female patients at Blackwell's Asylum, which eventually led to reform of mental institutions by the United States government after the publication of her works. Her significance to the history of mental illness and feminism was tremendous, and her accomplishments made her a prominent figure of women's rights in the 19th century.

Director Timothy Hines attempted to portray her as a historic figure, but his film lacked the accuracy and the respect that should be attributed to someone who accomplished as much as Nellie Bly. Nellie Bly's story is complex, based on a true narrative, and it involves a sensitive subject. Bly's story should focus on her accomplishments and their processes, but instead, the director utilized a horror-esque style for many of the scenes. The amount of publicity this film gathered throughout social media, such as Facebook and Twitter, gave the pretense that this should have been a breakout film for Hines as a director. The previews for the film did not justify the film's vision the way Nellie Bly's 1887 memoir of the same name did for its readers. Hines failed to emphasize any of Bly's important accomplishments, and the film was historically inaccurate. The lack of effort inhibited Hines from creating an effectively substantial piece of history.

Most aspects of the film were less than satisfactory, but nothing could compare to the acting. The ensemble of actors seemed less experienced than those of a high school drama class. Caroline Barry, the star of the film (in her debut), was the most talented of them all, but her portrayal of an over-enthusiastic young Nellie Bly fell flat. Her emotions seemed forced and were reminiscent of a stage play rather than a film. The talents of Caroline Barry could not save the film from its cast of untalented

actors. The supporting characters, such as Blackwell's Asylum patients Tillie Mayard and Anne Neville, were portrayed by actresses that seemed very inexperienced. Their lackluster acting caused the characters to become unrelatable and unemotional. There was not much depth to any of the characters throughout the movie to enable viewers to sympathize with them. Most of the characters remained unmemorable, and any sympathy the audience was supposed to have for them in Bly's original narrative was erased.

At the beginning of the film, Bly feigned insanity in order to condemn herself to be institutionalized. This scene was comedic in tone, which seemed inappropriate to the theme of the film and Bly's original memoir. The actress used humorous noises and facial expressions in her attempts to appear "insane," which reinforced the idea that this part of the film was intended to be comical. Bly's memoir took this far more seriously.

I remembered all I had read of the doings of crazy people, how first of all they have staring eyes, and so I opened mine as wide as possible and stared unblinkingly at my own reflection. I assure you the sight was not reassuring, even to myself, especially in the dead of night. I tried to turn the gas up higher in hopes that it would raise my courage. I succeeded only partially, but I consoled myself with the thought that in a few nights more I would not be there, but locked up in a cell with a lot of lunatics.¹

In the book, Bly braced herself for her uncertain future in the asylum, where she knew patients were being treated inhumanely. This creative liberty on the part of the filmmakers was extremely inappropriate and unjust to Bly's legacy. While it was likely an attempt to add comic relief, feigning insanity to further a cause for human rights should not be viewed as humorous; it should have been portrayed with a serious tone.

In addition to the film's terrible acting, there were design choices that made it nearly impossible to believe the reality of Bly's story. The ghastliest decision in filming was the green screen

¹ Nellie Bly, *Ten Days in a Mad-House* (New York: Ian L. Munro Publishers, 1887), accessed April 08, 2016, <http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/bly/madhouse/madhouse.html>.

element. Although many films use green screens that aid in the setting and atmosphere of the movie, *10 Days in a Madhouse* used it so apparently that the film seemed cheap and lost its meaning. The actors' movements were not timed with the movements of the inserted background, which added to the cheap effect. The outlines of the actors in front of the green screen were also so apparent that they were obviously not in front of a physical background. Along with the green screen, the sound quality is awful, showing the lack of budget or artistic value chosen for the film.

The opening credits provided the audience with ominous music and creepy old pictures that had been animated, moving in an unsettling way. This introduction seemingly prepares the audience for a horror film, which is a stylistic element that a film dealing with the misunderstood subject of the history of mental health should shy away from. Nellie Bly's narrative was an attempt to expose the inhumane treatment of patients at Blackwell's Asylum. Her work should not be trivialized by including elements of the horror genre, such as ominous lighting, sounds, characters, and scenery. A specific scene involved a severely mentally disabled woman who stabbed a supervisor. Bly had a specific purpose for adding characters such as this to her story – to show that mentally ill people were not given the treatment they needed from the staff, and thus, reacted violently. The film portrayed some mentally ill people as fearsome beings, using them to add to the horror elements in the film. This problematic aspect of the film is potentially harmful to the already negative views of mental illness that exist within society.



