East Bay Historia is an annual publication of the Department of History at California State University, East Bay and the Alpha Rho Theta chapter of Phi Alpha Theta. It aims to provide Cal State East Bay students with an opportunity to publish historical works and to give students the experience of being on an editorial board and creating and designing an academic journal. Issues are published at the end of each academic year. All opinions or statements of fact are the sole responsibility of their authors and may not reflect the views of the editorial staff, the Department of History, or California State University, East Bay.

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East Bay Historia’s mission is to promote the study of history at Cal State East Bay, give history majors and non-history majors alike opportunities to express their passion for the subject, and to empower students, faculty, and staff who are studying or are interested in history.

Cover image by Sam Shafer

This publication uses sans serif fonts and increased line spacing in order to increase accessibility for dyslexic readers.

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Dedicated to those who have devoted their lives to the fight for social justice. May their passion for raising the voices of the silenced ignite a flame within our souls to illuminate their histories as we continue the fight for liberation.

“The moment we choose to love we begin to move against domination, against oppression. The moment we choose to love we begin to move towards freedom, to act in ways that liberate ourselves and others.”

-bell hooks
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Foreword

Sara Isabel Andrade, Sam Balderas, and Isaak Hernandez
Editors-in-Chief

With the release of this eighth volume of the East Bay Historia, we look back at the semester and the determination that brought it from concept to finished product. Though each essay presented here is different in varying ways, there is one defining factor: the love of history and the drive to share stories forgotten by the historical mainstream. From the liberating tones of Nina Simone to the progression of California trans rights or learning to boycott our pants off, be they graduates or undergraduates, East Bay students have shown a commitment to the topics often left untouched and sharing the stories of the past that are close to their heart. Without these amazing authors, the journal would be empty.

The intensely committed authors, the keen-eyed editorial staff in the Public History class, and the incredibly gifted artists from Digital Illustration at Chico State helped polish and refine the journal into an award-winning publication. Weeks of copy edits, peer review, and hours-long discussions elevated the journal as a point of pride for all our editors. As for our artists, they help bring the essays and the journal’s cover to life with stunning illustrations and their creative takes on our authors’ works.
This year’s journal has also increased in size, with special sections on oral histories, photo analysis, and book reviews to show East Bay students’ unique methods and interests. Due to this new size, members of our university’s Phi Alpha Theta chapter volunteered outside of class to edit the new sections, ensuring the journal’s timely publication and helping to take the load off the editorial staff. Neither class would be able to operate without the careful supervision of Dr. Anna Alexander and Josh Funk, who encouraged their students to expand on their historical and artistic skills throughout the course of the journal’s creation. The journal is a testament to the power of collaboration, and without any one group, the Historia would not exist.

Though the creation of the journal is fun in its own challenging ways, we did not create it to sit prettily on a shelf. To our readers, both academic and otherwise, thank you for reading this new volume of the East Bay Historia. The work of our artists, authors, and editors deserves to be shared, and we are grateful it is with you. From all of us who worked on the journal, we hope you enjoy this volume and take with you a broader understanding of history than when you first picked it up.
Illustration by Bo Gurnee, Chico State
Creating Accessible Gender-Affirmative Care and Trans Community in Orange County, California, 1985-2005

By Trix Welch

Abstract: My paper will examine the transgender community of Orange County, CA between the 1980s and early 2000s, and their accounts of gender-affirming healthcare access. These accounts demonstrate what barriers existed in receiving care, how the community created gender-affirming healthcare initiatives in response, and potential progress that was being made to make trans healthcare more accessible. My research is based on a variety of archival materials from the GLBT Historical Society, the Transgender Digital Archive, and the Patric A. Magee papers concerning transgenderism from the UC Irvine Archive. From newsletters, correspondence, magazine articles, and research from community healthcare providers, I will shed light on the historical development of gender-affirming healthcare in California.

In 2023, the Trans Legislation Tracker identified 600 bills that were presented to state and federal congresses that potentially “block trans people from receiving basic healthcare, education, legal recognition, and the right to publicly exist.”¹ This website tracker was developed by “news

organizations, researchers, and U.S. government officials” and specifies how, since the beginning of 2023, there has been an increased focus on gender-affirming care and who is allowed access to it. While these gender-affirming care bans particularly focus on people under the age of eighteen, it appears unlikely to end there. On April 13, 2023, Missouri Attorney General Andrew Bailey placed barriers on medical gender-affirming care for transgender adults through emergency rules. Through these emergency rules, it became illegal for healthcare providers to give gender-affirming care if “someone has not received 15 hourly sessions of therapy over at least 18 months, has not been screened for autism and has not had documented gender dysphoria for three years.” After the ACLU of Missouri filed a lawsuit against this emergency ruling, stating Bailey has “no authority to use a state consumer-protection law to regulate gender-affirming care,” Missouri terminated the emergency ruling. Bailey and many other congressional leaders lack a clear understanding of the long-historical development of gender-affirming care in the United States. Trans communities across the country have been invested in the development of accessible information about gender-affirming care for many decades. This lack of historical context in contemporary conversations about gender-affirming care needs to be addressed to understand how trans people must be involved in the decision-making of gender-affirming services.

One way this historical context can be explored is by studying a local trans community and their involvement in developing gender-affirming care. Orange County, California, has a history of LGBTQ+ activism that has been overlooked in schol-

6 Sarah Fentem, “Emergency rules limiting transgender care in Missouri set to take effect this month.”
What is Trans History?

As transgender and cisgender people alike began to archive and write history of transgender people, a new field of historical study was being created. Trans history is described by Susan Stryker as history about “people who move away from the gender they were assigned at birth.” Trans history is still a new and developing field that is turning its focus on sources and stories by and for trans people. While there is no historical scholarship, I could find that centers on Orange County and its LGBTQ+ community history, other research of trans history and trans studies have worked to inform my approach to methodology and questioning.

A significant milestone for the field was the first novel-length, academic study of transgender history entitled *How Sex Changed*, written by the historian Joanne Meyerowitz, who specializes in gender history. Meyerowitz examines how transsexual people have existed before the language of “transsexuality” and “transgender” existed to define their experience. Meyerowitz utilizes sources from major gender clinics in the United States as well as some early published interviews with trans people. This book is an excellent example of how early academic historians wrote trans history while the history profession was still being critical of trans experiences and narratives as historical sources. *How Sex Changed* set the tone for how historians study trans people and their experiences by developing a framework that was respectful of trans experiences. This book is one of the first examinations of gender-affirming care practices, particularly healthcare and its technological de-

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Covering the history of transgender childhood and gender-affirming care throughout the twentieth century, Gill-Peterson demonstrates how transgender children are not without historical precedence and that their history shows the racialized medicalization of sex and gender in the twentieth century. Gill-Peterson argues that the reason why historians have failed to include these earlier trans children in the narrative of trans history is that they played a very specific role in medicine’s “racialized discourse of plasticity.” White trans children were viewed as a blank slate and used as neutral ground for medicine to answer broader questions regarding sex and gender through experimentation and medical intervention. Gill-Peterson argues that this allowed trans childhood to take on an abstract form of whiteness. Gill-Peterson provides background into how institutions have used trans people and their experiences in their research while the community still lags behind in accessible healthcare and resources. This provides us with crucial information to begin asking questions about the dichotomy between healthcare providers as sources of information in the trans community and how medical institutions have also exploited trans people for research while creating more barriers for people to access life-saving gender-affirming services.

Trans communities have been the driving force in producing their own history, which is illustrated through the field’s acknowledgment of non-academic audiences and accessibility in their research. Susan Stryker is a long-standing example of this, with her book Transgender History and its second edition, Transgender History: The Roots of Today’s Revolution. Stryker details the chronology of the transgender social movement from its conceptions in the early nineteenth century to its contemporary struggles. Meant to be an introductory text, Stryker aims to make transgender history approachable for a public audience rather than an academic one. One of Stryker’s main goals with this text is to demonstrate how studying history is necessary to fight the oppression of marginalized communities. Her writing is accessible to public audiences with an easy-to-navigate notes section that lists her sources in chronological order of the book and by topic. Stryker also has incorporated a resources list on where to access public, transgender history, and a section on further research of suggested topics lacking representation in trans history. Trans history is about
people who have long been marginalized and oppressed not only by mainstream society but also specifically by academic institutions. While I am someone who identifies with the queer and trans community at large, the specific geographical community I am writing about is not my own. Keeping this in mind, my main focus will remain centered on using accessible language and writing practices with the hope that people beyond the academic realm can still find enjoyment and connection with the people whom I write about.

Origins of the Orange County Trans Community

Gender-affirming care is an umbrella term to describe social, legal, and medical practices that can help people feel comfortable in their gender expression and identity. While gender-affirming care has also historically been used for cisgender8 people, in this context, we are specifically talking about gender-affirming care for trans people. On the medical side, this can include hormone replacement therapy or hormone blockers, laser hair removal, or surgical procedures. Medical gender-affirming care was, and still is, the most difficult form of care to obtain for trans people. There can be a variety of requirements, sometimes contradicting one another, that a person would have to meet before beginning their access to such care. On the social level, gender-affirming care can mean education on dressing in clothing, using makeup that aligns with someone’s gender, using their correct pronouns, or using their chosen name. These forms of care are some of the most accessible, and this is demonstrated through the various workshops, handouts, and articles dedicated to the Orange County trans community, which teach people how to do these steps “successfully.” Legally, gender-affirming care can mean changing your legal name or gender identifier on your birth certificate or license. All of these forms of care in the trans community of Orange County are considered in this article.

To begin discussing the trans community of Orange County, we first must consider the history of Orange County itself and how that led to the conditions in the late eighties to early

8 Cisgender: Adjective to describe a person who identifies with the gender they were assigned at birth, i.e. a cisgender woman.
2000s. Post-WWII, the county saw an increased demand for tourism and the service industry. This led to population growth and the development of new cities throughout the 1960s, including Irvine, Mission Viejo, and Laguna Niguel. Orange County gained a reputation for being a tourist destination and home to a growing business sector when the county suddenly experienced bankruptcy in 1994. This bankruptcy would lead to a cut in community services and resources over the next few years as the county worked to recover the major losses it experienced.

The trans community of Orange County was smaller than the communities of other metropolitan counties in California. In the mid-1980s, the community formed smaller, circumspect groups that could meet, make connections, and get information about the topics that mattered most to them. While there were a plethora of different groups and small communities within this larger circle, I focus on a few key figures and groups in Orange County that represent key demographics or were particularly popular. Using archival sources from the Digital Transgender Archive and the Patric A. Magee papers concerning transgenderism in the Orange County Regional History Collection at UC Irvine, we see groups like the Orange County Female-to-Males (OCFTM) and the Powder Puffs of Orange County were integral in providing accessible information about gender-affirming care.

It is a common theme in academic research about trans people and identities to include a short glossary of the key terms trans people use to describe themselves. This is understandable in how trans people describe and experience gender can be distinctly different from the way many cisgender people do. In the historical research of trans communities, there is a continuous issue with these types of glossaries in attempting to explain the language transgender people used during this time period, the language used in contemporary times, and how the language used in this paper will likely be outdated in ten or twenty years. Language to describe transitioning gender has always been and will continue to be in a state of flux, especially in our current era where awareness of transgender identities

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has never been higher. In my own research framework, I will aim to follow Susan Stryker’s advice in describing people as they describe themselves to ensure their agency and full authenticity are kept in consideration. In quoting from sources that inevitably misgender trans people, such as newspaper articles, I will use the pronouns that the person is associated with or the pronouns that are associated with their gender identity if no pronouns are used.

For the purpose of this research article, it’s important to keep in mind the changes in gender language during the 1980s-2000s. During this time, new terms like transgender and nonbinary slowly became more common as a way for people to identify their gender experience. The term crossdresser and transsexual were particularly popular during this time as well. While crossdresser only refers to people who identify as cisgender and dress as the opposite gender, transsexual has become a more personal label to describe the medical experiences that typically binary transgender people have. The trans community of Orange County was not as young or politically progressive as San Francisco or Los Angeles communities. Likely for this reason, they leaned more towards using words like transsexual or crossdresser to describe themselves. Overall, language is highly dependent on a person’s life experience and identity, and each person in this paper have likely had their own definitions they lived by. I will do my best to expand on specific gender identities or language usage as the need arises in this paper.

Orange County Trans Community and its Challenges

To understand the barriers the Orange County trans community faced during this period, we need to understand how this county was different from others with active trans communities. It is easier to understand this by introducing some of the key players within this community and the work they did.

Roslyn L. Manley knew from age four she was a girl, but it

11 Stryker, Transgender History, 24.
wasn’t until she was 45 that she found the right circumstances to begin her transition. She worked a six-figure position as an insurance management consultant in Orange County and, after informing her employer of her transition, was promptly fired. After a long and difficult litigation against her previous employer, not for being discriminatorily fired but for “allegations made about [her] regarding [her] morals and sexuality,” Manley found herself being blocked from employment in her industry. She instead would be forced to take an entry-level job as a paralegal assistant, making $24,000 a year. Her experience fueled her, and she dedicated her life to fighting for transgender employment discrimination legislation.

Manley, who was also a member of the National Transgender Task Force and founding member of the Orange County Transgender Task Force (OCTTF), knew the struggles of transgender people in Orange County better than most. She points out in her email correspondence with local community members, “Orange County does not have a distinct inner city where many transgenders tend to gravitate, and as a result [they] do not have a sense of community or community grapevine to direct those in trouble to appropriate assistance.” This assessment was accurate, even with Orange County’s population growing. Tourists preferred visiting the county’s popular destinations like Disneyland and Knott’s Berry Farm, unlike Los Angeles and San Francisco, which had recognizable city centers for tourists to explore. Orange County was built as a commuter town in earlier decades, spreading most of the population throughout suburban neighborhoods, gated apartment complexes, and scattered homes throughout the southern hillsides. Developing cities such as Santa Ana, Irvine, and Anaheim had growing business districts, but these potential city centers fell behind in offering spaces for communities to form. For trans people across Orange County, this meant they would have to be careful and strategic in finding information about groups and resources. Finding a community that could understand their experiences and educate them about gender-affirming care options would have felt


13 “True Stories!... Of Transgendered & Intersexed Americans!”, n.d., MS-R133, Box 6, Folder 5, Patric A. Magee papers concerning transgenderism, Special Collections and Archives, The UC Irvine Libraries, Irvine, California.

14 Email correspondence from Roslyn Manley to Orange County Transgender Task Force Members, December 3, 2001, MS-R133, Box 5, Folder 3, Patric A. Magee papers concerning transgenderism, Special Collections and Archives, The UC Irvine Libraries, Irvine, California.
like an overwhelming hurdle. Without this critical community
structure and space, finding access to medical professionals for
gender-affirming care was more difficult and dangerous. Going
to the wrong profession could lead to problematic or discrimi-
natory experiences.

It’s not surprising then that many Orange County citizens
looked outside of their county for resources and support. For
those who had the time and money to travel to Los Angeles or
even up to San Francisco, the growing communities of LGBTQ+
activism there gave them some respite. For those who could not
leave the county, the lack of a central community made it more
challenging to form connections to these communities outside
of the area. The Powder Puffs of Orange County (PPOC) was a
social organization that was formed in 1987 for those within the
“gender community.”\textsuperscript{15} PPOC was originally planned as a slight-
ly more progressive branch of the heterosexual crossdressing
organization Society of the Second Self (Tri-Ess), which had
a history of excluding gay, bisexual, and trans people.\textsuperscript{16} The
PPOC was dedicated to providing socials and workshops for
Orange County crossdressers and transsexual or transgender
women and recognized early in the 1990s their county’s dis-
advantage with their geography. In the February 1999 issue
of \textit{Girl Talk}, the PPOC’s monthly newsletter, lead editor Joan
Goodnight updated their members that the organization’s key
conference, \textit{California Dreamin’}, was to be held in San Francis-
ceo that year. Joan informed members who were unaware that
\textit{California Dreamin’} was held in either Burbank or San Francisco
each year, bouncing back and forth across the state. This was
“a concept that was pioneered by PPOC in the first days of the
\textit{California Dreamin’} event in order to foster a positive inter-
change between the Southern California groups.”\textsuperscript{17} PPOC start-
ed holding \textit{California Dreamin’} in 1990, as demonstrated by the
PPOC’s January newsletter of that year. This demonstrates the
community recognizing a need for connections across county
borders. Conventions like \textit{California Dreamin’} were common
throughout the 1990s across the United States to give peo-

\textsuperscript{15} International Foundation for Gender Education (IFGE), “Live the Dream: California Unity,”
files/7w62f829s (accessed April 12, 2023).
\textsuperscript{16} Genny Beemyn and Jane Ellen Fairfax, eds, \textit{The SAGE Encyclopedia of Trans Studies}, 2 vol.,
Archive}, https://www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net/files/wh246s40f (accessed February 12,
2023).
people from smaller trans communities an opportunity to come together, socialize, and walk away more informed about the topics that mattered most to their experience.

Mentions of this geographical divide were scarce until the later 2000s, but there are signs that people understood this divide in the community through other means. One example is an article written by Bill LaPointe entitled “Out in Palm Springs.” LaPointe was a founding editor of *The Blade*, a prominent LGBTQ+ magazine for Orange County, and a member of the Elections Committee of the County of Orange (ECCO), which was active in lobbying for employment discrimination legislation through the 1980s and 1990s. A read through LaPointe’s *Blade* articles is a window into the man’s personality through his satirical humor and nostalgic reflections of Palm Springs. In this particular article, LaPointe discusses upcoming events and locations that people in the community should check out. At the end of the article, there is a short note asking for “those of you commuting between the ocean and the desert and those from the Orange County/Long Beach area, please pass on your experiences.”18 This short note demonstrates consideration for those who were commuters of Orange County, as people further east in the county may have completely different experiences from those by the oceanside. This shows that the geographical area was difficult for strong, central communities to grow, as is usual for places with commuter cultures. Magazines and newsletters like *Girl Talk* and *The Blade* were important to share resources and news for the trans community at the time but did not replace the essential need for in-person, trusted interaction.

Another factor that limited the community’s ability to access resources was the sheer diversity of the county. The U.S. Census data from 1980 to 1990 shows a dramatic shift in the demographics of Orange County. The Hispanic population of Orange County increased by 97%, the Asian population rose by 177%, and the Black population grew by 60% between 1980 and 1990.19 While these numbers only show one part of the story, community members expressed this increased diversity

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was met with a lack of resources and services for these communities, but also violence in a variety of forms.

No case from Orange County represents this better than the tragedy of Gwen Araujo, a Latina trans woman who was murdered in 2002 by four men who found out her assigned gender at birth. Gwen Araujo had a loving and supportive family who recognized she was different from a young age. Family and friends described Araujo as able to laugh at the criticisms and bullying she faced and that she aspired to be a makeup artist and work in the Hollywood industry. In Roslyn Manley’s article on her passing, she considers how “young people and adults are capable of having intelligent dialogue and understanding about gender identity and sexual orientation when it is made available.”20 Manley’s grief and anger in the wake of Araujo’s death is apparent when she wonders if Araujo and her family had the knowledge and resources to protect her if she would still be alive.21 Resources and services that focused on aiding Latino trans community members were scarce. While the community did begin to develop some resources throughout the mid-1990s, wider support from other LGBTQ+ organizations was lacking. This disparity is also seen through the higher rates of violence and exploitation for trans people of color in Orange County. In one Blade article, Manley writes from her experience working in the community and with the National Transgender Advocacy Coalition: “During the decade of the 1990s, Santa Ana was the sixth deadliest city in the nation to be transgendered. We’ve got an estimated 6,000 Latina transgender individuals, who mostly don’t speak English... They have neither the job skills, the language, or the documentation to get traditional employment.”22 In the Los Angeles Times reporting of Araujo’s passing, it was noted at the end of the article that, “According to the National Transgender Advocacy Coalition Website, this is the deadliest year on record [for transgender people]. So far, they have recorded twenty-seven deaths arising from anti-transgender violence. Gwen is not the first teenage death this year, nor the first teenage person

20 Roslyn Manley, “A Transsexual Martyr,” The Blade, magazine article, December 2002, MS-R133, Box 6, Folder 5, Patric A. Magee papers concerning transgenderism, Special Collections and Archives, The UC Irvine Libraries, Irvine, California.
21 Patric A. Magee papers concerning transgenderism, Special Collections and Archives, The UC Irvine Libraries, Irvine, California.
22 “True Stories!... Of Transgendered & Intersexed Americans!”, n.d., MS-R133, Box 6, Folder 5, Patric A. Magee papers concerning transgenderism, Special Collections and Archives, The UC Irvine Libraries, Irvine, California.
of color.”23 This demographic difference is also established in the Los Angeles Transgender Task Force Report. As previously stated, transgender communities in Los Angeles and San Francisco had the compact geography and community connections to develop resources and services at a faster rate than smaller communities.

The Los Angeles and San Francisco Task Forces’ work helped Orange County understand how to help their community’s needs and appeal to their local government officials for aid. The Los Angeles study is particularly important as it uses data from a diverse population from the area, collaborating with the Asian Pacific AIDS Intervention Team and Bienestar, an AIDS intervention center for the Los Angeles Hispanic community, to ensure data retrieval from Latino and Asian communities in Los Angeles. These methods, as the report states, have issues. Due to the fact that resources targeted towards specific populations were scarce, the data collection methods were also limited. For example, the study found that most of the Latino participants received information about medical care from a local agency, but this has issues due to the fact they used local agencies to find people in these populations in the first place.24 African American participants were also severely underrepresented in this study.25 This problem with the Los Angeles Transgender Health Report can work as a mirror for some of the issues faced by Asian, Latino, and African American citizens in Orange County, as resources and services for these communities were rare or nonexistent.

It is also impossible to discuss discrimination and lack of access to healthcare for transgender people without discussing employment discrimination and job loss. In the 1990s, Orange County saw few discussing the possibility of legalizing same-gender marriage. Instead, the focus remained on a key piece of legislation called the Employment Non-Discrimination Act, or ENDA. The hope of the community was that ENDA could

24 Los Angeles County HIV Epidemiology Program, Los Angeles Transgender Health Study, 2000, MS-R133, Box 4, Folder 2, Patric A. Magee papers concerning transgenderism, Special Collections and Archives, The UC Irvine Libraries, Irvine, California.
25 Los Angeles County HIV Epidemiology Program, Los Angeles Transgender Health Study, 2000, MS-R133, Box 4, Folder 2, Patric A. Magee papers concerning transgenderism, Special Collections and Archives, The UC Irvine Libraries, Irvine, California.
pass on a federal level and create basic protections for transgender people against being fired for transitioning. While sex remained a protected category, gender identity was not yet, and for this reason, it was apparent in the reporting from Orange County during this time that gender identity remained unprotected.

For many community members, coming out in the workplace was the equivalent of handing in a resignation letter. Until the mid-1990s, it was common knowledge that coming out at work was not only unacceptable but asking for issues to arise. In an article in PPOC’s Girl Talk, Rachel Miller writes in detail about her difficulty with making the choice to come out in her place of work. “Even after telling those closest to me, I have continued to withhold that information from most of my daily life. I have considered the corporate workplace out of bounds for fear of losing my job.” Despite hiding her identity from her place of employment, she also recognized the need to reduce the degree of hiding and let others see us as we are. Lacking that exposure, attitudes will continue to be based on the few who flaunt themselves in public. If you are transgendered, consider coming a bit further out of your closet...without taking excessive risk.” Miller demonstrates here that trans people in Orange County were thinking a lot about their public perception and considered it an important step of coming out as trans, but also recognized that employment was one aspect that should not be risked.

The consequences of coming out in your place of work were quite important due to the fact many people’s access to gender-affirming care relied on having insurance that accepted such kinds of treatments as essential. In the state of California, as explained in the report “Legal Aspects of Transsexuality” from the Renaissance Gender Services program, many insurance providers did cover sex reassignment surgeries, hormone replacement therapies, and other forms of gender-affirming care so long as the patient had letters from their primary care provider and a psychiatrist confirming their diagnosis of gender dysphoric disorder. But if a person lost their employment,
then they would likely have to use Medicaid, which at the time did not recognize gender-affirming care as medically necessary and would cost people thousands of dollars to afford basic services. This is expressed in the short handout entitled “Transgender Health Care Coverage” by Lisa Middleton, who was a local trans woman in Orange County and worked with transgender people to inform them about options for transitioning services. In this handout, Middleton considers that “one of the most critical dilemmas facing any transgendered person is – ‘how in heaven’s name can I pay the medical costs?’” For many of us, there is a lack of any healthcare insurance coverage. Others of us find we have paid thousands of dollars for health care coverage that denies us access to the health care we need.”29 These issues set the stage for how trans people in Orange County worked to find better information and access to the gender-affirming care they needed.

Community Action and Political Lobbying

Despite the challenges and issues with organizing in Orange County, people within the community found ways to work together to provide social events, educate people about gender-affirming care, and advocate in the community for legislative changes. These small meetings and newsletters began as individualized efforts to inform a small group of people about gender-affirming care and accessible options. These groups would continue to expand over the decade into the 2000s.

There were a few reasons that many organizing efforts began as smaller support groups and newsletter lists. One was that quite a few trans people in Orange County felt like they were being excluded from a greater movement for gay men and women. This feeling of exclusion is seen throughout the nation during this time period, and Orange County trans organizers also pointed out their feelings of exclusion during this period. In a short article in the Orange County Register, writer Leslie Winters notes this exclusion happening in Orange County dysphoria as a symptom. The issue with this disorder was that it pathologized transgender people and didn’t serve all trans people’s individual needs and issues. Read further: Zowie Davy, “The DSM-5 and the Politics of Diagnosing Trans People,” Archives of Sexual Behavior 44, 1165–1176 (2015), https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-015-0573-6.

and the surrounding areas. Winters recalls that “It was not long ago when gay or lesbian individuals were tabooed by most of society and given rather negative attention by the entertainment media.”\textsuperscript{30} She notes how attitudes toward gay men and lesbians were shifting during this time and that it was becoming more unacceptable to treat them in a derogatory manner. But she continues to say that the trans community “are struggling to keep their reputations as people upright in a world that fails to accept them most of the time. But not many [in the gay and lesbian community] are providing a lot of help to make this issue clear.”\textsuperscript{31} As Winters establishes, “there is a perception that the gay and lesbian communities of Southern California could be doing more in order to support transgender people and protest against the Valley.”\textsuperscript{32} A big component of the article is how transgender people are being excluded from conversations about progressive legislation that will create protections for gay and lesbian people in housing and the workplace. Because of perceptions like this, trans people felt the desire to carve out their own communities that focused on trans issues and their specific needs for accessible information.

These smaller support groups were important in distributing reliable information regarding gender-affirming services and resources. They also provided a social network that could improve people’s well-being and sense of belonging in a society that had very little understanding of what it meant to be transgender. It is difficult to find accounts of actually going and participating in these groups, likely because they were highly private meetings so that people would not potentially risk their personal or professional lives. In the handout “Some Concepts to Consider,” which was likely created for the OCFTM, founded by Pat Magee of Orange County, it discusses why seeking support is so important for trans men. “At some point, we have the need to talk with another person who has traveled the same path as we have. Sooner or later, we have the need to communicate with someone with whom we can be open, honest, and not have to continually think about how to reword things.”\textsuperscript{33}

\textsuperscript{30} Leslie Winters, “Transgendered people left out of gay rights progress,” \textit{Orange County Register}, opinion editorial article, August 8, 2001, MS-R133, Box 6, Folder 5, Patric A. Magee papers concerning transgenderism, Special Collections and Archives, The UC Irvine Libraries, Irvine, California.

\textsuperscript{31} Winters, “Transgendered people left out of gay rights progress.”

\textsuperscript{32} Winters, “Transgendered people left out of gay rights progress.”

\textsuperscript{33} Handout entitled, “Some Concepts to Consider,” n.d., MS-R133, Box 7, Folder 2, Patric A. Magee papers concerning transgenderism, Special Collections and Archives, The UC Irvine Libraries,
This comment points back to the need for anonymity in their daily lives and how such an arrangement can put mental and emotional stress on a person. Connecting and communicating about their issues without having to be guarded with their words would be a huge relief.

The Powder Puffs of Orange County is another example of this. Multiple blog posts demonstrate how this community of like-minded crossdressers, transsexual women, and transgender women allowed people to explore their understanding of their gender in a safe environment while also receiving support with day-to-day realities, like relationships and spiritual issues. Micki Finn was fascinated as a child with “all things feminine,” with her first inspiration being found in the women at her church. It was not until her late twenties she learned about crossdressing and found a community that accepted her. Micki Finn touches on the importance of this community in her blog post, “Crossdresser Wives,” in which she discusses how she navigated her relationship with her wife, whom she married before coming out as a crossdresser, and how the PPOC community provided a space for her wife to connect with others in a similar position as her own. Finn describes how “the meetings were in Orange County, California, and were open to anyone. Everyone paid $10.00 and received soft drinks and pizza along with the opportunity to meet and talk with others.” While Finn’s wife was hesitant about going out to meetings with the PPOC at first, after a few meetings, she became more comfortable with it and attended a conference with Finn in Texas. Finn describes the event’s transformational power in their relationship: “It was a major turning point for us as she surprised me and became comfortable right away talking with not only crossdresser wives but crossdressers too.” Finn and her wife grew stronger as a couple because of the community they found. It also provided a network of people who understood both of their experiences.

Another important aspect of getting information about gender-affirming care and its importance to the community was...
publicity and interaction with popular media. Many people in the community felt this was a key way for cisgender people to see what trans people actually looked like, hear them about their issues, and hopefully become sympathetic to their cause. As Rachel Miller from PPOC puts it in her article, “to change views, active media participation is essential.”38

There were different ways and avenues for trans people in Orange County to participate in such representation for the community. One way Pat and another community member, Cynthia, did this was by connecting with local academic institutions like UC Irvine. Pat and Cynthia arranged visits with a professor of psychology at UC Irvine to meet with a class that focused on human behavior and discuss their lives as transgender people in Orange County. Their visits and discussions were not recorded, but in the final exam for the class, students were asked about what they learned from Pat and Cynthia. Their answers are now a part of the UC Irvine archive collection, showcasing how informative these discussions were for students with little to no knowledge of transgender people. Most of their answers mentioned that they learned about the struggles and challenges that trans people face, one student saying, “These two people... are sort of living in hiding because the so-called ‘normal’ folks would rather they die than be different.”39 For other students, these discussions were deeply personal; one student who grew up with a transgender aunt who was ostracized from the family mentioned how “Our panelists made me want to contact her and begin building a new relationship.”40

Local newspapers and magazines were also outlets that published interviews with local transgender people to discuss their lives in Orange County. In the article “How Jesse Became Jessica” from the OC Weekly, written by Dave Wielenga, we can see how these articles both play into sensationalist portrayals of transgender people while also providing a platform to discuss the challenges trans people face in Orange County, especially those who are immigrants. The article has a voy-

39 PSYCH 310 Final Exam (page 4) answers, n.d., MS-R133, Box 5, Folder 2, Patric A. Magee papers concerning transgenderism, Special Collections and Archives, The UC Irvine Libraries, Irvine, California.
40 PSYCH 310 Final Exam (page 4) answers, n.d., MS-R133, Box 5, Folder 2, Patric A. Magee papers concerning transgenderism, Special Collections and Archives, The UC Irvine Libraries, Irvine, California.
euristic lens when talking about Jessica’s appearance and mannerisms, pointing out her red-hot lipstick, wedge sandals, and the “200 or so pounds on a five-foot-11 frame.” These types of voyeuristic descriptions that accentuate trans women’s feminine and unfeminine features were common during the 90s and early 2000s, more than likely because it was cis-gendered people trying to understand what it meant to be trans. Trans activist and writer Julia Serano describes this issue in her book, *Whipping Girl: A Transsexual Woman on Sexism and the Scapegoating of Femininity*, how this impulse reveals “an even deeper underlying compulsion on the part of many [cisgender] people, one that goes way beyond natural curiosity, to dwell almost exclusively on the physical aspects of the transition process when contemplating transsexuality.” Despite the way she is portrayed by her appearance, Jessica uses the interview to talk about her experiences as a Mexican, trans immigrant and finding her place in Orange County. “My dream all my life is to live in the United States,” she is quoted saying, “I came around this area because a long time ago, I knew a girl who lives in Santa Ana. When I passed across the border at San Ysidro last year, I called her and said, ‘Hello, I am here!’” Jessica ties in a lot of imagery of the American Dream into her story as a trans woman and how her new life in Orange County is a chance to escape both the poverty and homophobia in her home country. She discusses how *machismo* culture made it difficult to grow up a gay man in Mexico while also mentioning her future is looking brighter in the United States. “I want this country to be my home... My big dream was to live in the United States. I am here. Now, I don’t have too much other dreams. Only to be happy.” Wielenga’s portrayal of Jessica helps readers understand her struggles and experiences with discrimination as both a transgender woman and a Mexican immigrant.

Talk shows were a popular platform that was eager to have trans people talk about their experiences and why they tran-


44 Dave Wielenga, “How Jesse Became Jessica: One Man’s Story of Becoming a Woman,” OC Weekly, August 2, 2002, MS-R133, Box 10, Folder 2, Patric A. Magee papers concerning transgenderism, Special Collections and Archives, The UC Irvine Libraries, Irvine, California.
tioned. Oftentimes, these talk shows would feed into discussions that were strictly about sex reassignment surgery and whether it was morally right to transition, as seen in a transcript from *The Geraldo Rivera Show*, which was aired on February 14, 1989, entitled “Transsexual Regrets: Who’s Sorry Now?” Despite this, transgender people would use the platform to engage people in the idea that trans people weren’t oddities but just normal people trying to live their happiest lives. Rivera has four different people of different backgrounds. Two of these people, Jerri Sousa and Brain Neill, once transitioned, eventually de-transitioned back to the gender they were assigned at birth. Kate Bornstein, a trans activist from California, and Dr. Jayne Thomas, who was a trans woman and psychologist, represented people who did not regret their transition. This transcript shows how transgender people work to take back the narrative into their hands. When Rivera asks Dr. Thomas about people regretting transition, she points out that “studies show that about 90 percent of the people that have gotten as far as doing the surgery would do it again.”45 Bornstein, who is a transsexual lesbian, is asked why she would even transition if she still liked women. “I broke up the difference,” Bornstein says, “My gender identity was woman, it answered the question ‘Who am I?’ My sexual orientation was women, ‘Who do I want to be romantically involved with.’ Two different questions.”46 In a 1994 article published in the *Journal of Transsexual Feminism* entitled “None of Your Business,” Christine Beatty touches on the importance of trans people learning how to navigate conversations for their own benefit. “My strategy is to question the question or deftly change the topic,” Beatty explains on how she answers questions about her surgeries, “One possible answer is, ‘Surgery isn’t nearly as important as my feelings... To me, the operation is just a way to attract a certain kind of sex partner.’”47

The trans community of Orange County also knew that they had to organize for political change to take place. What makes

the strategy of political organizing unique in Orange County is that they used grassroots tactics while also appealing to both parties for support, both Democrats and Republicans for support. Through this strategy, they were able to organize more at a local level and create more conversation in the county about the needs of the trans community. Roslyn L. Manley was particularly active in employing strategies to engage a spectrum of political leaders in Orange County. She frequently wrote letters to government officials to set up meetings about the needs of her community and what was lacking. In one letter to Supervisor Tom Wilson, a member of the Orange County Board of Supervisors, Manley asks to engage in a dialogue with him about the discrimination the community faces, saying, “I appreciate that this is a radical concept for Orange County, but it is one that will need to be addressed during the next two years.” Wilson was a Republican, and Manley tried to appeal to the supervisor by mentioning, “We are very normal and are actually quite conservative as a group. Surprised?” This letter works in that Manley gains a meeting with Ms. Carol McInerney, Field Representative to Supervisor Tom Wilson. In a letter Manley sends after her meeting with McInerney, she mentions that the most important parts of their conversation are discussing “societal discrimination upon the community and, in turn, the financial impact of those same discriminatory actions.”

In articles published in popular newspapers and magazines, such as the *Blade*, leaders in the community appeal to others to use their vote to create change for trans people in Orange County. An example of this is the article “Follow the Leader” by Veronica Zerrer in the *Blade*. Zerrer appealed to the readers of the *Blade* to convince them that using their vote does not take as much effort as others want them to believe. “Determine who the courageous candidates are and support them. It doesn’t take much homework,” Zerrer insisted, “I admire the Log Cabin Republicans and Democrats for a strong defense. They eat it every day from their party zealots, but they keep coming to the

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48 Correspondence from Roslyn Manley to Board Supervisor Tom Wilson, June 2, 2001, MS-R133, Box 11, Folder 1, Patric A. Magee papers concerning transgenderism, Special Collections and Archives, The UC Irvine Libraries, Irvine, California.
49 Correspondence from Roslyn Manley to Board Supervisor Tom Wilson, June 2, 2001, MS-R133, Box 11, Folder 1, Patric A. Magee papers concerning transgenderism, Special Collections and Archives, The UC Irvine Libraries, Irvine, California.
50 Correspondence from Roslyn Manley to Field Representative Carol McInerney, June 28, 2001, MS-R133, Box 11, Folder 1, Patric A. Magee papers concerning transgenderism, Special Collections and Archives, The UC Irvine Libraries, Irvine, California.
table, demanding that their voices be heard. That takes courage: you have to admire, and vote, for that.”

The community also was not afraid to mention those by name who would not stand in solidarity with the community and their struggles. In June of 2003, the California Assembly cleared AB 196, a bill that would eventually become the Fair Employment and Housing Act (FEHA) that banned discrimination in California based on gender, not just sex. This act was a win for the Orange County trans community, especially Roslyn L. Manley, who fought for such protections and would continue to fight for them nationwide. In her article “Key Legislation Clears California Assembly,” published in the Blade, Manley gives appreciation to the politicians who fought for this bill and names those who did not. All Democrats voted for the bill to move forward except for three. Manley makes sure to mention that Lou Correa, a Democrat from Santa Ana, not only voted against the bill but “was also the only Democrat to oppose the bill in the Appropriations Committee.” Highlighting the Democrat who voted against the bill and was locally elected sent a clear message from Manley to keep this elected official in mind for the next election.

Resource Network and Community Impact

While all these individual efforts did not originally connect with one another across different parts of the community, eventually, they enabled the emergence of a kind of resource network that made it easier for people to get accessible and correct information about gender-affirming care services in Orange County. One of the first iterations of this resource network was the Orange County Transgender Task Force, which worked with a local empowerment project and the Los Angeles Center to develop resources and services for trans people in Orange County.

51 Veronica Zerrer, “Follow The Leader…,” The Blade, magazine article, October 2000, MS-R133, Box 6, Folder 5, Patric A. Magee papers concerning transgenderism, Special Collections and Archives, The UC Irvine Libraries, Irvine, California.
52 Roslyn Manley, “Key Legislation Clears California Assembly,” The Blade, June 2003, MS-R133, Box 6, Folder 5, Patric A. Magee papers concerning transgenderism, Special Collections and Archives, The UC Irvine Libraries, Irvine, California.
Roslyn L. Manley was one of the first members of this task force, seeing it as a way to directly engage with other parts of the county to become informed about the needs of the trans community. In an early email about the task force’s vision and what they hoped to accomplish, Manley states, “We envision the Task Force as developing from LGBT community, healthcare, employment, and other city and county agencies, organizations, and interested individuals acting as a coalition to identify and address transgender needs and remedies.” This early email to the other future members of the task force demonstrates how this was a first attempt to build connections and bonds across various programs and agencies to create better access to not just healthcare and gender-affirming services but to address a plethora of issues they were facing.

The Orange County Transgender Task Force also worked to identify all of the individual support groups, organizations, and conferences that were happening in the county to be able to share that information with others. Patric A. Magee was also a member of this Task Force and helped create the first list of these resources and groups in Orange County. He lists out these groups in an email to the other members of the Task Force and mentions he hopes the Task Force can become an “umbrella organization to provide centralized access to local events.”

As the Task Force began to take off and people learned more about it, other organizations that were more established began to show interest in collaboration. One of those organizations was the LA Gay & Lesbian Center which sent a letter to Pat asking how they could be of support with the efforts of the Task Force and helping with an event called Trans-Unity. They mention in this letter that “this event is an important opportunity for us to work together within a community that is often underserved.” Collaborations like these created better relationships across county lines and developed better informa-

53 Email Correspondence from Roslyn Manley to Orange County Transgender Task Force Members, December 3, 2001, MS-R133, Box 5, Folder 3, Patric A. Magee papers concerning transgenderism, Special Collections and Archives, The UC Irvine Libraries, Irvine, California.

54 Email Correspondence from Patric A. Magee to Lando Thomas, December 6, 2001, MS-R133, Box 10, Folder 5, Patric A. Magee papers concerning transgenderism, Special Collections and Archives, The UC Irvine Libraries, Irvine, California.

55 Correspondence from The Los Angeles Gay & Lesbian Center to Patric A. Magee, January 14, 2002, MS-R133, Box 10, Folder 5, Patric A. Magee papers concerning transgenderism, Special Collections and Archives, The UC Irvine Libraries, Irvine, California.
tion sharing for the people of their communities. This invitation from the LA Gay & Lesbian Center is also important as it shows the greater gay and lesbian communities creating stronger ties with the trans community and decreasing the division between both sides.

The Task Force developed into the Orange County Transgender Coalition or OCTC. The OCTC was created and soon incorporated into the Center OC, the local LGBTQ+ center in Santa Ana, to provide more transgender services and resources to the community. The OCTC was made up of key community members like Roslyn and Pat to represent the diversity in transgender experiences across Orange County.

The Orange County Transgender Task Force was a key step in establishing the OCTC, as it brought together multiple organizations that were already working within the community to create better access to information for gender-affirming care services. As explained in the OCTC’s pamphlet, “OCTC is currently comprised of the following organizations: Orange County Transgender Media Relations, Being Me, Hermosa y Protegida, and OCFTM.” Each of these organizations served a unique purpose to the OCTC and the community they represented. Being Me was a general transgender support group that had a long history at the Center OC. Hermosa y Protegida was a support group for Spanish-speaking transgender community members and helped connect them with healthcare and immigration services as needed. The OCTC provided not only a variety of services for the trans community but also cis-gendered people. They particularly focused on education around what being transgender meant alongside the struggles transgender people faced and how to be an ally to a trans person. As explained on their now-defunct website, “Presentations such as ‘TG 101’ cover areas of the transition process, medical/professional standards of care and the need for understanding and acceptance by family, employers, and friends.”

The resource network this developed was not a perfect sys-

56 "Orange County Transgender Coalition," pamphlet, May 14, 2004, MS-R133, Box 10, Folder 2, Patric A. Magee papers concerning transgenderism, Special Collections and Archives, The UC Irvine Libraries, Irvine, California.
57 Orange County Transgender Coalition, "About Us," printed website page, June 27, 2004, MS-R133, Box 10, Folder 2, Patric A. Magee papers concerning transgenderism, Special Collections and Archives, The UC Irvine Libraries, Irvine, California.
tem to get information to the people who needed it, but it demonstrated the community heading in a positive direction. By the 2000s, accounts of services for the trans community of Orange County began to show signs of improved accessibility and reliability.

While it’s hard to examine the overall impact of these support groups and services on the community, one way we can consider the impact is by looking at its longevity. Considering that these services support a small community, the lifespan of these programs can be used to demonstrate their usefulness over the years. An example of this is the OCFTM. The OCFTM still has meetings today, as described on the website of what is now called the LGBTQ Center OC.58 The LGBTQ Center OC also still holds the Trans 101 presentations today, now as monthly, recurring events that community members can sign up for. While the LGBTQ Center OC has continued to build and provide more transgender services for its community members, there is a clear connection between the early work of the OCTC and what continues to exist today.

Another way to demonstrate the impact of this resource network is how people from communities that previously did not interact with one another began to show how relationships developed across certain boundaries that the community first faced. One example of this developing relationship was Roslyn Manley writing an article for the Powder Puffs of Orange County to include in their newsletter. Manley was a prolific writer throughout the 1990s, particularly writing for the Blade and its transgender news section, Transitions. So it’s noticeable that in the 2000s, Manley wrote an article for the Powder Puffs of Orange County. Out of all the newsletters in the 1990s, Manley was not a featured writer in any of them. In this article, Manley informs readers about the new California DMV Name Change rules. Roslyn states that “we were alerted that the California Department of Motor Vehicles had changed their two decade policy regarding acceptance of OMV Form 328 for utilization of name and gender change.”59 After then receiving conflicting information about the name change policy, Roslyn “wrote to

the Director of the Department of Motor Vehicles and got the Stanford Gender Clinic involved to help negotiate these changes that would make it more difficult to have a name change for transgender people.

It is important to consider that while this network of information sharing was important to make the trans community of Orange County safer and ease access to gender-affirming services, there were still many obstacles that the community would have to continue to work to solve. It would not be until 2013 that Gender Identity Disorder would be removed from the DSM and replaced with gender dysphoric disorder. The pathologizing of transgender people would continue to arise in issues of legal and medical transition pathways and who is allowed to receive gender-affirming care.