An example of costumes worn in the film, Courtesy of <http://timothyhines.blogspot.com/2015/04/10-days-in-madhouse-nellie-bly-story-to.html>, 2016.

While the film attempted to follow the plot from the original narrative, the filmmakers did not seem to care about historical accuracy in the cases of the costume design. The

costumes were horrendous. Before going to Blackwell's, Nellie was seen wearing extravagant gowns made of polyester, which looked like they had been made by a Halloween party store, rather than designed by a professional costume designer. Caroline Barry's extremely cheap wig made the character look like a caricature of the woman she intended to portray. While the main character's clothing was accurate occasionally, some of the other articles of clothing were not accurate for the 1880s. Instead, the costumes resembled fashions of the 1910s, including a gown worn by the character of Louise Schanz who looked like she came out of a cheap, knock-off version of *Titanic* (1997). The director clearly misrepresented the attire the women wore while in the asylum. Bly stated in her book that the patients wore their actual dresses, which defined their waists and had full skirts. Instead, the patients in the film wore dirty looking hospital gown-like rags, which perpetuates the idea that insane asylums looked exactly like they do in horror movies, when many did not.



Example of clothing worn by patients, as illustrated in *Ten Days in a Mad-House*, 1887.

The costume design was not the only historical inaccuracy present in the film. The scenes that took place at Blackwell's Asylum were filmed at the Fairview Training Center in Salem, Oregon. This notorious institution for the developmentally disabled

was built in 1908 and is known as one of the cradles of eugenics.² The 1908 hospital was a mistake for historical accuracy. Blackwell's Asylum, where Bly's memoir takes place, was designed in the 1830s, and the architecture and interiors would have been entirely different from the ones displayed in the film. The whole building had been restyled for the film; the rooms were dark and dirty, lacking historical accuracy (due to the different eras of architecture), and extremely reminiscent of a horror film. It seemed as if a sadistic horror movie villain would pop out at any moment. Bly's narrative painted a different picture. She recognized the hopeless atmosphere of the asylum, but it was not the filthy place portrayed in the film. Upon her first glance, Bly described one of the patients' sitting rooms. "In the center of the room was a large table covered with a white bedspread, and around it sat the nurses. Everything was spotlessly clean and I thought what good workers the nurses must be to keep such order."³ This shows the blatant disregard on the part of the filmmakers to create a historically accurate setting. Instead of accurately portraying the asylum as described in the narrative, they chose to use a setting that created an atmosphere of horror, and helped perpetuate the stigma surrounding the history of madness.

Timothy Hines' stylistic choices did not fit in with the overall story, and showcased the lack of effort in portraying accurate historical events. Bly's experience in the asylum paved the way for increased rights for women and the mentally ill. The ending of the film seemed rushed, and the audience was left without the most important part of Bly's experience – her historic contribution to the rights of women and the mentally ill. There were short scenes of Nellie Bly attesting in court on behalf of the women in the asylum. A quick scene showed her trying to prove the experiences of the patients by showing judges what she had endured in the asylum, and another quick scene changed to everyone celebrating her successes. The ending continued to add small anecdotes of what she did later in her career, in an attempt to create a happy ending.

The film closes with a children's folk ballad, titled "Nellie Bly," by Ellis Paul. The song choice reiterated the poor quality of the entire film and left the audience desiring a refund. The lyrics

² "10 Days in a Madhouse (2015): Trivia," *IMDb*, accessed April 08, 2016, http://www.imdb.com/title/tt3453052/trivia?ref_=tt_trv_trv.

³ Nellie Bly, *Ten Days in a Mad-House*.

from the song repeat “Nellie Bly, Nellie Bly the world could be yours if you try, if you try.”⁴ The filmmakers obviously did not heed the song’s advice, as the film was nothing but a disappointment due to a large lack of effort. Timothy Hines’ version of *Ten Days in a Mad-house* could have been a great opportunity for a historically accurate film. However, his attempt was not successful. He directly stated in his personal blog that he wanted to follow the book exactly, which leaves no room for artistic liberty.⁵ However, his film reflected none of his visions for accuracy and displayed too much artistic liberty. There should be respect towards such an emblematic individual as Nellie Bly, who risked being permanently locked up at Blackwell’s Asylum to bring awareness to issues faced by women and the mentally ill. Hines’ version of Bly’s story did not reflect her work’s historical significance.