The trans community of Orange County also would continue to experience some exclusion from the greater queer community. While this exclusion may not have been purposeful as in previous decades, it still existed through the way certain programs were advertised. In a letter asking for donations to the Center OC, they mention the many services provided to the LGBTQ+ community, but none of the services they list are particularly meant for transgender people. While the Center OC discusses in this letter the impact they create for gay and lesbian community members, transgender people, or the services they need are not mentioned. Not to mention, the gender-affirming services the Center OC provided demonstrated that transgender people and their needs were still not a priority at this time. In another instance, community members created a history project called the LGBT+ History Timeline of Orange County. Despite being worked on by a variety of community organizations and institutions like researchers at UC Irvine, there is no mention of transgender people and their history in the completed product. This absence of the ‘T’ in LGBT projects is a problem that the community continued to face well into the 2000s.

60 Silk, “Girl Talk.”
62 Correspondence from Terry Stone, Executive Director of the Center OC, to Patric A. Magee, 2003, MS-R133, Box 7, Folder 3, Patric A. Magee papers concerning transgenderism, Special Collections and Archives, The UC Irvine Libraries, Irvine, California.
Conclusion

This exclusion of the trans community from larger conversations during this period contributes to the exclusion of transgender experiences in our narratives of LGBTQ+ history. The lack of historical research on Orange County’s transgender community is not surprising. From researching the Patric A. Magee papers at UC Irvine Archives, I learned of the transgender activism taking place across the United States, from Dallas to Virginia Beach. Many activists and their contributions to anti-discrimination legislation and access to gender-affirming care are still absent from our books on the LGBTQ+ rights movement. Yet, these histories are critical to our understanding of how gender-affirmative care was developed alongside these communities with their input and experience as guidance. They illustrate how gender-affirming care services have developed over time as collaborations between medical providers, transgender community members, and government officials. They can also demonstrate the impact community action, lobbying strategies, and networking have had on the accessibility of information about gender-affirming care. This short history of the trans community in Orange County, California is one small piece of a greater history that is still being uncovered.

The gaps in our knowledge about transgender history influence contemporary conversations about transgender rights and access to care. Information regarding the development of gender-affirming care in the United States is inaccessible outside of peer-reviewed, historical scholarship. By researching these smaller, local communities and their work in accessible gender-affirmative care, we can understand the depth of the expanding field of LGBTQ+ history. There needs to be more written and accessible scholarship on these communities to ensure their histories are represented in our knowledge of LGBTQ+ history in the United States, particularly about trans communities and their distinct forms of organizing and activism.

A part of this growing history that is missing is the archival sources on the BIPOC trans communities of California. While I was only able to find mentions and pieces of the history regarding Hispanic trans communities and Asian trans communities in Orange County, it is clear that they likely had developed their own section of community and networking that is
not represented currently in the archive. There needs to be better historical preservation of these communities and their histories. Considering that this is still a recent history, there are likely still people who were a part of these efforts and are still living and a part of this community at large. There should be more efforts behind working with aging LGBTQ+ populations in California to preserve their stories and information about how this community has developed over time.

Understanding the historical development of gender-affirmative care cannot be done without considering the local communities who worked so hard to make such healthcare more accessible and safer. Through histories like those of the trans community in Orange County, we can better understand the importance of including transgender people in the decision-making process of such healthcare services at any level, especially within our own legislation.
Illustration by Faelan Foxwood, Chico State
Old Jim Crow, New Jim Crow:
How Nina Simone, The High Priestess of Soul, Became the Anthem for Black Liberation

By Sara Isabel Andrade

Abstract: This piece pays homage to the High Priestess of Soul and her integral role as the anthem for Black liberation. Without Simone, the fight for Black liberation would have never succeeded to the degree that it did and continues to do so, as Simone continuously broke the glass ceilings that had silenced her and every Black American across the nation. This article is heart-centered around Simone’s three modes of political weaponry as she paved the way for the converging worlds of music and politics to collide, making her the bard of the Civil Rights Movement. From her lyricism and artistry of the Jazz genre, we watch as Simone gave root to one of the most influential movements for equality while bringing a voice to the silenced. May we not only find inspiration in her work but also a flame to keep the fire ignited as we continue the fight for Black liberation.

Dedicated to the High Priestess of Soul and her integral role as the bard of the Civil Rights Movement, may her legacy remain at the root of Black liberation.

“Where words fall, music speaks” is a phrase coined by 17th-century Danish author Hans Christian Andersen and an ideology that rings especially true amidst moments of struggle and resistance. On the morning of Sunday, September 15, 1963, a bomb set by
four Ku Klux Klan members went off, exploding on the doorsteps of the 16th St. Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, taking the lives of four beautiful, young African-American girls: Addie Mae Collins, Denise McNair, Carole Robertson, and Cynthia Wesley. The 16th St. Baptist Church had been regarded as the cornerstone of the Black community in Birmingham and the heart of the most segregated town in America during the 1960s, news of the 16th St. church bombing spread like wildfire and quickly reached the ears of renowned classical pianist and jazz songstress Nina Simone. Within an hour of hearing the news, Simone composed her first protest song, “Mississippi Goddam.” Where the cries of Black Americans fell upon deaf ears, Simone’s music prevailed as a symbol of resistance in the fight for freedom as she sang the words, “They try to say it’s a communist plot, All I want is equality, For my sister my brother my people and me.”

During the 1950s and well into the subsequent decades, the United States was a war zone of civil unrest as the Jim Crow era came to an end and the struggle for civil rights and Black liberation prevailed. Simone spoke volumes beyond the music as she rejected the traditional American ideology and demanded national change. Alongside the leaders of the Civil Rights Movement, we watched as her lyricism and artistry of the jazz genre gave root to one of the most influential movements for equality and brought a voice to the silenced. This essay analyzes how Simone’s complexity as an artist carried a clear political agenda. Simone used her music, stage presence, and voice to command an audience that would take action and spark a movement for Black liberation across the nation. Simone’s combined collaboration between music and political activism set the foundation for her role as the bard of Black activism. Despite the targets placed on her back due to her gender, race, and role, Simone sparked a movement for Black liberation as she refused to back down from the White patriarchy. Simone’s integral influence bore the roots of the Civil Rights Movement, pushing the fight for Black Liberation to unprecedented heights.

The Simone Lens: A Historiographical approach to the Historical conversation

With this project, I hope to peel back the layers that make

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1 Nina Simone, “Mississippi Goddam” 1964.
up Simone and expose the roots that bore life into the fight for Black liberation. Her artistry and activism combined to become the anthem of freedom for Black Americans nationwide. As an artist and political figure, Nina Simone’s complexity remains one of the most vital yet overlooked driving forces in advancing the Civil Rights Movement. To better understand Simone and her complexity as an artist and activist, it’s essential to step back and analyze the roots of the historical conversation and the historians who have spent countless hours bringing to light her legacy. The following section examines the current scholarship surrounding the historical discussion of Simone’s fight for Black Liberation.

In her latest, groundbreaking monograph, *How It Feels to Be Free: Black Women Entertainers and the Civil Rights Movement*, Rutgers University associate professor and historian Ruth Feldstein dives deep within the lives of six Black female entertainers and the profound impact they held on the Civil Rights Movement. As we follow Feldstein’s analysis of Lena Horne, Miriam Makeba, Nina Simone, Abbey Lincoln, Diahann Carroll, and Cicely Tyson, we become vividly aware of the central role these women played in the fight for Black liberation that went beyond the scope of the stage. *How it Feels to Be Free* is a work of cultural history that forces its readers to peel back the facade of the entertainment world and get to know these women for the activists they truly were. Feldstein’s analysis is driven by a series of themes analyzing diverse stage performance, transnational political activism, and the rise of Black feminism concerning the rise of the Civil Rights Movement. Feldstein’s research explores a wide range of traditional sources, from monographs to autobiographies, periodicals, and historical journals, alongside entertainment sources such as songs and their lyrics. Feldstein’s analysis of academic and entertainment sources peels back the layers of the deeply embedded resistance of the Black female entertainment world that have helped mold and influence the fight for Black liberation.

As Feldstein made clear, this monograph centers around how these six Black female entertainers understood, supported, developed, critiqued, and disseminated Black activism in

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cultural work that may, at times, have seemed to be “just” entertainment.\(^3\) Not only a product of her own historical interests but an expansion piece on our current school of thought surrounding the inclusion of integral female figures within the historical conversation, Feldstein uses *How It Feels to Be Free* to bring Black female entertainers and their contributions center stage to the history of civil rights.\(^4\) Feldstein challenges traditional ideologies by suggesting that a fuller understanding of Black activism and feminism requires expanding beyond the realm of political activity.\(^5\) Feldstein draws on the integral contributions made by Simone that previous historians have overlooked, and we learn that Simone remains in a pool of comparison to her peers in the industry.

Turning now to the work of historian and professor of African American music at Harvard University, Ingrid Monson, and her latest monograph, *Freedom Sounds: Civil Rights Call out to Jazz and Africa*, we divert our focus to the relationship built between jazz and political activism during the Civil Rights era and the influence it held on musicians. Monson focuses her research on why such a profound proliferation of musical creativity occurred during a period of such heightened political intensity.\(^6\) Monson’s complex and profound analysis of the ethos of jazz brings forth a new understanding of the experiences of Black jazz artists like Simone in their pursuit for Black self-determination. Weaving together the integral roles of jazz, Black nationalism, and modern subjectivity in everyday practices and performances as intimate as love itself, yet as connected to real-world aspirations for freedom.\(^7\) In her exploration of the intersectionality of the experience of jazz artists with the political intensity of the 1950s and 60s, Monson explores a wide variety of sources, ranging from biographies and autobiographies to interviews, discography, and recordings, as well as encyclopedias and archival research. Tying the roots of Jim Crow to Black Power activism, Monson analyzes an extensive range of discography and recordings from Nina Simone, Louis Armstrong, Charles Mingus, and John Coltrane to further emphasize the relationship each of these artists held to political activism and the

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4 Feldstein, 21.
5 Feldstein, 8.
fight for Black liberation rooted in the jazz scene. Monson links the struggle for Black liberation to the debate for agency and self-determination through a collection of complex sources that further our understanding of how the comfortable narratives of jazz heroism, triumph, and celebration have flattened the political and social struggles many jazz musicians have faced pursuing their craft. In her quest to uncover the experiences that have shaped the journey for Black self-determination carried out by these artists, Monson deepens our understanding of the intersectionality of Jazz and Civil Rights politics in a way that has never been done before, while setting the tone for the next generation of historical conversation. Like Feldstein, Monson elaborates on the deep-seated layers of struggle Simone and fellow Black entertainers faced in the fight for agency and liberation as they pushed societal boundaries to earn their place on stage. Although finally included in the historical conversation with the “big names” of Jazz, we continue to see Simone having to share the limelight yet again. Posing the question of when we might see Simone in the spotlight for the integral role she continues to play in the fight for Black liberation in America.

Next, we focus on the often neglected avenue of Jazz and its timeless women. Historian, novelist, and Jazz critic Nat Hentoff discusses the lack of female appreciation in the Jazz world. His latest monograph, *At the Jazz Band Ball: Sixty Years on the Jazz Scene* explores the company of these musicians who put their lives, memories, and expectations into the penetrating immediacy of their music, which often stays in the mind long after being played. Focusing specifically on how “free expression is the essence of liberty” and the strong ties held between Jazz and social justice in America. Hentoff’s primary focus remains centered on bringing to light the often overlooked ways in which the timeless female voices of Jazz embodied the times to reflect the political and civil unrest of the Civil Rights Movement. Hentoff calls attention to the neglected inclusion of female Jazz artists and their overlooked influence in driving the Civil Rights movement. The jazz women in this chapter, past and present, embody the quintessential effect of this music, performed when women are center stage, as Jazz musician

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8 Monson, 283.
9 Nat Hentoff, *At the Jazz Band Ball: Sixty Years on the Jazz* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 6.
Valaida Snow said best “when the music is right, it heals everybody.”

Hentoff uses a collection of short essays, interviews, and discography, and he heavily relies on his personal experience growing up in the jazz scene to help shape a collective reflection on the last sixty years of jazz and its influence on the Civil Rights Movement. Through his in-depth analysis and personal connection to the jazz scene, we gain a new understanding of the jazz scene over the last sixty years and the integral influence that jazz greats such as Simone have had on the Civil Rights Movement. Bringing forth an extraordinarily raw and personal reflection of his journey through the evolution of Jazz, we watch as Hentoff combines academic sources of monographs and biographies with the interviews he held with Simone in an attempt to shine a light on the profound influence she not only held on the genre but more so on the hold she had on society and the fight for Black liberation. Like Feldstein and Monson, Hentoff discusses the overlooked and once-forgotten avenues of Jazz, specifically, its key female figures such as Nina Simone and how her artistry became integral to the political influence she held. Although we continue to see Simone’s inclusion in the historical conversation, the pockets of knowledge leave readers hungry for the entirety of Nina Simone and her integral role as the most groundbreaking artist of the twentieth century.

Simone was a complex artist with a clear political agenda that she demanded people hear. She used her music, stage presence, and voice to command an audience that would take action and spark a movement for Black liberation from the White patriarchy. By analyzing Simone’s artistry and activism, we uncover the layers of political fire and creative emotion that blend the worlds of artistry and activism to create the Simone lens through which we now view the world. In doing so, we address the failed perspectives of past historians who have labeled Simone either by her political agenda or music and never by how those worlds collided. Simone bore the roots for Black activism through music as she became the bard of the Civil Rights Movement, the precursor to Black musical activism and the integral initiation that combined musicality and activism with a depth that had never been seen before.

10 Hentoff, 170.
Little Girl Blue: A Background on Simone and Her Rise to Fame

Nina Simone, born Eunice Kathleen Waymon on February 21, 1933 in Tryon, North Carolina, was the sixth-born child of John Divine Waymon and Mary Kate Irvin. The Waymon’s were not a wealthy family, as they grew up on the East side of the train tracks and lived amidst one of the darkest periods of American history. However, they were a deeply religious and faithfully tight-knit family that honored individualism and held music in high regard as a form of soul expression. Simone’s father was a barber and dry cleaner by day, and by night, he filled the Waymon house with the soul of Jazz as he played the piano, setting the foundation for a young Eunice to follow in. Simone had always shown a passion for music since infancy and by the age of three, she played “God Be with You ’Til We Meet Again” on the family piano and left the entire family astonished by her gift.11 Simone went on to play at each of the six Methodist churches her mother preached at and soon fell under the fellowship of British piano teacher Muriel Massinovich, who would become an integral part of her musical journey. Simone spent four years studying under Massinovich before going to an all-girls private boarding school to continue her passion for studying music. After graduating high school, Simone moved to New York to study under Carl Friedberg at the Juilliard School, where she worked all summer, applying to her dream school, the Curtis Institute of Music in Philadelphia. Simone’s application to Curtis was denied, and she was never allowed to re-apply as Curtis would only accept students twenty-one years of age or younger. This absolutely shattered Simone’s heart and angered her to her core, as she always felt her rejection lie in the complexion of her skin and not in her lack of musical ability. Simone began taking private piano lessons under Vladimir Sokoloff, a professor at Curtis, and to do so, she began playing at nightclubs and supper clubs around the area.

It was through her nightclub performances that the name “Nina Simone” came into being. Simone knew her mother was conservative; if she had known Simone was performing in nightclubs, she would have never allowed it. At the time, Simone’s boyfriend constantly referred to her as “Niña” which

would soon become “Nina and “Simone” after the French actress Simone Signoret. Simone continued making a living and spreading her musical talents throughout the nightclubs of the North East, soon being coined the “High Priestess of Soul” for her deeply intrinsic and soulful voice. Her career skyrocketed in 1958 when Simone recorded a cover of George Gershwin’s “I Loves You Porgy,” which would soon become Simone’s first and only Billboard Top 20 hit, placing her name in the mouths of Americans nationwide. Simone recorded her first album, “Little Girl Blue,” in 1959 for Bethlehem Records. Simone had been slowly gaining popularity and a steady momentum in her career when she met Andrew Stroud, a detective for the New York City Police Department. The two would soon become extremely close and get married on December 4, 1961, in Nina’s New York City apartment, and a year later, the couple had their first and only child together, Lisa Celeste Stroud.

Simone’s career was on the verge of a pivotal turning point for her success without her even knowing it. To her gruesome discovery, on the morning of Sunday, September 15, 1963, a bomb set by four Ku Klux Klan members went off, exploding on the doorsteps of the 16th St. Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, taking the lives of four beautiful, young African-American girls. This horrific news set a fire ablaze within Simone and sparked her passion for turning music into civil rights activism. Within an hour of hearing of the 16th St. bombing, Simone had written her first protest song: “Mississippi Goddam,” which would pave the way for her role as a musical activist for the liberation of Black Americans. From 1964 onward, Simone continued to expand herself as a Black female entertainer while shining light on the daily atrocities Black Americans were facing in the fight for liberation from the White patriarchy. Nina spent any and every opportunity she had to speak on the civil rights of Black Americans while using her platform as a Black musician to, in turn, become an anthem in the fight for liberation, as Simone’s lyrics and attitude no longer beat around the bush or sugar-coated the Black experience in America. Instead, she shined light on the truth and what it meant to walk around with a target on your back for the mere sake of complexion.

Simone quickly built herself into a network of like-minded

Black musicians and activists. Working in close collaboration with the one and only African-American poet Langston Hughes, the infamous actress and activist Lorraine Hansberry, as well the South African songstress Miriam Makeba, who would soon introduce Simone to Black Panther Party leader Stokley Carmichael and renowned civil rights leader Dr. King. Simone’s dominance as the High Priestess of Soul paved the way for Simone to become the bard of civil rights activism. For nearly two decades, Simone used the stage to fight for the liberation of Black Americans. By the 1980s, Simone saw little to no improvement regarding the way her people were being treated and refused to continue living in such horrific conditions, knowing that even she, a woman of power, had very little control over the laws enacted in the land of the free. Simone left the States to travel and live in Barbados, Liberia, and all over Europe, from London to the Netherlands and even Amsterdam, before she finally settled in Paris in 1993. She often returned to the States to perform, where fans lamented they missed her dearly. However, Simone always responded by saying she could no longer live in such fear and lack of freedom.

Nina spent the last decade of her life living in Paris, performing in small clubs and releasing music that she was proud of and wanted to share. Simone performed for the last time in the United States on the 30th of August in 1998 where she addressed the crowd by letting them know that, “If you’re going to come see me again, you’ve got to come to France, because I am not coming back.” Simone was soon diagnosed with breast cancer and fought an enduring battle that she would eventually succumb to on the evening of the April 21 in her home in the countryside of Paris. Many attended Simone’s funeral, and her legacy continues to live on in the hearts of many who fight for Black liberation.

Simone’s Armory of Political Weaponry: Music, Stage Presence, Voice

To better understand the complexity of Simone’s artistry and activism, we must break down the deeply intertwined lay-

15 Nina Simone, I Put A Spell On You, 175.
ers that make up her armory of political weaponry. Simone employed three distinct modes of political ammunition, the first being her role as a musician and the integral influence her music held, which she continues to have in the fight for Black liberation. Simone’s platform as a musician bore the roots of her fundamental work as an activist and advocate for the rights of Black Americans. This section closely examines Simone’s lyricism, her collaboration with fellow Black artists and activists of the time, and her ability to command an audience with a depth of musicality and unmatched soul. In doing so, we not only lift the hidden veil on decades of activism work and musical inspiration but also unlock the core school of thought that drives Simone in a way that has never been done before. By doing so, we gain a newfound understanding of how Nina shaped and influenced the fight for Black liberation across America, using her music as a political weapon to take down the White patriarch.

Simone released her first protest song, “Mississippi Goddam,” in 1964 following the 16th St. Baptist Church bombing at the hands of four Ku Klux Klan members. The attack not only rattled Birmingham and the Black community to its core but ignited a flame within Nina that would inspire her shift from artist to activist and birth the beginning of a new era for the jazz songstress. “Mississippi Goddam” received immense backlash as Simone’s lyrics boldly and vividly describe the scene of daily life for Black Americans. Simone sang,

“Lord, have mercy on this land of mine.  
We all gonna get it in due time.  
I don’t belong here, I don’t belong there.  
I’ve even stopped believing in prayer.  
Don’t tell me, I’ll tell you,  
me and my people are just about due.”

For the first time, she set a precedent as an artist and activist to define the times in which she lived and make it known to the world that her people demanded liberation from the centuries of oppression that they endured daily. Simone uses “Mississippi Goddam” to not only shine a light on the murder of four innocent Black girls by the Klan but also in a way that no longer sugarcoats or beats around the bush of Black liberation. Instead, she uses this opportunity to show the nation and the

world just how horrible the land of the free is treating those who built this country from the bottom up. Simone is the first Black female entertainer to finally employ the stage as a political weapon unlike any other.

“Mississippi Goddam” was only the beginning of the movement Simone would inspire. That same year, Simone released her second protest song, “Old Jim Crow,” which she used to expose the harsh realities of Jim Crow segregation in the South and how its legacy lived on to be the rooting American ideology of the 1960s.

“Old Jim Crow, where you been, baby?
Down Mississippi and back again.
Old Jim Crow, what’s wrong with you?
It ain’t your name, it’s the things you do.
When you hurt my brother you hurt me too.
Thought I had you beat,
now I see you walkin’ and talkin’
up and down my street.”

Her lyrics served far beyond the scope of musicality as they told the true story of what it meant to live as a Black American during the 60s. Simone continuously pushed the boundaries when it came to her lyricism and refused to soften her message for the sake of others, as she believed wholeheartedly in representing the times in which she lived without remorse for the feelings of others. She demanded the world become aware of the atrocities Black Americans faced and used her lyrics to deliver her message across the globe. Many of the songs analyzed in this section would eventually be banned from performance and recording studios as much of the industry found Simone’s to be far too critical and outspoken. Yet, this was the exact reaction Simone wanted, to rattle the White patriarchy to its core.

Just a few years later, Simone released “I Wish I Knew How It Would Feel to Be Free,” from which she draws upon Dr. King’s infamous “I Have a Dream” speech and sings of how she yearned for liberation and freedom to ring as loud and clear for Black Americans as it did for the rest of the nation. As Simone sang,

“I wish I could break all the chains holdin’ me. 
I wish I could say all the things that I should say. 
Say’em loud, say ‘em clear, 
for the whole round world to hear. 
I wish I could remove all the bars that keep us apart. 
I wish you could know what it means to be me, 
then you’d see and agree 
that every man should be free.”19

We hear as the High Priestess of Soul makes it known that all she ever wanted for herself and her people was the freedom to be without fear lying in every step ahead. “I Wish I Knew How It Would Feel to Be Free” displays the delicate and vulnerable side of Simone that so many have found to be non-existent through her rugged outer complexion when the truth of the reality was that Simone felt so much she could not help but express herself through music. Another prime example is Simone’s release of “To Be Young, Gifted and Black” in honor of Lorraine Hansbury’s passing. This is not only a dedication to the talented actress and dear friend of Simone but also an anthem of empowerment to Black folk across the world. She sang,

“When you’re young, gifted and black, 
your soul’s intact. 
To be young, gifted and black 
oh, how I’ve longed to know the truth. 
There are times when I look back 
and I am haunted by my youth. 
Oh but my joy of today is that we can all be proud to say 
to be young, gifted and black.”20

Although Simone’s transition to protest music resulted from great tragedy, we watch as the High Priestess of Soul uses her lyricism to show the world what truly was going on behind closed doors for Black Americans.

Combining her lyricism with her ability to command an audience, we watch Simone’s depth of musicality and soul deliver a message of political liberation across the nation. Simone

20 Nina Simone, “To Be Young, Gifted and Black,” 1970.
understood her role as a Black female entertainer of the 60s and understood that if she wanted to spread a message, her music was the place to do so in a way that would allow her to control the audience and what they heard. Simone was known for her ability to command an audience and evoke a sense of action that paved the way for many to take a stand against the White patriarchy on an unprecedented scale. Simone had been singing protest songs since the early 1960s, but it was not until the murder of Dr. King that Simone truly began to use her musicality to guide and command an audience to take a stand and demand social change against the heinous atrocities Black Americans were facing across the nation. Just three days after the brutal massacre of Dr. King, Simone and her bass player Gene Taylor composed “Why? (The King of Love Is Dead)” in honor of Dr. King’s non-violent ideology and the wound left on the Black community with his passing. Simone’s performance at the Westbury Music Festival left the crowd without words as she sang,

“Will the murders never cease?  
Are they men or are they beasts?  
What do they ever hope, ever hope to gain?  
Will my country fall, stand or fall?  
Is it too late for us all?  
And did Martin Luther King just die in vain?”

Simone spoke volumes to the audience that surpassed the world of music as she spoke to each and every soul with her vulnerability and devoted passion to Black liberation. Simone carried this on through a multitude of records as she continued to use her musicality to deliver messages demanding the liberation of Black Americans. Later in the year, Simone released a classic known as “Ain’t Got No/I Got Life.” She describes the political agenda placed on Black Americans and the limitations much of the world has put on the community. As Simone sang,

“Why am I alive anyway?  
Yeah, what have I got nobody can take away.  
Got my hair, got my head.  
Got my brains, got my ears.  
I got my freedom.  
I have a life, I’ve got the life and I’m going to keep it.

I’ve got the life and nobody’s gonna take it away.”22

She sang to the Black community’s soul while also exposing the raw, vulnerable, and emotional experience of living as a person of color in America. Simone drew out the emotion of a crowd while also instilling a sense of anger in them as she sang of the atrocities happening in the world around her. She took this sense of soul into every piece she wrote going forward, and it truly shows the more we peel back the layers of Simone’s musicality as a political weapon. Her protest song “Revolution” stirred the pot as the High Priestess of Soul sang the words,

“Yeah, your Constitution.
Well, my friend, it’s gonna have to bend.
I’m here to tell you about the destruction
of all the evil that will have to end.
It’s not as simple as talkin’ jive,
the daily struggle just to stay alive.
Singin’ about a revolution
because we’re talkin’ about a change.
It’s more than just evolution.”23

Simone not only sang to the audiences of Black Americans as she instilled validation in their souls, but she also sang to the White patriarchy and challenged the traditional American nativist school of thought as she demanded a revolution for her people and refused to back down until change was instilled and enacted.

Simone’s lyricism and ability to command an audience was not the only way she employed her musicality as a political weapon. Simone was also known for her deep-rooted connections and collaborations with fellow Black artists and activists, notably Langston Hughes, Lorraine Hansbury, Miriam Makeba, and Stokley Carmichael. Simone’s musicality and artistry allowed her to work with some of the most renowned artists and activists of her time. In doing so, we watch Simone evolve as both an artist and activist, paving the way for Black liberation. Simone’s relationship with Langston Hughes can be traced back to her high school days when she served as the treasurer for her high school’s NAACP chapter, where she met Hughes.

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It was not until years later that the two became close friends and collaborative partners as a result of their performance at the 1960 Newport Jazz Festival. In the fall of 1960, just a few months following their Newport performance, Hughes wrote a letter to Simone stating that he had been thinking of her often and of their meeting at Newport and how he had been meaning to get in touch with her to work on a project.\(^{24}\) He even opened the letter by quoting Simone’s lyrics as he describes, “La vie est difficile, tu sais...as the song says...”\(^{25}\) Working on the chain gang’” This correspondence paved the way for the start of the relationship Hughes and Simone would share in their fight for Black Liberation. From then on, the two spent a lot of time discussing the war on Black Americans and how they, as artists, could use their voices to speak for the oppressed. In chapter seven of her autobiography, Simone described her mentorship with Hughes and the deep connection she built with him over their shared passion for civil rights: “I was guided by Langston, who gave me books he thought I should read, but more often simply sat me down and told me what I should know. I’d go over to his place in Harlem and over dinner - southern style - we’d talk, recite songs and poems and drink wine until the sun came up.”\(^{26}\) Simone stated, “At the end of 1963 it wasn’t simply a question of being ‘for’ civil rights. There was a lot to understand for somebody who just wanted to get involved, but it was especially important that I did.”\(^{27}\) Simone and Hughes continued to build a profound-rooted relationship as their fire for civil rights continued to grow.

Early that next year, in 1964, at the height of the Civil Rights Movement, Simone dealt with the immense emotional toll of being such a dedicated voice for the oppressed. She often wrote to Hughes about the emotional distress she carried as he understood her passion and vulnerability from the same perspective. In a letter to Hughes, Simone describes how Hughes’ autobiographies contained “a wealth of knowledge concerning the Negro problem”\(^{28}\) and how she felt a deep connection to his discussion on the racial divide of the times. As the two continued to grow closer through their fight for Black liberation, a collaboration of artistry was born in 1967. Hughes

24 Langston Hughes to Nina Simone, October 2, 1960.
25 Langston Hughes to Nina Simone, October 2, 1960.
28 Nina Simone to Langston Hughes, July 6, 1964.
gave Simone his original poem “Backlash Blues,” and Simone flipped a literary classic into a political rallying cry for Black Americans. As Simone sang,

“You give me second class houses
and second class schools.
Do you think that all colored folks
are just second class fools?
Oh, Mr. Backlash, I’m gonna leave you
with the backlash blues”²⁹

She challenged the traditional ideology of the White patriarchy, expressing the second hand treatment of all Black Americans. Simone served as a voice of reason to people of color as her music served as a constant threat to growing American nativism. Ending the song by stating how “You’re the one who’ll have the blues, not me”³⁰ Simone turns the threat of White Americans on themselves, serving a heavy dose of poetic justice as she transforms Hughes’ literary classic into a political anthem for Black Americans across the nation. Hughes then connected Simone with activist and actress Lorraine Hansbury, who connected Simone with South African songstress and activist Miriam Makeba. Eventually, Makeba led Simone to Black Panther Party leader Stokley Carmichael³¹ Through this ever-growing network, Simone became interwoven with the fabric of freedom and refused to stop until the taste of liberation fell on the tongue of every Black American. Simone’s deep-rooted network with fellow Black artists and activists allowed her the expansion as an artist to thrive amongst like-minded individuals and the fire to fuel her ever-evolving passion for civil rights activism. Simone’s use of musicality as a political weapon employs a newfound school of thought that combines artistry and activism to illuminate the atrocities Black Americans faced while also becoming a voice of reason in the fight for Black liberation.

The second mode of political weaponry was Simone’s stage presence, and she employed the stage as her political platform to demand social change and console Black Americans across the nation, becoming the bard of the Civil Rights Movement.

³¹ Nina Simone, I Put A Spell On You, 98.
This mode of political weaponry came early on in life for Simone as she grew up very aware of the times in which she lived and the way those around her constantly lived in fear of the White patriarchy. As we read earlier on, Simone took piano lessons from Muriel Massinovich for quite some time. To do so, she needed to walk across the train tracks to the opposite side of town where Mrs. Massinovich lived, as she was a White woman and segregation was still dividing the nation at its peak. Simone was constantly questioned for being on the wrong side of the tracks until those in the neighborhood became familiar with her taking lessons under Massinovich. Even so, not many were accepting of the fact. Simone continued to learn under the tutelage of Massinovich, where she had her very first piano recital at the Tryon town hall at the mere age of twelve. As she was introduced to the audience, Simone looked up to see her parents had been moved to the back of the room and forced to stand so that a White couple could be seated in their place. Simone stood and addressed the audience, stating that if anyone expected to hear her play, then they’d better make sure her family was sitting in the front row where she could see them. At the mere age of twelve, we are shown a young Eunice demanding that her parents be moved back to the front row as she refused to accept the racial discrimination of her family, regardless of who was allowing her to perform. Simone describes this moment as being cut raw but that her skin grew back again and this time a little tougher, a little less innocent, and a little more Black. This authoritative, affirmative mentality became pivotal in Simone’s assertion of the stage as she carried this ideology into her career as both an artist and activist demanding social change. Even at the peak of her career, Simone continued to use the stage to demand social change and liberation for all Black Americans. Just as Simone stood up and spoke for her parents at her first recital, she continued to do so for herself and those she loved, regardless of who she might upset.

If there was one thing Simone demanded at the bare minimum, it was respect. On July 3rd, 1976 Simone performed her song “Stars” at the Montreux Jazz Festival where she stopped her performance midway through to command an audience

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33 Eunice Waymon, pianist, Piano Recital, Lanier Library, Tryon, North Carolina, July 31, 1949.
member to take her seat and refused to continue playing until her voice was not only heard but respected; an ideology she demanded from everyone for herself and her people.\textsuperscript{36} One of Simone’s most infamous performances took place at the Newport Jazz Festival in July of 1966, where Simone performed her cult classic “Mississippi Goddam” for a crowd of over 15,000 people and demanded the current struggle for Black Liberation be heard by all those who attended.\textsuperscript{37} Newspapers nationwide spoke about the bold song choice of Simone’s performance and the standing ovation she received in response. Simone had a gift for performing not in a show-tune way but in a way that made her audience members question the times in which they lived and how change became necessary if we were to progress as a nation. No matter where Simone went or where she performed, we watched as the High Priestess of Soul employed the stage as a political weapon, demanding the liberation of all Black Americans.

While employing the stage to demand a social movement in the fight for Black liberation, Simone also advised Black Americans on how to survive the horrors of the time as she spoke to them throughout her performances, often speaking as if she knew everyone in the room and as if they were dear friends of hers. Simone had a deeply lit passion for freedom and wanted everyone to feel loved and accepted in her presence, especially her people. On April 7, 1968, Simone performed “Why? (The King of Love is Dead)” a tribute to Dr. King three days following his assassination at the Westbury Music Festival in Long Island, New York. Simone opens up her performance by addressing the crowd and dedicating her song to the King of Love (Dr. King) and discusses how she and her band only had the day before to learn the song, but she felt compelled to sing and dedicate it that day, as she could not wait another day to continue the fight in his name. Simone addresses the crowd at the end of her performance with,

“Do you realize how many we have lost? Then it really gets down to reality, doesn’t it? Not a performance. Not microphones and all that crap, but really something else. We’ve lost a lot of them in the last two years...And

\textsuperscript{36} Nina Simone, pianist and vocalist, "Montreux Jazz Festival," Montreux, Switzerland, July 3, 1976.
\textsuperscript{37} Nina Simone, pianist and vocalist, "Mississippi Goddam," by Nina Simone, Newport Jazz Festival, Newport, Rhode Island, July 2, 1966.
of course, for those that we have left we are thankful but we can’t afford any more losses. Oh no, oh my God. They’re shooting us down one by one. Don’t forget that. Because they are. Killing us one by one. Well, all I have to say is that, those of us who know how to protect those of us that we love, stand by them and stay close to them”38

This performance not only showcases a very raw and emotionally distraught Nina, who felt at a loss for the Black community with the murder of Dr. King, but it also displays Simone’s ability to speak to a crowd in ways that surpassed the artists of her time. A little over a year later, Simone performed at the Philharmonic Hall in New York City on October 26, 1969, where she paid homage to and sang “To Be Young, Gifted and Black” in honor of actress and late friend Lorraine Hansberry. Before beginning her performance, she addresses the crowd by stating, “This is our latest song...now it is not addressed primarily to White people, though it does not put you down in any way, it simply ignores you. For my people need all the inspiration and love that they can get, so since this house is full and there are 2 million Blacks in this country, I only want 1 million to buy this record, do you understand?”39 As Simone lost those dear to her in the fight for liberation, she continued to employ the stage to advise Black Americans of the atrocities happening at the hands of the White patriarchy. On July 3, 1976, Simone performed her cult classic “Backlash Blues” for the Montreux Jazz Festival, and at the end of her performance, she extended an additional improv verse of the song in tribute to Langston Hughes, where she sings of Hughes message for her: “Nina, keep on workin’ until they open up the door. You know who you are and you know you either been here or never been here before and when they open up the door make sure you tell them where it’s at so they’ll have no other place to hide besides all them strange hats.”40 Referring to the White patriarchy and their elitist, nativist mindset, Simone constantly employed the stage as a political weapon to not only spark a movement of social change in the name of Black liberation but to do so in a

way that advocated and consoled her people, unlike any other artist of her time. In doing so, we watch Simone become a bard for the Civil Rights Movement. Simone performed at many civil rights events and protest rallies alongside fellow Black artists and activists, and she continuously advocated for the rights and freedoms of Black Americans. On August 5, 1963, Simone performed at the “Salute to Freedom” rally in Birmingham, Alabama, alongside Ray Charles, Ella Fitzgerald, and Johnny Mathis to raise funds for the Civil Rights Movement as they tested the boundaries of the city’s campaign to bring an end to segregation in Birmingham.41 The city rejected original plans for the rally, and the show ended up being held at Miles College, an all-Black university in Fairfield.

Simone knew that playing at Civil Rights events was extremely dangerous and that she took a risk every time she stood on a stage and advocated for Black liberation, yet this never stopped Nina. It became the reason she continued to do so. Simone performed a year later for the President Kennedy Tribute concert in Summit, New Jersey, on January 22, 1964, where all the proceeds went directly to the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and their efforts in aiding the fight for liberation.42 Simone also performed at the Stars for Freedom rally on March 24, 1965, in Montgomery, Alabama following the end of Dr. King’s march from Selma to Montgomery. In support of Dr. King and the continued fight for Black liberation, Simone played her classic protest anthems “Mississippi Goddam” and “Old Jim Crow.”43 Nina recalls the very makeshift setup of the concert on the football field of St. Jude High School, the deeply felt racial prejudice of the National Guard, and how the blade of a knife could cut the division and tension. It had been raining for much of the day, and the field had turned to mud by nightfall; despite being soaked by the rain, footsore, and frightened, those who had turned up in support kept their spirits high by singing and praying.44 The 1960s were a tumultuous time for Black Americans. Regardless of the risks, fears, or racial prejudice of others, Simone employed the stage as a mode of political weaponry that remains to this day as a force to be reckoned with. As we peel back the layers of Simone’s

stage presence, we watch as Simone demands the liberation of every Black American while standing in advocacy for the voices of those who have been silenced as the bard of the Civil Rights Movement.

The third and final mode of political weaponry we will be analyzing is Simone’s voice. Simone was bold and outspoken, realizing the power she held in being a voice for the oppressed very early on. Through the employment of her voice as a political weapon, we watch as Simone not only shines a light on the atrocities Black Americans were facing daily but how also sparks a movement amongst college students across the nation while also igniting a flame of curiosity amongst Black Americans about their own cultural identity. Nina took on interviews as an avenue to use her voice beyond the music and the stage as she took the fight for Black liberation everywhere she went and was determined to show the world just how racist and violent the greatest nation in the world truly was. Simone was interviewed for an episode of “Black Journal” by Lou House in 1969, during which she discussed her perspective on an artist’s duty.

“I choose to reflect the times and situations in which I find myself. That to me is my duty. And at this crucial time in our lives when everything is so desperate, when every day is a matter of survival, I don’t think you can help but be involved. Young people, black and white, know this, that is why they are so involved in politics. We will shape and mold this country or it will not be shaped and molded at all any more.”

Simone had a way with words that made you feel every emotion she felt as she spoke them. Drawing on her personal experiences as a Black artist of the times, she was determined to not only shine a light on the atrocities Black Americans faced but to make it known to the nation every chance she could. She never wanted her people to be forgotten and she spent her entire career making their livelihood and liberation known to the world, especially the White patriarchy.

Just a few months later, in 1970, Peter Rodis interviewed

Simone for her perspective on what it meant to be free, where she replied:

“What’s free to me? Same thing it is to you, you tell me. It’s just a feeling, it’s just a feeling. It’s like how do you tell somebody how it feels to be in love. How are you going to tell anybody who has not been in love how it feels to be in love? You cannot do it to save your life, you can describe things, but you can’t tell them but you know it when it happens. That’s what I mean by free. I’ll tell you what freedom is to me, no fear. I mean really no fear.”

She went on to state:

“I’ve always thought that I was shaking people up, but now I want to go at it more and I want to go at it more deliberately and I want to go at it coldly. I want to shake people up so bad that when they leave a nightclub where I’ve performed, I just want them to be to pieces. I wanna go into that den of those elegant people with their old ideas, smugness and just drive them insane.”

She did precisely that; Simone’s devoted activism to the fight for liberation enraged the White patriarchy as they continuously viewed Simone as a threat to the American identity. However, Simone knew that the more people she angered and left flustered, the more her message was being delivered. She continued to do interviews late into her life as her passion for civil rights never dimmed. In 1992, Frank Lords, a French director, put together a documentary visualizing the autobiography of the High Priestess of Soul, where on many occasions, we see interview segments of Simone and Lords discussing her role as an activist and how she felt about America. At one point, Simone states,

“It was anguish, yes. I was excited by it though, I felt more alive then than I do now because I was needed and I could sing something to help my people. That became most important to me, not classical music but

47 Nina Simone, Interview by Peter Rodis, Nina Simone: A Historical Perspective (Cinemagic Productions, 1970), 14:15-14:47.
Civil Rights Movement music because America is full of prejudice and discrimination and Black people are never going to get their rights until we have our own separate state.”48

Simone knew her purpose and the power of her voice, and she refused to back down until her message was heard and enacted and freedom was brought to her people. Raw, emotional, vulnerable, and angry, Simone drove home the ideology that her people were under attack, and without immediate action, the war dividing the nation would only persist.

In one of her final interviews with Tim Sebastian of BBC’s HARDTalk in 1999, Simone discusses moving out of the States and why she would never be returning to America. “Racism! Racism! I couldn’t stand it! Still can’t stand it! Crossing the street! You get racism crossing the street in America. You get it in every...it’s in the very fabric of American society.”49 Simone employed her voice to shine a light on the atrocities Black Americans were facing any chance she was given, and she did not care who she offended in the process as Simone’s goal was to shine a light on the truth of the heinous reality Black Americans lived in. In doing so, she sparked a nationwide movement amongst college students empowering and encouraging any and all to take a stand against the White Patriarchy and fight for the liberation of Black Americans alongside her. In her 1969 interview with Lou House for an episode of “Black Journal,” Simone is asked about her dedication to the young Black college students of America, to which she replies,

“When there are kids who come back stage afterwards who want to talk or who are moved to the point of tears or want to know more about it and shake my hand and they want to talk about their problems, I find the time to do so as much as I can..I will go out of my way in spite of the fact that I am too tired to do it, to talk to them and sock to them the same message that I just finished doing on stage and to hear some of their grievances, just to make them feel as though they are not alone because when you have a few colored kids in a huge white college any way you cut it they are alienated

and they feel it! So when I come I feel a responsibility. They are so glad to see me because I represent something to them and I can’t give them enough, you know. They need me! They need me. And when I’m needed, I have to give.”

Simone knew the power her voice held, especially amongst young Black Americans. Despite her chaotic life, she remained at the forefront of the fight for Black liberation as the listening ears and fighting voice of Black liberation.

To Simone, her time speaking to the crowds of young Black American college students was viewed as an investment for the future and the livelihood of future generations. In return, we watch as an immense spark is ignited in the fight for liberation amongst young Black American college students nationwide. Simone discusses this in her interview with House:

“When I invest time in young people from colleges, I know that I am going to get that bread back, you know bread cast upon the water comes back. Because when I see them doing their thing one day and I’m too old to do anything but sit and look at them, I’m gonna say “Well I was part of that.” I never intend for my children to look at me and be ashamed and say “Mama, why didn’t you do something?” I will have done mine. And so every time I talk to them, it’s an investment for me.”

A woman ahead of her time, Simone not only knew of her voice’s power as a political weapon but also of the force it held upon the Black college students of America. She refused to back down until every voice was heard and empowered in the fight for liberation. Simone refused to be a sitting duck when she knew the weight her voice carried as a political weapon for the oppressed and carried this ideology with her throughout the entirety of her career. Through her empowerment of college students, she ignited a spark of curiosity among Black folk about their own cultural identity and what it truly meant to be Black in America. In a segment titled That Blackness of her 1969 interview with Lou House, Simone stated:

“I think what you are trying to ask is why am I so insistent upon giving out to them that Blackness, that Black Power, that Black pushing them to identify with a Black culture. I think that’s what you’re asking, I have no choice over it in the first place. To me, we are the most beautiful creatures in the whole world, Black people and I mean that in every sense.”\textsuperscript{52}

She went on to state:

“My job is to somehow make them curious enough or persuade them by hook or crook to get more aware of themselves and where they came from and what they are into and what is already there and just to bring it out. This is what compels me to compel them and I will do it by whatever means necessary.”\textsuperscript{53}

Apart from her fight for Black liberation, Simone was driven to empower Black Americans about their own cultural identity and their African roots. Simone held Black lives in extremely high regard and wanted every Black American across the nation to do the same and take pride in the complexity of their complexion despite the target placed on their backs by the White Patriarchy. She continued on in her interview with House by stating,

“As far as I am concerned my music is addressed to my people especially to make them more curious about where they came from and their own identity and pride in that identity, that’s why my songs, I try to make them as powerful as possible. Mostly just to make them curious about themselves. We don’t know anything about ourselves. We don’t even have the pride and dignity of African people. We can’t even talk about where we came from, we don’t know. It’s like a lost race.”\textsuperscript{54}

Simone watched as the voice and history of Black Americans

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\item Nina Simone, Interview by Lou House. Nina Simone: That Blackness. October 27, 1969, Black Journal. (0:03-0:30)
\item Nina Simone, Interview by Lou House, Black and Beautiful (October 27, 1969), Black Journal. (0:29-1:05).
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became so far swept under the rug; she employed her voice as a political weapon to advocate for the increased awareness regarding Black history in America and how Black culture remained at the core of American identity yet immensely overlooked. Simone took any opportunity she could to pique the interest of Black Americans in their own cultural identity, using her voice as the gateway to liberation, reflecting on the struggle of every Black American along the way and refusing to stop until freedom ran through the veins of each and every Black American.

**Conclusion**

As the fight for Black Liberation in America persists, it is more important than ever to reflect on the integral souls who have paved the way for progress in the battle against the White Patriarchy. Nina Simone remains a pivotal bard, both musically and politically, and bringing awareness to her role as the anthem for Black liberation remains far overdue. Simone’s role in the fight for Black liberation is undeniably complex and intertwined between American soul music and Black politics. From her lyricism and musicality to her ability to employ the stage as her political platform to demand change and console Black Americans nationwide, we watch Simone become the anthem of revitalization in the fight for Black liberation. Although past historians and music critics have tried to categorize Simone’s influence on the Civil Rights Movement, Simone’s flame remains unmatched through her diverse and complex meshing of musical and political influence. From her starkly outspoken lyrics to the way she commanded an audience and demanded social change for the equality and freedom of Black Americans, Simone refused to back down until the White patriarchy was torn down and her people understood the true definition of freedom. Simone’s integral influence not only bore the roots of the Civil Rights Movement but remains a central tenant in the world of protest music to this day. Artists such as Jay-Z and Kanye West have not only sampled Simone’s timeless pieces such as her cover of Holiday’s “Strange Fruit” and her undeniable classic “Mississippi Goddam,” but pay their homage to the High Priestess of Soul through their lyricism as well, keeping Simone’s flame for Black Liberation ignited. Simone sparked a political movement for Black liberation through her music that planted the seed for artists and activists to follow. Without
Simone, the Civil Rights Movement simply could not have succeeded to the extent that it did as she laid the groundwork for liberation through music and remains at the core of the fight for Black liberation to this day.
How to Boycott Your Pants Off:
The Farah Pants Boycott of 1972-1974

By LeighAnn Davis

Abstract: Counterculture and collective bargaining collided on the pages of the Hayward Country Press in the early 1970s. The Hayward Country Press was a community-run newspaper that reflected news and stories that were important to marginalized communities and those that were otherwise considered “counterculture,” including labor unions. This paper gives us a unique view of these groups in Hayward during a time when all the nation’s eyes were fixated on movements in large cities. Of the many local labor strikes happening in Hayward, one caught my eye. It was an ad calling for the boycott of Farah pants made in El Paso. My thesis asks the question: how did a small labor strike in El Paso grow into a nationwide boycott of Farah pants, let alone land on the pages of the Hayward Country Press? The specific organizational tactics employed by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America to promote the nationwide boycott of Farah pants are often overlooked because the story of the Farah workers is so compelling. Unions carried out a variety of tactics to organize a nationwide boycott through media campaigns, scheduled pickets, and targeted flyers that amplified the Farah strikers’ story to the nation. Without these tactics, the Farah strike might not have landed on the pages of a counterculture newspaper in Hayward, California. My methodology analyzes sources from the Hayward Country Press, strike publications, labor journals, and other mainstream publications used in the Farah strike and subsequent boycott, alongside well-documented labor trends of the region, to highlight the networks needed to bring a small strike to every town in the nation.
The aspiration of revolutionaries in the 1970s was expressed in a song written by Gil Scott-Heron titled “The Revolution Will Not Be Televised.” This song expressed the sentiment of people who were protesting for social and political change. His words were full of sarcasm as he informed listeners that the revolution would not go better with Coke or fight germs that cause bad breath. “You will not be able to plug in, turn on, and cop out. You will not be able to lose yourself on skag and skip out for beer during commercials, because the revolution will not be televised.” Scott-Heron was expressing that if people wanted change, they would have to be a part of it. There would be no reruns; the revolution would be LIVE. If people wanted to see change, then they would have to get out and make it themselves. Judging from the historical record, they did. People hit the streets all over the U.S. in support of various causes and behind varying rally cries. When I picked up the Hayward Country Press, a counterculture newspaper published in the early 1970s, I was inundated by some of those calls. Among pages filled with art and poetry were articles on boycotts taking place to support labor unions. There were multiple strikes in Hayward, even some against companies that are still around today. But there was one company that I didn’t recognize: Farah Manufacturing. Almost every issue included an article or ad asking the community to boycott Farah pants. They exclaimed, “Viva La Huelga” (long live the strike), before asking consumers to boycott the pants. But what was Farah, and why was a newspaper in Hayward concerned with the employees working there? This essay examines the methods that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union of America (ACWU) used to spread the message of Farah strikers to a national audience. Through news articles, press conferences, documentaries, and solidarity pledges, it will highlight the administrative efforts taken to support the Farah workers’ right to organize and, ultimately, form their own union.

Farah is a clothing manufacturing company that was founded in El Paso, Texas, during the Great Depression by Mansour Farah, a Lebanese immigrant. When the company began, it was a tiny shop run by Mansour, along with his wife, his two sons, and six Mexican seamstresses. Mansour’s sons were named Willie and James and as they grew, so did Farah. After he passed away, they took over the family business.

Even though the Farah brothers were young, they began taking on large government contracts for pants. During World War II, the factory was converted to fill military orders for pants, and they emerged at the top of their ranks. In the post-war period, the company shifted gears from military contracts to fit the needs of the consuming public. James passed away in 1964, leaving Willie to run Farah on his own. Willie expanded the business internationally and built five additional plants in El Paso. By 1967, Farah went public on the stock exchange. Farah was making clothes around the world, in Belgium, Hong Kong, and the USA. During the 1970s Farah’s share of the market on slacks was estimated as high as 11%. Everything seemed to be going well for Farah, but a movement was brewing in the plants. The ACWU attempted to organize workers at the Gateway plant in El Paso as early as 1969 when the cutting and shipping departments contacted them. On October 14, 1970, the cutters turned out in force to vote for unionization. Willie immediately appealed to the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), only to have the case tied up in court for two years and eventually thrown out. But by that time, union rallies were being held, and whispers of unionization were spreading throughout all of the factories and departments. A group of employees from the San Antonio plant attended an ACWU-sponsored march in El Paso during the early spring of 1972. When the employees returned to work, one of them was fired for his participation in the march. Anyone who objected to his dismissal was also fired. 500 San Antonio workers walked out in protest. On May 9th, the El Paso workers joined them and walked off the factory floor in protest. Farah claimed that it was because the employees were not excused for their absence, but the workers felt they were fired for attending a union event. Farah workers had already explored the thought of unionizing because they were underpaid, received few breaks, and had inadequate health care, but this was the catalyst for a wider movement. In all, around 4,000 Farah workers joined the strike for union representation, job stability, reasonable quotas, and health

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5 Coyle, Hersbatter, Honig, “Women at Farah,” 243-244.
care. Importantly, 85% of the striking workers were Chicanas, an ethnic identity for Mexican American women who have a non-Anglo self-image. They stayed on strike from May 1972 until March 1974, when the NLRB issued a decision that accused Farah of “flouting the National Labor Relations Act and trampling on the rights of its employees as if there were no Act, no Board, and no Ten Commandments.”

How did a labor strike in El Paso grow into a nationwide boycott of Farah pants, let alone land on the pages of the Hayward Country Press? The specific organizational tactics employed by the ACWU to promote the nationwide boycott of Farah pants are often overlooked, perhaps because the story of the Farah workers is so compelling. However, the ACWU organized media campaigns that broadcast the workers’ struggle to a nationwide audience; they scheduled pickets, which also garnered attention, publicity, and popular local support; and they employed “pledge cards” to gesture their desire for and/or recognition of the union seeking to represent them. Without these tactics, the Farah strike would never have landed on the pages of a counterculture newspaper in Hayward, California.

The historiography of consumer boycotts, needleworkers within the women’s labor movement, and, more specifically, the workers involved in the Farah strike has already been extensively covered by historians. Monroe Friedman’s Consumer Boycotts: Effecting Change Through the Marketplace and the Media; Joan M. Jensen and Sue Davidson’s A Needle, A Bobbin, A Strike: Women Needleworkers in America; and Emily Honig’s Women at Farah Revisited: Political Mobilization among Chicana Workers in El Paso, Texas 1972-1992 offer context for consumer boycotts and the Farah strike. However, the specific organizational tactics employed by the ACWU to mobilize the nationwide boycott of Farah pants seem to be missing from the narrative. This essay serves to open the door to the administrative wing of the ACWU and peek at their organizational tactics to understand how they garner national support for the Farah workers.

In his book, Consumer Boycotts: Effecting Change Through the Marketplace and the Media, Monroe Friedman

7 Coyle, Hersbatter, Honig, “Women at Farah,” 263.
seeks to understand consumer boycotts by looking at their historical roots and then classifying and identifying trends in contemporary movements of the late twentieth century. Friedman organizes his book by separating boycotts into subjects during the 1980s when he sees their appearance in the marketplace more frequently. The most relevant sections to show how the Farah strike and subsequent boycotts were organized cover labor boycotts, consumer economic boycotts, boycotts by religious groups, and consumer boycotts (wherein consumers BUY a product to show their support). Friedman reveals that successful labor and consumer boycotts follow a pattern. A Union announces a work strike in hopes that it forces the employer to negotiate for better terms or union representation. If that fails, workers walk off the job. If the employer still fails to recognize the workers’ right to organize, the public is called to boycott the products or services offered by the offending employer. All while being highly televised. Friedman’s work is instrumental in understanding the advancement of consumer boycotts and how to define them. Looking at the Farah strike and boycott, using his contextual framework, goes beyond the trends and highlights the experiences of the people who organized the boycott.

The next scholars who lent a great deal to the historiography of needleworkers in the women’s labor movement are a pair. Joan M. Jensen and Sue Davidson edited *A Needle, A Bobbin, A Strike: Women Needleworkers in America*, a collection of nine essays that set out to highlight women needleworkers in the textile industry, who have been overlooked by labor and feminist historiography. The essays focus on women in the garment industry since the mid-nineteenth century and the place of women’s work. This work is important because it collects research that had otherwise been siloed and reveals the “big history” of women needleworkers while spotlighting localized research. In their book, they feature an essay written by Laurie Coyle, Gail Hershatter, and Emily Honig titled *Women at Farah: An Unfinished Story*. The chapter is also printed as a stand-alone book under the same title. The work is based on over seventy-five hours of interviews conducted with Farah strikers and tells the entire story from

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their perspective. Their work highlights the most important issues that Farah strikers were faced with both as Chicanas and Chicanos and as employees. Their work serves as the best historiography related to the Farah movement. They note that after the strike began, the ACWU utilized forty union representatives to organize a national boycott of Farah pants that was crucial to the success of the strikers and talk a little bit about the connections the union made, but mostly focus on the perspective of the women who were striking. 10 The book that it is printed in has important scholarship regarding needleworkers, and it shines a light specifically on Farah, but they have focused on women’s perspective through labor trends. This essay attempts to go beyond the feminist perspective and look at the tactics used by the union administration to gain support for the women in these narratives.

Lastly, Emily Honig wrote an update to the research they conducted in the ’70s into the Farah strike. In her paper, “Women at Farah Revisited: Political Mobilization and Its Aftermath among Chicana Workers in El Paso, Texas, 1972-1974,” Honig updated the story of the Chicana Farah strikers and assesses whether or not the strike had an impact on their personal or political lives. 11 She uses oral histories from four of the strikers that originally appeared in her essay Women at Farah: An Unfinished Story. 12 According to Honig, a majority of the women who were involved in the Farah strike were no longer even attached to the garment industry, let alone the union. She concludes, “The continued history of labor activism evidenced by women garment workers as an impersonal generic category does not necessarily imply continuity in individual women’s lives.” 13 Honig also provides a bleak update to the American chapter of the Farah story and the ACWU. According to her research, Farah went from having five factories and 10,000 employees at the end of the strike in 1974 to a single plant with only 500 to 600 workers in 1992. She also reveals that “Only the jobs of cutting and distribution were performed in this El Paso factory; all the assembly work (including sewing) was done overseas, at factories in Mexico,

12 Honig, "Women at Farah Revisited," 426.
13 Honig, "Women at Farah Revisited," 428.
Costa Rica, Ireland, South Africa, and Hong Kong.”14 The decline in Farah coincides with the decline in union representation. The article is an important update to the historiography of the women who went on strike at Farah and what the labor sector looked like in the years that followed.

The existing historiography of the Farah strike gives a solid foundation to understand the labor action that took place in El Paso, Texas, in 1970, but it only scratches the surface of the story. Documents found at local archives in the Bay Area and television broadcasts uncover the story of how a group of Chicana strikers at Farah inspired people in Hayward and across the nation to boycott their pants off. The Hayward Area Historical Society has an extensive collection of the *Hayward Country Press* accessible to researchers. The first article asking consumers to boycott Farah pants appeared in October of 1972 and serves as the inspiration for this research. The J. Paul Leonard Library’s Special Labor Collection houses newspaper publications from both the Union WAGE and the East Bay Labor Journal that were imperative to understand how local Bay Area residents were getting news about the Farah strike. Lastly, the Mike Miller papers that are housed at the California Historical Society in San Francisco provided original ACWU boycott materials related to the Farah strike and subsequent boycott. Miller founded the ORGANIZE Training Center (OTC) in San Francisco in 1972 and serves as the Executive Director. OTC’s purpose is “to strengthen democracy by supporting strong, participatory, democratic organizations whose principal constituency is people of low- and middle income.”15 His resume includes working with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Mission Coalition Organization (MCO), La Guardia Tenants’ Organization, the Tenderloin Senior Organizing Project, and many other labor unions and religious organizations.16 Miller’s collection is key to understanding how information was disseminated to the public and highlights the extensive organizational efforts undertaken to make the nationwide Farah pants boycott successful.

The Farah strike relied on what Friedman called a *market-oriented boycott*, meaning the structure of the boycott was aimed at marketplace activities such as frequent picketing or demonstrations at retail stores. According to Friedman, “It should be clear, however, that these boycotts, like virtually all organized protest actions, are media-oriented as well.”17 When using Friedman’s theories applied to Farah, we can clearly see a media-oriented boycott approach employed to spread support to the strikers in the Southwest. The first of these appears in radical and labor newspapers across the country.

One form of media released by the ACWU is the Farah Strike Bulletins. Several original ACWA Farah boycott bulletins are kept in the archives of the Miller Collection at the California Historical Society. These bulletins represent one of the fastest and most easily updated methods of boycott information dispersal. Bulletins are important because they contain the latest information about the strikers, solidarity pledges, and legal battles taking place. They also highlight some of the union-busting tactics that the strikers face/combatt. In bulletin number nine, evidence of union-busting tactics employed by Farah is mentioned along with a nationwide strike being called in response. According to the bulletin, “Union efforts to hold Federally sponsored representational elections have been slowed by challenges in the courts, charges of intimidation and violence have been raised by both the union and management. The union, meanwhile, has organized a nationwide boycott of Farah products.”18 Parts of this article are reprinted in other newspapers. For instance, it is reprinted almost word-for-word in the Berkeley Union Wage from September/October of 1972 and the *Hayward Country Press*, owing to the importance of publications created by ACWU and distributed throughout their network of media contacts.19

Newspapers printed by radical organizations and labor unions were essential to spreading the news in a way that correlated the plight of the Farah strikers in the South to workers in other parts of the country to form solidarity. **The**

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17 Friedman, *Consumer Boycotts*, 11.
19 “*Farah Workers Hang Tough,*” *Union WAGE*, Berkeley, CA (September/October 1972): 8, J. Paul Leonard Library Special Collections, San Francisco, CA.
People’s World, a radical newspaper, picked up the story in 1972 under the bold title, “DOGS VS PICKETS.” The article talks about the dogs that Farah used to intimidate the striking workers. The author of the article compares the strike to those of California farmworkers who had to use a nationwide boycott to pressure their bosses for union rights. According to the article, “Farah strikers too are reaching out to the labor movement and its supporters for boycott support as did the Delano area farm workers—well realizing that locally, as was the case in California, there is insufficient support to bring management to terms.”

The People’s World was not the only newspaper to compare the Farah strike to the farmworkers of California. The Hayward Country Press employed the same comparison in an article titled “FARAH Unfair!” Similar to People’s World and the ACWU flyers, the Hayward Country Press compared the plight of the Farah workers in El Paso to the farmworkers in California. It has some of the general information published from the ACWU memo above, and it goes on to say, “Just as the California farmworkers needed nationwide support to bring the growers to terms, so the factory workers in Texas and New Mexico need our support to win their battle against the oppressive conditions they are forced to live and work under. We can give this support by not buying any clothing with a Farah label.” The news articles published by labor columnists, local news journalists, and counterculture media companies were important to get the information out to the public in an accessible way.

One of the most intriguing examples of media coverage appears in a television news broadcasting special aired by KERA News of North Texas. The title for the special was one word, “Farah!” The news special featured interviews with Wil- lie Farah, striking employees, and the “happies.” At the end of the program, there was a live debate between Frank Herrera, an attorney for the ACWU, and Phil Nicolaides of Nicolaides and Associates in Dallas, representing Farah. The debate took live calls and won a Peabody Award. This could be considered one of the most unbiased media releases pertaining to the

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strike because it showed both sides of the story, but it still favored the striking workers heavily. One of the female strikers in the special takes the opportunity to express why she was on strike. She stated, “The reason I walked out was because you should have seen inside. We don’t have anything secured, like, for instance, wages. I worked there for, uh, seven years and I was only getting $1.90 and no benefits there like vacation. We didn’t get any vacations, just uh two weeks on uh Christmas when uh, he closed the plants down.”22 There are multiple striking workers who give their testimony to the news station, as well as workers who stayed on the job. The workers who stayed on the job during the strike were dubbed, “happies.”

Farah used the testimony of “happies” to discredit the claims made by the strikers and ACWU. They were paraded around town in paid picket lines and interviewed in the local newspapers. The news special released by KERA includes interviews with these workers. One of the women in the video can be heard speaking in Spanish under a dubbed English translation of her comment. The translation states, “I am very content here at Farah. We have everything. And besides, I have two sons who I’ve put through college working at Farah. I don’t think we need anything. Those who walked out went out on their own and they lost a lot. I’m happy and the company has done a lot for me.”23 Including the happies shows that the news station was attempting to be unbiased and compelling to anyone trying to decide which side to take.

But one of the most intriguing things about this documentary is that it includes Willie Farah talking about the strikers. Nowhere else can we find his voice so thoroughly expressed. Willie Farah is a dark-haired man and dresses much as one would expect for the early ’70s, in a white button shirt and leisure suit. It is not what he wears that makes his interview so intriguing, but his demeanor toward the union back East. The most pointed of these interviews is when he talks about how many employees are still working and happy. Farah states that “86% of my company’s employees have continued

to work every day during this attempt to disrupt our business by the professional organizers from New York.”24 Willie’s statement shows that he clearly believes that the union is working in the interest of big city folks and not the workers who are *happies*. The news program was a key component of the media campaign, but the most impactful piece of media was yet to come.

The ACWU created a documentary film about the Farah strikers, *The People vs Willie Farah*, which was a key component in launching the nationwide boycott. The documentary had all the cinematic drama that would captivate American audiences. It ran a little over 21 minutes, so with commercials, it was a half-hour program and was accompanied by a shorter 45-second commercial. The film opens with a laundry list of people and organizations that support the strike, including politicians, religious and community leaders, and unions across the country. Once premiered, it ran on cable like an infomercial. Even though the film was short, it included powerful images of the barbed wire fence surrounding the factory and the living conditions for the workers. The most powerful part of the film rested with the firsthand accounts given by the strikers. One of the female strikers looks into the camera with tears welling up in her eyes and says, “Well, we would really tremble when we saw the supervisor coming along the line. You know, to let us know that we had to, that we had to bring up the quota. I wanted job security above all, and for us to be treated as human beings.”25 The testimony of the strikers in the film was powerful and union organizers knew it. They just had to figure out how to get everyone to watch it.

The film was used at press releases, community meetings, and rallies. Evidence from one of the documentary flyers shows that the union was willing to loan the video out to anyone who was willing to show it; they knew that if people saw it, they would support the workers’ cause. One of the documentary flyers says expressly “The film is available on free loan to any local religious group, community organization, schools, or other groups. Simply fill out the request card and mail or give it to the representative of the organization listed

24 “Farah!” 8:39.
on the other side.” Not only does the memo, news report, and film show the lengths that the ACWU was willing to go to in order to organize the Southwest, but it also shows that they were using these approaches years before Friedman says consumer boycotts reached their peak in the 1980s. Once the union built its media campaign, it was time to move on to direct action.

The ACWU relied on an effective pattern of scheduled rallies followed by scheduled pickets where they would ask the consuming public to join their boycott of Farah pants. But to get there, they had to take their campaign to the streets. The pattern used to spread the Farah boycott follows the same patterns that Friedman highlights in his book. First, a strike is announced at the San Antonio plant and the workers take to the picket line. Farah clearly did not meet the demands to rehire the 26 employees and recognize a union, so a boycott was announced to the public using notable figures and community members. Again, the demands of Farah workers were not met, so we see the boycott initiated through flyers and picketing. The pattern can be seen across the nation, but this essay focuses on San Francisco, California, and Trenton, New Jersey, as well as sporadic events that occurred in the East Bay and Hayward in order to highlight the organizational efforts that took place by the ACWU to garner nationwide support for the Farah strikers.

The first of these events occurred on October 9, 1973. It was a press release for the premier of *The People vs Willie Farah* documentary with over one hundred different organizations in attendance. In the Miller papers, an unsuspecting piece of paper with a list of names and organizations scribbled on it is a perfect example of the planning that went into the press release. The note listed at least sixteen individuals from ACWU, AFL-CIO, as well as religious and political organizations who were all involved in the organization of the event or were speaking there. On the list of names was the Archdiocese of San Francisco, Monsignor Jim Flynn, whose presence at the press release is confirmed in a Memo of Solidarity found among the Miller papers.

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27 "Farah Boycott Notes," Mark Miller Papers, MS 4139, box 15, folder 8: California Historical Society.
One of the features of these kinds of “kick-off” events is a “call for solidarity.” The story of the strikers is told, union leaders present their arguments, and then public and religious leaders pronounce their support. These were followed by public statements of support published in labor journals and newspapers. One of the solidarity pledges found among the Miller papers is an unknown publication that not only confirms Monsignor Jim Flynn, the Archdiocese of San Francisco, was in fact at the press release but also stands as a great example of a solidarity pledge. According to the Commission on Social Justice: Farah Memo, “The Commission restated its position on the Farah Boycott at a press conference following the San Francisco premier of The People vs Willie Farah...the Archdiocese is asking Catholic schools which use Farah pants as part of their school uniforms to respect the boycott.” This highlights an important aspect of Farah’s company: it had contracts with large organizations and very well could have had contracts to provide Catholic schools with their uniforms in San Francisco. One could even postulate that the company would stand to lose a profit from any contractor who listened to Msgr. Flynn’s call. Once the press release went out in San Francisco, it set off a chain of events in the area. An article was published in the East Bay Labor Journal right afterward titled, “CLC to Hear Farah Striker.” In it, they state, “The premier showing of a new film on the strike, held in San Francisco on October 9, drew representatives of more than 100 organizations...The Alameda County Central Labor Council will get a first-hand report on the 17-month-old strike against Farah Manufacturing Co. at its meeting on Monday, October 29th. A striker fresh from the scene will tell the delegates what is happening.” The press release in San Francisco was the catalyst for Bay Area activity.

The same pattern can be seen in Trenton. Miller had a small group of photocopied articles from Trenton newspapers that focused on the Farah boycott. One titled, “Clergy to Meet with Dunham’s” printed in Trenton’s Evening Times on October 29th, talks about putting pressure on Dunham’s Depart-
ment store to get them to cancel their Farah orders, but they were not going to stop there. The article stated, “scheduled tonight is a rally to bring pressure against other local retailers who refuse to cancel orders for Farah pants.” Once the boycott was announced at the rally, subsequent articles in this collection show that union leaders in the area ramped up efforts with scheduled demonstrations and held meetings with retailers. According to an article from The Trentonian, they won concessions from one of the department stores in the area and would be putting pressure on another in the following month. The article reads, "The Farah Boycott committee press release said Nevius-Voorhees officials had ‘guaranteed’ that it would place future pants orders with Farah’s major competitors. A demonstration protesting Dunham’s support of Farah is scheduled for Nov. 17th.” The Evening Times also chimed in with the perspective of religious leaders in the area which confirmed that the Dunham’s store would not support the strike one way or another. The article titled “Protest Rally Set at Store” shows the escalation from press releases and meetings to storefront picketing in Trenton. It states, “A group of Trenton ministers and community leaders met with Dunham’s officials yesterday, but Rev. Jesse Jackson of Mount Zion AME said the store wants to be ‘in a neutral position’ and will not discontinue Farah pants. Following the meeting, 158 persons attended a rally at the Trenton Holiday Inn.” Article after article shows the struggle between union and community organizers and Dunham’s, showing that the plight of a small group of workers on the border of Texas was one the country was willing to fight for.

Once the word spread through media campaigns, other scheduled pickets in smaller cities popped up around the nation. We can see the pattern right here in the Bay Area in scheduled pickets at the Emporium, Capwell’s, and Mervyn’s department stores. In the article titled, “Farah Workers Hang Tough,” in the January/February 1973 issue of Union WAGE is

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an image of picketers; the caption below it reads, “Scores of Bay Area working women and men joined the recent demonstrations at the Emporium against Farah, Pants Maker. BOYCOTT FARAH.” This shows that not only were ACWU reports used in local articles, but they were also enhanced by images and information relevant to residents so that it would resonate with them. This included special interest groups and marginalized communities. One of these is featured in an article in *The East Bay Journal* titled “La Raza Unida Makes Farah Strike its Own,” which talks about the group taking up the cause for Farah strikers. The article records that La Raza Unida was involved in informational pickets in the area: “The most recent such demonstration took place at the Emporium in San Francisco on Friday and Saturday, January 19 and 20, and plans are being made for informational demonstrations at Capwell’s in Oakland.” The picketing grew so big in the area that Farah charged the union with creating a secondary protest against the department stores that carried the products. An article published by the *East Bay Labor Journal* titled “Boycott Demonstrations at Mervyn’s Draws NLRB Charges from Farah,” states that “the picket demonstration to advertise the boycott of Farah pants, held at Mervyn’s in San Pablo on March 31, has drawn charges of unfair labor practices against the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.” It was clear that the union strategy of media campaigns and scheduled picketing was becoming an effective tool in bringing attention to the plight of the Farah strikers.

The last strategy employed by the ACWU involved informational picketing that clearly targeted the consumer public. The union asked customers to mail in solidarity pledges to show department stores and Farah that they would not tolerate products made at the expense of workers’ dignity. To do this, the ACWU had to make sure that the materials it passed out at scheduled pickets did not violate the Landrum-Griffin Act of 1959, which barred secondary boycotts. According to Friedman, secondary boycotts were extremely common in the late 1800s and they often turned innocent third parties, like

retail stores, into victims because they were being financially punished for selling specific goods. The Act insisted that third parties were harmed more than those who produced the offending product.36 To get around this, unions created informative leaflets that were passed out containing very specific wording. On the center of one flyer read the words, “This leaflet is not directed to the employees of any store and is directed solely to the consumer public” are printed across the bottom like fine print.37 The same occurs on another, in small letters across the bottom it reads, “This leaflet is not directed to the employees of this store, or to the employees of any other employer doing business with this store and is directed solely to the consumer public.”38 A flyer titled “Attention Shoppers at May Co” goes one step further and includes the employer, even though the company is listed directly on the flyer. It has an image of police dogs outside of the Farah plant and reads, “This leaflet is not directed to the employer, or to the employees of this store, or to the employees of any other employer doing business with this store and is directed solely to the consumer public” in small letters under the information given about the strikers.39 It is clear from the small print on these flyers that they were concerned about secondary protests and wanted to protect themselves. It also shows how important it was to hold a boycott line in support of the strikers where the consumer public could get information and choose to support.

Another aspect that shows the importance of how these flyers were worded is their appeal to the emotions of the consuming public. The ACWU used wording that was compassionate in almost every leaflet handed out to the public. The most popular image appears in the central flyer, “Viva La Huelga: Don’t Buy Farah Pants.” It is of a female striker who had just walked out of the plant and yelled, “Viva La Huelga!” The words printed on the flyer ask the public to “...show the Farah workers America’s heart is still in the right place. Show the world American consumers won’t buy injustice.”40 The

36 Monroe Friedman, Consumer Boycotts, 43.
37 “Viva La Huelga: Don’t Buy Farah Pants!” Farah Boycott Leaflet 1, Mark Miller Papers, MS 4139: box 15, folder 11: California Historical Society.
39 “Attention Shoppers at May Co.,” Farah Boycott Leaflet 4, Mark Miller Papers, MS 4139: box 15, folder 11: California Historical Society.
40 “Viva La Huelga: Don’t Buy Farah Pants!” Farah Boycott Leaflet 1.
same appeal to emotions is used in the People Vs Willie Farah documentary leaflet: “This new documentary tells the story of these courageous workers, in their own words. It demonstrates why the Farah strike and boycott has become an important moral issue of our time and why the workers have won the support of so many religious, community, and civil rights leaders, as well as of the entire labor movement.”41 This is very strong language, painting the strike as a major moral issue of the time. The last appeal to emotion also has a sense of urgency. The flyer titled “Attention Shoppers at May Co,” states, “The only way they can win is if all Americans help us – by refusing to buy Farah pants. We know that America’s heart is still in the right place. We know American consumers won’t buy injustice.”42 The wording here suggests that the consuming public is the last resort to help the workers at Farah, and it is compelling language. If the public will not help, who will? The May Co. flyer also includes a section that consumers can fill out with their name, address, and telephone number and mail back to the store’s headquarters or the local ACWU office to pledge their support. This was an interesting tactic of direct action. It allowed customers to voice their opinions to the department store or the union without having to stand in a picket line outside.

ACWU flyers were important parts of picketing and gaining support, but they were also clearly part of a three-pronged approach to the boycott that included targeting the consuming public, disseminating information to people involved in the movement, and enlisting the help of other news publications and labor organizations. This three-pronged organizational approach was imperative to the success of the Farah strikers and the nationwide boycott campaign. The “Memo from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, New York” was a flyer targeting the public and gave them a quick overview of the strike using articles published in Business Week and El Paso Herald-Post just in case they had not read them yet. It was an effective method of delivering a few reputable sources about the strike and making the consumer feel like they had skin in the game by using language that encouraged the reader to get involved. It stated that “The consuming public

41 The People VS. Willie Farah: A Powerful New Film Documenting One of the Greatest Human Conflicts of Our Day,” (Documentary Leaflet): 2, Mark Miller Papers, MS 4139, box 15, folder 8: California Historical Society.
42 “Attention Shoppers at May Co.,” Farah Boycott Leaflet 4.
is concerned about Farah’s unfair labor practices. Shouldn’t you be?“43 Calls to action like this one not only challenged the public to be informed but also showed the public that they had a responsibility to be informed. Not only did ACWA offices across the country share publications like this one, but they also shared information that would help them disseminate information to people who were trying to participate in the strike.

Whether they be picketers or consumers, who have joined the boycott of Farah pants, knowing exactly what not to buy was tricky when it came to the pants maker. In the flyer, “Farah Fictitious Brand Names,” we can see that attempting to avoid things made by Farah was a lot harder than just avoiding a tag with the brand name on it. Farah had contracts with retail chains, government entities, and other industries that required uniforms. Many of these partnerships included labels under different names. This practice combined with the pressure from the strike made it hard to boycott products made by Farah. The flyer states that, “Since the Farah Boycott has taken effect, Farah has been selling slacks under fictitious brand names, not as easily recognizable to the consumer.”44 The flyer includes at least eleven different tags used by Farah and urges consumers to look for the special RN number that is listed on each tag since that cannot be faked. At the time, Farah Manufacturing Company’s assigned numbers were listed as RN21201 and RN43914.

The last publication is titled “The Farah Strike: Support the Farah Boycott.” The ACWA published it and was a four-page newspaper-sized publication that had all the information needed for publishers and supporters alike. It included the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) ruling that Farah must rehire nineteen of the workers it laid off and also public statements made by big-name politicians like Senator Ted Kennedy and major religious leaders. It also had a half-page spread of “Distinguished Americans Who Support Farah Strikers” that lists people, including US Senators, US Representatives, state and local governments, religious leaders and organizations, educators, national and community leaders, and individuals

from the Arts and Letters. The publication says that “From coast-to-coast, the labor movement has been cooperating with the Amalgamated in establishing consumer informational picket lines, alerting prospective customers to the fact that Farah workers are on strike in Texas and New Mexico against oppressive conditions and illegal labor practices on the part of the company.”45 It goes on to list union after union that supported the Farah strikers’ ability to form their own union. These types of publications were important in not only spreading the word about the strikers and the boycott supporting them but to lending credibility to the movement through solidarity pledges from individuals who are trusted in society, their communities, and their opinions.

The boycott of Farah pants lasted from 1972 to 1974 and was one of the most important direct actions against Farah Manufacturing as a company. It served as a catalyst for ACWU activity in the Southwest and ultimately led the Farah employees to organize their own union in 1974. The specific organizational tactics employed by the ACWA facilitated the growth of the boycott and is often overlooked in the historiography of women’s labor movements. It was clearly critical in leveraging public support. Unions carried out a variety of tactics to organize a nationwide boycott through media campaigns, scheduled pickets, and ephemera targeting the public that amplified the Farah strikers’ story to the nation. Without these tactics, the Farah strike might never have landed on the pages of a counterculture newspaper in Hayward, California, or spread to nationwide success the way that it did.

The Farah workers were able to organize into a union under the ACWU, but we do not have statistics that prove how much the strike influenced their ability to do so. Further research into the numbers is needed. An accurate count of how many pledge cards were mailed in by consumers or if there was any correspondence between Farah and department stores regarding the strike would be valuable. A more thorough financial analysis of both the Union and Farah during the strike is needed as well. Both sides claim their efforts were successful. There are labor archives across the country that include papers for the Farah boycott that could hold the key.

more thorough history of Farah Manufacturing after the 1974 strike and the union attached to it would be beneficial. The company is an example of both the Southwestern industrialization and American deindustrialization periods. The story of the Farah strike and the tactics that Farah Mfg. employed in the decades following would be important to scholars who study deindustrialization in the United States. These would be topics worth further investigation that would be valuable to labor historians, economic researchers, and future organizers. It is clear that the story of labor workers and unions in the United States has many more layers than the ones we hear about in large historical narratives, popular culture, and songs of the era, and this essay serves to uncover just a small piece of that narrative. The strike, indeed, lives on in the research that is yet to come from future scholars. Viva La Huelga!

46 It is interesting to note that the box in Miller’s papers that contains Farah strike bulletins and flyers also contains a chronological record of ACWU strikes before and after. It ends with de-industrialization.
Illustration by Kiston Allen, Chico State
To Suppress Expression:
The San Quentin News and the Impact of Prison Press, 1974-87

By Parker Hallowell

Abstract: This paper presents an integrated perspective on the Civil Rights Movement by bridging the narratives of incarcerated individuals and those outside prison walls. It contends that both groups collaborated symbiotically to shape the movement’s trajectory. Emphasizing the often-overlooked contribution of incarcerated voices, it highlights the pivotal role played by the prison press in amplifying these perspectives. A case study of the San Quentin News spanning the 1970s-80s, it illustrates how the convergence of legal rulings, notably Procunier v. Martinez and the Marshall Opinion, catalyzed a paradigm shift in prison press, empowering inmates to authentically express themselves and enriching the broader social consciousness of the era.

In 1974, United States Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall declared, “The First Amendment serves not only the needs of the polity, but also those of the human spirit—a spirit that demands self-expression...To suppress expression is to reject the basic human desire for recognition and affront the individual’s worth and dignity.”1 Justice Marshall in-

terpreted the First Amendment to help amplify the suppressed voices of prisoners around the country. The Civil Rights Movement played a prominent role in changing the status of people of color in public policy; however, significant work was still to be done to ensure equal treatment in practice. While free citizens of color fought and protested for better lives, there was a rapidly rising demographic within those communities that was being muted under the thumb of the state. Thurgood Marshall spoke about this demographic: the American prison population. Consequently, he brought awareness to the unconstitutional communication restrictions systematically oppressing prisoners of the time. The opinion of Thurgood Marshall, for the first time ever, constitutionally applied and protected complete First Amendment rights for prisoners, while simultaneously amplifying and fortifying the identity of the prison press for the decade and a half that followed.

The 1960s and 1970s were a time of protest, resistance, and nonconformity in the United States. During the height of the Civil Rights era and the years that followed, the United States was home to many different rights and equality-based movements. The Civil Rights Movement, most commonly associated with the rights of Black Americans, brought attention to many other social justice battles. During this time, the United States experienced the Chicano Rights movement, a new wave of feminism, the Gay Liberation movement, and Vietnam War protests and protests against capitalist American culture. These movements sought to correct the injustice and inequality systematically placed on their communities. The shared alternative, social warrior, and anti-establishment ideology brought these movements together to form what would become known as the counterculture. The counterculture found its voice through political organization and education, social programs, and by documenting its own story and news through the creation of underground newspapers. They did whatever was needed to spread the news of their battle against heterosexual white male
supremacy. Meanwhile, as more mainstream social movements made national headlines, the Prisoners’ Rights movement was being fought – literally and figuratively – from a cell.

With prison policies censoring press and limiting communication, prisoners were forced to fight their battle alone despite sharing the same values as activists in the outside world. Too often, the prisoners’ rights movement is studied apart from the larger social movements of its time. It is a common misconception that political activism died in prison, but it actually flourished. The walls may have isolated and hushed the voices of incarcerated individuals from the outside world, but it did not kill their fight. The politicization of minority and lower-class individuals during the civil rights era continued inside of prison walls in the form of organizing, recruitment, and open rebellion. These movements within United States prisons did not only stem from their own conditions but drew inspiration from their comrades on the street and, in some ways, even influenced outside movements. During the most formal strikes, prisoners would have committees made up of Black Panther Party members or other politically active community leaders communicate and negotiate with the prison on their behalf. The struggles for free and incarcerated individuals are easy to look at as two different problems, but with these connections between the two groups, it is clear how one struggle cannot exist without the other. Mass incarceration is a direct result of slavery and a white supremacist system that seeks to control people of color to maintain the social order and racial hierarchy that emerged from settler-colonial ideologies and practices. This system, built on the limitation of rights and citizenship, was fought during the civil rights era for equity and equality among all people, free or incarcerated.

By examining the prison press movement of the 1970s and 1980s alongside the greater Civil Rights era, it is clear how both free and imprisoned activists used their First Amendment rights to fight back against a system of oppression. Prisoners and activists were members of the same communities with the same
backgrounds. Many Black Panthers had been to jail, as well as members of the Nation of Islam and the Young Lords. Malcolm X himself was politicized in prison. While the civil rights battles of both incarcerated and free people are often studied as two separate fights, this paper argues that the two parties worked synchronously to create the Civil Rights Movement as we know it today. Furthermore, it argues that the work and perspective of incarcerated individuals were vital to the overall social justice and awareness achieved in the 60s-90s. *The San Quentin News* demonstrates how the combination of the *Procunier v. Martinez* ruling and the release of the Marshall Opinion worked in tandem to create space for prisoners to write authentically and add a new voice to the social consciousness. By addressing mailing and speech issues, this combination plugged prisoners into the outside world and, in turn, into the outside fight. *The San Quentin News* makes clear that the historical prison press is vital. The prison press is critical to the history of prisoners’ rights and the history of underground newspapers and counterculture. Additionally, this connection to counterculture movements of the mid-to late-twentieth century cements the fight for prisoners’ rights among the larger civil rights and social justice movements of the 1960s and beyond.

The opinion of Thurgood Marshall was released immediately following the 1974 case *Procunier v. Martinez.* In this case, prisoner Robert Martinez sued Raymond Procunier, the Director of the California Department of Corrections. Procunier passed regulations allowing prison officials to open, read, and censor all prisoner mail, allegedly searching for anything that contained “inflammatory political, racial, religious or other views or beliefs.” Under these restrictions, Robert Martinez could not contact his lawyer because of his correspondence’s allegedly “inflammatory” nature. Suing on the grounds of free speech

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3 *Procunier v. Martinez*.
4 *Procunier v. Martinez*, 416 U.S. 399
violation, the United States Supreme Court ruled in favor of Martinez and invalidated the regulations. In doing so, they created a system where prison officials were required to file federal reports explaining why they opened or censored any mail, which they also presented to the affected inmate. This ultimately forced prisons to be significantly more selective in decisions of what and when to censor. While this case did not in any way cover First Amendment rights regarding prison journalism, it did bring attention to the First Amendment rights of prisoners as a whole. As a result, Justice Marshall, seconded by another justice, voiced his opinion on protecting a prisoner’s right to free speech.

The statement by Justice Marshall, known as the Marshall Opinion, would profoundly impact imprisoned and free people across the nation. The Marshall Opinion, through its new application of the First Amendment concerning prisoners’ rights, not only liberated incarcerated individuals’ freedom of expression but also catalyzed a shift in the future of the prison press. Through his statement, Justice Marshall created the space for inmates to document their narratives without fear of censorship, promoting an environment for prisoners to contribute authentically to the greater counterculture movements of the time. In addition, the statement also worked to amplify and humanize the voices of inmates, adding a new perspective to the public consciousness and effectively altering the national perception of incarceration. One place in particular that adopted the prisoners’ rights movement was California, which has historically been at the forefront of many civil rights battles. Dubbed criminals, many political activists during this time found themselves imprisoned, often with young men serving indefinite sentences for petty crimes. All victims to the same system, the political voice rang through prisons like Soledad, Folsom, and Solano. San Quentin State Prison, one of the oldest and most politically active prisons in the United States, had two previous publications—the Outlaw and the San Quentin News.⁵ Using San

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⁵ Kevin Sawyer et al., San Quentin News (November 30, 2023), https://sanquentinnews.com
Quentin State Prison as a case study, the following analysis will showcase the effect of the ruling of Procunier v. Martinez on the First Amendment rights of prisoners. Additionally, it will show how the Marshall Opinion inadvertently and unofficially expanded the freedoms granted, increasing the reach and impact of the prison press for the next decade.

The topic of prison publications in San Quentin has been explored in a few different ways since the Marshall Opinion. In the book *The Rise and Fall of California’s Radical Prison Movement* by Eric Cummins, Cummins explores various methods of resistance used by California prisoners of the 1960s to 1990s. He highlights San Quentin Prison to show how their communication control was uniquely oppressive in what he described as “alternately tight and loose and full of contradictions.” He reveals that prisoners were “required to sign a power of attorney form giving the prison permission to open all mail.” In addition, they were only allowed to have a list of ten approved contacts to communicate with, one of whom needed to be a lawyer. If a lawyer was not listed as a contact, the inmate would not be allowed to contact any legal representation. Cummins reveals that during the 1960s, censorship was particularly strict when “serving to isolate prison writers” in such a way that made their writings appear secretive and radical, effectively projecting “an air of dangerous political fantasy” on the writers and their work. Similarly, prisoners at San Quentin were “forbidden to write about the prison environment, to criticize American society, or even to refer to themselves as prisoners.” Cummins argues that the prisons’ system of censorship against “inflammatory” material was too difficult to maintain in the 1970s as constitutional restrictions enforced by prisons became federally lightened. The loosening of these restrictions resulted in what the California Library Association dubbed “the demise of

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7 Cummins, *The Rise and Fall of California’s Radical Prison Movement*, 84.
8 Cummins, 83.
9 Cummins, 84.
10 Cummins, 83.
all prison censorship.”

In the book *Prison Truth: The Story of the San Quentin News*, journalist William J. Drummond covers the history of the *San Quentin News* both before and after the Marshall Opinion. Drummond focuses on the modern iteration of the *San Quentin News* that began reprinting in 2008, of which he was a consultant for nearly ten years. He also provides a history of the *San Quentin News* during the 1960s and 1970s. As a journalist, Drummond focuses on how restrictions were enforced on the prison press. He compares the time before the Marshall Opinion to a “small-town newspaper” that covered only sports, legislative developments, and “police blotter” in addition to “facts... that would curtail rumors” of said police blotter. He then highlights the importance of the Marshall Opinion following the court case *Procunier v. Martinez*, saying it “took a giant step” for the First Amendment rights for prisoners. In his book, Drummond argues that the reception of the Marshall Opinion, which had no true authority and was misunderstood as an official ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court, effectively “fanned the flames of free expression inside the prison system.” In doing so, inmates and officials alike wrongly assumed that wardens were forbidden by law to censor prison newspapers, inspiring prison or inmate journalists to take even bolder steps in politicizing their publications.