⁴ Ellis Paul, "Nellie Bly," accessed April 08, 2016, http://www.ellispaul.com/index.php?page=songs&category=The_Hero_In_You&display=5627.

⁵ “10 Days In A Madhouse - The Nellie Bly Story to Screen at Marché du Film Festival de Cannes,” *Timothy Hines’ Blog*, April 30, 2015, accessed April 08, 2016, <http://timothyhines.blogspot.com/2015/04/10-days-in-madhouse-nellie-bly-story-to.html>.

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Author Bios

Lauren Adams is working on two Bachelor's degrees in history and music. In history, she is focused on public and oral history while also pursuing a certificate in museum studies. While in music, her emphasis is on piano. Lauren hopes to graduate and transfer to UCLA where she will continue her education in library sciences. Her end goal is to work in music archiving or at a museum of music. Lauren is currently involved with two internships: The Dorothy Ramon Learning Center and the Water Resources Institute at the Palm Desert campus. She is honored to be contributing to the CSUSB student ran journal, *History in the Making*. Lauren wants to thank the history department (students, faculty, and staff) for their encouragement in pursuing her education. She would like to extend special thanks to Dr. Kevin E. Grisham and Dr. Thomas Long who have been extremely supportive mentors, as well as having helped her through her educational journey. In addition, she would like to thank her good friend Casey for accepting her awkward ways and stealing schedules the very first day they began at CSUSB (specifically for urging her to submit her work to the journal). She wishes to mention her family – mom, dad, and sisters for always supporting her in all of her decisions.



Brent Bellah will be graduating with his B.A. in public and oral history, and a certificate in museum studies, in June 2016. He was involved with the Patton State Hospital Museum, a mental health history museum that was created almost entirely by CSUSB students. He is very passionate about history and wishes to help change the way the world views mental health.

Editorial Staff

Heather Kaori Garrett served as Chief Editor of this year's volume of *History in the Making*. She graduated Magna Cum Laude from California State University, San Bernardino in June 2015, and holds a Bachelor of Arts in history. Prior to her attendance at CSUSB, Heather earned Associate of Arts degrees in both English and history from Crafton Hills College. Currently, Heather is working on her Master of Arts in social sciences and globalization, with an emphasis in history, and is employed as a Graduate Assistant and an Instructional Student Assistant at CSUSB. After she attains her M.A., Heather plans to continue her education in pursuit of a Ph.D., and later, to ultimately pursue a career as a university professor. Her academic interests focus on nineteenth and twentieth century American history, and include the ramifications of war on society and "otherization," as well as ethnic and gender histories.



Brittnie “Bunny” Anglin served as an editor and as Copy Editor for this year’s volume of *History in the Making*. Bunny is currently a public and oral history major at CSUSB. She received an A.A.-T. in history from Victor Valley College in 2014, and she hopes to continue on to a Master’s program after the completion of her Bachelor’s in the Spring of 2017. She is an avid reader and has volunteered at libraries and bookstores on several occasions. Her areas of interest include Anglo-Saxon history and medieval literature. Bunny hopes to work in a Special Collections department at a library or museum.



Brittnie “Bunny” Anglin



Bethany Burke

Bethany Burke, a philosophy major at CSUSB, found her way to the history department in 2014 when she took one of Dr. Jones’ African history classes. She had an interest in African history, primarily in the development of HIV/AIDS when she started. She is currently minoring in history, spending the majority of her time studying African history. Bethany traveled to South Africa in the summer of 2015 and soon realized that she wanted to continue her studies in African-related topics. After graduation, she will be attending UCLA as a graduate student in the African studies program. Her hopes are to travel to East Africa as a graduate student, and to intern with non-governmental agencies that focus in partnering with African countries.

Jamie Anton is an undergraduate student at California State University, San Bernardino and will be a senior at the end of the winter quarter. She is a history major with an emphasis in public and oral history. She plans to further her education by getting a Master's degree in political science and by traveling to Germany, England, and Greece, among other countries.

Katerina Fehlman is a senior at California State University, San Bernardino. She is majoring in history with a concentration in United States history. She has a passion for history and education, and she hopes to combine them into a teaching career. After graduation, Katerina plans to further her education by obtaining a Master's degree in education.