Lastly, in the book *Captive Nation: Black Prison Organizing in the Civil Rights Era*, author Dan Berger raises an even earlier perspective on the prison press within San Quentin. Before the creation of the newspaper that we know as *The San Quentin News*, there was another publication called *The Outlaw*. *The Outlaw* was a short, handwritten, one-to-four-
page newsletter by prisoners, which Berger praises for being ahead of its time. Unfortunately, being ahead of its time in prison journalism also meant high tension between guards and prisoners who were caught with the paper or, worse, were known contributors. Furthermore, Berger identifies two major common themes between the late-1960s and early-1970s prison publications. The first theme he identified was that prison publications were “intended primarily to rally prisoners against guards.” The second theme he identifies is the nationalistic and radical approach that publications such as *The Outlaw* took, which he claims created relationships with Third World anticolonialists and brought their writing to the ranks of civil rights activists in the U.S. such as Malcolm X and George Jackson. Finally, Berger connects these publications to the greater underground media movement of the 1960s, which neither of the previous authors mentioned. In doing so, Berger claims that underground news was the “lifeblood of black nationalist prison organizing” in an ultimate attempt to create a united front.

The existence of the earlier San Quentin publication, *The Outlaw*, confirms that the prisoner’s voice was not a new concept. Long established, it carried a tone of resistance and anger. A small and unsanctioned newsletter, *The Outlaw*, was hand-written in someone’s cell, hidden, and passed around secretly. Due to the inherently concealed nature of this newsletter, it is nearly impossible to find an actual copy. Incidentally, there were instances when information about the newsletter caused enough of a stir to gain mainstream attention. A February 1968 article in the *Los Angeles Times* reads, “An underground newspaper at San Quentin Prison called on 2,700 convicts to strike Thursday. But less than 50 did.” Not only did news of this attempted strike reach the mainstream outlets, but the newsletter was also named and given credit. The author, Dial Torgerson, reported that “*The Outlaw*, a will-o’-the-wisp newspa-

17 Dan Berger, *Captive Nation*, 236.
18 Dan Berger, *Captive Nation*, 236.
19 Dan Berger, *Captive Nation*, 236.
per published sporadically since last June by prisoners at San Quentin, called for a ‘unity day’ strike to enforce demands for earlier releases and better living conditions and food.”21 While seemingly simple, this report reveals some aspects of how The Outlaw operated. For one, the use of the term “Unity Day” helps show the type of language writers in San Quentin would use to avoid trouble. Terms like “strike” or “rally” have negative connotations that draw out memories of large movements of resistance. On the other hand, Unity Day sounds more positive and peaceful. Furthermore, it served as a reminder of a united prisoner class. With news of the strike making it outside of the prison, it was quickly broadcast by other counterculture movements. Torgerson writes, “The Berkeley Barb, an anti-establishment newspaper which is the San Francisco-area equivalent of the Los Angeles Free Press, heard about the strike plan and publicized a rally to back prisoners’ demands.”22 This instant support by a local underground newspaper also supports the argument that the prisoners’ rights movement was just as much a part of the counterculture as any other social justice movement of its time.

True to Berkeley culture, Unity Day gained the attention of local young protestors. In the same Los Angeles Times article, Torgerson reported on “250 Bay Area hippies who staged a flower-power rally outside the prison gates.”23 Another local paper called the Hayward Daily Review reported on the strike, saying that “Five hundred hippies danced and sang on a grassy knoll outside San Quentin Prison Thursday in a show of sympathy for the men behind the walls, and that “The Grateful Dead rock group set up their electronic gear on a flatbed truck and the music blared out for about three hours.”24 This also proves that even before prisoners were granted their full First Amendment rights, their voices, when heard, impacted other activists. Both articles end their reports on the strike by ul-

21 Torgerson, “Strike Call Fizzes at San Quentin.”
22 Torgerson, “Strike Call Fizzes at San Quentin.”
23 Torgerson, “Strike Call Fizzes at San Quentin.”
timately calling it a failure. The *Hayward Daily Review* said, “The great bulk of the population went about their work as if they’d never heard of *The Outlaw.*” 25 On the morning of the strike, “Prisoners were bustled off to their jobs an hour early as a precaution,” and *The Outlaw* staff were either “shipped to Folsom, near Sacramento,” or placed “in isolation– solitary confinement.” 26 While solitary confinement is a harsh punishment, the move to Folsom was not trivial. Folsom was not a lateral transfer to an equal prison; it was “the only place in the California penal system where there are more maximum security prisoners than at San Quentin.” 27 Before *Proconier v. Martinez*, freedom of expression was not only censored but punished harshly. Unfortunately, due to its radical nature, *The Outlaw* did not survive long. The paper was considered very dangerous, and possession of the newsletter was equated to contraband. 28 This level of support was certainly an outlier, however it is still representative of how the general public would have received and reacted to the plight of prisoners had their struggles been more broadly broadcast.

While a call for strike is a great example of the more radical voice that existed within San Quentin, this type of activism was not the only way that prisoners chose to express themselves. This can be seen in a letter that was published in a 1972 edition of the *San Quentin News*. 29 This letter was passed between two fellow inmates who, despite having never met each other, became friends through the passing of notes. The letter, written by an inmate named Rudolph Martinez, highlights the true humanity of inmates in a way not seen by the vast majority of free people. Rudolph, or Rudy, wrote to his friend about his needs and desires, saying, “The ID cards we carry in our wallets often fail to tell the true number of years spent behind pris-

25 Torgerson, "Strike Call Fizzles at San Quentin."
26 Torgerson, "Strike Call Fizzles at San Quentin."
27 Torgerson, "Strike Call Fizzles at San Quentin."
on bars” and that “I have been ‘put away’ from the touch and warmth of my loved ones since 1963.” He goes on to call himself “a stranger,” recounting that he had received school photos of his two youngest sons whom he “could scarcely recognize” and says that “it tore [his] heart.” This letter exposed his humanity. Rudy was no longer a prisoner but a vulnerable human being confiding in a friend. Phil, Rudy’s friend who published this note in the San Quentin News, also comments that they both wrote poetry, which is how they began exchanging notes. These examples of two different forms of expression provide a background on the existing prisoner perspective before Procunier v. Marshall. Unfortunately, before the case and release of the Marshall Opinion, the humanity of prisoners was neglected by mainstream media, painting them as thugs and hardened criminals. The Marshall Opinion helped introduce prisoners’ perspective into the social consciousness, humanizing them in the public eye as regular people with the same needs and desires of expression as any other free person.

The ruling in Procunier v. Martinez also connected these inmates’ voices back out to the world. While some much larger news made the Los Angeles Times, such as the attempted Unity Day strike, most news did not make it outside the prison. In addition, because the regulations for censoring mail were so strict, the news that made it into the prisons was selective. A 1971 edition of The San Quentin News stated that Director Procunier had prohibited possession of the underground newspapers, “The Berkeley Tribe, The Berkeley Barb, The Anvil, The Black Panther, The Great Speckled Bird, and White Power.” Procunier claimed that these publications had “characteristically incited murder, arson, riot, and violent racism.” In an attempt to fully limit and control prisoners, Procunier summed these papers as sources of social and political conflict instead
of beacons of light for a better future. Furthermore, he listed five extremely prominent educational and political counterculture publications alongside a White Power paper to further demonize the messages of activists by mentioning them with a known hate group. Through the active censoring of known counterculture publications, prisoners all across California were unable to spread news of political activism or social injustices within their respective prisons or in the outside world. Because it dealt with the unlawful search of inmate mail, the ruling of Procunier v. Martinez allowed all publications to enter prisons, regardless of how “inflammatory” they were.

Following the invalidation of the mail censoring regulations, prisoners were finally able to cement a national united prisoner class consciousness through the use of authentic and informed journalism. In a 1982 edition, one author of the regular segment “Bastille by the Bay” states, “This newspaper, like all newspapers, acts primarily as a medium. In addressing the chowhall problems, or any problem within these walls, the paper may assume the role of instigator, but the paper itself cannot magically force changes to take place, no matter how necessary.” Simply put, the newspaper was the instrument to promote change, but it needed the prisoners to give it action. These actions were both seen and reported by the *San Quentin News*, which told interesting stories about the prisoners and their fight.

The use of journalism as an instrument for change could best be seen in the weekly letter to the editor section, in which inmates’ comments were published. Some such letters protested against officers who “[refused] to use any kind of sanitation while serving... food, while others aired their grievances and concerns regarding “the vengeful, almost unchecked power of

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the administration.”37 There were also some satirical articles written by journalists of the *San Quentin News* that show how much they were able to criticize the prison and its officials. One 1980 issue has a block labeled “Prison Officials’ Job Descriptions,” which gives a prisoner’s opinion on the roles of officials.38 The author writes that a sergeant “Falls over door-step when trying to enter buildings, says ‘Look at the choo-choo,’ is issued a cap pistol, plays in mud puddles, mumbles to himself.” At the same time, a correctional officer “Lifts buildings and walks under them, kicks locomotives off the tracks, catches speeding bullets in his teeth and eats them, freezes water with a single glance [sic]...He is God!”39 The newspaper even reports on failed escape plans and protests among prisoners in Canada.40 The *San Quentin News* tested new content and took risks with every edition.

When reading articles following the Martinez case, it is also evident how informed and polished the journalists of this paper had become. The spread of information can be seen in a 1979 edition of *The San Quentin News*.41 In this edition, the author used information from a 1974 case in Virginia regarding evidence laws to make sense of a case in California at the time. The sheer amount of information and detail provided rivals that of any major news publication. The article says, “The Court of Appeal, Second District, Division Fiver, has held in *People v. Lopez*, 2 Crim. 33129, October 16, 1979, that the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Jackson v. Virginia*, 615 L. Ed. 2d 560 does not change the Substantial Evidence Rule in California.”42 The amount of information they have on the case is amazing, given that they were in prison and only getting news through mail, newspapers, and short visits from approved contacts. Additionally, the use of precedent cases further proves the level

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42 “No Change in Evidence Rule.”
of research possible with the post-Marshall Opinion policies on communication. Even more interesting is that they write only about the current state of the People v. Lopez case without providing any background information. This small detail further proves the resiliency and dedication of the prisoners to their movement, as it implies that the readers were up to date on the status of ongoing prisoner cases.

Something else to note is that this edition begins by stating that this was their first edition back after a “four-month suspension of publication handed down by the Warden.” Fewer restrictions did not mean no restrictions, and the San Quentin News risked walking that line every time they criticized officials, the prison, or the justice system. That risk did not stop them. The article states that “They were informed by L. E. Bolton, supervisor of education, the reason for the suspension was that the reporters were slanting the news.” In this particular case, “Mr. Bolton specifically referred to a Bastille editorial dealing with the death penalty (‘The United States of Death’ By Robert Scott see page 3) as an example of what he considered slanted news.” Fortunately, this censorship was only a minor setback for the newspaper. The paper was only suspended temporarily, and articles that had previously been censored were either edited by the authors or accepted under newer, relaxed censorship policies and reprinted with a “CENSORED” stamp in later editions. Funny enough, the death penalty article that got the paper suspended was printed in that first issue back. The continuation of the newspaper following the suspension not only shows the dedication of prisoners to their First Amendment rights but also shows how powerful and effective communication among prisoners had become. Just because the paper was out of publication did not mean that prisoners like Rudy and Phil did not exchange letters, receive newspapers in the

44 Johnson, “SQ News Resumes Publication—Again.”
45 Johnson, “SQ News Resumes Publication—Again.”
mail, or flat-out stop caring about civil rights. The *Procunier v. Martinez* ruling and Marshall Opinion connected a network of prisoners nationwide that could not be broken even when one of their voices was muted.

Through all this, the prisoner’s voice was added to the broader social consciousness, creating a base interest in prisoners’ rights at the national level. This is evident in many editions of *The San Quentin News* by the articles they reprinted from mainstream newspapers. One example is in a 1982 edition with a reprinted article from the *San Francisco Chronicle*.47 This particular article reports on the U.S. Supreme Court case that worked to decide “exactly what constitutes a ‘frivolous’ appeal.”48 While it did reach the highest level of court, this is not typically the type of news that would break headlines. Seemingly, it does not affect the large majority of people. So then, why was it printed? News like this broke headlines during this period due to the amplification of the prisoner voice that followed the *Martinez* ruling and Marshall Opinion, which added the importance of their voice to the social consciousness and greater counterculture movements of the time.

The term “prisoners’ rights” seems like a contradictory statement. Before *Procunier v. Martinez*, the fight was still young and lacked exposure. The ruling of this case, combined with the aid of the Marshall Opinion that followed, thrust the topic of prisoners’ right to freedom of expression into the public eye in a way that it had never been before. The space was created for prisoners to write authentically without the fear of unjust censorship, allowing them to connect and contribute meaningfully to the larger counterculture movements in the outside world. Furthermore, it created a certain level of care for prison injustice that was shared by the social consciousness by adding the new humanized perspective of prisoners. Because of the tight

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48 Carlsen, “Few Appeals are Frivolous, Court Rules.”
connection between activism inside and outside of prison, the history of prisoners’ rights must be included in the history of greater civil rights and counterculture movements.

Today, some prisoners write for the current iteration of the *San Quentin News* and who build on the legacy of the journalists and activists of the 70s and 80s. The modern *San Quentin News* is much more supported and better structured, aided by professional journalists, and has full-time reporters. There are even prisoners whose articles are printed in national newspapers and journals.49 For some, journalism is a way to help plan for a future outside of prison. At the same time, nationally published works serve as evidence in appellate and probationary hearings of their successful and meaningful rehabilitation. Freedoms like those provided by the ruling of *Procunier v. Martinez* and the Marshall Opinion are still being discussed and changed now, some of which could be viewed as damaging to the modern rights of prisoners. The 1987 case *Turner v. Safley* was one of the first monumental cases that modified the ruling of *Procunier v. Martinez* by creating a four-part test that effectively decided the constitutionality of censorship or violation of rights.50 This system made challenging the restrictions or violations arguably more difficult for inmates. Later, the National Prison Litigation Reform Act of 1995 and California’s Frivolous Lawsuit Prevention Act of 1997 worked to minimize legal cases by making it even more difficult to sue prisons or the state.51 One cannot fully grasp the political landscape of the mid-twentieth century, or even today, without the perspective of the many men and women facing injustice behind bars.. In the words of Thurgood Marshall, “When the prison gates slam behind an inmate, he does not lose his human quality; his mind does not become closed to ideas; his intellect does not cease


to feed on a free and open interchange of opinion; his yearning for self-respect does not end; nor is his quest for self-realization concluded.”

52 Procunier v. Martinez
Illustration by Brianna Williams, Chico State
Something’s Burning:  
1990 and the Origins of Cool Britannia  

By Ari Diaz

Abstract: The Cool Britannia movement was a sudden surge of pride in all things British. Politics, sport, music, and fashion all converged to create magnificent moments that are still discussed today. Though agreed upon by historians as a movement nestled in the mid-1990s, there isn’t an official beginning for Cool Britannia. Years like 1992 or 1996 can be considered two possible starting points, but they still fall short of being considered the official beginning. I argue that despite being overlooked, 1990 produced significant events that would be important for the Cool Britannia movement and thus should be the official beginning. Those events are the release of the Taylor Report, the Stone Roses concert at Spike Island, and Margaret Thatcher entering the pound into the European Exchange Rate Mechanism. These three events made a cultural movement like Cool Britannia possible.

In 1992, Morrissey, former lead singer of the legendary Manchester indie band The Smiths, released his third album as a solo act titled *Your Arsenal* to rave reviews by critics and fans alike. Along with the success came a few criticisms against songs like “We’ll Let You Know” and “The National Front Disco.” The criticisms were that the songs had a much too sympathetic view of football hooliganism and far-right skinheads. Politically, Morrissey was not affiliated with far-right groups; instead, he expressed left-wing beliefs in his lyrics and interviews. Nonetheless, a month later, Morrissey performed at
Finsbury Park, London, where he doubled down on the themes of his songs. He performed “We’ll Let You Know” and “The National Front Disco” in front of a massive picture of skinheads, with the Union Jack draped around himself while he danced about. The skinheads in the crowd that egged him on did not do anything to help his denial of having any secret sympathies with the far-right. *National Music Exchange (NME)* plastered a photo of the incident on their cover titled “Morrissey-flying the flag or flirting with disaster?” Morrissey dancing with the Union Jack created the real firestorm. In the 1960s, it was hip for bands and people involved in fashion to invoke the Union Jack, but as the 1970s and 1980s rolled along, football hooligans and far-right/racist groups like the National Front co-opted the Union Jack.

The Union Jack brought about violence and racism. This was the reality for people who survived the 1970s and 1980s. In the mid-1990s, that all changed. The Union Jack could be found everywhere without violence or resembling racism. In 1996, Noel Gallagher, Oasis’ lead guitarist and songwriter, played a custom Epiphone guitar with the Union Jack on it at their fabled Maine Road concert. Ginger Spice, of the famous pop group Spice Girls, wore a short Union Jack dress at the 1997 Brit Awards. Suddenly, the Union Jack became the ultimate fashion statement. To be “cool” meant you needed clothing or apparel that had the Union Jack. This new fashion movement is the byproduct of Cool Britannia. Cool Britannia stretched beyond clothes and guitars with the Union Jack—it instilled a renewed pride in British culture and politics.

After years of football-related violence, England hosted an international tournament—Euro 96—where people were glued to the television and respect grew for their pastime. Simultaneously, a new love for Britain’s most famous export emerged, a new genre of British music called Brit-Pop. With songs that discussed the British experience and sung with unabashed British accents, it supplanted the waning Grunge movement. The iconic 1996 Knebworth concert would be the peak of this genre.
Following almost two decades of conservative rule, New Labour prepared to give hope back to British citizens. Combining old ways of thinking with elements of previous Thatcher policies, the new-look Labour Party led by Tony Blair would win a generation-defining election in 1997. These events will undoubtedly come up when asking anyone familiar with Cool Britannia. Cool Britannia, being a mid-1990s movement, would lead people to assume it started in any particular year in the mid-1990s, yet no such consensus on the starting year exists. I argue that 1990 produced significant events that were catalysts for the emergence of the Cool Britannia cultural movement and thus should be considered its official beginning. Those events were the release of the Taylor Report, the Stone Roses concert at Spike Island, and Margaret Thatcher entering the pound into the European Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM). These pivotal 1990 events made the unabashed celebration of British culture cool again.

Hardest Thing In The World: Historiography

A definitive definition of Cool Britannia’s periodization is almost nonexistent. Across journal articles, books (academic and popular alike), interviews, and online articles, you would be hard-pressed to find anyone proclaiming a beginning for Cool Britannia. When I found authors and writers discussing the movement’s origins, they all had different answers. Nothing was consistent. For example, Alwyn W. Turner’s A Classes Society: Britain in the 1990s mentions 1992 as an early formulation of Cool Britannia. Turner writes that Morrissey dancing with the Union Jack is a noteworthy event of that year. 1992 was also the first year the phrase Cool Britannia was used to describe British culture. Quoting journalist Cosmo Landesman in May of 1992, “Once, cool Britannia ruled all the new waves of youth culture, alongside Black Americans...alas no more.”¹ A few years later, Landesman’s lament on the state of British

culture proved that he jumped the gun. English writer Nick Hornsby also released his second book that year, *Fever Pitch: A Fan’s Life*. It details his life as a supporter of Arsenal F.C. from when he was born to his early thirties and how Arsenal matches related to key events growing up. This book gave an upbeat insight into a football supporter’s life that the U.K. by and large did not experience in the 1970s and 1980s, which was nothing but violent.

John Harris’ *The Last Party: Britpop, Blair, and the Demise of English Rock* looks extensively at 1996. On November 4, 1996, Stryker McGuire wrote a *Newsweek* article called “London Rules.” In the article, McGuire says that London combines some of the best that Paris, Los Angeles, and New York City have to offer. He then proclaims, “In short, this is the coolest city in the planet.”2 Two days later, Prime Minister John Major released this press release, “Our fashion, music and culture are the envy of our European neighbours. This abundance of talent, together with our rich heritage, makes ‘Cool Britannia’ an obvious choice for visitors from all over the world.”3 That is the first use of the phrase Cool Britannia to describe British culture in a positive light, in contrast with Landesman’s words in 1992, and giving the movement a name. That year was also the year of Euro 96 and the iconic Oasis concert at Knebworth Park, both taking place that summer. 1996 holds a lot of weight as the beginning of Cool Britannia.

Daniel Rachel’s *Don’t Look Back in Anger: The Rise & Fall of Cool Britannia Told By Those Who Were There* does not give a date to the beginning of Cool Britannia. His book begins in 1990 because of the German reunification process, Nelson Mandela’s release from prison, and, most importantly, Margaret Thatcher’s resignation. This is as close as I got to someone choosing the same year as me, even if they are for different reasons, but still, it is not the same as what I will argue. 1992 and 1996

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3 Harris, *Last Party*, 328.
are not bad years to use as the beginning of Cool Britannia, but 1992 and 1996 are too late for starting dates. Especially the many events that happened in those years would not have occurred without the events of 1990. Looking at Nick Hornsby’s *Fever Pitch* and, more specifically, at Euro 96, it was a grueling process for football to gain reacceptance into the mainstream. It began in 1990 after years of violence and tragedy.

**Where Angels Play: Taylor Report & Euro 96**

Football hooliganism was not new when it reached its deadly peak in the 1970s and 1980s. It has been around since the game’s official codification around the 1860s. Wherever football was popular, some sort of organized violence soon followed. Unfortunately, England and the United Kingdom would be the ones to make up most of the notable incidents. Riots and fights inside or outside the stadium between rival fan clubs (known as firms) became the norm. Even more sinister are the many firms that morphed together with far-right groups like the National Front. Players of African and African-Caribbean descent were racially abused while playing for their clubs or even for England’s national team. Steve Double, a Member of Parliament (MP) for the Conservative Party, described football in the 1980s: “There was nothing particularly pro-football in the preceding decade. Under Thatcher football had been seen as a force of evil. Thatcher hated football. The Minister for Sport, Colin Moynihan, was a football basher. You had David Evans, the Tory MP and chairman of Luton Town, who banned away fans.”

The rioting was so destructive that UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher created a “war cabinet” to combat football hooliganism.

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liganism. This newly established cabinet came before three critical events in English Football history. Two of these events occurred the same year and two months after the Luton Riot. May 11, 1985, saw a fire breakout after a fan tried to extinguish his cigarette in the Brentford City stadium. This fire killed around 55 fans. Almost three weeks later, on May 29, a confrontation between Liverpool fans and Juventus fans in Heysel Stadium, before the kickoff of the 1985 European Cup Final, killed about 39 fans (mostly Juventus fans). This resulted in a five-year ban on English teams in European competitions. Hooliganism was most definitely to blame for the latter incident, but both stadiums were poorly mismanaged and neglected. Football hooliganism and dilapidated stadiums came to a head with the third and final incident.

On April 15, 1989, the FA Cup semi-final between Liverpool and Nottingham Forest kicked off at the Hillsborough Stadium in Sheffield. A common feature in English football stadiums (though not limited to England) were standing-room areas for the club’s most passionate supporters. Commonly found in these areas are crush barriers and gates to lock in fans and prevent them from storming the pitch. On this day, large swaths of Liverpool supporters, many with no tickets, surged into the away team’s stands, creating a situation of overcrowding. The overcrowding resulted in 95 Liverpool fans being crushed to death, with two fans succumbing to their wounds in the coming years—bringing the total number of fatalities to 97. This is the worst crowd crush incident in English and United Kingdom history, surpassing the 1971 Ibrox Stadium crowd crush where 66 Ranger supporters died.

Who is to blame for the Hillsborough Disaster? The British media (spearheaded by The Sun Magazine) blamed Liverpool fans. The British press accused Liverpool fans of hooliganism. Allegations of drunkenness, peeing on police and first responders, and pickpocketing the dead bodies are some of the lies lobbed against them. It would take more than the British media to set the record straight on the Hillsborough Disaster and to
finally move British football forward. Lord Justice Taylor led the inquiry into the actual causes. His findings were published in two parts in the Hillsborough Stadium Disaster Inquiry report. The first report is called the Interim Report. Released in August 1989, the Interim Report laid blame on the Sheffield police for their inability to control the mass influx of Liverpool supporters. The cause of the disaster was Gate C (that led to the away stand) being opened by the police and then the subsequent mismanagement of the crowd on their part. The second and final report (simply called the Final Report), released in January 1990, had a different tone than the Interim. While the Interim Report blamed the police, the Final Report put forth what measures stadiums in the U.K. should take to ensure everyone’s safety. Because of this, the Final Report is seen as more influential, cited the most, and commonly known as the Taylor Report. The Taylor Report made it clear that old grounds, poor facilities, hooliganism, excessive drinking, and poor leadership needed to change or be done away with entirely. The suggestions for the problems cursing U.K. football included “…closed circuit television, membership cards, segregation, more seating at football grounds, encouragement of supporters’ clubs, a ban on alcohol, involvement of the clubs with the community, and heavier penalties.” The most notable of these suggestions was “more seating at football grounds.” Justice Taylor recommended all stadiums belonging to teams in the first and second division of the Football League and national stadiums should switch to being fully seated by the 1994/1995 season, with no more standing room areas. At the time, the U.K. housed some of the oldest stadiums in the world. Some of these dated to the 1880s and were simply too old to be updated; they had to be shut down and rebuilt elsewhere. Not only would history be lost, but the famous rocking atmosphere that fans encountered at stadiums in England and Scotland would also be lost. This is the impact of the Taylor Report, but it will have other consequences or influences as well.

Nine months after the Taylor Report became public, the five most popular clubs of the Football League First Division announced their intention to form a breakaway league. The name of this new league would be the Premier League, and the inaugural season would be the 1992/1993 season. All this was done for better and more lucrative TV deals. The initial five-year contract, worth around £305 million, gave the television rights to satellite broadcaster BSkyB. With the creation of the Premier League and the recommendations from the Taylor Report taking effect, the demographic of football fans and the attendance at stadiums changed. In Turner’s words, “The Taylor Report...had reduced capacity and increased ticket prices, and complaints began to be heard that ordinary working-class fans were being priced out of the game, supplanted by middle-class, fair-weather supporters, as the Premier League confirmed the social cleansing of a reviled and beleaguered pastime.”6 The old fans are now starting to be phased out. It was not just the hooligans but also working-class people who could afford to attend before 1990. Now, they find it difficult to attend a football match in the Premier League era due to high ticket prices. The irony is that the game was originally officially created by working-class people, and now they were priced out of the pastime.

With this new deal, matches became readily available outside of England. Edith Noriega’s 2018 article “Rise of Premier League globally has changed the local face of fans” highlights Dr. Michael Skey’s speech at the 12th annual Sports Africa Conference. He makes the same point about the “gentrification” of British football stadiums as Turner does and notes what this gentrification led to, “In the ‘80s, you might have seen four or five games a season on television...so after 1992, you started to see two or three games every week live on Sky. So that gave football a higher profile.”7 This gentrification made it safe for

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6 Turner, Classless Society, 73-74.
middle-class families to go to football games without any trouble starting, and because there were no fights or riots, broadcasting the Premier League around the world also became safe.

The new change of image of British football brought out by the Taylor Report made it possible for England to do something that had not been done since 1966. For the first time and the only time, England hosted an international football tournament, the 1966 World Cup. England hoisted the Jules Rimet trophy after beating West Germany in a controversial 4 to 2 extra-time victory. Since that victory, the perception of English football has been that of violence (and that of the England national team was that of failure). This perception existed through to 1990. Simon Hattenstone wrote in his 2021 article that “...by 1996, its image had turned full circle. Football was now regarded as part of our rich cultural package – a great British export.”

This change did not go unnoticed; the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) granted England the privilege of hosting the 1996 UEFA European Football Championship, or Euro 96. Euro 96 became one of the most memorable events of Cool Britannia. Financially, it was the most successful iteration of the tournament to date. Ticket sales, television, and sponsorship revenues helped the British economy and UEFA. More importantly, Euro 96 showed the world the rehabilitated image of British Football, at least until England lost to Germany on penalties in the semi-final, and a riot in London ensued. Despite that, the tournament, by all accounts, was hooligan-free.

The song "Three Lions" by Baddiel and Skinner and Lightning Seeds served as Euro 96’s anthem for the England national team, making it to the number-one spot on the U.K. charts. The song’s hook is “Football’s coming home,” which alludes to the official birth of the sport in England (and would be infamously appropriated by a famous politician, but more on that later.) For that year’s tournament, it felt like football

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had finally returned home after the violent events of the previous decades. The Taylor Report came about after tragedies in British football. It produced unfortunate results for the original creators of the football game, but in the process, England and the U.K. reclaimed the game from its violent turn. Euro 96 was not the only important Cool Britannia moment of that year. Two months after Euro 96 concluded, just an hour north of the old Wembley Stadium, a rock concert at Knebworth Park was put on by an indie band from Manchester and attended by a quarter of a million people over two nights. But this concert would not have occurred if it had not been for another concert that had taken place six years prior at Spike Island.

**Mersey Paradise: Spike Island & Knebworth**

Between the late 1970s and the mid-1990s, the city of Manchester held claim to being the music capital of the United Kingdom. In terms of mainstream and mainly independent music, there is no more fascinating than the music scene of Manchester that once existed. For the first half of the 1980s, Manchester had a reputation for being a dreary city. Like many of the cities across the U.K., Manchester experienced an economic downtown due to the policies of the Thatcher government. The music scene at the time, dominated by post-punk acts like Joy Division and The Smiths, embodied the economic misery.

The sound did a complete 180 during the latter half of the 1980s. In 1982, a nightclub called The Haçienda opened its doors. Then, in 1987, a new musical genre, acid house, gained traction in Manchester. Then you have artists and bands popping up with a blend of funk, hip-hop, acid house, and psychedelia. DJs like A Guy Called Gerald and 808 State dominated the club circuit. Older bands like New Order (born from the ashes of Joy Division) and Durutti Column adapted their post-punk style to a more dance-oriented sound to fit the changing times. Some of this era’s most famous new bands are the Happy Mondays and the Inspiral Carpets. Both can be commonly
found in The Haçienda or the GMEX, another famous Manchester venue. The drug of choice at these clubs that young folks consumed was MDMA, or Ecstasy. These elements created what is now known as the Madchester scene and the roots of rave culture. In the *Last Party*, John Harris makes this point about Madchester, “Counterculture is a word one usually only hears in association with the 60s, but the 80s surely had an equal claim to it.”9 The Madchester scene brought out new forms of creativity and expression. On a late November edition of the iconic London music show Top of the Pops (TOTP), Madchester went from a local scene tucked away in a northern English city to a national one. The Happy Mondays performed one of their hit songs called “Hallelujah.” The band that followed performed their most successful single, “Fools Gold.” That band was The Stone Roses.

The Stone Roses formed in 1983. With several members leaving and joining the band, it became difficult for them to find their footing. Finally, once the band became stable (with Ian Brown, John Squire, Mani, and Reni as the core members), they released their first single, “Sally Cinnamon,” in 1987. This song combined the jangly tone of The Smiths while incorporating elements of the new Madchester scene. In May 1989, The Stone Roses released their first album. A self-titled album, this became the pinnacle of Madchester, and later, *National Music Exchange (NME)* magazine proclaimed it the greatest British album of all time. Following the success of the debut album, their chart-topping hit “Fools Gold,” and their appearance on TOTP, they became the most sought-after indie band in the U.K.

As the most in-demand indie band, where would The Stone Roses take their talents? The band wanted to recreate the rave atmosphere encountered in and around Manchester, where unauthorized parties were held. They also wanted to have as many people attend as possible; an outdoor open space was

the only option. After turning down Knebworth, the band settled on Spike Island, and the concert date was May 27th, 1990. Harris describes this choice as “audacious” because it is not like any other venue they played or expected to play. John Robb, who documents the band’s rise and fall in The Stone Roses and the Resurrection of British Pop, tries to make sense of the band choosing Spike Island. Robb states, “The idea for Spike Island was to place a gig somewhere between Liverpool and Manchester, a symbolic link between the two cities that were at each other’s throats in football hooligan terms, but now, armed with their own music scenes, were rivaling London as the hippest corner of the UK.”

The band and their management flooded the semi-rivers, the estuary of the River Mersey, around Spike Island to create barriers, opposing anyone who tried to sneak into the venue (though people still found a way). With the expected attendance to be 30,000 people, it exceeded more than any crowd a headlining indie band got to perform in front of up to that point.

At the scene of the Spike Island concert were three lads from Manchester. Two of them, Paul Arthurs and Liam Gallagher, met at school and bonded over their love of music. Noel Gallagher, Roadie for the Madchester band Inspiral Carpets, accompanied his younger brother. All three later formed Oasis. Liam (lead singer) and Noel Gallagher (lead guitarist and songwriter) would be the nucleus of the band up until their unfortunate breakup in 2009. In John Dower’s 2003 documentary Live Forever: The Rise and Fall of Brit Pop, Noel Gallagher recounted his experience with the Spike Island concert. He bluntly says, “It was a shit gig,” and further elaborates, “From a technical point of view, the wind was blowing the sound all over the fucking place. I don’t think I got to hear one song properly.”

This line of thinking from Noel is not uncommon. Robb de-

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scribed it as “…perhaps, the ugliest festival of all time.” Spike Island was next to a chemical plant, and fumes surrounded the island. Aesthetically speaking, “ugly” was an understatement. This concert was planted in an area unsuitable for a proper concert, and the sound was not up to par with what a top concert should be, but the Stone Roses did not have the budget of a mainstream band, so there was not much they could do. Funnily enough, a few weeks later, the Stone Roses played at Glasgow Green on June 9th with an attendance of around 10,000. This concert is considered their best gig, far superior to Spike Island. This begs the question: why is Spike Island the turning point for Cool Britannia?

First, what adds to the mystique of this concert is that there is no professional recording of it. We only rely on the testimonies of the people who claimed to have attended and small snippets of fan footage. The other 30,000-plus people who attended the concert could care less about the criticism. The concert-goers dressed in baggy clothes were a common attribute for the people involved in the Madchester scene. You would not be able to bump into someone not wearing a shirt with a smiley face. If you look into the crowd, you can find bucket hats as far as the eye can see, an attire made famous by the drummer of The Stone Roses, Reni. One concertgoer recounted, "It was like a giant party, man. We felt free...The Roses were amazing that day. I don’t care what anyone says, but that was such a great day out.” Maybe they did not care because of what they were ingesting. Legendary music journalist Jon Savage, widely known for writing about the Sex Pistols and the Punk movement, was in the crowd. To his shock, he could not believe what he saw, "...there were thousands and thousands of teenagers there, and I had never seen so many kids smoking so much dope and taking so many drugs. People were really stoned on weed and ecstasy as well.”

14 *Live Forever.*
Savage then placed Spike Island within the context of the 1980s and Thatcherism and what it meant to people who went, “Spike Island was a good feeling, it was this feeling of space, it was a feeling of freedom; after having been locked for eleven years by a conservative government.” For a whole generation of people who grew up with Thatcherism, also known as Thatcher’s Children, it finally felt like they had their own thing. Something positive, fun, uplifting, and went against Thatcher’s 1980s. And despite Noel Gallagher’s criticism, he recognizes Spike Island’s influence, “Spike Island, that was the blueprint from my group. We were then going to become the biggest band in the world. That gig stretches far beyond the gig itself. The Stone Roses didn’t need to play a note. The job was done with all them people there.” He would be correct on multiple levels.

For those who were not privileged to attend the Spike Island concert, a much larger (just as iconic) concert took place six years later. This time in Knebworth, a venue where legendary bands such as Queen, Rolling Stones, and Led Zeppelin played, on the heels of one the most successful albums in U.K. history, *What’s the Story (Morning Glory)*, Oasis would have the chance to headline this hallowed ground. Where Stone Roses had 30,000 fans packed in Spike Island, Oasis completely annihilated the number. Instead of 30,000 for one night, it was 250,000 people over two nights in August 1996. Keep in mind that Oasis, just like The Stone Roses, are an indie band. This event personified youth culture for Cool Britannia, which is still often recalled by the numerous documentaries and testimonies from those two nights.

What made it even more special was having legendary Stone Roses guitarist John Squire perform “Champagne Supernova,” a beloved Oasis song, and a cover of The Beatles’ “I am the Walrus.” Noel Gallagher claims that having John Squire on

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15 *Live Forever.*
16 *Live Forever.*
stage was not meant to be a tribute to the Spike Island concert, but that connection was unavoidable for those who loved both bands. Musician Simon Fowler says, “The Stone Roses at Spike Island had been key to my band forming, but in all truth they were bloody awful that day - It wasn’t the big event it should have been. Knebworth was like the fulfillment of the Roses’ promise. Oasis even got John Squire up on stage, like a symbolic recognition of a baton being passed between generations.”

Fowler makes the same critique that some have made about the Spike Island concert, but ultimately, it is essential to point out that you could not have the Oasis concert at Knebworth without the groundbreaking gig put on by the Stone Roses six years before. It’s a continuation.

Oasis is the most famous example of the influence Spike Island had. Spike Island allowed for a new genre called Britpop to form. Blur, another famous Britpop band, and Oasis (Blur’s rival) had their first hit called “There’s No Other Way” in 1991. The song essentially ripped off the style and sound of The Stone Roses. Pulp, another Britpop band, released a chart-topping single called “Sorted For E’s & Wizz” in 1995. Inspired by lead singer Jarvis Cocker’s conversation with a woman he met who claimed to have been at Spike Island and said so many people she encountered were on Ecstasy (E) and Amphetamines (Wizz). Indeed, the “Cool” in Cool Britannia would not exist without Spike Island. What is interesting about Cool Britannia is how music became a tool for youth involvement in politics. Rather than the Conservative Party that ruled the U.K. from late 1979 to 1997, the New Labour Party emerged.

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**Bye Bye Badman: ERM & New Labour**

To understand the rise of New Labour during Cool Britannia, one must first understand Thatcher’s government and how the U.K. got to Thatcherism. Following the end of the Second World

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17 Rachel, *Don’t Look Back*, 264.
War and up to the election of 1979, a general consensus ruled over parliament. Dennis Kavanaugh describes it in his book *The Reordering of British Politics: Politics After Thatcher* as the “post-war consensus, or agreement.”\(^{18}\) The Labour Party initiated new policies in public ownership, employment, welfare, and the National Health Service (NHS) and Conservative Party followed. These policies, and the strength of trade unions, created a mixed economy in the U.K. But up to 1979, the economy worsened slowly, and Margaret Thatcher had the “post-war consensus” in her scope. With her victory in 1979, she did away with the “post-war consensus” and brought about a period of reducing government/state power, tax cuts, privatization, and decreasing trade union influence. Only the National Health Services (NHS) was spared.

With the new reversal of domestic policies, Thatcher brought her views to the European stage. Her free market thinking clashed with the European Community (EC). In *The Thatcher Revolution: Margaret Thatcher, John Major, Tony Blair, and the Transformation of Modern Britain, 1979-2001*, Earl A. Reitan quotes Thatcher’s 1988 words, “We have not successfully rolled back the frontiers of the state in Britain only to see them reimposed at the European level, with a European super-state exercising a new dominance from Brussels.”\(^{19}\) For the most part, the British public did not look at the EC too fondly. Only 50 percent saw being part of the EC as a good thing. With the end of the “post-war consensus” and prevailing negative attitudes towards Europe, conditions were suitable for the events that transpired in 1990 and afterward.

For Margaret Thatcher and the future of the Conservative Party, 1990 became a far-reaching year. For one, she had to deal with the poll tax. Thatcher proposed a tax that removed rates on homes and introduced a community charge on ev-

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eryone over eighteen. People who already disliked Thatcher loathed her even more, but people who did like her, her support base, detested the poll tax. It was unpopular in all levels of government and throughout the country.\textsuperscript{20} Riots across the U.K. commenced in response to the implementation of the poll tax. The poll tax, the riots, and her stubbornness to keep it led to Margaret Thatcher’s resignation in November of that year. Not being able to secure an overwhelming majority in the Conservatives during the party leadership election, she had no choice but to resign. She could not continue to be the leader with the continued disapproval and decline in popularity within her own party.

That same year, an event as important as the poll tax riots or the resignation of Margaret Thatcher took place. People in the Thatcher cabinet encouraged her to join the British pound in the European Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM). Joining the ERM meant the U.K. government would follow the European communities’ economic/monetary policies, this would cause European currencies (along with the pound) to not fluctuate at a certain percentage. Having already explained Thatcher’s views on Europe, it should not be a shock when I say she refused to join the ERM. This refusal to join infuriated cabinet members and led to the resignation of Nigel Lawson and Geoffrey Howe, who had been by Thatcher’s side since her election victory in 1979. During a March 27th (four days before the poll tax riots) edition of the television broadcast \textit{Prime Minister Questions}, Thatcher fielded questions from opposition party members. Naturally, the questions touched on the upcoming implementation of the poll tax, but Margaret Thatcher also asked about the ERM and the possibility of joining. Thatcher made her position clear. She said first there needed to be “free movement of capital” and most importantly, to “get our own rates of inflation down to ensure proper competition within the communities.”\textsuperscript{21} All sensible requirements to join an inter-

\textsuperscript{20} Reitan, \textit{Thatcher Revolution}, 88.
\textsuperscript{21} Margaret Thatcher, “Prime Minister Questions,” C-SPAN, March 27, 1990, \url{https://www.c-span.org/video/?11741-1/question-time}. 
Fast forward to October 5th, the Thatcher government joins the ERM. This caused confusion, considering inflation had not gone down to the European average. Thatcher took questions on October 18th. Fiery and puzzled, the opposition party could not believe how fast Thatcher changed her tune, especially considering she was adamant about not joining the ERM on September 27th—using the same points as she did on March 27th. What changed? After Nigel Lawson resigned his six year post as the Chancellor of the Exchequer (the equivalent to the U.S. Secretary of Treasurer) on October 26th 1989, a relatively young man named John Major took his place. John Major became the person who pushed Thatcher to join the ERM. This is ironic because Nigel Lawson tried to persuade Thatcher to do the same years before and ultimately resigned because of her stubbornness. In *John Major: The Autobiography*, Major explains that as early as March, “…when inflation had risen above 8 percent, I was convinced that entry to the ERM was a sensible option.” Major was also convinced that he knew how to persuade Thatcher in ways that Lawson could not. The main argument put forward to Thatcher was, “…strengthening both politically and economically.” Joining the ERM now seemed sensible to Thatcher. With the rise of a reunited Germany, Thatcher or the U.K. government could not afford to be a bystander and joining the ERM would guarantee some say in the European community. Also, the hope of a positive outcome, such as lowering inflation rates, was an argument Major gave to Thatcher. At 4 PM on October 5, 1990, John Major formally announced that Britain would enter the ERM. Whatever Thatcher’s reasons for joining, it would prove costly.

If it had not been known to people, it would have become clear how significant October 5, 1990, was. This was not only in 1992 but in 1997, with the general election that exemplified

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Cool Britannia. Soon after Thatcher’s resignation in November 1990, John Major became the new leader of the Conservative Party and thus the new prime minister. The public was now happy to have someone lead them who was not Thatcher. John Major and the Conservatives rode this new public optimism into 1992, winning the general election. On April 9th they won 43 percent of the votes, around 14 million votes—this broke records for a winning party. In hindsight, the election timing was fortuitous for Major and the Conservative Party. On September 16th, a day known as “Black Wednesday,” the international value of the British pound dropped sharply, leaving the Major government no choice but to leave the ERM. The U.K. was not the only country to be affected by the currency drop. Italy, too, had to pull out, and many others had their currencies devalued. Sadly it pains me to say this: Thatcher was right. She was right about her hesitation to join the ERM. The blame all fell on John Major. Major persuaded Thatcher to join, still stuck by his choice when he became PM, and ultimately was the one to pull out. The approval rating for the Conservative Party fell to 30 percent. Where there was misfortune for the Conservatives, there was an opportunity for the Labour Party.

After their fourth straight defeat at the hands of the Conservatives, Labour needed to change their tactics. A young, fresh-faced politician named Tony Blair became leader of the Labour Party on July 21st, 1994. That October, he proposed a new idea to attract middle-class/white-collar workers, who usually voted for Conservatives. Inspired by the U.S. presidential election of 1992, Blair figured that the only way forward was to find a middle ground. The most radical action Blair decided to take was the removal of Clause IV of the Labour Party constitution. Clause IV supported the nationalization of industries. With this removal, “...Labour Party abandoned virtually all that it once stood for.”24 New Labour was now born. In a January 1996 poll, a year before the next general election, 55 percent of people held a favorable view of the New Labour Party versus a 26 per-

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24 Reitan, *Thatcher Revolution*, 159.
cent favorable view of the Conservatives. It was known that joining the ERM and the fallout of Black Wednesday would end in a disaster in the 1997 general election for Conservatives, “... following the decisive disaster of Black Wednesday, the Tories were destined to lose regardless of what they now did (a feeling shared by Major).” The New Labour Party defeated the Conservatives in the 1997 general election, with Labour receiving 43 percent of the votes. This election is the political peak of Cool Britannia. Throughout the election cycle, Blair would say “Labour’s coming home” regarding the “Three Lions” anthem for the English national team. He embraced football, unlike his conservative predecessor. He tried to relate to younger voters by making the point he was once in a band. Once he won, he hosted a gala that invited many famous stars. One of them was Noel Gallagher, who at the 1996 Brit Awards said, “Tony Blair is the man! ” A now infamous photo of Noel and Blair shaking hands symbolizes the merger of the Britpop genre and New Labour politics, creating a symbolic moment in Cool Britannia. The debate surrounding joining the ERM helped end the careers of Thatcher, Howe, Lawson, and Major. It also gave birth to Blair’s political career and resurrected the Labour Party, creating Cool Britannia’s most famous political moment.

Fool’s Gold: Conclusion

On June 28, 2019, Stormzy made history by becoming the first British rapper to headline the Glastonbury festival. Born to parents from Ghana, his experiences living in the U.K. differed from those of the “average” Brit. Before he took the stage, MP for the Labour Party David Lammy made an impassioned speech about Black people and the British prison system. As Stormzy took the stage, eyes immediately went to what he was wearing: a black vest with the Union Jack. The colors were not the same bright colors one usually sees on the Union Jack. In-

26 Turner, *Classless Society*, 139.
stead, the colors were muted and sickly. The vest he wore was specifically made to prevent stabbings. Created by famed street artist Banksy, the Union Jack stab vest highlighted the growing knife crimes among youths in London. Stormzy knowingly or unknowingly carried on the Cool Britannia tradition. Unlike the artists of the mid-1990s, who wore the Union Jack carefree and as a fashion piece, Stormzy wore the Union Jack as a political/social statement of the current affairs plaguing the U.K. The good feeling Cool Britannia created did not last long. Just as there is no consensus on when it began, there really is no consensus on the ending. Maybe it ended once Tony Blair became prime minister in 1997. One other theory is that Cool Britannia ended with the attacks in New York and Washington D.C. on September 11, 2001, and the beginning of the War on Terror. This makes sense to me as the pride in British sport, music, culture, and renewed hope in politics was replaced by jingoism, the march to war, xenophobia towards Arabs and Muslims, and a disdain for the New Labour Party. If you described Cool Britannia to someone who is not too familiar with it they might assume you were describing something similar to Brexit, the political movement to secede from the European Union. Although not the intention of the people who took part in Cool Britannia, many of the elements found in that movement can also be found in Brexit, as both movements claimed superiority over other European nations in some form. Today, the state of the U.K. is eerily similar to how the U.K. looked before 1990. The Conservative Party has been in power since 2010, just about four years shorter than the Conservatives were in power before New Labour won. Football in the U.K. is more prosperous and more popular than ever, but it is difficult for young people and working-class people to attend because of the high cost of tickets. Walkouts and other protests by fans are common. Last but not least, there is no music scene even close to the ones found in Manchester, and who knows if there will ever be one. If history is any indicator, moments/events will unfold to create a year like 1990, creating another cultural movement like Cool Britannia. It remains to be seen if that will come to pass and if it will be shrouded in nationalism like Cool Britannia was. Tes-
Jowell, the Secretary of State of Culture, Media and Sport from 2001 to 2007, said, “Cool Britannia was...I’m sorry to say, doomed to inadequacy because it tried to codify a culture. And if you codify, you ossify.”27 Instead of ossifying, my hope for the next British cultural movement is a movement that would unify beyond the parameters of British nationalism.

Something’s Burning: 1990 and the Origins of Cool Britannia
Illustration by Jose Vargas, Chico State
Aiding Evil:
Collaboration and Betrayal in Nazi-Occupied Netherlands

By Sam Balderas

Abstract: This essay explores the ways in which The Netherlands became a major piece within the history of the Holocaust and how the actions of different Dutch organizations and people aided the Nazi occupation through discrimination, violence, and propaganda.

“W e do not consider the Jews to be members of the Dutch nation . . . We will smite the Jews where we meet them, and whoever goes along with them must take the consequences.” Aggression and violence, from the beginning, became a hallmark of National Socialist rhetoric. Arthur Seyss-Inquart, the Austrian-Nazi governor of The Netherlands, spoke those words to a room of Dutch Nazis in Amsterdam in March of 1941, less than a year after the occupation of the Netherlands began.¹ His words are a reminder of the tone of Nazi occupation, not just in the Netherlands but across Europe, with rhetoric about racial supremacy, murder, and complete control of society. Yet what

made the Netherlands different is that they became uniquely committed to the promises of Adolf Hitler’s fascist ideals. The Germans of the 1930s are not the only group susceptible to the Nazi promise of racial cleansing. Out of all the occupied European territories, the Netherlands had the highest proportion of SS volunteers. According to the Anne Frank House, their growing fanaticism resulted in the deaths of three-quarters of all Jews in the Netherlands and the deportation of 100,000 people to camps like Auschwitz and Sobibor, including children like Anne Frank and her family.

There are Dutch who are hesitant to acknowledge their nation’s pronounced role in the Holocaust, instead focusing on the accomplishments of the Dutch Resistance. While no one can deny the work of the Dutch Resistance fighters, there is a more sinister side to the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands involving collaborators across Dutch society, both in plain sight and hiding amongst their unsuspecting fellow citizens. Following the conclusion of the trials of 65,000 collaborators in 1950, the Dutch court ordered all records to be sealed for seventy-five years. Due to this, most of what is readily available today of the Dutch Nazis are the interviews of Dutch Resistance members, pictures of the perpetrators, and various propaganda pieces contained within the collections of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and other archives. A new archive containing the collaborator’s records, dubbed “War in Court” and organized by the Dutch Central Archive for Special Jurisdiction (CABR), will be fully released to the public in 2025, thus publicly showing the names of thousands of collaborators for what may be the first time. The archive began its work in September 2023 by digitizing the records related to the

2 The German Schutzstaffel, commonly known as the SS, led by Heinrich Himmler, acted as elite units, guards to Hitler, and executors of the state’s racial purity agenda. See, Martin Middlebrook, Arnhem 1944: The Airborne Battle, 17-26 September, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), 164.
collaborators.\textsuperscript{5} With 2025 creeping ever closer, the Dutch will soon face the reality of their hand in the Nazi genocide, brutal occupation, and war crimes committed across Europe. Before War in Court opens, analysis of the actions of the Dutch Nazis can still proceed. Collaborators, through creating a hotbed of antisemitism, conducting campaigns of terror in Dutch cities, and laying the groundwork for future generations of National Socialists through volunteer organizations and militarism, attempted to build a thousand-year Reich. They failed, but their actions leave us wondering: How did Nazi rhetoric spread so successfully amongst Dutch Society? And how can the occupation serve as a warning to future generations? The answer will only become more apparent from here, especially with the War Archive’s opening next year. It will act as a stark reminder to not only Dutch citizens but the world that actions like those of the Nazis can happen anywhere, to anyone, when extreme prejudice exists.

While the subject of Dutch collaboration with Hitler’s Nazis is not a new subject of historical analysis, it is not covered often in English, nor is much of it recent. Secondary sources written on the Dutch collaborators come primarily from the late 1960s, with sparse selections from the 2010s. In the 1970 book \textit{The Netherlands at War: 1940-1945} by Walter Maass, they viewed the actions of the occupation government as having been pressed upon the Dutch by their aggressive neighbors. He refers to the Netherlands as a “hungry, freezing, tired little nation...exploited to the utmost.”\textsuperscript{6} On the Dutch Nazi leader Anton Mussert, Maass claims he is “a heavy set, balding man... neither a great orator nor of superior intellect.”\textsuperscript{7} His argument revolves around the idea that the actions of the occupation government are something that was pressed onto the collaborators, who were incompetent without Nazi aid, and then per-


\textsuperscript{7} Maass, \textit{The Netherlands at War}, 52.
petrated against an overwhelmingly resistant nation.

One scholar whose research is consistently cited in more recent work is that of Dietrich Orlow. In his 1999 article “A Difficult Relationship of Unequal Relatives: The Dutch NSB and Nazi Germany, 1933–1940,” Orlow views the Dutch collaborators within the Netherlands as a group constantly searching for their own unique identity, yet could never do so as long as they remained partners of Nazi Germany. Orlow argues that to stay in power, the collaborators had to be “a Dutch tail wagged by the German dog,” yet despite their attempts at copying their domineering neighbor, their actions only served to “[marginalize] the Party even further in Holland.”8 The most recent scholarship available on the subject is that of Jennifer Foray in her 2013 article “An Old Empire in a New Order: The Global Designs of the Dutch Nazi Party, 1931–1942.” This article, which references the previous work of Orlow, centers around the role of the Dutch Nazi Party leader Anton Mussert and his designs on a “Dutch tribe” similar to the Aryan race. Foray claims that much of the collaborators’ actions were in the quest for their own living space, which reflected “the Netherlands’ imperial position” thanks to the Dutch East Indies. Previous work has deemed the actions of the Dutch collaborators as isolated incidents perpetuated by a small group of officials, yet examining the history of antisemitism in the Netherlands shows that the sentiments of the Nazis were more widespread than initially believed.

**Pre-War Netherlands**

To analyze why the Nazi ideology spread so successfully, an understanding of the pre-war Netherlands is required. Before the Nazi German invasion and occupation of 1940, a sprawling Jewish community thrived throughout the Netherlands. In

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1930, around 112,000 Jews called the Netherlands home. Of the Jewish population, over 65,000 people, or 58 percent of all Dutch Jews, resided in Amsterdam alone. The Dutch Jewish population received another 15,000 to their number in 1940 as refugees fled Germany and the occupied Nazi territories in the east. Even though thousands of Jewish people lived throughout the Netherlands before the Nazi invasion, living their lives as merchants, neighbors, and friends, they faced significant discrimination from their fellow Dutch. The word for “Jews” in Dutch is Joden, and words like “jodenneus,” “jodenfooi,” and “jodenstreek” arose to describe features seen as “unsightly” and “Jew-like.” This antisemitism is seen throughout Dutch society at this time, and much of it came from a difference in religion, which stark religious differences within The Netherlands helped drive.

Religion played an essential role in the lives of the Dutch, as 42 percent practiced Protestantism and 36 percent practiced Roman Catholicism. This left the Dutch Jews caught between much of the country’s ire. Prominent Protestants in the country claimed Jews disguised themselves as Liberals and used their positions to make the Netherlands a godless country, while some Catholic leaders saw the Jews as murderers for their hand in the Crucifixion of Jesus, as so depicted in the Bible. In an interview from 2003, Dutch Resistance member Berendina Diet Eman recalled the local paper’s reactions to Kristallnacht. Kristallnacht in Germany, or The Night of Broken Glass, saw a coordinated Nazi attack in November 1938 against Jewish homes, businesses, and cemeteries, as well as the burning of synagogues across the country. Though internationally con-

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10 Braber, *This Cannot Happen Here*, 19.
11 Braber, 18.
12 Braber, 22.
13 Braber, 23.
14 Braber, 25.
demned, Eman said the Dutch papers “pretended that it was a spontaneous uprising of the young people against those Jews who are doing all this criminal whatever.”\textsuperscript{16} She also claimed that when she and some friends ran into a group of “fanatic” German Hitler Youth boys, “my girlfriends were open for it, they listened, and they were very impressed.”\textsuperscript{17} Many within Dutch society became impressed or intimidated enough to feign support for the Nazi Germans.

Like its people, the government of the Netherlands showed no immunity to antisemitism and fear, which fed into the struggles of Jewish refugees. In the 1930s, the government became increasingly hostile to Jewish people, making a home in the Netherlands. As they feared reprisals from their more powerful neighbor, the Dutch government hoped to appease Hitler and deemed any Jewish refugees as foreigners. The Dutch government warned that their presence was not wanted, and should Jewish refugees be found, they should be deported to Germany.\textsuperscript{18} The government kept immigration quotas low, at 2,000 to 7,000 people, much to the agreement of Roman Catholic and some Protestant organizations.\textsuperscript{19} Many resistance members like Marion Pritchard and Jewish member Betti Frank recalled the anger at their government for refusing to take more Jewish refugees. Marion Pritchard said her father felt “very strongly about the injustice that was being done to the Jews.” Meanwhile, Betti Frank says that although her father helped fleeing Jews cross the border into the Netherlands, the difficulties of being a refugee grew since the Dutch authorities did not allow them to stay if discovered, in most cases.\textsuperscript{20} Unlike the resistance Jewish refugees faced, the invaders that arrived in 1940 received a warmer reception.

\textsuperscript{17} Diet Eman, 13.
\textsuperscript{18} Braber, 32.
\textsuperscript{19} Braber, 33.
Collaboration Begins

According to Dutchman Pieter Oldenburg, when the Nazis first arrived on their armored vehicles, the Dutch Nazi party, the NSB, lined the road to greet them and give the soldiers chocolate. This open acceptance of Nazism by the NSB created a breeding ground for antisemitism and fervent nationalism that fueled the fighting on both the Eastern and Western Front, as well as the millions murdered in the Holocaust. The Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging, a party built on many of the same ideals of the German Nazis, grew from the work of Dutchman Anton Mussert and acted as both its founder in 1931 and the Party’s leader through the end of the war in 1945. Initially, the Party began with a more Italian-like fascist stance; that is, they focused on nationalist pride and a reorganized economic system, which drew many voters during the depression years in the early 1930s. Many Dutch voters saw the NSB as a moderate choice before the war, and because of this, they gained 8 percent of the vote in 1935, though that number dropped in the coming years.

While the party claimed to be pro-Dutch and pro-freedom of religion, with Mussert making promises like “Every good Jew is welcome in our party,” their tune changed as the economy improved and the German boot pressed on their neck. As the economic outlook in the Netherlands improved throughout the latter half of the 1930s, NSB membership declined, and this led to an increase in antisemitic and fascist rhetoric from the Party, making them less palatable to both moderate and conservative Dutch voters. After Mussert began to form a personal relationship with Hitler, a coalition of Dutch parties formed to block

24 Paine, 302.
25 Paine, 302.
26 Paine, 302.
them from growing any larger, making the NSB drop down to 4% of the vote in 1937. This drop in voters did not stop them, and they only became more upfront about their full views once the Germans arrived. Their open antisemitism endeared them to their German rulers and united their two countries in the ongoing fighting in Europe after the occupation of the Netherlands began.

When the Third Reich invaded the Netherlands, they quickly transitioned from fighting to occupation. The invasion only lasted five days and resulted in the temporary exile of the royal family and members of the Dutch government to London, England, for the duration of the war. Initially, the task of the occupiers became to befriend the Dutch people, though that did not include the Jewish members of the NSB, even if they hoped so. The removal of the Dutch Jews within the NSB, of which there were 150 by 1935, was also a requirement to work with Hitler. Although Mussert claimed it was “the worst thing I have ever done,” the Jewish members were expelled in October 1940, not escaping the purge of Dutch society by the Nazis. For the rest of the Netherlands, they set out to befriend the NSB and show themselves working for the Dutch. One picture taken in 1941 shows two members of the NSB with the party symbol on their left arm and hats visible, along with their distinct black uniform. One man smiles from inside a shop with a sign reading “Jews not desired” in Dutch. Such antisemitic signs became increasingly common with the help of people like NSB member and collaborator Jan Feitsma. These signs included the phrase “Jews Forbidden,” and for each sign, he proudly stamped his name at the bottom. They had similar propaganda to their friends on the other side of the border. A poster made during

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27 Paine, 302.
the war depicted the Nazi, Dutch, and Italian flags above a globe with the Netherlands highlighted in red. At the top, it reads, “Mussert fights for the Netherlands’ place in the new Europe. Join the fight! NSB. Join the National Socialist Movement.” Once again, the poster sports the distinct NSB logo, with a lion crest at the center. It became apparent quickly that, like their German friends, they believed that Jewish people should not be a part of the “superior” Dutch society, and their ideology continued to spread quietly into Dutch homes.

According to witnesses like Jan Hieminga, they saw the NSB as little more than an afterthought until the arrival of the Germans. Jan Hieminga, a member of the resistance during the war, primarily aided in hiding Jews from their genocidal pursuers. According to him, the NSB had a meager political impact before the war, and no one thought about them until the Germans arrived. Once the Nazis arrived, the NSB grew in importance. The real threat, Jan said, became uncertainty: “You was not sure from anybody. You don’t know if it was an NSB-er in front of. . . you wouldn’t know.” The NSB and Nazi sympathizers permeated Dutch society, and many had no idea until far too late. An air of fear took hold of Dutch homes when they realized you could never fully trust anyone, lest they be an informant not only to German organizations but also to the Dutch. Cornelis De Vreede, Jehovah’s Witness and survivor of the Nazi prison camps, spoke of his view of the ‘new world order’ imposed by the occupation and its collaborators. According to him, the Dutch saw the Nazis as a good thing, and because of this, many of them joined the NSB. This included people he knew, like his boss, who gave him free tickets to attend the meetings of the Dutch Nazi Party. The Netherlands, during the occupation, was full of uncertainty. Anyone could be a spy.

32 “Mussert Poster,” NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, accessed April 17, 2023, https://beeldbankwa2.nl/nl/beelden/detail/5db62946-025a-11e7-904b-d89d6717b4e4/media/4c360364-a24c-5000-090a-0dbd0ddef667?mode=detail&view=horizontal&q=NSB&rows=1&page=112.
33 Jan Hieminga, “Interview with Jan Hieminga,” Interviewed by Ina Navazelskis, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (August 9, 2016), 36.
or informant, including friends and neighbors.

**Open Nazism**

Many Dutch Nazis hid in plain sight, unbeknownst to their anti-fascist neighbors. Berendina Eman, in her interview, talks about a family that had become her friends. One day after the war ended, she visited their house. In their home, above their piano, sat a large portrait of Hitler. Inside, she “heard in the other room German speaking, and I look, and I see German soldiers. So, then I knew that they were all Nazi.”35 She is not the only one who recalled Nazis amongst them and, in most cases, working amongst them. In the case of Betti Frank, a Dutch collaborator from her father’s job betrayed him, and her father, who worked tirelessly to save Jewish refugees, found himself rounded up and killed at Mauthausen along with many other Jews. Yet it was not the Gestapo that killed her father, but the Dutch Police.36 In the case of Louise Segaar, she recalled how the NSB betrayed the Dutch government and aided the Nazis at the beginning of the occupation, helping the Nazis by keeping in communication with each other and providing them with information.37 These relationships, fostered by NSB head Anton Mussert, led to a much more efficient Nazi occupation government than other nations.

Anton Mussert had been the NSB head since its inception in 1931. As Party founder and staunch Nazi, Mussert rubbed elbows with representatives of the Third Reich regularly once the occupation began. The bonds between his party and the German equivalent ran deep. There are many pictures of Mussert alongside high-ranking NSDAP (National Socialist German Workers Party) members. Two people he kept company with regularly became Arthur Seyss-Inquart and Hanns Raut-

35 Diet Eman, 32.
er. Seyss-Inquart was the highest-ranking Nazi in the Netherlands, and as Reichskommissar, he was responsible for the deportation and execution of hundreds of Dutch Jews. Before his work as the Reichskommissar, he acted as the last Austrian chancellor, who invited Hitler’s forces to annex Austria in 1938, thus beginning the first moves of German expansion, or Lebensraum as named by the Party.38 Hanns Rauter was the second highest-ranking Nazi of the occupation and held the position of General Commissioner for Public Safety. Through this position, he controlled the entire Dutch police forces, which he used in the capture and deportation of Jewish people in their territory.39 It was the Dutch Police, alongside the German Sicherheitspolizei, that raided the Secret Annex in which Anne Frank and her family hid.40 Both Nazi war criminals Rauter and Seyss-Inquart are present with Anton Mussert in numerous pictures and videos taken at Party functions.

There are pictures of the three men together at rallies, easily distinguishable by their uniforms.41 Arthur Seyss-Inquart is in pictures giving speeches to crowds; one even shows him with the distinct NSB symbol in the background while he stands at a podium bearing the Nazi swastika.42 Other pictures show the three men deep in conversation or standing beside each other at events, Mussert in his black NSB uniform, Rauter in the complete SS kit with a death’s head cap, and Seyss-Inquart wearing the brown cap and uniform of a Nazi political leader.43 All three men were tried and executed for their crimes after the war’s end. Videos of Anton Mussert are also strikingly similar

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42 “NSB Banner and Inquart,” NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, 1941, https://beeldbankwo2.nl/nl/beelden/detail/10a5b784-025a-11e7-904b-d89d6717b464/media/e54058eb-73e6-6da-fb0d-8b080d3d6002?mode=detail&view=horizontal&q=Arthur%20Seyss-Inquart&rows=1&page=63.
43 “High Ranking Nazis Sitting,” NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, 1942.
to propaganda videos in Germany. In one taken in 1944, Mussert enters a sizable outdoor meeting, flanked by men carrying swastika, the Dutch flag, and other Nazi symbols.\(^{44}\) The audience, which looks to be hundreds of people, greet him with the Nazi salute. The commentary, in Dutch, tells us that Mussert said to the crowd, “Europe must remain the cultural center of the world. We National Socialists do not hang our heads.” The film, likely made for Dutch consumption considering the language used, is nearly identical in style to those seen of Hitler and other high-ranking Party officials. By copying the style of the German propaganda machine, the Dutch Nazis hoped to attract young and old to the Nazi cause of total European control and Aryan supremacy. While there are many SS and other adult party members visible in this propaganda film, there are many young boys and girls in uniform present. The NSB and their ties with the Nazis are only one way Hitler dug his claws into the Dutch people. Dutch SS volunteers and Jeugdstorm sprouted from these fascist ideas, and they were the ones who went to the frontlines and into concentration camps with a nationalistic zeal.

**Dutch Volunteers**

The SS *Nederlands* became one of many volunteer groups made up of young Dutchmen and Nazi sympathizers. Divisions like the 34th SS Volunteer Grenadier Division Landstorm Nederlands saw combat during the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union, as well as Operation Market Garden. Through their swearing-in ceremony, it is clear that the NSB and the NSDAP became partners during the war. Their symbols are displayed together, both use the Nazi salute, and their uniforms are nearly identical save for a band reading “*Landstorm Nederlands,*” lack of ranks on their collar, and a lion symbol on the sleeve.\(^{45}\) Most of the


volunteers came from members of the NSB and claimed they joined only to fight Bolshevism and to claim bravery amongst their fellow party members. The recruitment strategies in the Netherlands carried over from those in Germany. Posters depicted men dressed in the volunteer uniform and contrasted them with sneaky businessmen, known to be code for Western ideals and antisemitism, asking, “Who is the real Dutchman?” calling into question the patriotism and manliness of those who did not yet join the SS. In many ways, though, the German military did not treat the Dutch at the same level as the German soldiers they fought alongside.

Unlike their German counterparts, these Dutch volunteers received poor training and lacked much of the equipment that the average Wehrmacht soldier had. The Dutch became cannon fodder in most cases. For example, in the Narva front in the East, a general withdrawal came to the German soldiers, while they ordered the Nederlands volunteers to stay behind. The division is almost entirely destroyed while covering the German retreat. Despite their agreement with the cause and Hitler’s praises, they could never be equal to the “Aryan race.” These divisions faced similar outcomes on the Western front. In the case of the 9th SS Wach battalion at the Battle of Arnhem, they lost eighty men in the fighting, and many more were taken prisoner. In many cases, the men, as ordered by their officers, cut the SS badge from their uniforms to avoid being recognized as SS by their enemies. Due to this ineffectiveness in battle, the Dutch volunteers acted as concentration camp guards and operatives of terror in Dutch cities, which caused more death and suffering.

47 Ian Baxter, Waffen-SS Dutch & Belgian Volunteers (Barnsley, United Kingdom: Pen & Sword Military, 2023), 81.
48 van Roekel, As Political Soldiers We Face Moscow’s Hordes, 241.
49 Baxter, Waffen-SS Dutch & Belgian Volunteers, 80.
50 Baxter, 80.
51 Middlebrook, Arnhem 1944, 164.
52 van Roekel, 163.
53 Middlebrook, 93.
Resistance Or Death

With little perceived use on the eastern or western front, Dutch SS volunteers became guards at camps like Mauthausen, Erika, Sobibor, and even Auschwitz.\textsuperscript{54} At Auschwitz alone, 1.1 million people, 1 million of them Jews, died at the cruel hands of their Dutch and German captors.\textsuperscript{55} On their way to the death camps, prisoners lost all their possessions and could very well have been turned in by people they knew or bounty hunters looking to profit off their capture. The \textit{Hausratervassung}, the group responsible for the clearing of Jewish homes upon their deportation, teamed with a man named Wim Hennecke in 1943.\textsuperscript{56} Together, they formed the \textit{Kolonne Henneicke}, a group of fifty men tasked with hunting and arresting Jews living in the Netherlands, with each capture netting a reward of 7.5 Dutch guilders.\textsuperscript{57} A common tactic of the group included intense interrogation to force a Jewish informant to divulge the locations of as many Jews in hiding as possible and then, once their ‘usefulness’ was at an end, would send them to their deaths in the camps as well.\textsuperscript{58} With the help of \textit{Kolonne Henneicke}, 8,500 Jews would be handed over to the Nazi authorities in the group’s first six months.\textsuperscript{59} It was the Dutch Resistance and other anti-Nazi groups that worked to prevent the occupiers from continuing their purge of the Jewish community, but as their work increased, so did the collaborators.

There existed some groups, as the occupation began, that

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\textsuperscript{54} van Roekel, 160.  \\
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sought to advocate for Dutch Jews and prevent the coming death and destruction. The Jewish Council was formed in early February 1941 in Amsterdam as a response to the mass violence in part perpetrated by the WA, the militant wing of the NSB.\textsuperscript{60} Before the Jewish Quarter of Amsterdam was sealed off on February 12, Jewish Resistance groups sponsored by the Jewish Council fought back against the WA, in some cases leading to the death of the Nazi perpetrators.\textsuperscript{61} While in the Amsterdam Ghetto, raids and deportations began in late February 1941, and trains packed with both Jewish and non-Jewish prisoners were sent to camps like Mauthausen and Buchenwald.\textsuperscript{62} Raids by the Dutch Police, German Secret Police, and WA forces led to the arrests of hundreds of Dutch Jews, with some committing suicide to avoid deportation.\textsuperscript{63} It was the fear of deportation and death that encouraged both Jewish and the broader Dutch Resistance to increase their anti-fascist activities.

As the end of the war drew nearer and the Dutch Resistance became more active, orders came for the Dutch SS units to return to the Netherlands and stop them.\textsuperscript{64} Through violent raids like that on the Secret Annex, kidnappings, and torture, the Dutch SS units sought to discourage resistance as well as find Jews in hiding and deport them if they survived that long.\textsuperscript{65} Schools became makeshift interrogation and torture centers throughout the country.\textsuperscript{66} Thanks to the craftiness of the Dutch Resistance, the outward fighting the Nazis expected never fully manifested, yet that did not stop the Nazis as this led to increased torture by the Dutch guards towards any prisoner brought to them.\textsuperscript{67} One Dutch collaborator, Auke Pattist, became known as especially sadistic and put on fake executions

\begin{footnotes}
\item[61] Presser, \textit{The Destruction of the Dutch Jews}, 47.
\item[62] Presser, 52.
\item[63] Presser, 53.
\item[64] van Roekel, 160.
\item[65] van Roekel, 161.
\item[66] van Roekel, 160.
\item[67] van Roekel, 163.
\end{footnotes}
to see the looks of horror on his victim’s faces. Pattist escaped from prison and fled to Spain, where he remained unpunished for his crimes. Nazi ideology became in no way limited to adults either. The children of the Netherlands acted as valuable and vulnerable targets, the same as those in Germany, with their participation in the Dutch Jeugdstorm. Through this use of children, the Dutch Nazis hoped they created future generations of National Socialists who could continue their fight in, what they believed, a swastika-covered world.

Youth Organizations

The Dutch Jeugdstorm functions much the same as the Hitlerjugend of Nazi Germany. Jeugdstorm, like the Hitler Youth, was designed for young boys with the ultimate goal of creating devout followers of National Socialism. The group also acted as a pipeline towards the military. These boys attended many of the same ceremonies and functions as the adults. Jeugdstorm members can be seen in footage and photographs taken at speeches, military events, and other formal Nazi gatherings. They are seen at a swearing-in ceremony, with both Anton Mussert and Hanns Rauter in attendance in many instances. Like the adults, Jeugdstorm was recruited through fear. One poster at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum calls for youth to register with the Waffen-SS and stand “Against bolshevism for all our futures! Our glorious ancestors urge you to!” in Dutch. Again, the threat of communism and the legacy of their ancestors is used to stir nationalistic feelings.

There are few sources on what the Jeugdstorm did, but there are many on the Hitler Youth, of which the Dutch version

68 van Roekel, 161.
70 “Anton Mussert Gives a Speech.”
71 “Dutch Nazis Swear Oath of Allegiance”
became a copycat. The Hitler Youth, outside of the Nazi pomp and circumstance, engaged in activities like camping, singing, shooting, and other military drills.\(^\text{73}\) Both the Hitler Youth and League of German Girls provided young people an approved escape from the eyes of their parents, seeing as in Germany, participation was mandatory.\(^\text{74}\) Unlike the rest of society post-war, the Hitler Youth received no punishment on account of their age but did undergo thorough denazification on the order of the Allied occupiers. For example, in British-occupied Germany, the occupation authorities held cultural meetings, social events, and group activities to foster an interest in democracy the same way the Hitler Youth promoted fascism and impressed upon Aryan youth the importance of “traditional family values.”\(^\text{75}\)

Interest or participation in the Nazi Party before and during the occupation crossed the borders of gender and age. The presence of young girls at many of the same Dutch Nazi events, whose uniforms look identical to that of the League of German Girls, is hard to miss when watching film reels of the NSB.\(^\text{76}\) Though they acted as a section of the Youth Storm, standing alongside the boys at events and ceremonies, it is unlikely they did the same activities as the boys.\(^\text{77}\) If the Dutch girl’s group functioned identically to the German League, then they likely meant to create devout, National Socialist housewives through group activities.\(^\text{78}\) Through the words of witnesses, it is clear they caused as much trouble as any other Nazi. As Louise Seggaar mentions, while spending time with friends, a group of NSB girls approached them, and the girls proceeded to get into

\(^\text{74}\) Kater, *Hitler Youth*, 1.
\(^\text{75}\) Kater, 250.
a physical fight due to the “aggressiveness of the NSB girls.” Youths showed that the NSB propaganda machine was willing to feed its ideology to children in the same way it force-fed it to German boys and girls. The League of German Girls, like the boys, would be funneled into the life of the National Socialist Women’s League, headed by the so-called “Fuhrerin,” Gertrud Scholtz-Klink.

**Women’s “Rights”**

The lack of sources on the status of women in Nazi-occupied Netherlands, but the abundance of sources claiming the copy-cat nature of the NSB, means referring to the German framework of society and their views on women to understand what the NSB signed their citizens up for. While pre-World War One Germany was a primarily male-dominated nation, the Great War became the great equalizer. By 1929, women accounted for around a third of wage earners in Germany, working in industries like law, medicine, and politics. While Weimar women sought to break free from the traditional values of the past, the arrival of the Nazis saw them forced back to the position of mothers and wives.

While not outright claiming women’s rights would be stripped in the new Third Reich, Hitler emphasized the status of the German girl and a return to traditional German values in his vision of the world long before 1932, saying, “The German girl [belongs] to the state and with her marriage becomes a citizen.” Hitler placed the status of the genders alongside his view of the Jews, saying he wanted the “Aryan victory over the Jew and male triumph over the emancipated woman.” In Hitler’s eyes, The German mother’s only use is her role in the

79 Segaar, Oral history interview with Louise Segaar, 28.
81 Koonz, 45.
82 Koonz, 55.
83 Koonz, 53.
domination of the Aryan race within his ideas of *Lebensraum*. *Lebensraum* was the concept of an idyllic, peaceful Aryan paradise in which the Germans could live freely, only after conquering as much land as possible, of course.\(^{84}\) The importance of the German woman forced Hitler to partner with Gertrud Scholtz-Klink’s German Women’s League.

As the leader of the Women’s League, Scholtz-Klink pushed for the group’s values, which included keeping away the push towards modernization and rolling back the work of the Weimar emancipation efforts.\(^{85}\) The Women’s League despised Communism and lamented the benefits of motherhood and pro-family policies which would be implemented by the Nazi government.\(^{86}\) With their public cooperation, the Nazis set to work dismantling the progress of the Weimar women. In Scholtz-Klink’s words, their purpose was to “infuse the daily life of all German women...with Nazi ideals.”\(^{87}\) In a similar fashion to *Arbeit Macht Frei*, the Women’s League believed that an “entirely female world” came from a woman living for her family.\(^{88}\) The Nazi leadership acted on these ideals. After 1932, the Nazis banned women from practicing law and medicine, and policies promoting the birth of children grew in scope and intensity.\(^{89}\) Abortion penalties were increased, birth control outlawed, and the government began giving “Marriage Loans” to encourage couples to have children without concern for financial woe.\(^{90}\) Meanwhile, the *SS Lebensborn* program encouraged SS men to have as many children as possible, to women they were married to or not.\(^{91}\) The German mother, not the woman, was paramount to the Nazi ideals on race. It was only a German mother who could birth an Aryan child, and for the race to succeed in the ideals of *Lebensraum*, the German mother had to work over-

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84 Koonz, 107.
85 Koonz, 231.
86 Koonz, 233.
87 Koonz, xxiv.
88 Koonz, xxv.
89 Koonz, 145.
90 Koonz, 186.
91 Koonz, 398.
time, whether she wanted to or not. It was this life in which all girls under Nazi control would be forced into, including those living in the Netherlands.

**Eighty Years On**

Like in Germany, Dutch fascism permeated throughout society through both undetectable and, at other times, boisterous public displays of Nazism. Thanks to deep-seated antisemitism against the large Dutch Jewish population by both the government and the religious majority, the Nazi ideology gained traction throughout the 1930s. At every turn, antisemitic members of Dutch society showed willing participation in the Nazi’s actions, creating fear in their communities and sending thousands of their neighbors to death camps across the continent, using the Dutch Police and bounty hunters as their tools in mass murder. By the Nazi invasion in 1940, the NSB had already been working to grow its ranks and establish itself as the most pro-Dutch, antisemitic party in the Netherlands, ignoring its waning popularity in the years prior. Through their close relationship with NSDAP officials like Hanns Rauter and Arthur Seyss-Inquart, the NSB showed a willingness to copy their German friends to achieve further control of the country, from adults to the boys and girls of the future Reich. Creating volunteer units like the *SS Landstorm Nederlands* and *Jeugdstorm*, the NSB showed just how well their National Socialist movement could spread to even the youngest members of society. Meanwhile, under Nazi occupation, the nation and its women would simply become a tool for *Lebensraum*, a land in which they are used only for their ability to birth more Aryan children, as desired by Gertrud Scholtz-Klink’s Women’s League.

It is not news that the actions of the Nazi Party and their compatriots during the Second World War were inherently evil, vile, and disgusting, resulting in the deaths of millions both in the Netherlands and around the world. Yet, as the opening of the Nazi Archive in the Netherlands draws nearer and expands
on our knowledge of the extent of Dutch collaboration, everyone will need to come to terms with these actions that took place only eighty years ago, allowed by far too much of society. As time passes, more witnesses to Nazi crimes are lost, for example, Diet Eman, who passed away in 2019, yet the issue remains. The allure of Antisemitism and xenophobia is not limited to what was seen in the Netherlands in the lead-up to 1939 but can exist in any society at any time. It can be easy to fall into the rhetoric of groups like the Nazi Party or the NSB, and it will absorb those you never expect, from friends and family to coworkers and neighbors, as was the case in the Netherlands. It is not only those of the Jewish faith who can be harmed by ideas of a ‘master race,’ but any groups seen as less than by their government and fellow citizens. People of every nation are just as vulnerable now as they were then unless they look back. Humanity as a whole must take caution, using the experiences of those who lived through Nazi terror, lest another vows to “smite the Jews where we meet them,” and if caught unaware, too many may listen once again.
Illustration by Nati Luna, Chico State
Taking Her Out of the Financial Picture:
The Historiography of Women’s Financial Practices in the Late Medieval World (1200-1500)

By Maria Kaj

Abstract: Women in the late medieval world were too oppressed to manage their own wealth—or so the historians wrote. But was that truly the case? This review of literature from medievalists addresses how and why a parade of scholars limited the agency of wealthy women when writing their histories. From the erasure of women in political history to those whose bottom-up views excluded people of means, this historiographic essay argues that women were systematically excluded from historical discussions of financial management. Only within the last decade have scholars found records, reviewed unexamined sources, and discovered that women were active financial managers, whether it was queens handling royal estates or widows and nuns investing in the capital markets. The ultimate finding in this analysis is that the visibility problem for women of wealth may not be the lack of medieval records but historical assumptions about whether those records existed.

In an early sixteenth-century Flemish painting, a man counts and weighs a stack of coins while a woman seated next to him watches, paused in her reading. This image was so popular that another artist painted it six times, though he
changed the wife’s picture book of devotions to one with only writing, perhaps a Bible or an accounting ledger (Fig. 1 & 2):

Figure 1: “The moneylender and his wife,” Quentin Metsys, 1514 (The Louvre)

Figure 2: “The moneychanger and his wife,” Marinus van Reymerswaele, 1538 (Nantes Museum of Arts)
That portrait and its altered versions have led to speculation. Is she making a note in the ledger, stopping to double-check her husband’s calculations? Or is she distracted from reading a religious book? Art historians have for centuries leaned into the latter, calling both paintings symbols of how money lures women away from their proper calling. Yet perhaps she was just doing the books. To this day, scholars disagree about whether the painting is a morality lesson or merely an occupational portrait, and that disagreement echoes a more general historical gap for women of wealth in the medieval world.¹ This essay will address the lethargic speed of scholarship on women and financial management in the late medieval world by asking why historians took so long to recognize women’s agency in managing wealth.

This historical gap might seem perplexing. Medieval kings, after all, married queens for their dowries, so women brought property into the marriage. Queens acted as regents frequently, which required financial decision-making. Wealthy merchants married the daughters of other wealthy merchants. Scholars even note that a rise in literacy among noblewomen in the late Middle Ages suggests they were being taught to read in order to help their fathers or future husbands with the bookkeeping.² Despite women having access to some property, however, their financial management practices did not appear much as a research topic until the twenty-first century.

This essay will argue that the reasons for the tardy development of the topic of medieval women and money changed over time. Focusing on Northern European women from 1200-1500, this historiography of women’s financial management explores why multiple groups of historians passed over the topic. First, the focus on political and military history as primary historical subjects left out women in general, and when they were finally included, beginning in the 1950s, it was in reference to families or as oppressed people with little agency. Feminist scholars in the 1980s and 1990s called for more studies of women, ¹ For the moralizing argument, see Joanna Woodall, “‘De Wisselaer’: Quentin Matsys’s ‘Man Weighing Gold Coins and His Wife,’ 1514,” Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (NKJ) / Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art 64 (2014): 38-75. The occupational portrait counterargument is put forth by Manuel Santos-Redondo, “The Moneychanger and His Wife: From Scholastics to Accounting,” January 2, 2008, https://www.academia.edu/6491295/The_moneychanger_and_his_wife_from_scholastics_to_accounting. ² Charity Cannon Willard, Christine de Pizan: Her Life and Works (New York: Persea Books, 1984), 33.
yet seemed uncomfortable looking at those with power, choosing a “bottom up” framework centered around those without property. Economists who began researching data as part of a renewed interest in gendered history covered so many geographies and eras that the results were sometimes muddled. Only recently, as historians have been willing to dig deep into wealthy women’s finances, have studies yielded results. Overall, different waves of scholarship passed over the topic for different reasons, but the collective result was that major studies on European women’s medieval financial practices have only appeared in the last two decades. Those recent studies show that women were often very involved in financial practices, either through property management, investing, or accounting, although, in some cases, women with economic power suffered a rough fate in their day, compounded by misogyny in their later characterization.

**Women: Oppressed or Maternal**

For centuries, women had a hard time making it into the history books at all. Bonnie Smith, author of *The Gender of History: Men, Women and Historical Practice*, advances a theory about why male historians repeatedly glossed over women as a topic despite the rising interest in history in general. Smith argues that the search for just-the-facts historical “truth” among the male-dominated university history seminars of the nineteenth century led to women’s exclusion as both subjects and authors of what were deemed legitimate histories. In some narratives, the facts became synonymous with stories of great men, while in others, history was also put in the service of the nation-state. “Truth was where women were not,” suggests Smith, who argues that the feminine was associated with stories and not histories.

Twentieth-century scholars started to make amends by including women in the picture, but describing them in terms of their constraints, like a photographic negative, defined by how others oppressed them. For example, Friedrich Heer’s 1961 intellectual history, *The Medieval World: Europe 1100-1350*, ar-

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4 Smith, *The Gender of History*, 146.
gues that an “openness” to ideas in the (European) High Middle Ages became closed off by the thirteenth century due to the turmoil in the papacy and the foreign incursions into Europe. Women, in Heer’s schema, fit into the groups of those who should be closed off. Thus, when Heer explores the medieval “Urban Economy,” women are missing entirely. Instead, they are herded into space shared with another persecuted group. In the chapter “Jews and Women,” Heer describes how women’s voices were eliminated via the “grossly overworked saying of St. Paul” that females must be kept silent. By framing women’s roles according to their silencers—such as St. Paul and Thomas Aquinas—Heer avoids examining the actions of women themselves, simply saying that the masculine society “closed ranks.” Thus, Heer’s reductionist view of women in medieval culture was simply to describe them as oppressed, which would hardly allow further analysis of their participation in the urban economy.

Other historians might be willing to give women some room, but large-scale works remained focused on political narratives, even when claiming to cover everything and everybody in the Middle Ages. Barbara Tuchman’s epic, *A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous 14th Century*, was a hit back in the 1980s, lauded for its breadth of topic and for capturing “the great rhythms of history and the grain and texture of [medieval] domestic life.” Tuchman, who says her goal in the book is to “extract universal truth of human nature,” still finds most of that human nature in the French male aristocracy. When the book does break away from discussing the Battle of Poitiers or the Siege of Barbary to address women’s lives, the author equates them with family and children. Tuchman mentions that advice written for women included household management but defines that as child-rearing, breastfeeding, and table manners. (Fig. 3) She does not consider the topic of money management for women at all.

7 Heer, 264-265.
10 Tuchman, 51.
Figure 3: Medieval artists also associated women primarily with the maternal. "Mother in bed with seven children and a cradle," Talbot Master, 1444 (British Library)

Even today, successors to Tuchman still limit female visibility. Dan Jones’ 2021 best-selling book *Power and Thrones* was a more recent version that aimed for “a long view and a wide lens” of the Middle Ages. However, in his zeal to adequately cover large groups like the Romans, Monks, or Crusaders, Jones barely covers women except in passing. Thus, Joan of Arc is enfolded into a segment called “The Good, the Bad, and the Lovely,” while the brilliant medieval female historian Anna Komnene appears only to describe the appearance of Crusader Bohemond of Taranto (“tall, thick chested, and handsome...with sparkling blue eyes.”) This becomes a medieval version of the

13 Jones, 273, 405. Jones neglects to mention that Anna wrote a 15-volume of history of her father, emperor Alexios I Komnenos.
Women of significant achievement are reduced to cute titles or appear solely to describe men. Wealthy and powerful women, like Theodora of Constantinople or Eleanor of the Aquitaine, are framed only in terms of their relationship to their husbands or sons. None of them plays a significant role as economic power brokers in these books, though their property and position suggest they did. When Tuchman and Jones, historians whose books aimed to cover an entire segment of the medieval world, leave women out of the primary narrative, it limits an understanding of female economic agency.

The Feminist Catch-22

By the 1980s, some medievalists were champing at the bit to provide better visibility to what women were actually doing in the Middle Ages. In 1985, the Society for Medieval Feminist Scholarship was formed after frustrated scholars left a conference which gave women’s history short shrift. This suggested a new eagerness to uncover lost women’s stories.

One of the most comprehensive early feminist surveys was Henrietta Leyser’s 1995 book *Medieval Women: A Social History of Women in England 450-1500*. Because so little had been written about medieval women, Leyser had a lot of ground to cover. Her scope was, therefore, very wide, starting with pre-historic archaeological digs and running through the Tudors. Leyser states her aim is to provide only “an introduction” to medieval women, presenting them “on their own terms,” signaling that she was taking a “bottom-up” approach. Her kitchen sink of primary sources runs the gamut from legal codes to poetry, from the lives of saints to tales of courtly love, a by-product of trying to cover a thousand years. However, although her timeframe was long, she limited her categories of women to peasants and nuns, choosing to bypass those who had property (Fig. 4).

14 The Bechdel test is the brainchild of graphic novelist Alison Bechdel, who proposed evaluating a movie’s representation of gender by whether any scene with two women included a conversation about something other than a man.


As a result, Leyser’s “Women at Work” chapter mentions day-to-day tasks, yet comments on what peasants wore, stole, and gossiped about, without discussing economics. Leyser does highlight the key roles played by alewives, who did the lion’s share of the brewing in towns, but she merely scratches the surface of women’s financial management in an “Aristocracy” section. After noting that large estates were run like ma-
jor business enterprises, she expands no further and abruptly ends the section after only two pages.\textsuperscript{17}

Other feminist scholars who wanted to cover women with wealth and power found themselves in an intellectual catch-22. Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski, editors of a 1985 compilation \textit{Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages}, noted that the desire of new historians to recover lost voices of the oppressed made it hard to focus on the aristocracy.\textsuperscript{18} In an introduction to their 2003 revised edition, they further explain that post-modern scholars like Michel Foucault and Judith Butler pointed to the problematic nature of defining terms like “power” or “women.” Hence, they claim, their original attempt to restore women’s agency was seen as inappropriate and/or based on slippery definitions. When a book of essays labeled “women and power” has to argue that women did not really have power or that those who did were either oppressors or oppressed in some other way, then the topic of what those powerful women did with their wealth is also off the table.