Katerina Fehlman

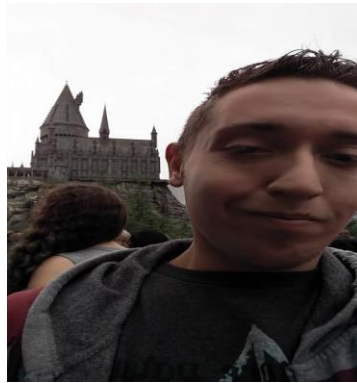


Blanca Garcia-Barron

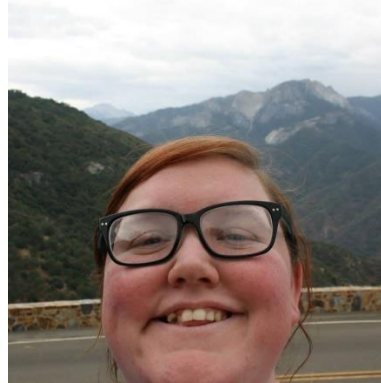
Currently, **Blanca Garcia-Barron** is a public and oral history major, and is finishing her last quarter at CSUSB. In Fall 2016, Blanca will begin a doctorate program at the University of Texas, El Paso. UTEP's unique concentration in the history of the U.S. Borderlands will offer her an opportunity to continue her research in local and national Mexican-American history, social movements, and community formation. Blanca's studies at CSUSB were integral in preparing her to advance to not only graduate study, but doctorate level studies as well.

Eric Lowe is a junior within the history department at California State University, San Bernardino, and a first year transfer student from Riverside Community College. This is his first editorial experience with an academic journal, and he is excited by this opportunity to be a part of *History in the Making*.

William Howlett is a father of two who graduated from California State University, San Bernardino in June 2014 with a Bachelor of Arts in history. During his undergraduate studies at CSUSB, William was awarded the honor of Dean's List twice and Dean's Honors List twice. He is currently pursuing his Master's degree in social sciences and globalization at CSUSB, and is working on publishing his thesis on the subject of Chinese hacker culture. William plans on pursuing his Ph.D. in history or sociology, continuing his research on cyber-warfare and hacktivism in China, with the goal of eventually becoming a university professor.



William Howlett



Casey Lee

Casey Lee is currently working on an undergraduate degree in public and oral history, and three certificates in museum studies, geographic information systems, and archaeology at California State University, San Bernardino. Her focus is in archival studies and Native American history. She is currently an intern at both the Dorothy Ramon Learning Center and the Water Resources Institute at Palm Desert. After graduation, she plans to obtain a Master's degree in information science and archival studies.

Alexis Justine Brooks is a graduate of California State University, San Bernardino's College of Business and Public Administration. She received a B.A. in business management, focusing on human resource management, and is now completing a M.A. in social science with an emphasis in globalization and economics. Her academic research interests are in the areas of organizational behavioral science, strategic management and global economic management.

Rafael Orozco graduated from California State University, San Bernardino in June 2016 with B.A.'s in both public and oral history, and art history, with a concentration in museum studies. He hopes to obtain a Master's degree in museum studies, and plans to pursue a Ph.D. in that field. He has been a part of the History Club at CSUSB, and is a member of the historical honor society, Phi Alpha Theta. He has also participated in the organization, Upward Bound, by assisting high school students in passing the A.P. history exams. He has studied at the University of Valladolid in Spain (2012), Dankook University in South Korea (2013), and at CSU-Florence, Italy (2014-15). He has also participated in an internship at Walt Disney World in Epcot during the fall quarter of 2013. He hopes to work for the Walt Disney Company's archives one day. He would like to thank Dr. Thomas Long for changing his life by giving him the idea to study abroad. He would also like to thank, Professor Mary Copland, Professor Edward Gomez, Dr. Cherstin Lyon, Dr. Jeremy Murray, Mr. Emilio Rodriguez, and Mrs. Amy Chien for making his college years an adventurous one.



Rafael Orozco



Elvis Rivera Salinas "E. J. Rivera"

Elvis Rivera Salinas is a senior undergraduate student at California State University, San Bernardino. Majoring in history, Elvis plans to become a social studies teacher. Starting in the fall of 2016, Elvis will commence studies in order to obtain a single subject teaching credential, granted by the College of Education at CSUSB. As an educator, Elvis hopes to become a role model for his students and to instill in them a deeper understanding of history. In the long run, Elvis expects to become a professional historian, author, and scholar of American and Latin American history.

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