The exclusion of wealthy women from feminist history still continues. For instance, a recent treatise on medieval women’s lost voices, Janina Ramirez’s 2022 \textit{Femina: A New History of the Middle Ages from the Women Written Out of It}, covers plenty of mystics and artists, while ignoring stories of financial success. Ramirez takes on the large task of explaining how women were written out of history—literally—by showing how the word “femina” might have replaced individual women’s names. Among her nine chapters, she does include one on “Entrepreneurs and Influencers.” This turns out to be about Margery Kempe, who did start a brewing business in fourteenth-century England. However, Kempe’s business failed—twice—and it was really her journal about her pilgrimage to the Holy Land that takes center stage of Ramirez’s discussion. This is hardly a path to explaining how medieval female entrepreneurship worked.

\textsuperscript{17} Leyser, 165-167.
Widows, Nuns, and Gold-Diggers

Even though feminist historians passed over noblewomen in favor of peasants, their shift of the spotlight to women at least encouraged economists to do the same. Economic historian William Jordan’s groundbreaking 1993 study on women and credit did, at last, address what some medieval women did with their money: they lent it out and invested in municipalities. In *Women and Credit in Pre-Industrial and Developing Societies*, Jordan posits that “there is something significant and distinctive in women’s roles in credit.”¹⁹ One example that his research uncovered is that women were more likely to make small loans to those in financial need, as opposed to men, whose loans were larger and for business ventures or agricultural equipment. Jordan also finds that nuns and widows were active in the mortgage market. Overall, Jordan lays out clear evidence of women’s financial activity on a fairly robust scale.

Unfortunately, Jordan’s analysis suffers from the same issue as Leyser’s—too much breadth in time and geography. He starts with ancient Greece, throws in examples from Yorkshire to Nuremberg to Genoa, and ends up delving into the colonial markets of the Caribbean and Africa. Jordan claims that lack of records curtailed his efforts and required him to cast his nets wide. Yet it is unclear whether it was lack of records or the way he was approaching them.

A much more recent study of women’s participation in the capital markets suggests it was the latter, as Andrea Bardyn found plenty to examine in aldermen’s records. In her 2020 analysis, “Constrained Opportunities: Women’s Involvement in the Capital Markets of Late Medieval Brabant,” she sifts through data from the cities of Antwerp and Leuven, two cities on the crest of the rising tide of trade in 1494.²⁰ Bardyn finds a way of filtering women out of the records to show not only that they were active in financial markets but also that their activities varied between the two cities. Even single women invested when the economy was booming, according to Bardyn.

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A further compilation recently published seems to return to the path of analyzing women of considerable economic means, the topic that Erler and Kowaleski had abandoned. Two decades after scholars had lamented that looking at “queenship [had] fallen into some disrepute,” a new view circled back to royal records. Women and Economic Power in Premodern Royal Courts (2020) asserts that royal women are worth studying because they were “key figures in acquiring resources and managing them.” These essays, at last, put the topic of royal power and its accompanying wealth back in play for feminists, and the authors build cases that include both the opportunities and constraints that powerful women encountered.

For example, scholars Michelle Seah and Katie Wright, who studied queens who managed their dower property, describe the significant resources that these royal women brought to their marriages. However, say the authors, queens didn’t necessarily turn those estates over to others, but were active in their management, discussing such things as rents, land values, and opportunities for sale with their stewards. Seah and Wright note that previous historians may not have found this data because they assumed that a queen’s property records were absorbed into the exchequer, the finances for the kingdom. If, instead, a researcher interested in the queen looked at legal or patent records, they might surface a great deal of royal female involvement not visible in the exchequer records. What economic historians have begun finding, then, was that women of means came in many classes and categories and were managing money and property, if the scholar only knew where to look.

In a contrasting study, Laura Tompkins paints a different portrait of the risks involved for some women who tried to amass wealth and power in court. Tompkins describes Edward III’s mistress, Alice Perrers (1348-1401), who traded on the king’s favors to amass real estate and jewelry (Fig. 5).

Alice made enemies even as she advised Edward on how he might finance his war with France. While a skillful businesswoman, Alice fell afoul of those jealous of her influence on the king, and when he died, she was banished and her wealth taken. Yet later discussions, instead of commenting on her ca-
pabilities, criticized her as a manipulator and a “gold-digger.”\(^{24}\)

Even popular historians like Tuchman and Jones piled on, calling her “vulgar” or “unscrupulous.”\(^{25}\) Thus, Tompkins succeeds in fleshing out an example of a woman who was skilled in financial management, though it was ultimately a cautionary tale, not a celebratory one. Yet even if Perrers had a rough time in the fourteenth century, at least the assessment of her financial abilities is getting prominent attention.

**Christine de Pizan: Champion Of Accounting**

One final example that traces the improved receptivity to studies of medieval women’s wealth is to look at Christine de Pizan. Mid-twentieth-century scholars were excited to rediscover Christine, a prolific fifteenth-century writer of French romantic tales and poetry also known for her intellectual essays and biographies (Fig. 6). She was especially notable in her day for her debate of letters with male writers, called the “quarrel” over the Romance of the Rose, where she objected to how women in romances were portrayed as either evil seducers or passive victims.


\(^{25}\) Tuchman, 281 and Jones, 472.
Christine, however, also wrote a popular book of advice. Her medieval courtesy book, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, covers behavioral subjects like marriage and fashion. Yet it also includes lessons for women on how to manage their finances, whether they be princesses, noblewomen, merchants, nuns, or widows. Christine devotes more than a dozen pages to describing how women should work with stewards, study crop rotations, and “carefully look after revenue and expendi-
Further, she skillfully argues that women could retain their religious virtue and still accumulate wealth, resolving the conundrum by using the money appropriately through donations to charity or aid to the community.

However, feminist historians who began to explore Christine’s work in the 1960s were more interested in Treasure’s vision of a “feminist utopia” than its financial advice. Jenny Redfern’s 1995 take on Treasure, for example, is that it stands as “evidence of women’s lost rhetoric.”27 Other scholars, in a 1997 compilation, The Selected Writings of Christine de Pizan, ruminate at length whether or not Christine should be called a feminist or how much misogyny she faced.28 Most skip over the sections on household budgeting, preferring the feminist angle to the economic one.

Just as an economic filter was necessary to tease out the agency of women in medieval finance, it was an accounting filter that resurfaced the financial instructions of Christine de Pizan. Accounting scholars Frances Miley and Andrew Read’s article, “The Choreography of the Past: Accounting and the Writing of Christine de Pisan” (2017), sheds new light on Christine’s contribution to the history of financial advice.29 Miley and Read note how Christine responded to the ideas of St. Augustine, who said that all activity could be pious, so that even “accounting [could be] an activity where love of God is demonstrated.”30 The authors explain how Christine rationalized financial management as an acceptable practice, provided it could be shown to support almsgiving. Their study takes for granted that scholars would want to understand Christine’s comments on expenditures as much as those on fashion. Miley and Read’s analysis demonstrates that the topic of medieval women’s finance provides plenty to analyze.

29 Frances Miley and Andrew Read, “Choreography of the Past: Accounting and the Writing of Christine de Pizan,” Accounting Historians Journal 44, no. 1 (June 1, 2017): 51.  
30 Miley and Read, 56.
The Trouble May Be in the Mirror

If the records of women handling property have always been there, though, why has it taken so long for the topic to generate serious research? Is it possible that a medieval woman in charge of money is still considered unseemly for some reason? A brief return to the two paintings might shed some light. The Flemish paintings that started this essay, by Quentin Matsys and Marinus van Reymerswaele, hang in multiple European museums (Fig. 1 & 2). A typical museum description of “The Moneychanger and his Wife” calls it “a fine example of Metsys’ genre paintings where he depicts daily events while condemning greed…”31 Van Reymerswaele’s work is similarly summarized as a “genre scene [that] show[s] the sin of avarice and the vanity of earthly possessions.”32 Even art critic Joanna Woodall, who points out in a 2014 analysis that the Matsys painting is likely not a satire, says its goal is the mediation of feminine virtue and the world of commerce. To Woodall, the wife is not a potential bookkeeper but a symbolic warning against greed. The coins themselves, to Woodall, are further representations of the difficulties of negotiating a virtuous balance.33

An opposite view is espoused by economic historian Manuél Santos Redondo, who argues that the reviewers, not the painting, are the problem. Redondo says these paintings were known at the time to be genre portraits of a merchant and his wife, intended to be “clear secular subjects.”34 His conclusion is that the satirizing is a projection by modern historians whose “prejudice towards commercial and financial activity” leads them to the “wrong interpretation.”35 In other words, some discomfort with discussing women and finance still seems to linger on, at least around the museums.

The right interpretation, that women had agency in managing commercial activity, seems finally to be in the vanguard. Gone are the days when women were not discussed at all or

33 Woodall, 56.
34 Santos-Redondo, 14.
35 Santos-Redondo, 14.
were characterized only as reflections of men’s oppression. Feminist historians have even moved past the squeamishness of looking at the aristocracy. In the last decade, scholarship has opened up a number of new ways to find data on female participation in the financial markets, on queen’s management of their dower property, and on women who gave economic advice.

In fact, the one good thing about so few historians covering a topic is that there may be plenty of opportunity left for others. As these recent studies have shown, looking at the way medieval women handled power can be revealing. Moreover, despite concern in the 1990s that women’s records were too scarce, scholars in the 2010s found treasure troves of data. Bardyn found so much in alderman’s records that she had to limit her study to one year and two cities. New sources of old economic data may similarly provide fertile ground to harvest studies of women’s commercial activity. There are a lot of cities, estates, and royal women whose records might not have been reviewed adequately before. The limitation might not be on the data side, but in the willingness to shine a flashlight broad enough to cover all three topics: women of power, their wealth, and financial management.

This suggests another possible explanation for the so-called contradiction in the paintings—and in the depictions of how women handled finance. Visibility may be limited by medievalists who have systematically assumed women had no agency rather than looking for it. After all, those who looked a little harder or used digital tools suddenly found abundant records.
The ultimate issue of women being lost in modern histories of commerce might be summarized by a book aptly named *The History of Money*. The publishers of this 1997 book used the famous painting from Van Reymerswaele, “The Moneychanger and His Wife,” for its cover (Fig. 7). In a revealing choice, the only person on the cover is the banker, the moneychanger. The controversy over whether the wife is handling the books is resolved. She is simply erased from the picture entirely.
Illustration by Sam Shafer, Chico State
The Historiography of Thomas Jefferson:
Champion of Liberty or Imperfect Founding Father?

By Peter Arroyo

Abstract: The third president of the United States has been the target of both praise and ridicule. Some people view him as one of the greatest men our country has produced, while others believe he no longer deserves to be remembered as a national hero. This essay will reveal how America’s perception of Jefferson has gradually changed over time and how he has been regarded by different historians.

For decades, Thomas Jefferson has stood alongside George Washington and Abraham Lincoln as one of the most important icons of the United States. Washington led our country to victory in the Revolutionary War, Jefferson wrote the document that made us an independent nation, and Lincoln kept the Union together during the bloodiest conflict in American history. Iconographies of all three men are carved into Mount Rushmore and depicted throughout our nation’s capital, with Jefferson being on the nickel and the $2 note. Ever since he breathed his last breath on the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, countless authors have written books in order to give Americans a clearer understanding of Jefferson. Among them are Dumas Malone, Joseph J. Ellis, Annette Gordon-Reed, Jon Meacham, Brian Kilmeade, and Don Yaeger; ardent admirers of
Jefferson who all agree that the third president of the United States made many valuable contributions to his country. Although they acknowledge that he was far from perfect, none of them deny that Jefferson’s legacy continues to remain relevant and that he was one of, if not the most brilliant statesman from the generation of 1776, hence the nickname associated with his mansion that is listed as one of America’s 25 World Heritage Sites: The Sage of Monticello. However, one place where they are unable to find common ground is whether we should regard the author of the Declaration of Independence as a champion of liberty who planted the seed of abolitionism in the United States or, conversely, as a hypocritical racist who did not practice what he preached; some believe that Jefferson should be remembered as a mixture of both.

Dumas Malone is one historian who argues that American history would have been unimaginably worse if Thomas Jefferson had never lived. Malone’s six-volume biography on Jefferson, published in 1962, stands as one of the most important and detailed pieces of literature that has given its readers a clearer understanding of our third president. The third volume begins with Jefferson’s final phase as secretary of state under Washington, his temporary retirement, his years as vice-president under Adams, and ends with his victory in the election of 1800. Throughout the book, Malone makes it abundantly evident that he admires Jefferson. When discussing the difficulties that he faced during his time as secretary of state, Malone describes Jefferson as “a loyal republican, a passionate advocate of human freedom.”1 Many historians in 1962 would likely agree that Jefferson was indeed a “loyal republican” since he constantly extolled the virtues of self-government. However, some historians likely remained divided on this description. At the time, the United States was not only engaged in an ideological struggle against the USSR, but it was also going through the Civil Rights Movement. The fact that Malone describes Jefferson as “a passionate advocate of human freedom” in 1962 suggests that different interpretations of him emerged during this era. After all, one of the things that activists were using in order to justify first class citizenship for Black Americans was the Declaration of Independence. The belief that all men are created equal gained almost the same amount of relevance as it had during the Civil War.

Considering the gargantuan impact that the Declaration of Independence had on human rights not just in the United States but throughout the world, perhaps it would be reasonable to extol Jefferson as a champion of liberty. However, it would be exceedingly difficult to convince modern-day America that Jefferson was a benevolent master. And yet, in 1962, that is precisely what Dumas Malone said of him when discussing the records Jefferson kept of those he enslaved: “a notably just and humane master who, in the absence of a wife, was trying to take care of all the colored members of his large family.”

If one were to take Malone’s words to heart, then Jefferson’s status as an enslaver should be forgiven on the grounds that he treated enslaved blacks with humane care. Malone also seems to imply that Jefferson’s wife, Martha Wayles, should be used as a way to defend the actions of the master of Monticello since his grief at losing her was so overwhelming that it required him to be in the presence of others in order to fill the hole in his heart. Considering the acclaim that Malone received for his third volume, then the interpretation of Jefferson as a benevolent master was an argument that held water in the 1960s.

Thomas Jefferson’s views on United States foreign policy were another aspect that Malone explored in his third volume. After the French Revolution threw Europe into a state of chaos, the United States remained divided on whether it should pursue a policy of intervention or neutrality. Although Jefferson was sympathetic to the French revolutionaries, he by no means supported intervening on their behalf. His policy of non-intervention was yet another aspect that Malone praised him for: “The course he followed... was both wise and patriotic, and in the end he stood revealed as a patient but persistent upholder of neutrality.”

Jefferson was vehemently opposed to the idea of getting involved in European affairs, believing that it would behoove America to remain isolated from a continent that was constantly in a state of war. When taking into account the year that Malone’s third volume was published, it is safe to say that the historiography of Jefferson evolved during the Cold War era. After all, historians like Malone, who also admired Jefferson, surely took many of his words to heart; it could even be argued that America’s reluctance to become involved in European affairs is a part of Jefferson’s legacy. Ultimately, Malone

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2 Malone, Jefferson and His Time, 209.
3 Malone, 131.
comes to the conclusion that “as a responsible statesman he had no thought of getting embroiled in European quarrels... From the beginning to the end, he favored a policy of neutrality.” Jefferson’s foreign policy was one of the many things historians from the 1960s and 1970s praised him for, especially those who favored neutrality in the heightened climate of the global Cold War. In short, Malone built on the historiography of Jefferson by praising him as an isolationist, benevolent master, and champion of liberty.

More than three decades after Malone published his third volume, Joseph J. Ellis released a biography in 1996 that gave historians a new perspective on Thomas Jefferson. One of the similarities that Ellis and Malone share is that they both use letters from Jefferson and his contemporaries in order to develop a clearer understanding of the third president. However, Ellis starts off his book by examining how both historians and ordinary Americans have viewed him throughout the centuries. Although Malone brings up the names of other writers who have analyzed Jefferson’s life, he does not do it to the same extent as Ellis. In regard to their interpretations, Ellis agrees that Jefferson made many valuable contributions to the United States, yet does not neglect to mention his fallacies, one of them being states’ rights. When speaking of the American Civil War, Ellis argues that Jefferson’s “convictions about the proper distribution of power between state and federal governments, if not completely washed away, were permanently put on the defensive.” Jefferson’s belief that the states should have their own rights and political power fell into irrelevance after the outcome of the Civil War revealed that the federal government was the system with the most influence over the nation. Another flaw that Ellis mentions is Jefferson’s “fundamental conviction, one that he never questioned... that black and white Americans could not live together in harmony.” When taking into account that official racial segregation no longer existed in American society by 1996, it is evident that Jefferson’s belief that blacks and whites could “not live together in harmony” proved to be erroneous. In short, the historiography of Jefferson will evolve depending on the path that America decides to take. Should it decide to follow one of his philosophies, the legacy of the Sage

4 Malone, 64.
6 Ellis, American Sphinx, 174.
of Monticello will become even more relevant, but if it ignores his words, he will fall further into irrelevancy.

When discussing Jefferson’s tenure as Secretary of State under George Washington, Ellis agrees with Malone that his logic on American foreign policy was sound. Ellis says that Jefferson was wise in pursuing a policy of neutrality when war broke out in Europe and claims that he “helped launch American foreign policy in a direction that served national purposes tolerably well throughout the next century.” 7 Although Ellis wrote this book when the United States emerged triumphant in the Cold War, his assessment of Jefferson’s foreign policy reveals that historians still considered some of his political beliefs relevant. In addition, Ellis and Malone both agree that the vitriol Jefferson receives for enslaving people is exaggerated. When speaking of his relationship with them, Ellis states that Jefferson’s “primary obligation was to serve as a steward for those temporarily entrusted to his care and to think of his slaves... as members of ’my family,’ to be cared for as foster children.” 8 Even in 1996, some historians of Jefferson continued to believe that his role as a benevolent master should be reason enough to forgive him for participating in one of the most abominable crimes of human history.

There are two documents that will forever remain relevant in the historiography of Thomas Jefferson: The Declaration of Independence and the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom. When discussing the many different aspects of Jefferson’s legacy, Ellis argues that the one that has endured the most is his belief in religious liberty. When speaking of it, Ellis states that “the principle that the government has no business interfering with a person’s religious beliefs or practices is the one specific Jeffersonian idea that has negotiated the passage of time.” 9 Doubtlessly, the separation of church and state is one Jeffersonian philosophy that has not fallen into irrelevancy, even two centuries after it was introduced to the United States. Ellis, like many other historians of Jefferson, agrees that the words in the Declaration of Independence were exceedingly important for human rights in the United States. He argues that they served as “a spiritually sanctioned mandate for ending slavery,

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7 Ellis, 146.
8 Ellis, 176.
9 Ellis, 356.
providing the rights of citizenship to blacks and women, justifying welfare programs for the poor and expanding individual freedoms.”¹⁰ The self-evident truths embedded in the Declaration of Independence proved crucial in bringing America closer to its goal of granting liberty to all its citizens. This is arguably one Jeffersonian legacy that will never fade into obscurity. In short, Ellis and Malone both recognize the importance of Jefferson in United States history, but the former is not hesitant to bring up the flaws of some of his philosophies. Although Jefferson had more critics in 1996 than he did in 1962, there can be no doubt that he still continues to keep his position as one of America’s most important historical figures. In short, Ellis built on the historiography of Thomas Jefferson by showing that, even though the third president of the United States was an intelligent man who accomplished a lot throughout his life, not all of his policies were sound, and he was not successful in all of his endeavors.

Even though it was published within one year of Ellis’ biography of Jefferson, Annette Gordon-Reed’s research in her book changed the historiography of the third president of the United States forever. Unlike previous scholars, she explored the controversial question of whether or not Thomas Jefferson and his slave, Sally Hemings, had a thirty-eight-year relationship that produced six children. A year after Gordon-Reed’s publication, DNA testing would prove beyond a shadow of a doubt that Jefferson did indeed have children with Sally Hemings, and his image as a slave owner would never be the same. When discussing why other historians did not pay heed to the American scandal, Gordon-Reed surmises that their desire to maintain the image of Jefferson as a benevolent master “prevented a fair, hardheaded, and thorough presentation and consideration of all the facts.”¹¹ In other words, they deliberately ignored the evidence because they did not wish to tarnish the image of the author of the Declaration of Independence. Of course, this isn’t to say that shattering Jefferson’s image as a benevolent master was Gordon-Reed’s intended goal. Like Malone and Ellis, she agrees that Jefferson “was an extremely talented and visionary man who has been of immense value to us.”¹² Although she could not say with one hundred percent certainty that the liai-

¹⁰ Ellis, 63.
son was true at the time, Gordon-Reed nevertheless acknowledged that Jefferson would remain a great figure in American history.

It should be mentioned that Malone and Ellis were aware of the existence of Sally Hemings. The former believed that because Sally was the daughter of Elizabeth Hemings, mistress of the father of Jefferson’s deceased wife, the master of Monticello “felt a responsibility towards the family... It was, therefore, out of a respect and love for his wife’s memory that Jefferson treated the Hemingses with such favor.”\(^{13}\) In short, one of the arguments historians have used to justify the preferential treatment that Sally and her six children received was that Jefferson simply associated them with the memory of the woman he married. As for Ellis, he mentioned in his biography of Jefferson how James Callender, the journalist who brought the liaison to light, planted a “sharp-edged piece of scandal that cut across all party or policy disagreements and straight into the core question of Jefferson’s character.”\(^{14}\) Although Ellis does not analyze the scandal to the same extent as Gordon-Reed, the fact that he brings it up suggests that most, if not all, historians of Thomas Jefferson were aware of Sally Hemings’ existence.

Gordon-Reed did not simply acknowledge that Jefferson was an important figure in American history, she also declared that she was an admirer of the Sage of Monticello. When discussing her personal views of him, she stated “I do not want this story to be true because I do not want to believe that Jefferson could treat his own flesh as slaves.”\(^{15}\) Gordon-Reed shared the same sentiment as her fellow Jeffersonian scholars: she did not want to believe that one of the most important men in American history kept his own flesh and blood as slaves. Even after reviewing the perspectives of different historians and exhaustively examining the stories of all the individuals inextricably connected to the scandal, Gordon-Reed does not display any animosity towards Jefferson. The prime reason for that is because, like Malone and Ellis, she still recognizes his role as the author of the Declaration of Independence. Gordon-Reed states that “his vision of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness has been taken to heart by many Americans...
Jefferson is the personification of America. His strengths are the strengths of the country.”16 One of the main reasons Gordon-Reed was not reluctant to bring national attention to the scandal was because she realized that it would not change Jefferson’s valuable contributions to the United States.

There is one argument with which many historians of Thomas Jefferson agree: that he is inextricably connected to the history of Black Americans. After all, it would have been impossible for Ellis and Malone to write an excellent biography of Jefferson without mentioning the six hundred human beings he enslaved. When discussing Madison Hemings, the former slave who claimed to be the son of Jefferson and Sally decades after their deaths, Gordon-Reed states that he “has come to be seen as a metaphor for the confusion of blacks in American society... Since his statement was rediscovered, he has been vilified and ridiculed.”17 Gordon-Reed surmises that Madison’s race was one of the main reasons why so many people scorned him as a liar; they believed that he simply wished to tarnish the image of the man who had enslaved him. Gordon-Reed argues that because the Hemingses were Jefferson’s flesh and blood, they should be given the same amount of attention as other members of his kin. She states that even though Madison Hemings spoke ill of his father, he still “deserves to be considered as a person, with all the possible complexities and quirks that can exist within human beings.”18 Jefferson’s relationship with the history of Black Americans will never be severed because not only were the men and women he enslaved people of color, one of them was his mistress, and the other six were his own flesh and blood. In short, the prime reason why the historiography of Jefferson changed as a result of Gordon-Reed’s book is because it challenged interpretations of him as a benevolent master and, therefore, altered his relationship with the African American community.

Even fourteen years after DNA evidence proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that Jefferson did indeed have a sexual relationship with Sally Hemings, historians continue to revere him as one of the greatest men in American history, one of them being Jon Meacham. In his 2012 biographical book, Meacham

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16 Gordon-Reed, 106.
17 Gordon-Reed, 234-5.
18 Gordon-Reed, 148.
tells the story of Thomas Jefferson not just as a politician but as a family man, architect, philosopher, and naturalist. Like Malone, Ellis, and Gordon-Reed, Meacham agrees that Jefferson was an intelligent man who has an important place in American history: “His genius lay in his versatility; his larger political legacy in his leadership of thought and of men. With his brilliance and his accomplishment and his fame he is immortal.”19 Throughout his book, Meacham constantly mentions Jefferson’s wise decisions during his political career and uses them to justify his reputation as a genius whose achievements have made his legacy everlasting. One of the accomplishments that Meacham brings up is the Louisiana Purchase; he describes it as a story “of strength, of Jefferson’s adaptability and, most important, his determination to secure the territory from France, doubling the size of the country and turning it into a continental power.”20 Meacham states that even though Jefferson was aware that the deal may have been unconstitutional, the third president nevertheless decided to go against his beliefs for the sake of his country and, in doing so, contributed to its rise as a world power.

When speaking of Jefferson’s inseparable relationship with slavery, Meacham takes a neutral stance on the issue. He does not regard Jefferson as a benevolent master like Malone did, yet Meacham does not view him as an excessively cruel one, either. Nevertheless, one thing that he, Ellis, and Gordon-Reed all agree on is that Jefferson was aware that the institution was truly evil: “He knew slavery was a moral wrong... He could not, however, bring himself to work for emancipation... he understood that sectional tensions represented the greatest threat to the union.”21 Meacham acknowledges that Jefferson did indeed despise the system he participated in and that one of the main reasons why the Sage of Monticello eventually gave up on trying to abolish it was because of national interests. After all, Jefferson knew that the South would surely secede from the Union if the federal government attempted to expunge the abominable institution. Furthermore, Meacham brings up an interesting point that neither Ellis nor Gordon-Reed mentioned in their books, which is that judging historical figures by modern standards is not a strong argument for defending Jefferson.

21 Meacham, 474-5.
son. Meacham asserts that Jefferson did not live “in a time or in places where abolition was the remotest of most fanciful of prospects. It had... been brought into being in his lifetime in lands he knew intimately. Jefferson was wrong about slavery.”

In order to further strengthen his argument, Meacham also mentions that there were some whites in Virginia who emancipated their slaves; the fact that Jefferson refused to follow their examples will forever remain one of his greatest failures. In other words, even though Meacham does not criticize Jefferson’s relationship with slavery as vehemently as other contemporary Americans, he nevertheless agrees that the author of the Declaration of Independence could have done more to combat the reprehensible institution.

Regarding Jefferson’s political views, Meacham acknowledges that not all of them were valid, yet he does not dismiss them as being completely illogical. For instance, when speaking of the disastrous embargo that Jefferson made towards Britain and France, Meachem states that “it is commonly seen as a bad policy that delayed but did not prevent war... but the options Jefferson had were such that the embargo... may not have been a good idea, but it was the least bad.”

In other words, while Meachem agrees that the Embargo Act of 1807 was far from successful, he still defends Jefferson by claiming that the third president didn’t have too many options on the table. Furthermore, while Ellis believes that Jefferson’s vision of an agrarian nation is no longer relevant, Meachem argues that the critique “is incomplete. Jefferson sent a reassuring signal to the manufacturing and financial interests who had learned to fear him as a champion of the agrarian over the commercial.”

Meachem states that even though Jefferson’s hopes of an agricultural United States of America ultimately did not come to fruition, that is not to say that he was completely opposed to the industrial society that emerged after his passing.

One statement that Meachem, Malone, Ellis, and Gordon-Reed would all agree with is that Thomas Jefferson was a patriot who simply wanted the best for the nation that he and his fellow Founding Fathers established. When speaking of his final thoughts of the Sage of Monticello, Meachem asserts

22 Meacham, 477-8.
23 Meacham, 432.
24 Meacham, 352.
that despite Jefferson’s “shortcomings and all the inevitable
disappointments and mistakes and dreams deferred, he left
America, and the world, in a better place than it had been
when he first entered the arena of public life.”
Even though Meacham does not see Jefferson as a perfect human being, he
still views the third president of the United States as a patriot
who was blessed with incredible talent and put it to good use
by making many valuable contributions to his country during
his lifetime. In short, Meachem built on the historiography of
Thomas Jefferson by showing that, even though his liaison with
Sally Hemings was proven to be true, his imperfections should
not make us forget that he was a brilliant statesman with many
accomplishments under his belt.

When talking about Thomas Jefferson’s presidency, many
historians consider his victory in the First Barbary War to be
one of his greatest foreign policy accomplishments. The ene-
mies that he faced were Islamists that “had preyed upon for-
eign shipping for centuries, attacking ships in international wa-
ters both in the Mediterranean and along the northwest coast
of Africa.” Ever since the United States severed all ties with
the British Empire, the country no longer received any pro-
tection from its former colonizer when making trade. In their
book on the conflict, Brian Kilmeade and Don Yaeger both claim
that Jefferson “nurtured her [America] growth into a respected
global presence to carry her into the future.” Considering that
this was written in 2015, it is safe to say that Thomas Jefferson
still retains his image as a patriot who accomplished much for
his country. Ellis also agrees that Jefferson’s victory in the First
Barbary War was one of his greatest moments. When speaking
of it, Ellis wrote that it “was perfect: It was a safe and limited
protection of American power abroad, it displayed Jefferson’s
resolve as president… and it cost very little.”
One area where historians of Jefferson almost invariably find common ground
is in their praise of his foreign policy, especially regarding his
role in showing the world that his country was not afraid to use
force to protect its economic interests. In short, the historiog-
raphy of Jefferson as a genius in foreign policy has not changed
because many agree that he was wise to fight against enemies

25 Meacham, 500.
26 Brian Kilmeade and Don Yaeger, Thomas Jefferson and the Tripoli Pirates: The Forgotten War
27 Kilmeade and Yaeger, Thomas Jefferson and the Tripoli Pirates, 203.
28 Ellis, 242.
that were disrupting American trade in the Mediterranean.

Although Thomas Jefferson’s political opponents scorned him as an atheist and a Jacobin, they never considered him a warmonger, and neither did Malone, Kilmeade, or Yeager. Shortly after mentioning that a policy of appeasement no longer appeared to be an option, Kilmeade and Yaeger state that “Jefferson was no warmonger. He had attempted to keep the peace despite his instincts. But now he felt justified in calling for America to go to war.”29 In other words, even though Jefferson preferred to negotiate, he was not opposed to the idea of going to war if he felt justified to do so. In this case, he was not only seeking to protect America’s economic interests but also its Christian sailors since the pirates believed that “all nations which had not acknowledged the Prophet were sinners, whom it was the right and duty of the faithful to plunder and enslave.”30 In short, Jefferson was dealing with hostile enemies who had no qualms about capturing American crewmen and enslaving them for as long as they saw fit. Although Malone does not mention the First Barbary War in his third volume, he does state that Jefferson’s “efforts… in later years to attain national ends by nonmilitary means led him to be described as a pacifist, though he certainly was not that.”31 Such a statement lends credence to the belief that Jefferson despised war and that he only saw it as a solution when negotiations and neutrality were no longer options. The fact that Kilmeade and Yaeger’s book was written in 2015 suggests that the historiography of Jefferson will continue to evolve as long as the United States continues to engage in foreign wars, since historians will keep on debating what Jefferson would have thought of America’s military presence in foreign countries.

As the United States keeps on changing as a nation, so too will the historiography of Thomas Jefferson. After all, one common debate among contemporary American historians is what the Founding Fathers would have thought of the role that their country is currently playing in the world. Incidentally, out of all the books that I mentioned in this essay, I would assert that Annette Gordon-Reed’s was the one that impacted the historiography of Jefferson the most. Not only did she bring to light

29 Kilmeade and Yaeger, 86.
30 Kilmeade and Yaeger, 14.
31 Malone, 66.
a controversial issue that many historians were reluctant to address, but Gordon-Reed’s research would also prove itself correct a year after her book was published. I predict that the historiography of Jefferson will keep on changing with the passage of time. In the words of James Parton, a nineteenth-century historian of the Sage of Monticello: “If Jefferson was wrong, America is wrong. If America is right, Jefferson was right.” If the United States prospers as a result of the contributions and policies of Jefferson, then his legacy will remain immortal, but if the country that he played a key role in founding falters due to his shortcomings, then Jefferson may eventually lose his place as one of the greatest Americans of all time.
The remains of Pedro Camejo and his sword on display at the 2015 ceremony where his remains were transferred to the National Heroes Mausoleum. Damián Prat, “¿Y entonces, por qué Chávez en 13 años no llevó al Panteón al “Negro Primero”? accessed March 21, 2024, https://runrunes.org/opinion/209694/y-entonces-por-que-chavez-en-13-anos-no-llevo-al-panteon-al-negro-primero-por-damian-prat/amp/
“My general, I come to tell you goodbye because I am dead,” was the last sentence spoken by Pedro Camejo, a Venezuelan independence revolutionary and former slave, upon his death in 1821 at the Battle of Carabobo. Almost 200 years later, Camejo, known in Venezuela as El Negro Primero, the First Black, was officially inducted by Venezuelan President Nicolás Maduro into the National Pantheon of Venezuela, a large mausoleum and monument that houses the remains of Venezuela’s national heroes. The photograph, taken after the conclusion of the induction ceremony, shows an old wooden box containing the remains of Camejo on display inside the Pantheon. The knife Camejo used in his final battle is displayed on top of the box, and behind it hangs a large portrait of Camejo in all his glory. Though not pictured, directly beside Camejo’s remains rests those of the “Great Liberator” Simón Bolívar, who helped to free the region.
from Spanish rule.² During the televised induction ceremony, President Maduro lamented the 150-year gap between the Pantheon’s opening and the induction of Camejo, pointing to “historic racism” as the reason why. President Maduro considered Camejo’s inclusion to be proof that Venezuela had moved beyond its racist past.³ However, a more critical examination of systemic racism in the country’s history tells a different story. Venezuela’s history of racialized policies resulted in a legacy of exclusion, erasure, and even attempted elimination of people of color that has endured into the present. Therefore, rather than an acceptance and celebration of Afro-Venezuelan identity, the addition of Pedro Camejo to the National Pantheon exemplified yet another attempt to erase the country’s history of racial discrimination, all while Venezuela maintains the specter of inclusion.

The Venezuelan War for Independence had a tremendous effect on the lives of the millions of Africans who had been enslaved by the Spaniards and would set the trajectory of race relations in the nascent country. As a Spanish colony, the region that would become Venezuela was ruled by a highly stratified racial caste system in which Peninsulares, the Spanish-born elite, dominated the upper echelons of society, followed by the Creoles, people of Spanish descent born in the Americas. Africans and indigenous peoples made up the lowest levels of society, and those of mixed European, indigenous, and black descent made up the middle. Inspired by Enlightenment ideals, Creoles in the Spanish American colonies sought to cast off their mainland European overlords and create a society ruled by liberty, equality, and laissez-faire economics in the early nineteenth century. At the onset of the war, royalist leaders were quick to enlist enslaved Africans into service as soldiers, usually involuntarily. The royalists did not get much voluntary support from free people of color due to the royalists’ desire to leave the caste system intact.⁴ Afro-Venezuelan enslaved people would often desert the royalist cause, with many defecting to Bolívar’s patriots, as was the case with Pedro Camejo. Although Camejo was the only formerly enslaved person to

³ Boothroyd, “Remains.”
become an officer in the patriot army, accounts exist of other enslaved people who defected to Bolívar’s forces, such as José de Jesús Suárez, who escaped from his enslaver, declared his freedom, and joined a patriot army besieging the city of Valencia.\(^5\) Although Afro-Venezuelans played an active role in revolutionary efforts, the patriots did not directly promise equality nor emancipation for enslaved peoples, as many of the patriot leaders were enslavers themselves; instead, the patriots attempted to create common cause among the many disparate peoples of Spanish America.

Recognizing that they needed the support of the colony’s indigenous, black, and mixed peoples, rebellious Creoles increasingly adopted nationalistic political and philosophical stances that stressed a uniquely American identity and belonging. Simón Bolívar was the architect of much of this thought. Bolívar felt that nationalism would not naturally occur in the Americas as it did in Europe, and it therefore needed to be introduced by the Creoles to the broader population.\(^6\) Aware of the diversity of Venezuela’s population, Bolívar’s nationalist sentiment invoked notions of nativism, extolling the common identity of Venezuelans simply for having been born in Venezuela. Although many Afro-Venezuelans likely hoped this would translate into new opportunities to be an equal part of the new, independent Venezuelan society, this would not be the case. While Bolívar’s writings on nationalism in the Americas often avoided overtly discussing the subject of race, he often extolled the “natural ferocity of the Spanish character” while simultaneously reinforcing racist stereotypes about perceived inherent qualities possessed by nonwhite Venezuelans.\(^7\) Furthermore, slavery in Venezuela endured into the independence period. Bolívar’s concepts of nationalism based on Venezuelan belonging ultimately only applied to Creoles, leaving the Afro-Venezuelans who contributed to the nation’s independence in much the same situation as before. Bolívar’s notions of nativist liberty ultimately excluded Venezuelans of African descent from fully participating in the new nation.

Venezuela’s successful gambit for independence led to a

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7 Bolívar and Collier, "Nationality," 43.
desire to celebrate the heroes who led the charge by creating the National Pantheon in the 1870s; however, exclusionary policies of the time determined who would be inducted into the mausoleum. Influenced by racial science and worried about the predominantly non-white populations of their new nations, Creoles across Latin America began to implement racial whitening projects in an attempt to eliminate people of color from their populations entirely. Latin American governments hoped that encouraging European immigration and intermarriage with black and indigenous populations would breed out people of color within a few generations. This was no different in Venezuela, where the government hoped to “promote large-scale European immigration ‘for the improvement of [the] race.’” The perceived backwardness of Afro-Venezuelans and indigenous peoples was viewed as an obstacle to Venezuela becoming a modern nation. Thus leaders argued that these groups had to be removed. These views of black and indigenous racial inferiority were purportedly based on scientific findings, and therefore, the majority of intellectuals in the Venezuelan government tended to associate all of the nation’s problems with the presence of a black population. These sentiments echoed the earlier writings of Simón Bolívar, who felt that traditional republican values could not exist in a multiracial nation. Despite making up a substantial portion of the population, Venezuela’s racial whitening projects served to confine Afro-Venezuelans to the margins of society, allowing racism towards Afro-Venezuelan communities to continue. The simultaneous exclusion and erasure of Afro-Venezuelans through Creoles’ attempts to whiten their population in the late nineteenth century arguably served as a natural progression from Bolívar and the patriots’ attempts to exclude people of African descent from their new nation and preserve its promises of equality and liberty for white Venezuelans.

Racial exclusion and erasure continued for Afro-Venezuelans into the early twentieth century through the emerging political philosophies of racial democracy and mestizaje. As Venezuela began to shift away from the period of racial whit-
ening and scientific racism, these emerging nationalist ideologies set themselves apart from their forebears by exalting the racial mixture present in many Venezuelans. Once again, this rhetoric finds its roots in Venezuela in the political philosophy of Simón Bolívar. In his 1819 Angostura Address, Bolívar stated, “The blood of our citizens varies; let us mix it in order to unite it.” The twentieth century would see a similar philosophy in the concept of mestizaje, a new people who were a mix of Spanish, indigenous, and black, yet ostensibly neither one nor the other. However, this was not the case in practice. According to historian Jesús María Herrera Salas, “With its racism and implicit reverence for Western culture, it [mestizaje] has been used, in effect, to justify policies of whitening or selective immigration.” Under this new philosophy, Afro-Venezuelans’ existence became largely relegated to the past, limited to one part of the collective identities of all Venezuelans. This ultimately had a similar effect on the Afro-Venezuelan population that the earlier racial whitening projects did, serving to erase the continued presence of Afro-Venezuelans as distinct people with their own cultural identities. While ostensibly more accepting of Afro-Venezuelan identity and culture, the era of mestizaje ultimately had the same effect as previous periods in Venezuelan history: Afro-Venezuelans were excluded from Venezuelan identity.

The inclusion of Pedro Camejo in Venezuela’s National Pantheon of Heroes has served to mask Venezuela’s history of racialized policies of exclusion, erasure, and attempted elimination of Afro-Venezuelans rather than an attempt to commemorate the history and existence of the country’s black community. While Afro-Venezuelans played a significant role in fighting for the country’s independence from Spain, Simón Bolívar and other Creole patriots’ notions of nativist liberty ultimately did not include people of color. Subsequently, the institution of slavery persisted. Post-independence, Afro-Venezuelans faced attacks on their existence through racial whitening projects designed to genetically assimilate them into the white population, further segregating Afro-Venezuelan communities from the rest of Venezuela. In the twentieth century, Afro-Venezuelans were once again faced with erasure and exclusion through the concept of mestizaje, which repainted all Venezuelans as equal

12 Bolívar and Collier, “Nationality,” 43.
13 Salas, “Ethnicity,” 78.
mixtures of Spaniard, black, and indigenous, relegating actual Afro-Venezuelans to the past.

Under President Nicolás Maduro, who has served as Venezuela’s president since 2013, the country has seen rises in poverty, food insecurity, and rampant inflation, disproportionately affecting communities of color; despite this, the Maduro administration has been unwilling to initiate aid, nor address this inequity in any way.\textsuperscript{14} Furthermore, state-sponsored police raids and homicides targeting communities of color have steadily risen in the decade since President Maduro took office, with an estimated 23,688 people having been killed as a result of state-sponsored violence.\textsuperscript{15} This violence has steadily increased since Pedro Camejo’s 2015 induction into the National Pantheon. It would seem likely that, while ostensibly to honor Camejo and Afro-Venezuelan contributions to the nation, the specter of inclusion has continued to obscure the enduring realities of racism in Venezuela.

\textsuperscript{14} “One in three Venezuelans not getting enough to eat, UN finds,” \textit{The Guardian}, February 20, 2020, \url{https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/feb/24/venezuela-hungry-food-insecure-un-world-food-program}.

Captured in Dignity:
Photography’s Role in Humanizing the Brazilian Slave Trade

By Jolie Condon

“F or sale a black woman, wet nurse, without a child, gave birth ten days ago from first pregnancy, 18 to 19 years of age, without faults.”¹ This advertisement was published on July 30, 1821, in a newspaper in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil and features a young black woman who recently gave birth to her first child. The child was taken away from her, and at the “ripe age” of eighteen years old, the young woman was ready to nurse the white children of her next enslaver. This brings us to the subject of this photo of a young black woman dressed elegantly in white eyelet fabric with pieces of jewelry adorning her wrists, neck, fingers, and ears. She is placed in a European-style chair, facing the camera head-on with a straight gaze and a peaceful face. Her most crucial adornment, a white baby, sits on her lap. The young child looks into the camera with a squinted and almost displeased look on their face; the infant cannot be more than a year old. Both subjects of the photograph are unnamed, yet their relationship is evident: she is the child’s nanny or wet nurse. There are no records of the woman’s name, the family who owned her, or even the photog-

rapher. The photograph is simply named “a nanny with child, photographed in 1870 in Salvador de Bahia.” Nevertheless, the carefully constructed image of this woman was probably commissioned by the family that owned her, most likely as a memento.

Images like this one create an illusion that enslaved wet nurses and nannies were held with affection and high esteem. However, the reality behind this photograph is more sinister. When you see the practice of enslaved photography producing such images, one may wonder why these women were chosen to be their subjects. Starting in the 1840s, the rise of photography unleashed a new way for Brazilian slaveholders to depict and preserve knowledge about the world of bondage. Photographs of enslaved peoples taken during the transatlantic slave trade, specifically in Brazil, were used as a means to humanize the institution of slavery. Meticulously staged photographs of enslaved subjects gave enslavers a powerful new way to create propaganda that shaped how people viewed slavery, justifying it as a benevolent and Christian practice. Through the circulation of photos and displaying well-dressed enslaved caretakers with white children, enslavers were able to project bondage as a comfortable and familial institution, denying its brutal reality.

The mid-nineteenth century ushered in the rise of personal photography, providing Brazilian slaveholders with a new and culturally relevant tool to control the narratives about the institution of slavery. Brazil is believed to have one of the world’s most extensive archives of photographs that depict slavery. Since the institution of slavery lasted so long in Brazil, from the sixteenth century and finally ending in 1888, the last few decades of bondage coincided with the beginning of photography. Despite the popularity of photographs of enslaved people, the existence of many of these pictures are unknown to the world outside of Brazil. The Moreira Salles Institute in Rio de Janeiro, where the “nanny with child in Salvador de Bahia” photograph is held, has recently opened their photo library to the broader world. Sergio Burgi, the curator of these collections, believes

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5 Garcia-Navarro, “Brazil Enslaved,”
that most of the images of the enslaved people are staged. Many of the photographs left behind by the masters followed the mainstream photographic conventions of the day, including everything from the posing of subjects to the props they held in their hands. Each photograph was an aesthetic choice made clearly and with intention. These choices reveal how photographs of enslaved subjects drew upon a desire to imbue a certain measure of social status on the enslaved sitter, even when they were obviously part of the lowest social class.

Photographs of enslaved peoples attempt to construct human bondage as a humane and Christian practice. Interracial images went a step further, as it projected slavery as a harmonious system, and allowed intimate relations between blacks and whites, between master and slave. Interracial intimacy often manifested itself in portraits of enslaved nurses with white children. Perhaps in some cases, the enslaved women only sat for the portraits to calm the fidgety white children, yet the framing of both subjects suggests that these women were important figures in the composition. These portraits combined the sentimental trappings of early photographic aesthetics and the long-standing Christian iconography of the Madonna and the child. This “Chattel Madonna” created an unmistakable evangelical aesthetic of slavery and wet nursing in the very Christian society of nineteenth-century Brazil. Like our subject, these women became almost a tribute to the highest achievement of womanhood in Christian culture: the immaculate mother. The role of the wet nurse, the mother who was not involved in the sin of conception, was elevated to “evangelical stewardship.” These chattel mothers were often considered essential workers within white families, many being elevated to vital providers of the home. They would create intimate relationships with their masters and the children they took care of, yet these women were still enslaved. They were subject to the authority and whims of the biological mothers as well as to the children they cared for. Hidden within these portraits are the ghosts of their subjugation, masterfully disguised with jewelry

8 Fox-Amato, Exposing Slavery, 42.
9 Fox-Amato, Exposing Slavery, 42.
10 Fox-Amato, Exposing Slavery, 42.
and fine fabrics.

Being a black servant in Brazil, particularly in the esteemed position of an *ama de leite* or wet nurse, went beyond what one would consider their household responsibilities, going far above simple caregiving. Instead, they were to be a friend, a maid, a lover, and a confidant. In nineteenth-century Brazil, many young enslaved women aspired to become wet nurses, and many went to extreme lengths to achieve it. Charles Expilly, a French critic of Brazilian society in the 1800s, explained, “without waiting for love to speak to her heart, the young woman seeks, not the sweet pleasures, but the benefits of motherhood. — She resolves to become a mother in order to become a wet nurse, even if to achieve her goal she is forced to abandon her child.”\(^\text{11}\) Performing the duties of a wet nurse in Brazil was of great personal and social esteem for many enslaved women. It was a ticket to a better way of life. Wet nurses were often dressed in beautiful and clean garments and fed food from the master’s table. This treatment is a stark contrast to how the majority of Brazil’s enslaved people were treated, which is why so many women sought out this option.

Owning a wet nurse was quite lucrative for the enslaver’s social standings. In the homes of Rio de Janeiro during the nineteenth century, it was considered very extravagant to have a wet nurse and it became a symbol of wealth and luxury.\(^\text{12}\) Often, you would see these nurses dressed richly in public, walking around the streets of Rio de Janeiro and other major urban centers with their heads held high. The wet nurse became a walking billboard displaying her master’s wealth. This is the most probable reason for the creation of the photo that is the subject of this essay: to have a rare photograph taken of one’s wet nurse, one where she is dressed in mountains of jewelry and appears clean and well-kept. The wet nurse’s photograph was a tangible display of economic power.

The unnamed nanny in this photograph was probably very young and had breast milk available because she had recently given birth to a child. These black children are glaringly ab-

\(^\text{11}\) Conrad, *Children of God’s Fire*, 140.

sent from these portraits. Where are the black babies of these young mothers? While not the subject of this portrait, there are many stories of wet nurses having to abandon or starve their own children for the sake of their white charge. For example, one story centered around a young, enslaved woman, Ambrosia, and her son, Benedito. She was tasked with breastfeeding the white child of her master while still trying to feed her own son. Ambrosia did not have enough milk for both, so her own child was forced to drink unpasteurized cow’s milk. The white childAmbrosia nursed seemed to have an insatiable appetite and would not stop crying when he was not being fed. Tired and desperate, Ambrosia struck a wet rag into the white baby’s mouth to cease the crying. The white child sucked so hard the rag got caught in its throat, suffocating him. Ambrosia was jailed and separated from her own son, never seeing Benedito again for the rest of her life. This story serves to show the incredible stress these enslaved women were under, not able to be a mother and an enslaved person. To keep your own child and be a nurse was extremely rare, and research suggests that “92 percent of Rio’s enslaved wet nurses, who were being rented out by their masters, had been separated from their children.” While photographs of wetnurses paint a picture that nursing was a cushy job and easier than being any other type of slave, the reality is that enslavers constructed that rosy portrayal of wetnursing. Masters obscured the terrible and dehumanizing experiences of bondage by covering it up with jewelry and fabric.

When photography was first invented, it was considered a medium that captured the truth of a moment, revolutionizing how humans capture the art of life. No longer confined to sitting for painted portraits, one could now sit for a photograph that would show humanity in its most precise and honest form. Photography ushered in a new and immensely popular way of self-definition, “the Daguerreotype [form of early photography] is the true Republican style of painting, ... the artist stands aside and lets you paint yourself.” While the true power of the sitter is being exaggerated here, what remains true is how this

14 Garcia-Navarro, “Brazil Enslaved.”
new type of portraiture allowed even the most insignificant of society’s members to be captured. Long gone are the days of sitting for an expensive painted likeness. Now, anyone could capture their features to be immortalized forever. Photographs of enslaved people, as a result, seem to present a sanitized and wholesome view of slavery. On the surface, photographs seemed objective, unaltered, and representative of the truth. By using a visual medium that is supposedly objective, slaveholders curated an “authentic” narrative of slavery that minimized the inhumane aspects of the institution. Downplaying the suffering of their slaves by dressing a few selected individuals up in fineries, enslavers could communicate to others that the supposed cruelty of the system is not true because “Look! This enslaved subject is dressed lavishly and appears perfectly fine.”

The Moreira Salles Institute head curator, Sergio Burgi, says that historians know a lot more about the white men who took these images than about the subjects themselves. Many of the photographs of enslaved women who were dressed up and shot in a studio were sold commercially, and for top dollar at that. “You are looking at individuals in a way, and that’s [something] very powerful that only photography can bring you. But somehow it’s also ambiguous, in the sense that it doesn’t tell the whole story,” says Burgi. History has forgotten these women’s names, how they lived, and even, in some cases, who owned them, yet their faces remain. The young black girl in this photo has no name; she has no known life outside of this photograph. As historians, it is important to look beyond the photograph and analyze the composition and context of its capture.

16 Garcia-Navarro, “Brazil Enslaved.”
17 Henry Dudley, Papers of Various Lynchburg, Va. Families, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia (March 15, 1854).
18 Garcia-Navarro, “Brazil Enslaved.”
Bearded, Barefoot, and Barbaric:
The Bandit-ification of “El Chacho” Peñaloza and his Guerrilla Montonera, Argentina, 1820s-1863

By Margaret Balk

"Me matan, mas no saben que a mí nadie me mata
Pues no soy una carne desgarrada que muere,
Sino un mito que el llano de la Rioja dilata..."

“They kill me, but they don’t know that no one kills me.
For I am not torn flesh that dies,
But a myth that the plains of La Rioja spread...”

—Excerpt from La última montonera (1955), Félix Luna¹

It is late October 1863—springtime in the province of San Juan, Argentina, a rural city of less than ten thousand people, nestled at the foot of the Andes Mountains.² Smartly-dressed soldiers stand guard around a group of

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about sixty men who have been corralled on an empty street to have their photograph taken. The prisoners’ filthy, torn ponchos and utilitarian felt hats identify them as *gauchos*. A strange cylindrical object balanced on a log stands in the center of the scene: a decoy cannon made of rolled-up rawhide—the extent of the gauchos’ artillery. Needless to say, these gauchos—fighters in the guerrilla *montonera* of the notorious *caudillo* Ángel Vicente “El Chacho” Peñaloza—were severely outgunned by the national army. Domingo Faustino Sarmiento—Governor of San Juan and Peñaloza’s most famous and fiercest enemy—ordered this photograph taken of these pitiful, defeated men to show the depths of human depravity, poverty, and barbarism to which the gauchos had descended. Sarmiento would go on to expand on this topic in his third and final “barbarian biography,” painting Peñaloza and his gauchos as outlaws with no legitimate political cause. However, Sarmiento and his fellow Unitarians would prove to be the true barbarians in their bloody, ruthless suppression of the gauchos’ struggle to retain political independence from the hegemony of Buenos Aires.

Argentina was in a state of political flux during the first half of the nineteenth century. After declaring independence from Spain in 1816, warring factions of elites struggled for decades to gain control of the nascent nation-state. By 1862, the Unitarians—those in favor of a centralized government based in port city Buenos Aires—had a powerful ally in newly-

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5 In the interior provinces of Argentina in the 1860s, *montoneras* referred to mobilizations of gauchos, led by *caudillos*, against the authorities; De La Fuente, *Children of Facundo*, 2, 78.


elected President Bartolomé Mitre (1862-1868). To gain full control, however, the Unitarians would have to defeat the unruly Federalists in the rural provinces, represented by their figurehead Peñaloza. On November 12, 1863, after losing a battle against Mitrist forces and fleeing, Peñaloza was tracked down like an animal and murdered—speared, shot, and decapitated in front of his wife, his head displayed in the town square for eight days as a warning to any gauchos who still dared support El Chacho and his Federalist cause. In a letter to President Mitre after the caudillo’s assassination, Sarmiento applauded the brutality of Peñaloza’s murder: “Without cutting off the head of the inveterate rogue, the mobs would not have calmed down in six months.” Sarmiento would go on to publish his own version of events leading up to Peñaloza’s death in his third and final barbarian biography, El Chacho: Last Caudillo of the Plains Montonera (1868). In it, Sarmiento was on the defensive, justifying Peñaloza’s extermination as both necessary and inevitable: as El Chacho was an outlaw, he did not deserve the same rights as law-abiding citizens. Sarmiento had good reason to want people to remember Peñaloza as a barbarian—the lawmaker’s reputation depended on El Chacho’s status as an outlaw.

Sarmiento is remembered today for his instrumental role in the expansion of compulsory primary education in Argentina and for his push for the modernization of the country with railways, industrialization, and the country’s integration into the international market. However, Sarmiento’s involvement in orchestrating Peñaloza’s assassination would haunt him for the rest of his political career: the caudillo’s murder was still a contentious issue when Sarmiento ran for Senator over a

10 De La Fuente, Children of Facundo, 8.
14 Bueno, “El último caudillo y su biógrafo: historia de una polémica.”
decade later, in 1875.\textsuperscript{17} As is often the case with politicians, Unitarians frequently said one thing while doing the exact opposite. While they proclaimed that they were the party of progress and enlightenment, they were also brutally torturing and killing gauchos and other peasants, burning down their villages and destroying their crops and livestock.\textsuperscript{18}

The national army’s brutality was a well-known part of life. One military official in particular, Colonel Sandes, was widely known for his cruelty. He reportedly placed prisoners in stocks and encouraged his soldiers to practice spearing them to death while Sandes watched, sipping \textit{mate}.\textsuperscript{19} Sarmiento condoned the violence and wrote letters encouraging his officers to “shut [their] mouths” about Sandes’ sadism, urging them not to spare the blood of the gauchos: “[Their blood] is a fertilizer that must be made useful to the country. Blood is the only thing they have of human beings.”\textsuperscript{20} President Mitre would be the one to supply Sarmiento with a rationalization for Peñaloza’s murder: he wrote urging Sarmiento to frame the conflict as a “police war” against highway robbers. This would ensure that there could be no political overtones attributed to Peñaloza’s assassination, which would only serve to legitimize the gauchos’ struggle.\textsuperscript{21} Unitarians thus rationalized their barbaric behavior towards the gauchos: they were not fighting the enemy army of another nation, but rather hoards of bandits and thieves, and therefore, their enemies deserved to be, as characterized by journalist José Hernández, “shot mercilessly, as forest beasts are hunted and killed.”\textsuperscript{22} The Unitarians believed that Peñaloza’s death was necessary to prevent further resistance from the interior provinces against the unification process and modernization efforts.

Meanwhile, stories persist to this day that portray

\textsuperscript{17} Dabóve, “El Chacho,” 75.
\textsuperscript{18} De La Fuente, \textit{Children of Facundo}, 164–65.
Peñaloza as more civilized than his “savage” Unitarian foes.\textsuperscript{23} In the month after Peñaloza’s death, Hernández published a series of scathing editorials investigating the circumstances surrounding Peñaloza’s murder, ultimately holding the Unitarians responsible—especially Sarmiento.\textsuperscript{24} Stories abound about Peñaloza’s honor and integrity. In one especially notable anecdote, after signing the Treaty of La Banderita with Mitre’s troops in 1862, Peñaloza called for an exchange of prisoners. Peñaloza immediately presented the soldiers he had taken, who attested to the good treatment they had received in his care. Meanwhile, Mitre’s officers stood in silent shame—they had executed every man they took on the battlefield.\textsuperscript{25} Peñaloza berated them: “How is it then that I am the bandit, the robber, and you are the men of order and principles?”\textsuperscript{26} Peñaloza was also so popular among his followers because he was no different than the rest of them: He dressed like his gauchos, spoke like them, was illiterate like them; he also fought alongside his men for forty-three years, suffered the privations of military life together, and played cards with them in the evenings.\textsuperscript{27} Peñaloza summed it up in a letter to his mentor, Justo José de Urquiza: “I don’t know why they love me nor why they follow me: I love them, too and I serve them with everything that I have, doing for them what I can.”\textsuperscript{28}

He not only had his gauchos’ fierce loyalty and devotion but was also widely (if privately) admired by his purported enemies. Some of Mitre’s officers were reported to be “captivated” by Peñaloza, and his honorable return of the prisoners even inspired a Unitarian general to stop executing prisoners of war.\textsuperscript{29} Even Sarmiento himself grudgingly admitted that “there must have been some truly great quality in the character of that old gaucho.”\textsuperscript{30} This reputation was only enhanced by stories about his daring exploits on the battlefield. Peñaloza’s montonera gained a reputation for moving through the countryside like ghosts, appearing unexpectedly to attack the national forces and

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{23} De La Fuente, \textit{Children of Facundo}, 25.
\bibitem{26} Hernández, \textit{Vida Del Chacho: Rasgos Biograficos Del General D. Angel V. Peñaloza}, 35.
\bibitem{27} De La Fuente, \textit{Children of Facundo}, 103–5; Martínez, “El General Peñaloza y su Argentina contemporánea,” 43–44.
\bibitem{28} De La Fuente, \textit{Children of Facundo}, 105.
\bibitem{29} Martínez, “El General Peñaloza y su Argentina contemporánea,” 27.
\bibitem{30} Luna, \textit{Los Caudillos}, 180.
\end{thebibliography}
then disappearing just as quickly back into the mountains for
days to months at a time.\textsuperscript{31} Other stories highlighted Peñaloza’s
bravery on the battlefield and skill on horseback. In at least one
battle, Peñaloza emerged from the gunpowder smoke to lasso
a cannon and its ammunition from the enemy line, dragging it
to the side of the gauchos.\textsuperscript{32} But perhaps more revealing than
these apocryphal stories are Peñaloza’s own words: in letters
to his opponents, he frequently urged a peaceful resolution
of disputes, imploring them to reconsider “[waging] a war of
death of brothers against brothers.”\textsuperscript{33} Episodes such as the
above contributed to Peñaloza’s larger-than-life status.

Returning to this photograph of the \textit{chachista}\textsuperscript{34} prisoners—
how were these men, so ill-equipped, able to frustrate the well-
armed national guard for so long? To the well-funded elites,
this picture allowed them to gloat about their dominance over
these outlaws. To the country folk, Peñaloza and his montonera
represented hope. Many of Peñaloza’s followers were from his
home province, La Rioja, the poorest region of Argentina, often
going into battle with only a wooden spear or a lance made
with one blade of sheep shears secured to cane.\textsuperscript{35} Only about
one out of every ten gauchos was armed with more than just
a stick.\textsuperscript{36} Their most important weapons, however? Their spirit,
their desperation, and their love for their leader Peñaloza. The
very method of Peñaloza’s execution, which Sarmiento had so
highly praised, was the reason Peñaloza became a martyr for
the people. And Peñaloza’s brutal, dishonorable death laid bare
and exposed the hypocrisy of Sarmiento and his so-called party
of progress—the “savage” Unitarians were the true barbarians.

\textsuperscript{31} De La Fuente, \textit{Children of Facundo}, 88; Martínez, “El General Peñaloza y su Argentina
contemporánea,” 41.
\textsuperscript{32} César Enrique Romero, “Evocación centenaria del General Ángel Vicente Peñaloza,” in Ángel
\textit{Vicente Peñaloza}, by Comisión Central de Homenaje a Ángel Vicente Peñaloza (Buenos Aires:
Librería Hachette, 1969), 49.
\textsuperscript{33} Luna, \textit{Los Caudillos}, 187–88
\textsuperscript{34} Members of El Chacho’s montonera; De La Fuente, \textit{Children of Facundo}, 190.
\textsuperscript{35} Martínez, “El General Peñaloza y su Argentina contemporánea,” 40.
\textsuperscript{36} Martínez, “El General Peñaloza y su Argentina contemporánea,” 41.
APRA leader, Haya de la Torre, speaking to campesinos at the Laredo Hacienda. El líder aprista Haya de la Torre hablando a los campesinos de la Hacienda Laredo, La Libertad, 1931, Archivo Fotográfico Alberto Leiva La Rosa
For many years, Latin American countries were historically known not to fulfill their promises to help ordinary citizens with their concerns; however, politicians began to bring attention to the citizens, which soon made them popular by emphasizing their policies would support ordinary people and not the elites. This became known as populism, a political approach that appeals to ordinary citizens whose rights and concerns are usually ignored by elites. During the early twentieth century in Latin America, populism soared, and politicians’ messages appealed to ordinary people for the first time. One of these leaders was Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, a Peruvian politician, philosopher, and author who formed the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA). While most populist leaders focused more on the urban working classes, Haya de la Torre was one of the few who showed concern for ethnic minority groups. In the 1931 photo, Haya de la Torre stands above a sea of supporters he addresses for his presidential candidacy. He is well dressed in a nice suit, while many supporters wear hats. They surround him from all directions, staring right at him, with a few waving flags showing their support, as though a powerful leader is giving a magnificent speech with his fist high in the air. What makes this photo more
interesting is that, with a closer look at the crowd, it shows many white supporters and some indigenous participants. In the Andean country of Peru, it is no surprise that many indigenous were present. What is surprising is that for the first time, a political candidate and party spoke directly to the ordinary citizen and offered policies that would help in their struggle, otherwise known as the “indigenous cause.” While many Latin American populist leaders focused on the concerns of the urban working classes, Haya de la Torre and the APRA have shown great concern for the indigenous cause, hoping to help indigenous people and better integrate them into Peruvian society.

To understand how Haya de la Torre stood for the indigenous population, he would first bring up his early espousal of the indigenous cause. The idea of the indigenous cause is meant to help integrate indigenous populations into Peruvian society, such as giving them better living and equal rights, as well as promising to protect the indigenous of Peru.1 Initially, the indigenous cause was brought to fruition by Peruvian intellectual aristocrat Manuel González Prada in 1989, who laid the groundwork for the radical political movement. However, due to the perception of González Prada as too idealistic, along with his inability to compromise with other radicals and participants of the indigenous cause, he was incapable of leading a movement to help bring change to the indigenous populations. The task was then passed down to Haya de la Torre when he arrived in the city of Trujillo in 1918. Acquiring this task from González Prada, followed by years of Haya de la Torre’s involvement in politics, travel, and introduction to some of the most prominent intellectuals of his time, he began formulating the very foundation of his party, the APRA, in 1924.2 Furthermore, Haya de la Torre also embraced the idea of mestizaje (racial or cultural mixing) while working under José Vasconcelos, the Minister of Education in Mexico. When Haya de la Torre was banished in 1922, Vasconcelos invited him to Mexico for political asylum, where he then learned from Mexico’s revolutionary intellectual elites.3 Soon after, Vasconcelos conveyed Haya de la Torre’s ideas in his book, ¿Que es la Revolución? as he wrote:

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“Before aspiring the become universal, “our Mestizaje” must first fulfill itself as a variety of Hispanicity, wherein the indigenous factor must not be opposed (to the other) as our foes with it to be, but rather a copper vein that running through our souls, strengthens out character and colors imaginations.”

By 1926, Haya de la Torre had thought of five important policies for the party to follow: anti-imperialism, economic and political unification in Latin America, nationalization of land and industry, internationalization of the Panama Canal, and solidarity with all oppressed peoples and classes everywhere. The last policy is critical when understanding how Haya de la Torre wanted to integrate the indigenous populations into Peruvian society. That same year, Haya de la Torre also published an article titled “What is APRA?” in the London-based Labor Monthly. In the article, he discusses how he created the APRA to unite all people in strengthening Peru, which also includes the indigenous people, as he explains: “APRA is the Latin American revolutionary anti-imperialist party that organizes the single great front of intellectuals and manuel workers, a union of workers, peasants, indigenous peoples, etc...to defend the sovereignty of our country.” His efforts and experiences soon brought attention to his next step in helping the indigenous populations, the 1931 Peruvian presidential election.

Haya de la Torre and the APRA soon emerged during the early 1930s in Peru’s exporting northern coastal region, where they gained the support of many plantation workers, smaller farmers, and other groups, including the indigenous laborers. What helped Haya de la Torre further support the indigenous cause was his ability to focus on building a party through his organizational capacity, matched with his ability to create a sense of community among the APRA’s members. This charismatic combination united groups of students, workers, and indigenous peoples. When Haya de la Torre decided to launch his candidacy for the 1931 election, he first discussed how Peruvians faced pauperization, specifically with indigenous

Peruvians. With demand for export rapidly decreasing after the events of World War I, many cities were hit with unfair competition from company stores, and indigenous communities were victimized by the large haciendas and foreign-owned mining companies who took their land. This managed to attract a lot of attention from people across Peru, and soon, Haya de la Torre gained a lot of support from both white and indigenous crowds for his presidency, as shown in the photo. Unfortunately, Sánchez Cerro, founder and candidate of the Peruvian Revolutionary Union, won the 1931 election, expelling the APRA from congress and passing a law that declared the party illegal, resulting in the arrest of Haya de la Torre in 1932; however, this helped Haya de la Torre’s motives gain publicity during his imprisonment, and help attract more support for the APRA.

Haya de la Torre also joined a small but prominent group of populist leaders who fought for indigenous rights in the early twentieth century. One such leader was Juan Domingo Perón, a military official and politician of Argentina, who considered himself a man whose roots were in the land and with the people. Born of mixed European and indigenous ancestry, he spent his early life in the small town of Pampa, learning from the people about the different cultures and virtues of his country. He writes of his childhood: “They were like family to me, and I treated them like uncles...they are magnificent people; in their infinite humility they achieved a grandeur that it was not easy to find later among more developed people.” Furthermore, a young Juan Perón also writes about how his father, Mario Tomas Perón, received a goat and a place to build a hut from an impoverished indigenous man: “Didn’t you see the dignity of that man? It’s the only heritage he has received from his ancestors. We call the Indians thieves and we forget that we’re the ones who have robbed them of everything.” Perón then knew how the indigenous populations were struggling in Argentina, and he further focused on his campaign to incorporate racial justice issues. Lázaro Cárdenas was another populist leader who fought for indigenous rights. As president

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of Mexico from 1934 to 1940, his administration focused on many aspects of interest in Mexico, including nationalism, agrarian reform, and indigenismo (adopting the customs and culture of the indigenous). More importantly, he focused on improving the position and influence of the working class, mainly the indigenous laborers, through state intervention and creating government regulations that favored the rural and working classes. Like Perón and Cárdenas, Haya de la Torre’s experience with the indigenous people of Peru made the indigenous cause one of the APRA’s major goals. For instance, in 1928, his experience visiting Cuzco helped transform his perspective. He wrote:

“I would not have felt devotion for the indigenous race or love for the Peruvian sierra, or sorrow for social injustice, or rebelliousness before the barbarousness of the political system, if I had not lived a close hand the life of Cuzco...Then and only then I understand the great problem, and I decided to make myself a soldier of the cause who would struggle for a solution.”

This allowed him to gain his own sense of “justice,” which he attached to the word “liberation,” to help integrate the indigenous population into Peruvian society and protect them from further exploitation. He made special appeals that promised to protect indigenous populations, focused on indigenous issues of injustice and integration, and created slogans and phrases, such as “Indian regeneration and freedom are synonymous with Aprismo.” Even after president Sánchez Carro banned the APRA in 1932, resulting in Haya de la Torre’s arrest. He soon realized that a successful resistance came from the appeal of the indigenous peasant masses who offered their support when he ran for office in 1931.

While Haya de la Torre may have demonstrated similar traits to other populist leaders, his efforts towards the indigenous

cause were fruitful in helping integrate indigenous in Peru. Haya de la Torre, following the lead of González Prada, attempted to integrate the indigenous into society by introducing indigenous culture to students attending popular universities. In doing so, he hoped to teach indigenous culture to a large group of middle and upper-class students, who would carry over those teachings to lower-class urban laborers. To create a memory of the man who first wanted to help the indigenous, he briefly summarizes: “To educate the people, to redeem Peru from social injustice, and to erect a monument of the memory of González Prada.”

Following this model, the APRA first encouraged college students to learn about indigenous arts and customs, as well as embrace the history of the Quechua through different artworks showcased at universities and experience the different cultural dances the indigenous shared with students. For the students, they had to overcome the social and psychological barriers that divided them from indigenous groups, carrying the culture that now shows the importance of remolding traditional structures within older universities. By glorifying Peru’s indigenous past and fostering the Quechua’s culture, the APRA played an essential role in the indigenous cause, turning indigenismo into a popular cultural form among the working classes. Thanks to Haya de la Torre and the APRA’s efforts, there has been significant growth and acceptance for the indigenous people among Peruvians, as their ideologies and proposals regarding the protection and integration of the indigenous population were presented to be unproblematic and intrinsically rational.

Looking back at the photo, specifically how Haya de la Torre wanted to help the indigenous and the APRA’s influence in embracing their culture, we can understand why indigenous people joined the crowd and supported Haya de la Torre during the 1931 election.

Haya de la Torre was a true populist leader who showed concern for the indigenous cause in Peru. When we look at the photo, we can now understand why some indigenous people supported Haya de la Torre’s 1931 presidential campaign. He

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22 Liisa North, review of *The Peruvian Aprista and Haya de la Torre: Myths and Realities*, by Robert J. Alexander, Grant Hilliker, Peter F. Klaren, Guillermo Thorndike, and Victor Villanueva, *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 17, no. 2 (1975), 246.
was first introduced to the idea of the indigenous cause by wanting to help integrate the indigenous into Peruvian society by Manuel González Prada. He then hoped to unite people by mentioning a universal issue that affected white and indigenous populations who supported his presidential campaign. Like other Latin American populist leaders who wanted to help indigenous peoples, his experience made it a top priority for the APRA to focus on indigenous concerns. He was also responsible for the APRA’s efforts to embrace indigenous culture and then spread that appreciation by having Peruvian college students teach them to lower-class urban workers. Of course, that isn’t to say Haya de la Torre erased all indigenous issues and created a harmonious society. Still, he and the APRA have significantly contributed to improving the living and working conditions of indigenous populations in Peru.
Bolivia, gold miner holding up primitive carbide lamp in La Paz (1954).
Harrison Forman Collection - Safety Negatives, University of Milwaukee Libraries.
Beneath the Peaks:  
The Struggle Against Child Labor in Bolivia’s Mines  

By Brian Hardy

Beneath the soaring peaks of La Paz, Bolivia, a haunting image captured by photographer Harrison Forman in 1954 reveals a grim reality: a Bolivian child gold miner staring at the small lamp he will rely upon to guide him into the dark and dangerous conditions of an underground mine. Forman’s photograph serves as a poignant symbol of the child labor practices of that era, yet its black-and-white tone should not deceive anyone into thinking these practices are but a thing of the past. The history and evolution of child labor in Bolivia—from the experiences of child miners in the 1950s to the more recent changes in labor legislation—underscore the fact that Bolivia’s government has not adequately addressed child exploitation.

Bolivia’s Mining Industry

Bolivia is a nation particularly rich in minerals. The mining industry has thrived here since the 1545 discovery of silver in Potosi, which fueled world commerce through imports of silver worldwide and created a rapid boom in the industry. Since then,
the mining industry has remained a central source of revenue for the Bolivian economy. In the mid-twentieth century, automated farm production meant that laborers—many of whom were children—were needed less in the fields or at hazardous factory jobs, so instead, they were sent to the lucrative gold mines.1 While it is difficult to determine the age of Forman’s photographed child miner, he appears as young as fourteen. He had likely worked for years in perilous conditions, perhaps in multiple industries. There is also little doubt that this child miner’s meager pay would go to helping feed his family, which may have included siblings who were likewise working dangerous jobs.

Child Labor in Bolivia

Despite efforts to eradicate child labor, it has been a part of Bolivia’s economy throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Bolivia witnessed a surge in child labor in the mid-twentieth century during a period of revolutionary struggle and political instability. After the 1951 election, the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (RNM) rose to power and led an agricultural revolution over the next decade, ushering in a slew of progressive economic reforms. Built on the ideas of future Bolivian presidents Victor Paz Estenssoro and Hernán Siles Zauzo, the RNM implemented women’s suffrage, fair land distribution, and state control over natural resources and the economy. Despite their otherwise progressive measures, the revolutionary government struggled with corruption and had to contend with many industrialists in seats of power. These interests were able to block a number of the RNM’s reforms, including nationalizing the mines and enacting new regulations addressing child labor. These vested interests were actually able to decrease the working age for Bolivian citizens from fourteen to ten years old, and this young and inexpensive labor would help further grow the mining sector.

This acquiescence to child labor is an instance of how Bolivia’s presidents sacrificed the country’s youth for the economic

stability and autonomy of the country. Forman’s young miner spent his days in a dark, dusty mine, but unbeknownst to him, he was entangled in a dense net of money, power, and corruption. Domestically, Bolivia struggled with gross unequal distribution, as only 4% of landowners possessed 82% of Bolivia’s arable land, amounting to 180 million hectares. Bolivia’s leaders decided that Bolivia needed to reform its labor laws to become less economically dependent upon the United States for aid—aid that failed to materialize. Internationally, Bolivia strove in the 1950s and 1960s to become less economically dependent upon the U.S., as tariffs on Bolivian imports neared 19% and created a crippling trade deficit. Despite the political leverage this trade deficit provided to the U.S., Presidents Truman and Eisenhower refused to take action to alleviate the problems with child labor laws in Bolivia, instead deciding to ignore the growing child labor crisis. According to the 1954 Intelligence Estimate on Bolivia, the State Department concluded that “Bolivia’s future political stability will depend greatly upon the extent to which its government can prevent further economic deterioration and meet development needs.” Seeing no economic benefit from Bolivia, the United States cut ties with the Bolivian government and ignored the country’s child labor laws.

Conclusion

Implementing and enforcing more progressive child labor laws would increase Bolivia’s economic stability and bring the country in line with more modern labor practices. By leaning on the nationalized mining industry and employing adults at an appropriate wage and with current safety standards, Bolivia could improve its economy—especially if land rights were granted to families for the areas they mined. This change would

4 “Bolivia’s Agrarian Revolution Hanging In,” https://coha.org/agrarian-revolution/
increase economic prosperity for Bolivian families and potentially lift the entire nation out of poverty.

Furthermore, increasing the age at which children can work and hiring adults for the more dangerous jobs, such as silver mining, would increase Bolivia’s global competitiveness.8 A healthy and stable economy and population strengthens a country, expands its international reputation, and allows it to tackle more social issues and corruption that harm a nation’s reputation and functioning.

Reforms to the child labor laws in Bolivia are in progress. They are not only leading to greater economic development and competitiveness in Bolivia, but they are also helping to stop the suffering and exploitation of Bolivia’s children. If there is any consolation for the children who endured such suffering, it is that their trauma primarily led to this reform. Increasing economic prosperity in the country helps keep children from working dangerous jobs, further improving Bolivia’s global standing as a reliable, ethical, and economically sound society. When society is equipped with historical and political knowledge, children like the one in Forman’s photo call out from the past and demand action so that these scenes can truly remain in history.

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Cuban Children with Luggage Arriving on Miami Airport Track (1961-62), Barry University Archives and Special Collections, https://ufdc.ufl.edu/aa00053064/00001
Operation Pedro Pan:
How the Peculiar Yet Potent Function of Narrative, Ideology, and Identity Transformed Cuban Refugees Into American Citizens

By Jason Crabb

Americans love a good story. In the American imaginary, the stories we tell ourselves about ourselves emerge from a series of popular narratives of national beginnings that have turned out to be powerful anchors in future discourses on “Americanness.” Debates on what it means to be an American have taken center stage in the myriad immigration debates facing our nation. And in those debates, the immigrant’s story—the dominant narrative surrounding their journey to the U.S.; their moral, political, and spiritual traits; their ability to assimilate—reigns supreme. If a picture is worth a thousand words, what story might the preceding photograph tell? Does it tell the story of desperate migrants seeking asylum at the U.S. border? What kind of a story might a picture showing well-dressed children disembarking from a commercial airline flight on a tarmac in Miami imply? Miami International Airport marks the opening scene in what would become a mass exodus of Cuban children to the United States that unfolded between December 1960 and October 1962. The children, christened Pedro Panes by the
U.S. media, were part of Operation Pedro Pan—a humanitarian effort-cum-covert government operation unlike any other. In a country where ambivalence towards immigrant groups has predominated, Pedro Paines’ widespread acceptance and rapid assimilation into American society proved to be the peculiar yet potent function of narrative, ideology, and identity.

Over the course of twenty-two months, the parents of 14,048 Cuban children made the difficult decision to send their children alone to the United States. The reasons parents did so were manifold: many feared for the spiritual well-being of their Catholic children after the Cuban government began to repress religious expression, closing private Catholic schools and expelling priests from the island. Others grew panicked after a series of false rumors (created and disseminated by the CIA) began to circulate on the island, warning parents that Castro intended to deprive parents of patria potestad, or legal authority over their children. Parents also sought to prevent their children from being exposed to communist indoctrination—many were counterrevolutionaries who feared that their anti-Castro activities might put their children in harm’s way. Most of the children who participated in the operation were reunited with their parents in the U.S. within months, although some would go several years before seeing their families again.

As Pedro Paines’ story took shape, influential mythmakers in the U.S. highlighted the humanitarian impetus behind the burgeoning operation—along with the children’s malleability—in ways that aligned with the goals and values of the nation. Cuban-American historian María de los Ángeles Torres notes that as soon as large numbers of Cuban minors began arriving in Miami, a narrative of “heroic flight from repression to freedom” quickly emerged. Similarly, historian Anita Casavantes Bradford remarks, “beginning in the early 1960s...Anglo-American memory workers have consistently promoted triumphalist narratives...adopting a frame of remembrance that necessarily insisted on the humanitarian motives of the program...while highlighting [Pedro Paines’] successful integration” into American society. These triumphalist narratives, Casavantes Bradford contends, must be understood as “fulfilling fundamental psychological, cultural, and political needs of Americans...to

reinforce a self-affirming belief in the United States as both a land of...opportunity and a historical haven for oppressed peoples in search of freedom.” 2 The remarkable congruence between Operation Pedro Pan’s origin story and America’s own conferred both status and privilege on Pedro Panes, creating distance between them and other Latin American immigrants that remains to this day.

In reality, Latin American migrants arriving in the U.S., both before and after this historic operation, did not receive the outpouring of public support and government resources Pedro Panes did. Latin American Studies scholar Deborah Shnookal writes that as part of Operation Pedro Pan, “the U.S. government implemented an unprecedented policy of admitting unlimited numbers of Cuban children,” issuing thousands of visa waivers to facilitate that process. 3 Shnookal further notes that Miami’s Catholic Welfare Bureau, under the auspices of the federal government, poured millions of dollars into a foster care program (which included private Catholic school tuition for many of the children), forging what became a questionable relationship between Church and State. This relationship saw the Catholic Welfare Bureau receiving a total of $138,619,000 to care for Cuban children arriving in the U.S. Historian John Gronbeck-Tedesco argues that Operation Pedro Pan “offers an exceptional example in U.S. immigration history,” one in which “the children who were saved from communism were afforded a preeminence in the nation not bestowed on other immigrants...” 4 International Relations scholar Susan Eckstein concurs, noting that the operation is symbolic of “an era of exceptional entitlements for [the first wave of] arriving Cubans,” wherein key themes found in America’s own origin stories—religiosity and sacrifice chief among them—were mapped onto the story of Operation Pedro Pan and its worthy refugees. 5

Religion played a starring role in Operation Pedro Pan’s origin story, and Americans enthusiastically embraced it. Pedro Panes began to arrive at a time of renewed religiosity in the

nation. With the federal government’s blessing, the 1950s saw the addition of the words “under God” to the Pledge of Allegiance and “In God We Trust” to the back of the dollar bill; the inaugural National Prayer Breakfast also occurred during this decade. By the time Operation Pedro Pan commenced in 1960, religiosity and Cold War patriotism imbued the nation. In popular media accounts and a growing historiography on the operation, the word “exodus” abounds. The Miami Herald, one of the first newspapers to publish a detailed account of the operation, referred to it as “Operation Exodus” in their dramatic retelling of Cuban children in flight. Positioning Pedro Panes as religious refugees escaping “godless” communists boded well for their acceptance and assimilation. Sacrifice, intimately linked to this notion of exodus, operated on two distinct levels during this period: Cuban parents who made the difficult decision to send their children to the U.S. and Pedro Panes themselves. Appearing in a 2001 New York Times “Letter to the Editor,” Pedro Pan José Lucas Badué, by then an adult, wrote, “Cubans chose to sacrifice their children to a free society [rather] than to a totalitarian one.” And historian María de los Ángeles Torres, herself a Pedro Pan, recalled, “Leaving Cuba was a heroic deed. Living in exile was a patriotic sacrifice, and dying in exile was nearly elevated to an act of martyrdom.”

With the Cold War billed as a moral battle between good and evil, applying war metaphors to a religious exodus did not seem too far out of place. Father Bryan Walsh, one of the chief architects of the operation, recalled, “I saw all of this in the context of a Marxist war against religion.” Praising God and fighting communists went hand in hand, further necessitating America’s acceptance of Pedro Panes as both a moral and Cold War imperative. Testifying before the State Department in 1961, a prominent Miami community leader echoed what many Americans already believed, proclaiming, “Miami and its Cuban refugee situation are in the spotlight of...the world. Our ability...to accept those refugees and to provide for their successful integration into our society can serve either as a showcase for democracy, or, if we are unsuccessful, as a propaganda tool for our enemies.”

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8 Torres, 9-10.
9 Gronbeck-Tedesco, 6. These words were spoken by Seymour Samet, respected community member and executive director of the American Jewish Committee in Miami.
While essential elements of Pedro Panes’ origin story mirrored that of America’s past and resonated with an ideology steeped in the nation’s Cold War present, key markers of identity—white, Christian, middle class, and children—further facilitated Pedro Panes’ assimilation into the body politic. Americans could see themselves in these children. “Because they were anti-communist heroes, mostly light-skinned, and to a large degree from...middle-class backgrounds,” argued historian Gronbeck-Tedesco, Pedro Panes’ “benefitted from an exceptional status that permitted faster avenues towards...eventual U.S. citizenship.” Since they were white and upper-middle-class, Pedro Panes had the privilege of attending elite boarding schools in Cuba, institutions that inculcated them with American ideology long before they stepped foot on American soil. Exposed to English by their white American classmates and teachers, and to key tenets of American democracy and free-market capitalism, their American indoctrination in Cuba paved the way for a relatively quick Americanization process once in the U.S.

Against the backdrop of the Cold War, the strategic deployment of morally and emotionally resonant representations of childhood played a starring role in the operation’s developing narrative. Early on, government officials recommended that any publicity of the operation focus on the “helpless” and “innocent” children. One U.S. official explained America’s role in this effort as “taking from the grasp of communism...thousands of little minds,” freeing them from “communist indoctrination” and Cuba’s blasphemous teachings that purportedly asserted “there is no God.” Pedro Panes, innocent and malleable, were the future of the nation. For the American business people who paid for the children’s airfare, Pedro Panes represented an expanding capitalist base. For the Church, they were souls to be saved. And for the U.S. government, these children were key to winning the Cold War.

In sharp contrast to this story of acceptance and assimilation, a subsequent wave of Cuban migrants arriving in the U.S. in 1980 did not receive the same material resources or public support that Pedro Panes did. As part of the infamous Mariel Operation Pedro Pan

10 Gronbeck-Tedesco, 5.
11 Shnookal, 129.
12 Shnookal, 131.
Boatlift, these immigrants’ origin story did not cohere with the popular myths that made America, nor did it reverberate with the same Cold War fervor that painted Operation Pedro Pan as a heroic rescue mission and humanitarian effort. While the Cold War continued through 1991, this wave of migrants did not benefit from the politically and religiously tinged rhetoric of “saving souls from communism” that marked the period of 1960-1962. Furthermore, the intersecting identities of this wave of migrants (mostly poor adults with darker skin; many were LGBTQ), positioned them as a triple threat to the social, moral, and economic fabric of an increasingly conservative America. They arrived not on commercial flights but on boats and rafts. The Catholic Church did not rush in with offers to feed, clothe, or house them. Likewise, the U.S. government did not create a massive federal program to fund their quick and seamless assimilation. Castro had labeled this group of Cubans deviant and undesirable. Most Americans did, too.

The iconic 1960 photograph of well-dressed Pedro Panes disembarking from their flight in Miami is a far cry from the images of kids locked in cages at the southern U.S. border—a twenty-first-century symbol of the draconian immigration policies attributed to former U.S. president Donald Trump. It is also the polar opposite of the massive deportation campaigns targeting Mexican and Central American immigrants in the twentieth century or the all-out exclusion of Chinese immigrants in the nineteenth. In the end, an exceptional origin story consonant with the foundational myths that made America, underpinned by Cold War ideology and markers of identity deemed desirable by their host nation, transformed over 14,000 Cuban refugees into American citizens.
Artists protesting the Military Dictatorship/Artistas protestam contra a Ditadura Militar - Tônia Carreiro, Eva Wilma, Odete Lara, Norma Bengell e Cacilda Becker, Correio da Manhã (Brazil) (February 13, 1968).
Miniskirts on the March: Feminist Movements as a Response to Censorship in Brazil, 1964-1985

By Kelly Christensen

Though shown here in shades of gray, the photograph’s impression of bright, psychedelic colors still imprints itself onto the mind of the viewer. The hair, either trimmed short or poofed high, presents a drastic change from years past. Then, paired with their short and clingy dresses, the women’s aesthetics would have been nearly obscene in previous decades. In Brazil, the 1960s and 70s were defined by the fight between a controlling government and a revolutionary populace, and it is no accident that this period of social revolution and protest went hand in hand with dramatic, boundary-breaking female fashion and active involvement in protest movements. Women had long been resigned to the domestic sphere in Brazil, expected to be pious and caring mothers, but throughout the mid-twentieth century, many began to push for more rights and greater agency. The authoritarian regime, which sprang from a military coup in 1964, used censorship to control and impede its populace as a whole, but women were differently and perhaps more significantly impacted. This increased pressure on women, who were dissatisfied with traditional gender roles, created an environment that necessitated protests to fight for control of the female body. The Brazilian government used censorship to maintain control over the pop-
ulace, which especially harmed women. This essay will examine how feminist movements arose as a necessary counterbalance to the authoritarian regime.¹

When the authoritarian regime seized control from the democratically elected government in 1964, it had to fight constantly to make its administration seem valid.² Since the leaders of the coup stole their power from those chosen by the populace, they needed to make themselves seem legitimate in the eyes of their people by proving that they were able to run a government efficiently and effectively.³ A key way to do this was to control the media; by controlling what people heard, saw, and learned about the world around them, the new government could try to create an illusory society where their power was accepted or even lauded. When the rare dissenter spoke out publicly, they were publicly taken down. This censorship not only impacted news media but also applied to TV programs, movies, and theaters to suppress ideas or philosophies that the government fears may lead to dissension or rebellion. In Brazil, films had to pass governmental inspection, where censors would judge them based on whether or not they had positive messages of family values, social equilibrium, and the Christian faith. Additionally, there would need to be an absence of things like free love, immorality, and Marxist ideology.⁴ One example of this was the famous 1976 Brazilian film *Doña Flor and Her Two Husbands*; the film follows the titular Flor as she attempts to find a new, more respectable husband after the death of her first husband.⁵ While the film dealt with themes of repression and sexual desires, all of those topics took place within the marital bed, and Flor was never allowed to experience pleasure and joy outside of the confines of marriage. In this way, the female body and sexuality were regulated and censored by the government, which tried to control the image

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¹ While I speak only about left-leaning women and feminist movements, it should be acknowledged that a significant number of women in Brazil were organizing and fighting to maintain the social status quo and supported the military dictatorship.
³ Stein, "Unraveling of Support for Authoritarianism", 86.
of Brazilian women. The government wanted to convey messages of traditional family values, piety, and capitalism, which was an affront to left-leaning women who were advocating for sexual liberation.

Since much of this censorship focused on limiting radical ideas and strove to maintain the social status quo, it greatly impacted women who felt that their place in society should not be relegated to the home. The media that the public saw enforced the idea of the family unit and tried to maintain social equilibrium, which went directly against the feminist movements that arose in the 1960s. While the media censorship affected everyone, especially those with radical, leftist ideologies, by its nature, it impacted women more since not only were they held to the standards of like-minded men, but had the additional pressure to maintain the same feminine image that they were trying to break away from. Mini-skirts, bright colors, and dramatic hairdos were a method of challenging the dictatorship’s enforced norms. In a country where women had far fewer rights than men, such as limited reproductive rights and no protected wage equality, those who wanted to work in a non-domestic sphere had to state their desire for freedom and equality through all means, whether that be fashion or marches.

In the years preceding the coup d’etat, women had begun seeking higher education, with the number of women obtaining secondary education rising from 0.0% in 1900 to 9.6% in 1960, and became more politically involved as a result. This new generation of educated women was increasingly aware of the wage gap between them and their male counterparts, where educated, middle-class, light-skinned women earned 35% less than their male counterparts. Additionally, these women wanted opportunities to break out of professional fields such as nursing and education, where society had relegated most educated female workers. Poor and working-class women also

7 Maria Lygia Quartim de Moraes, "Women’s History and Movements in 20th-Century Brazil," Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History (November 19, 2020): para. 38-39, doi:9780199366439.013.863; Data retrieved from https://edu20c.org/brazil/, with information being sourced from Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, as well as the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series. Information was updated 9/30/2017
9 Alvarez, "Women in New Social Movements", 52-53
attended many of these protests, as they were the ones most drastically impacted by the lack of protection for women and the great pay inequality that resulted from the pay regression enacted by the new regime.10 Since many of the working-class women had to fulfill dual roles of homemaker and income earner, the need for gender equality was especially dire.

The Women’s Amnesty Movement in Brazil, founded in 1975 by Therezinha Zerbini, arose in response to the military regime.11 In the late 1960s, the regime had imprisoned Zerbini for over a year for aiding a political opponent of the regime. Upon her release, rather than shrinking to the regime’s demands, she began organizing women’s groups to protest the government. Her organization strove to motivate other organizations that represented broad sectors of the population, including the Brazilian Communist Party, which was an illegal organization at the time. Additionally, since Catholic women, such as Zerbini, headed much of the Women’s Amnesty Movement, they kept their organization as legal as possible. They were granted more social grace in rallying political opponents to the regime who could not otherwise act publicly or politically without significant risk to themselves, as the government did not want to be seen needlessly harassing and harming women. The impact of the Women’s Amnesty Movement reverberated through the creation of allied groups, such as Us Women (Nós Mulheres), Pro-Women (Pro-Mulher), and the March 8th Feminist Group (Grupo Feminista 8 de Março), marking a significant chapter in Brazil’s history of grassroots activism.

These two forces were incompatible: an increasingly modern, equality-focused female populace and a government desperate to maintain the status quo. The more the military regime tried to enforce the same gender roles that had governed Brazilian culture since its inception, the more feminist women were inspired to protest their unequal treatment. The over-regulation and censorship of female bodies was an essential catalyst in the rise of feminist movements, one final factor that

10 The pay regression discussed here was not a deliberate choice to lower how much workers earned, but instead refers to the statistical regression that occurred as the cost of living went up, while wages remained the same, essentially making each dollar earned worth less than in previous years. Bérengère Marques-Pereira and Florence Raes, “Women’s Movements: From Local Action to Internationalization of the Repertoire,” in Collective Action and Radicalism in Brazil (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 68-69.
made many women feel as though they had no choice but to organize themselves and counter the government, which sought to keep them suppressed. The over-policing of media was an authoritarian government’s way of controlling an already over-controlled population, leaving those most suppressed in society, women, to push against societal constraints. Additionally, the rise of education in middle and upper-class women guided many to think about and want careers and lives outside of the domestic or caretaking sphere. This combination of increased knowledge and suppression created an environment where left-leaning women had little choice but to organize and protest the regime. If it had not been for the increased regulation heralded by heightened and targeted censorship, many women might not have felt the pressure to challenge their government as strongly as they did. In any case, Brazil’s feminist movements during this period have been some of the most successful, radical, and diverse in contemporary Latin American history.¹²

¹² Alvarez, Engendering Democracy, 3.
Dilma Rousseff on trial before the military dictatorship judges (1970). Records Administration (NARA), the National Archive of Brazil Ministério do Exército Arquivo do Exército Praça Duque de Caxias - Centro 20221-260 Rio de Janeiro, RJ.
God, Family, Brazil:
The Brazilian Dictatorship and its Sexist Influence on the 2016 Impeachment of Dilma Rousseff

By Ari Diaz

The date of this photo is 1970, and the Brazilian dictatorship had been in power for six years after removing democratically elected president João Goulart from power, while a low-level guerilla insurgency rose up to fight it. The gaze that pierces through you belongs to Dilma Rousseff, a guerilla fighter who the regime captured, imprisoned, and tortured for three years and eventually put on trial. In 1970, the regime put her on trial on the charge of subversion (anything that challenges the dictatorship’s power). Years after the dictatorship ended in 1985 and the country transitioned to democracy, Dilma Rousseff became the first female president in Brazil’s history on January 1, 2011. Little did President Rousseff know in 2011, when the Chamber of Deputies petitioned for Rousseff’s impeachment, that she would face a similar fate as she had during the 1970 trial. At the beginning of December 2015, Rousseff’s opponents put her on trial for corruption and fiscal mismanagement over the deficit, ultimately ending with her impeachment in August 2016. Analysts continue to debate whether or not the charges were bogus, and many argue that members of the Senate and other prominent political bodies...
also took part in these same scandals. Whatever the case may be, Rousseff’s opponents wanted her gone. Throughout the impeachment trial, her political opponents, the media, and parts of the public used this trial as an excuse to throw sexist vitriol at Rousseff. While Brazil has been a democracy since the dictatorship’s end in 1985, many of its unseemly legacies, especially sexism, live on in modern Brazilian society.

Women have never gained full acceptance in Brazilian politics. Dilma Rousseff, who reached the highest position in the Brazilian government, became the main target of male politicians who still clung to their patriarchal attitudes towards women in government. Always towing the political line, she could keep neither the left nor the right happy. Brazilian feminists and the left accused her of selling out, whereas opponents on the right judged her for asserting her authority. Political Scientist José O. Pérez explains that, whether or not the accusations regarding Rousseff’s impeachment were true, they took a backseat to the drama that unfolded before the public’s eyes. Instead, Pérez dissects how misogyny and even homophobia played a hand in Rousseff’s impeachment. Pérez says her opponents and the general public “portrayed [her] as ill-tempered, mean, and rude to her ministers and aides...” Opposition party members even preferred Lula da Silva’s (Rousseff’s predecessor) easygoing and approachable style over Rousseff. Needless to say, her “standoffish” manner made Rousseff unlikeable and thus easier to remove from office.

In a hyper-patriarchal country like Brazil, Rousseff becoming president could be considered a miracle. Even more so if you consider the fact that women’s involvement in politics during the dictatorship varied from low to almost nonexistent. During the earliest days of the Brazilian dictatorship, women holding office was not unheard of, but it was indeed scarce. Legal scholar Amanda Oliveira de Sousa chronicles the political life of Brazilian women in the dictatorship era. She states that six women in 1966, two years after the military coup, were elected to the Brazilian Congress’ Chamber of Deputies. How-

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ever, all these women belonged to the main political party of the dictatorship or the controlled opposition parties. Only one of the women would be allowed to serve out her term, whereas the dictatorship removed the rest by decree. Afterward, in 1969, the dictatorship’s assault on women’s political liberties became formalized and institutionalized, with General Emílio Garrastazu Médici ushering in the “Years of Lead,” the most aggressively violent years of the military dictatorship. Also, the passing of Constitutional Amendment No. 01/1969\(^4\) stifled women’s ability to participate in organized politics, among other things. In present-day Brazil, many women are involved in politics, whether in government or activist circles, which is a big difference from the peak dictatorship years. What is indistinguishable between the dictatorship and the present day is that when Michel Temer, Rousseff’s Vice President and one of the ring leaders of her impeachment, succeeded Rousseff, he filled his cabinet exclusively with men—for the first time since 1974–1979. This gender demographic starkly contrasted with the diversity of Rousseff’s cabinet, which included women and Afro-Brazilians who served alongside her.

It has been thirty years since Brazil transitioned to democracy leading up to Dilma Rousseff’s impeachment, and yet the struggle against “communism” played a role in her ousting. Rousseff’s history as a past Marxist guerrilla caused outrage among those who disliked her and her politics. Despite moving to the center politically in her later career, she could not shake charges of secret sympathies to socialism and communism. Also, since her activities as a guerrilla landed her in prison in the 1970s, many politicians saw her as a traitor who opposed the Brazilian state. In the minds of many, being a guerrilla is a masculine trait, something that is so abnormal for women to do. Rousseff could not escape this specific element from her past.\(^5\) Merging the act of being a female guerrilla and masculine also existed in the earliest years of the dictatorship. It was not just the lack of femininity of being a guerrilla but the moral perversion. Historian Benjamin A. Cowan details the various moralist groups that supported or even influenced the dictatorship. One of these groups, the Brazilian Institute for Democratic Action (IBAD), owned a magazine by the name of *Ação Democrática*

\(^5\) Pérez, “Motherly,” 55.
Democratic Action), which published stories that struck the fear of communism and moral perversion in the minds of Brazilians. In one May 1962 issue, an article titled “Guerrilla Warfare in the Name of Love” made the bold assertion that women are only sexually enticed to the revolutionary struggle and warned that if Brazilian women gave their bodies freely, they would become like Soviet women. The connection between communism, guerrilleras, and moral deviation was used effectively before the military coup and grew during its peak years. During Rousseff’s impeachment, the opposition parties and the public used this view to point out the lack of feminine characteristics that Rousseff demonstrated as a guerrilla.

Throughout Dilma Rousseff’s political career, people in her inner circle tried cultivating a motherly and family image around her. Her opponents never took this image seriously. Dilma Rousseff, being a twice divorcée and single mother, was unconventional by Brazilian societal standards, and her personal life stoked the fire. After her impeachment, the Brazilian media unfavorably compared her to Michel Temer’s wife. For example, a magazine titled Veja, comparable to Time or even Newsweek, described the new First Lady, who was 36 years younger than Rousseff, as “...beautiful, maiden-like, and a housewife” and proclaimed that “Brazil would once again have a First Lady.” Other magazines also made the argument that Rousseff should have made herself more sexually appealing. During her impeachment trials, parliamentarians had the chance to give a short speech as to why or why not Rousseff should be impeached. Many of the politicians who voted for her ousting never alluded to her alleged crimes but made speeches invoking family, children, God, and Brazil. For example, one of the most outlandish and sinister quotes comes from Deputy Eder Mauro, a member of the center-right Social Democratic Party:

Mr. President, on behalf of my son Éder Mauro Junior, age four, and Rogério, who, together with my wife, we form a family in Brazil, which these thieves want so much to destroy with [their] proposals so children can change sex and learn sex in schools, at the age of six. On behalf of all of the people of the State of Pará, I vote

It didn’t matter that neither Rousseff nor her party, the Workers Party, ran on anything resembling gender reassignment surgery or sex education in school. Mauro knew by mentioning his wife, kids, sex, Brazil, and indoctrination in schools, he would look good for his political base.

Invoking “family” can be traced back to ultra-conservative groups in the 1960s. On March 19, 1964, a few weeks before the coup and in response to the reforms proposed by President Goulart, a public demonstration called the March of the Family with God for Liberty took place. Some of the groups and organizers of the march gained significant influence during the military dictatorship. One of those organizers was Priest Gustavo Corção. His ideas clashed with the newly emerging Liberation Theology movement. After the momentous year of 1968, he regularly railed against Brazilian progressives, accusing them of being sexual deviants who conspired to subject Brazil to divorce, communism, free love, and sexually educated (and hence, sexually bankrupt) youth. These ideas were not on the fringe by any means. Corção influenced the leaders of the dictatorship up until he died in 1978, but judging by the language used by the deputies against Rousseff in 2016, nothing had really changed.

Michel Temer became president of Brazil the same day Dilma Rousseff was ousted. According to the polls, the people of Brazil never really liked Temer. However, what followed Temer surpassed whatever controversy the two previous presidents produced. In 2019, Jair Bolsonaro succeeded Temer, and Bolsonaro carried on the Brazilian military’s tradition. During his election campaign, decade-old quotes by Bolsonaro resurfaced. He once said about the dictatorship, “The dictatorship’s mistake was to torture but not kill,” and about a fellow congresswoman, “I wouldn’t rape you because you don’t deserve it.” He acted

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8 Pérez, “Motherly,” 50.
9 After the Second Vatican Council established the “preferential option for the poor,” Catholic priests in Latin America developed a new approach to teaching their religion called Liberation Theology. Liberation Theology tackled poverty and racism. Opponents accused it of being Marxism in disguise.
like a caricature of the old dictatorship, filled with cliches you could not believe were real. It did not matter because his words and actions never harmed his popularity. The people of Brazil voted him in, winning 55.13% of the vote. In her 1970 trial, Dilma Rousseff could never have predicted that she would face another similar trial nor see a president come to power who celebrated the people who jailed and tortured her. The Brazilian dictatorship ended in 1985, but its legacy of violence and sexism produced Bolsonaro’s Brazil. Immediately after her ousting, Rousseff labeled her impeachment a “coup” and predicted that a new wave of anti-democratic, anti-progressive, anti-women, anti-black, and anti-queer politics might sweep over Brazil. Her prediction came true.
A Salvadoran Army soldier stands solemnly against a backdrop of a decrepit blue wall, holding a newspaper with the headline “Vote Defeats Violence.” In a silent plea, he bears the weight of his involvement in the Salvadoran Atlacatl Battalion’s massacre of a thousand innocent lives. Historians of massacres and genocides have ethically looked at the story of the victims, giving many a voice who have otherwise been silenced by their murderers. However, what is generally overlooked, is the story of the perpetrators, and trying to understand—without justifying—the reason behind why they commit humanitarian crimes. It is through the lens of the soldiers that reveal how the consequences of unchecked power, ideological extremism, and the distortion of

truth can encourage the role of citizens as perpetrators of massacres.

Starting on December 11, 1981, the Atlacatl Battalion, a group of the Salvadoran Army, slaughtered more than one thousand innocent civilians in El Mozote over the course of a few days. Led by Lieutenant Colonel Domingo Montero’sa, men, women, and children within El Mozote, and six other hamlets, were murdered.2 Within the midst of the global Cold War, the United States funded the Salvadoran civil war, fought between the Army and the guerilla group FMLN (Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front). By early 1992, the U.S. had spent more than four billion dollars in supplemental aid.3 This twelve-year-long civil war had critical events that contributed to the lead-up, response, and legacy of the El Mozote Massacre. After Ronald Reagan was elected president in 1980, his secretary of state, Alexander Haig, gave the Salvadoran Army battalions the green light to escalate their counterinsurgency campaigns. The goal was to prevent communism from spreading in El Salvador, a fear that became heightened after the 1979 Nicaraguan Revolution that overthrew the U.S.-backed anti-communist dictator Anastasio Somoza.4 Within Washington, a contentious discussion unfolded between those advocating for continued support of a U.S.-friendly regime, asserting that an alternative scenario, such as another communist triumph in the region, would be far more detrimental. On the opposing side were individuals who argued that the United States should disengage from a morally corrupting struggle in Latin America.5

Amidst heightened U.S. Cold War national security concerns and widespread public discourse on human rights, news of the El Mozote Massacre, reported by the Washington Post and New York Times, reached Washington’s public awareness. In response to the reports, the Reagan administration strongly refuted the initial accounts. Just one day later, President Reagan stated that the human rights situation in El Salvador was improving. The administration’s argument against the Wash-

5 Danner, The El Mozote Massacre, 9.
**Boca Abajo**

*Washington Post* and *New York Times* articles on the massacre revolved around the claim that the reported death toll, provided by the Catholic Legal Aid Office, was biased due to its left-leaning affiliations. The Reagan administration asserted that the statistics of the murders were intentionally skewed against the Salvadoran government.⁶

In the Cold War context, propaganda, fueled by the United States’ fear of communist expansion in Latin America and its humiliation after losing Nicaragua, influenced and shielded the actions of the Battalion. The desperation to prevent El Salvador from aligning with Nicaragua became evident when President Carter, who had halted aid in response to the murder of American churchwomen, reinstated it only weeks later in the face of the guerilla offensive.⁷ Another influential factor was the paranoia within the Salvadoran Army. Although not entirely unfounded, the army was plagued by bouts of paranoia, suspecting infiltration among its ranks by guerilla group members. There were concerns about leaked information, compromised operations, and exchanged weapons.⁸

The media’s response to the massacre significantly shaped the Atlacatl Battalion’s legacy and consequences. Although reported by the *Washington Post* and *New York Times*, the massacre did not receive much attention due to Americans’ limited knowledge of Central America.⁹ There seemed to be confusion about the region, and a 1988 poll showed that most Americans were unsure whether the U.S. supported the governments of El Salvador or Nicaragua.¹⁰ The media influenced the American perception of the Cold War, particularly in the context of El Salvador. They portrayed Salvadoran President Duarte and his government as moderate and honorable. Congress, aiming to maintain positive relations to prevent the spread of communism and continue providing aid as part of the Cold War efforts, agreed.¹¹ While the media did not erase the Battalion’s crimes, the El Mozote Massacre became overshadowed by the extensive news coverage of the countryside bombings. Since

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⁷ Danner, 40.
⁸ Danner, 48.
¹⁰ Porpora, 148.
¹¹ Porpora, 154.
the U.S. government did not address the El Mozote Massacre, the media also chose to ignore it.\textsuperscript{12}

When examined, the photo of the Salvadoran Army soldier reveals more than just his expression. Hanging from his shoulders is a smoke grenade and an M161 assault rifle, both designed, manufactured, and supplied to the Salvadoran government by the United States. Notably, there is a distinctive yellow patch on his left shoulder depicting the figure of an Indian and the word “Atlacatl.” This emblem referred to a legendary Indian warrior who fought against the Spanish conquistadors. Additionally, he wears an unfastened green helmet with a description that reads the letters BIRIA DIA/OS, where “BIRIA” stands for Batallon de Infantería de Reacción Inmediata “Atlacatl” (Immediate Action Infantry Battalion).\textsuperscript{13} A crucial aspect to consider is the newspaper he is holding, which reads “Vote Defeats Violence,” highlighting his willingness to be photographed. This man, identifiable as a foot soldier due to his attire and weaponry, was among those who committed atrocities in El Mozote. El Mozote was deemed a “red zone” by the Salvadoran Army, indicating a high risk of guerilla rebel activity. In such zones, there was no such thing as a civilian.\textsuperscript{14} However, El Mozote harbored no guerillas; it remained non-militant and neutral in the war. The town’s unjust portrayal as guerilla sympathizers stemmed from its neutral stance.

At first, the Battalion was to initiate a military offense in Morazan, Salvador, aiming to crush the guerilla forces known as the People’s Revolutionary Army (ERP). The Americans trained these soldiers, but their motivation was fueled by the political climate, the ongoing war, and their leader, Colonel Monterossa. Monterossa, who the Americans groomed at the School of the Americas at Fort Gulick in the Panama Canal Zone,\textsuperscript{15} was known for his deeply ambitious war efforts. He trained the Battalion and drove the formation of the military unit.\textsuperscript{16} Monterossa was instrumental in shaping his soldiers by cultivating loyalty, respect, and ferocity. He instilled a deep belief that communism was a cancer, and their mission was to cleanse Salvador of its

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\textsuperscript{12} Porpora, 16.
\textsuperscript{13} Danner, 58.
\textsuperscript{14} Danner, 41.
\textsuperscript{16} Binford, \textit{The El Mozote Massacre}, 48.
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infected parts. He portrayed the soldiers as bearers of justice, evident in their chants of going forth to kill terrorists. Their graduation rituals, involving drinking animal blood and smearing it on their faces, showcased their commitment. Monterossa emphasized one of the values he learned from the Americans: those sympathizing with insurgents should be eliminated. He fostered a “us vs. them” mentality, providing weapons, training, ammunition, and funds. Monterossa, a hands-on leader, fought alongside his men, earning their immense respect and love. Most of his soldiers were uneducated young men, peasants recruited from buses or rural areas with minimal combat training and primarily focused on teaching them shooting and gun mechanics. Undoubtedly, Monterossa became a paternal figure to these men, guiding them as a leader while demanding their loyalty and courage to fight for God and country. He played a crucial role in instilling aggression in his soldiers, shaping them into a formidable force.

The crimes committed by the man in the photo and his comrades were utterly brutal. When the Battalion arrived that first night, they dragged the civilians into the street and told them to lie down “boca abajo” (mouth down). The following morning, after gathering the men in the church and the women in a house where, they questioned them briefly, despite stating their goal was to interrogate them to get information about guerilla support networks. The brief period of questioning suggested they believed it unlikely to obtain useful intelligence. Following this, they began their merciless, gruesome slaughter of the men. Then the soldiers took the women and girls up the hill and repeatedly raped them before killing them. As for some of the children, they were hung in the trees; others speared by rifle bayonets; the remaining burned. The soldiers bolstered each other’s conviction that they were agents of justice. Any soldier who doubted the mission or expressed guilt faced a grim demonstration by their captain, who killed children in front of them to drive home his point. This display of violent murder showed there was a singular ideology among the soldiers, propagated by Monterossa and the Salvadoran and United States governments: a binary perspective that labeled individuals as either enemies or allies. The mantra was clear:

17 Danner, The El Mozote Massacre, 49.
18 Danner, 50
19 Danner, 39.
20 Danner, 63.
if you were not with them, you were against them, and those deemed adversaries must be obliterated.

Through a complex interplay of psychological and socio-political factors, the citizens who made up the Atlacatl Battalion transformed into perpetrators. The Reagan and Salvadoran administrations’ efforts to stoke the fear of communism and conceal the massacre served as shields and banners for the men. Being hailed as heroes who fought against “terrorists” for God and country made it easy for the soldiers to justify their actions. If the massacre story had reached the American public through Congress, it could have jeopardized the political efforts needed to supply aid to El Salvador.\footnote{Danner, The El Mozote Massacre, 93.} It could have turned the American people against the government during a time of heightened human rights activism in the 1980s and would have exposed the Reagan administration’s dishonesty. As demonstrated in this case, propaganda was instrumental in shaping ideologies and public perceptions of war. Moreover, the country’s history, including past resistance methods to communism like the 1932 peasant massacre known as La Matanza (The Slaughter), which killed between ten and forty thousand indigenous people,\footnote{James A. Wood and Anna Rose Alexander, \textit{Problems in Modern Latin American History: Sources and Interpretations}, 5th ed (Malden: Rowman & Littlefield, 2019), 257.} contributed to the perpetuation of human rights violations.

The El Mozote Massacre stands as a haunting testament to the brutality of war and the devastating impact of ideological fervor. The intertwined web of sociopolitical factors, psychological manipulation, and historical precedents created a nightmarish scenario where ordinary citizens became perpetrators of unspeakable violence. The complicity of governments, both Salvadoran and American, in concealing the truth and promoting propaganda further deepened the tragedy. The massacre serves as a chilling reminder of the consequences of unchecked power, ideological extremism, and the distortion of truth.
Keeping the Oil in the Soil:
The Ecuadorian Fight for Home and Health

By Samantha Rohman

She’s smirking. No older than six or seven, this little Ecuadorian colono (mestizo) girl is photographed at the beginning of laughter.¹ Her name is unknown, but I will call her Nina, deriving from the Spanish niña for “little girl.” The yellow hair ties holding Nina’s two pigtails are embellished with plastic jewels. Her butterfly-arm tank top, slightly dingy and a little ragged, features a faded fashion doll cartoon. The doll has stylistically large blue eyes, fair skin, lips pursed into a pout, hands on hips with arms akimbo at her sides, topped by a long, voluminous yellow ponytail. The fashion doll is all sass, while Nina’s posture - shoulders hunched forward - suggests humility. Or, maybe she’s just a little kid whose mother constantly reminds her to “permancer recta” (stand straight).

Nina has her back to something. She’s just barely leaning on it at her left hip. Her hip is slightly pushed out, perhaps mimicking some of the confidence of the doll on her shirt. Nina is leaning against an upside-down, discarded oil drum. It is battered and misshapen, yet the rust-stained logo on the barrel is still clearly legible. The red paint band around the drum’s

center is embellished with a white “T” inside a red star embedded in a white circle. Below, unmistakable, the logo reads “TEXACO” in bold white letters. Like the Texaco logo on this discarded drum, the mess left behind by the oil giant is still clearly visible today.2

This 2008 photo captured one moment of one life, polluted and overshadowed by oil drilling in Ecuador’s northeastern rainforest, including the Amazon rainforest. Texaco left behind a mess - an unmitigated environmental disaster - for Nina, her family, and her neighbors. Nina is the next generation of Ecuadorians holding big oil accountable. Her struggle comes after decades of lawsuits and remediation efforts, both ineffective in improving living conditions for the people of oil-producing regions in Ecuador. But Nina and her community remain undeterred in their fight to protect their homes and environment and to stand up to big oil. In a sweeping act of resistance, Ecuadorians are using the due processes of law and democratic government in their fight to “keep the oil in the soil.”3

In 1967, four decades before this photo was taken, Texaco discovered commercial quantities of oil in the Amazon rainforest of Ecuador.4 After building the infrastructure required for extraction and refinement of crude oil, Texaco started exporting Ecuadorian oil in 1972.5 By 1990, Texaco was operating fifteen oil fields, twenty-two production stations, and 339 wells, amounting to the extraction of some 1,434,000,000 barrels of crude oil from the northeastern region of Ecuador.6 Oil had become Ecuador’s most important export.7

After more than two decades of drilling, Texaco’s oil wells and production facilities were transferred to nationally-owned Petroecuador, which continues to operate in the region today.8 Texaco vacated Ecuador. Along with infrastructure and rights to drilling, all of Texaco’s by-product waste pits – over 900 in to-

5 Kimmerling, 242.
8 Kimmerling, 243.
tal – became the responsibility of Petroecuador. The pits were designed with valves to prevent overfilling due to rainfall. They contained by-products from the industrial process, including water and sand contaminated by heavy industrial metals and subterranean fluids. When a pit overflows, the contents flow downhill, settling in adjacent creeks, streams, and rivers. The region’s residents, indigenous Ecuadorians and peasant farmers, like Nina’s family, use these waterways for bathing, cooking, recreation, and drinking.

Texaco could not claim ignorance regarding the effects of toxic waterways. Wastewater pits used in Ecuador have been illegal in the United States since 1939. Gulf Coast states had prohibited the release of oil drilling by-products and industrial waste into water systems since the 1930s, mandating that wastewater be reinjected into the earth at least one mile below the surface. Despite a thirty-year history of regulations and technological capabilities within the U.S., methods of reinjection were never utilized in Ecuadorian operations. Texaco attorneys later argued that the company followed all Ecuadorian oil extraction and development regulations. This was simple for the company to do, as there were none. Instead of following commonplace extraction laws from the United States, Texaco irresponsibly disposed of the waste as a cost-saving measure. The result was the destruction of 2.5 million acres of rainforest.

But the rainforest was not the only casualty of Texaco’s pollution. As a result of polluted waterways, Ecuadorians in oil drilling regions experienced cancer rates more than 1,000 times the historical norm, amounting to 31% of the population. In 1993, 30,000 Ecuadorians sought justice in the U.S. circuit courts, accusing Texaco of disregarding laws and regulations governing the disposal of byproducts from the drilling process in the civil suit María Aguinda et al. v. Texaco, Inc. The case volleyed between dismissals and appeals in the U.S. courts for almost a decade before it was finally dismissed and refiled.

9 Sawyer, 58.
10 Sawyer, 61.
11 Sawyer, 61-62.
14 Black, 145.
in Ecuador. After an additional decade in Ecuadorian courts, a judge ruled that Texaco (now Chevron) was responsible for the billions of gallons of toxic waste that polluted the Amazon, destroyed ecosystems, and caused cancer between 1972 and 1992. Chevron was ordered to pay a $9.5 billion settlement to the plaintiffs.\(^{15}\) A less than gracious loser, a former general counsel for Chevron stated that the company would “fight [the verdict] until hell freezes over, and then fight it on the ice.”\(^ {16}\) To date, none of the billions owed to the plaintiffs has been paid. Chevron maintains no material assets nor a bank account within Ecuador, making seizing assets or monies impossible.

Despite the court’s ruling, Nina and her neighbors in the northeastern part of the country have experienced little change in the quality of life since Texaco departed. Although Texaco was the first to pollute the region, Petroecuador continues to use the same wells, production and refinement facilities, and waste pits today. Facilities in poor shape in the 1990s are now outdated technologically. The decrepit equipment shows its age: between 2000 and 2008, Petroecuador was responsible for 1,415 oil spills.\(^ {17}\)

In 2007, newly elected Ecuadorian President Rafael Correa visited the Lago Agrio region. After examining the waste pits and pollution, he called the situation a “crime against humanity.”\(^ {18}\) He made no distinction between Texaco’s mess and the ongoing pollution by Petroecuador. He assigned blame solely to Chevron. Despite witnessing this “crime against humanity,” just six years later, Correa announced that the country would auction off three million hectares of Amazonian rainforest to Chinese oil companies.\(^ {19}\) The area, known as Block 43, is situated within Ecuador’s Yasuni National Park, a UNESCO World Biosphere Reserve.\(^ {20}\) The park is inhabited by several indige-


\(^{16}\) Randazzo, “Litigation Without End.”


\(^{20}\) “Ecuadorians reject oil drilling in the Amazon, ending operations in a protected area,” Associated Press, August 21, 2023,
nous groups that live in voluntary isolation. Correa approved the plan despite the history of foreign oil companies’ disregard for fragile Ecuadorian environments and communities. Furthermore, the plan was seemingly in opposition to Chapter Seven of the 2008 Ecuadorian Constitution, “Rights of Nature,” of which Article 71 states that Nature has the “right to integral respect for its existence and for the maintenance and regeneration of its life cycles, structure, functions and evolutionary processes.”

Despite this constitutional inclusion, Ecuadorian peasants and indigenous inhabitants were again thrust onto the front lines of environmental defense.

The announcement signaled to the people of oil drilling regions that their government would not clean up, protect, or prevent further environmental damage to their homes, despite the constitutional promise to “adopt adequate measures to eliminate or mitigate harmful environmental consequences” resulting from “the exploitation of nonrenewable natural resources.”

Ecological activists took to the streets, protesting outside Quito’s presidential palace. Members of the Waorani and other indigenous tribes from within Yasuní banded together with environmentalists, forming groups to oppose the drilling plan. One such group, Yasunidos, organized a nationwide collection of signatures in support of a referendum allowing Ecuadorians to vote on oil drilling in the national park. They were bolstered by the support of Ecuadorians throughout the country, as 78% of citizens opposed drilling in Yasuní. Despite garnering 757,000 signatures, the National Electoral Council of Ecuador rejected the initiative on dubious claims of duplication of signatures.

Despite this initial failure of the democratic process, Yasunidos persisted. In May of 2023, Ecuador’s constitutional court overruled the National Electoral Council and decided that more
than 13.4 million Ecuadorians would vote on the initiative during the August 2023 early presidential election.\footnote{Hannah Holland, “Ecuador votes in historic referendum on oil extraction in the Amazon,” \textit{CNN}, August 20 2023, https://www.cnn.com/2023/08/20/americas/ecuador-election-oil-extraction-amazon-climate-intl/index.html, and “Campaigners hit the road in Ecuador ahead of vote to halt oil drilling in park.” \textit{EEF}, August 15, 2023.} Ahead of the vote, Yasunidos organized campaigns in more than a dozen Ecuadorian cities to promote a “yes” vote to keep “oil in the soil.” Indigenous activist Helena Gualinga, demonstrating in Quito ahead of the vote, said that she had joined the protest to fight for “peace, for life, [and] for nature.”\footnote{“Campaigners hit the road in Ecuador ahead of vote to halt oil drilling in park.”} Environmentalists and indigenous Ecuadorians fought peacefully with everything they had: their voices, passion, people, and the democratic process.

On August 20, 2023, six in ten Ecuadorians voted “yes” on the referendum to keep oil in the soil in Yasuní National Park and to keep foreign oil companies out.\footnote{“Ecuadorians reject oil drilling in the Amazon, ending operations in a protected area.”} The revolutionary referendum, led by the citizens of Ecuador on behalf of their neighbors and the environment, was met with tempered elation and relief. Indigenous leader Nemo Guiquita noted that she and her neighbors could “breathe a moment of calm.”\footnote{“Ecuadorians reject oil drilling in the Amazon, ending operations in a protected area.”} She was happy but aware that her work was far from over. “There are many more oil wells in Waorani territory causing harm,” she noted but was optimistic that the approval of the referendum was an indication that the people would stop further development.\footnote{“Ecuadorians reject oil drilling in the Amazon, ending operations in a protected area.”} The battle had been won, but the crude war in Ecuador was far from over.

With a historic and peaceful act of democracy, indigenous Ecuadorians “are leading the world in tackling climate change,” said Yasunidos spokesman Pedro Bermo following the results.\footnote{Holland, “Ecuador votes in historic referendum on oil extraction in the Amazon.”} In a country and region historically marred by revolutions, dictatorships, and corrupt governments, the importance of the triumph of the peaceful citizen-led referendum can not be overstated. A member of Yasunidos called it “the most important social pact...in the history of Ecuador” since the country returned to democracy in the 1970s. The decision was a decisive declaration of the Ecuadorian people as the sole “de-
fenders of nature and culture” en route to becoming a post-extractive society.\textsuperscript{32}

The fight to keep the oil in the soil is far from over, both in Ecuador and worldwide. But after three decades of failure by justice systems, enforcement of international verdicts, and government leadership, the Ecuadorian people took matters into their own hands with the 2023 Yasuní referendum. While the Yasuní referendum is a step in the right direction, activists, indigenous peoples, and Ecuadorian voters know that much more effort is needed to oppose oil drilling within the country. But due to the unwavering spirit and endurance of the Ecuadorian people, fighting for justice at home and abroad, Nina has a better chance than ever of living a long, happy life out of the shadow of big oil.

Gilbert Lusher (on the right) pictured with his two younger siblings.
Memories of a Child Farm Worker:
An Oral History Interview with Gilbert Lusher

*Interview By Gina Lusher*

While taking a history lab class at Cal State East Bay called “Exploring Archives of Race and Resistance,” I researched food sovereignty among farm workers. This led me to research the California farm workers’ movements of the 1960s and 70s, which most notably included the movements of Cesar Chávez and the United Farm Workers (UFW). Until the advent of the UFW in 1962, there was little support for farm workers’ rights in the United States. A major breakthrough occurred with the Delano Grape Strike of 1965-1970 when farm laborers finally earned the right to unionize on their behalf.¹

I wanted to learn more than the historical sources told me, especially regarding how working and living conditions affected farm workers. I recalled stories my father told me about

growing up as a “child farmer” and the difficulties his family faced. My grandparents, Roy and Mabel Lusher, were Dust Bowl migrant farm workers who traveled from Oklahoma to California in their old pickup truck, carrying an actual “house” on wheels that they built behind them. They made stops along the way, farming as they went and having two children in Texas and then the rest in California. My father, Gilbert, was born in California and was the fifth of eight children. The family lived in an old ranch house in the small town of Irvington, California owned by dairy farmers who would trade partial rent for the kids feeding the cows before school. Like other child farmers of the time, the Lusher kids helped the family survive by working on farms before and after school.

I interviewed my father to understand a child farmer’s daily life and why family farm laborers went to battle for labor rights. Among the questions I asked were about the housing or living situation of the Lusher family because farm laborer archives often cited horrible living conditions as a prime motive to unionize. Given that food sovereignty was the original source of interest for this project, I included a question about what my father and his family ate on a daily basis. Cesar Chávez stated, “the food that overflows our market shelves and fills our tables is harvested by men, women, and children who often cannot satisfy their own hunger,” and I wanted to know if my father had a similar experience.2 In addition, I wanted to learn about childhood education among farm laborers and whether or not harvests, migrations, and financial necessity ever disrupted my father’s schooling. With the need to help the family monetarily, with a blind eye turned to the age of the workers, the next question pertained to child labor and wages. The final question asked if Mr. Lusher recalled observing any farm workers’ boycotts or protest movements. Although it would depend on the child’s age and their memories, the point of this question was to establish if the child farm laborers were aware of the movements they were helping to influence or if daily survival was more dominant.

Since the children who worked the farms have grown into older adults, now is the time to get as much information from them as possible. As generations age, we lose valuable primary resources about critical historical events. The need to record

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oral histories is now more important than ever. If we do not record why social revolutions occur, then future historians will miss the true purpose of the revolts.

The following is a transcript of an oral interview recorded on November 11, 2023, with Gilbert Lusher, a child of migrant farmworkers in the California East Bay in the 1960s and 1970s.

Gilbert Lusher’s parents photographed shortly before they left Oklahoma, sitting on the truck they drove out to California.

The following is a transcript of an oral interview recorded on November 11, 2023, with Gilbert Lusher, a child of migrant farmworkers in the California East Bay in the 1960s and 1970s.
GINA: Can I get your name?
GILBERT: Gilbert Lusher.
GINA: Your age?
GILBERT: Seventy-five.
GINA: The info of the type of labor you did as a child in the 60s and 70s.
GILBERT: Picked beans, tomatoes, and apricot.
GINA: There you go. And approximately when this was?
GILBERT: Fifty-seven years ago.
GINA: And where was this at?
GILBERT: Fremont.
GINA: In Fremont.
GILBERT: Actually, it was over in Irvington.
GINA: Irvington. Ok perfect. So, the first question I have for you is, when you worked on the farms, how old were you approximately and are there any stories you remember about working on the farms when you were young?
GILBERT: Yeah.
GINA: OK.
GILBERT: We get up before school. Load hay on our cart. Hook a big horse to it, a Clydesdale and then take the hay out to the dairy hills and peel off loaves of hay before going to school.
GINA: Wow. And any other stories about working on the farm besides that? Any other before or after school?
GILBERT: I mean, we just picked. We did whatever we had to do to make some school clothes money.
GINA: OK. And what was your housing situation like? Can you give any examples of the type of lifestyle you had?

GILBERT: We had outdoor plumbing,

GINA: OK. You had outdoor plumbing. So that meant specifically an outhouse?

GILBERT: That means you go, when you go outside at nighttime, you can see the lights on in the house.

GINA: And, and what did you do if the weather was bad?

GILBERT: You did what you had to do. You get an umbrella or get the wash tub.

GINA: A wash tub. For your laundry? Great!

GILBERT: No. For to cover your head when you ran to the plumbing.

GINA: And then can you share any stories about food during this time period while you were a farm worker? So, whether it was food you ate at home or food you ate while you were working, anything like that.

GILBERT: I believe we went through..., ate a lot of potatoes and oatmeal. And...

GINA: Potatoes and oatmeal.

GILBERT: Yeah.

GINA: And what about supplementing meat or anything like that? Did you get any proteins?

GILBERT: Uh just what you’d go hunt.

GINA: Oh, so what you hunted. And so, what were you hunting?

GILBERT: Rabbit.

GINA: Rabbit. And, were you good at hunting rabbit? (repeats) Were you good at hunting rabbits?
GILBERT: One shot.
GINA: One shot. Wow. And any stories related to that?
GILBERT: No, not really.
GINA: No stories related to rabbit hunting?

(Gilbert’s wife reminds him of a story in the background)

GILBERT: Just that maybe I will give you one bullet... and my dad... they tell you to come home with either a rabbit or bring the bullet back.

GINA: So, what happens if you missed with your bullet?
GILBERT: And you chase the rabbit down with a stick.
GINA: And was one rabbit enough for your family to eat?
GILBERT: Well, it helped.
GINA: It helped. How big was your family?
GILBERT: Eight of us.
GINA: Eight kids, eight kids, and two adults? Wow. That’s, that’s ... that’d be a big rabbit. Any other stories about the foodstuff?
GILBERT: No, I can’t remember because they were just all (inaudible).
GINA: What about, can you recall any stories about attending school while you worked on the farm at this age?

GILBERT: We just get up early in the morning. Just cud-dle around the fire while you’re getting ready and then go. And then go walk three miles and catch the bus. Down the dirt road.

GINA: Wow. And did you go to school year-round or...?
GILBERT: Yeah, normal.
GINA: Yeah. So, the harvest season didn’t interrupt your schooling?
GILBERT: No. No. Because then the school was important for them. (Here Gilbert is referring to his parents.)

GINA: Any other stories about school? Any other stories about school from being a farm worker?

GILBERT: Used to pick walnuts until your hands turn black. And then I would walk around school and put my hands in my pocket and the teachers would tell you, “Get your hands out of your pocket!” and then I show them they go, “Put your hands back in your pocket.”

GINA: And then are there any memories you have about other farm workers or the struggles that were being addressed by the farm workers? Do you remember any of the social movements or anything like that at the time? People fighting for their farm worker rights or anything?

GILBERT: No, they just, they came here. My parents came here during the Dust Bowl era. So, for that one job, there was 1000 people want that same job back then. So, it was hard times.

GINA: Yeah. OK. Well, anything else you want to share?

GILBERT: No.

GINA: No other stories?

GILBERT: No. Can’t think of any right at the moment.

GINA: Any apricot stories?

GILBERT: Just to pick apricots and then we would cut apricots and you had a big 4’ by 8’ table that you cut the cots on, and you dry them. So, you cut the apricots in the halves and took the seeds out. So, when you’re small you stand on an apricot box ‘cause you had to fill a hole 4’ by 8’ sheet with no gaps.

GINA: Wow, that’s a lot of apricots.

GILBERT: I think that was $0.35.
GINA: For one sheet of apricots cut in half?

GILBERT: One 4’ by 8’.

GINA: Oh, wow. All right. Well, I just wanted to remind you one more time that I’m using this for school purposes, and thank you so much for allowing me to interview you.
Spanning the sixteenth through mid-nineteenth centuries, *Becoming Free, Becoming Black* is a comparative study of the legal and racial regimes of Spanish Cuba, British and U.S. Virginia, and the anomaly that was a French, Spanish, and later U.S. territory—Louisiana. With its sweeping chronology and astute comparisons across three distinct colonial regimes distinguishing this book from previous scholarship on slavery and the law, the authors also make a welcome and necessary historiographical intervention with their provocative contention that “the law of freedom, not slavery, established the meaning of blackness in law” (p. 10).

Grounded in the discipline of legal history, yet employing a social and cultural historical lens to great effect, De la Fuente and Gross thoughtfully balance archival evidence from the legal sphere—local court cases, state statutes, and imperial codes—with the poignant stories of enslaved and free people of color navigating the liminal spaces of the law. In so doing, De La Fuente and Gross humanize what could, in less capable authorial hands, have become an insipid, redundant work of legal scholarship. By inserting these individual accounts, the authors show how enslaved and free people of color gave meaning to numerous laws, codes and longstanding practices. Moreover, these stories illuminate the fact that the legal and racial regimes of each slave society were not shaped solely by official decrees and men in power, but by human beings—many of them women—whose tenacity and initiative carved out spaces of autonomy for themselves, their family mem-

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bers, and subsequent generations.

While the book traces the notable differences in legal race-making and laws of freedom between the three slave societies, it necessarily begins by noting some key similarities. De la Fuente and Gross are quick to point out that “Across all three regions, colonial legislators established a degraded status for people of African descent,” while the slaveholding elite in each society “acted to cement the association between African origin and slavery, [forever] linking blackness to social degradation” (p. 5). As the book progresses, differences between the regions become more salient as the laws of freedom (and the racial regimes born from them) proceed along increasingly divergent paths.

In Spanish Cuba and Louisiana, for example, a well-established body of Iberian legal norms rooted in Roman and canonical law served as the impetus for manumission practices that became unique to those regions. Notably, the Cuban practice of coartación—self-purchase of freedom through installments—was not tied to race, thus creating a precedent for manumission and freedom claims on the island that simply were not available to the enslaved in Virginia or French Louisiana. In Virginia, laws of freedom expanded and contracted until the late seventeenth century. As blackness became co-terminous with enslavement in the last decades of the century, freedom claims took on a decidedly different tone. Nanny Pegee, whose story is told in Chapter 1, based her freedom suit on Indian ancestry. Challenging her enslaved status through a contestation of racial identity, Pegee called upon a very different type of precedent—one “suggesting that Indians could be presumed free” that predominated at the time (p. 4). Others, whose racial identities were more ambiguous, often claimed whiteness in their freedom suits to escape the literal and legal chains of blackness.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the social implications of blackness in each region had not only diverged, but they had also become deeply entrenched. The law of freedom had contracted in Virginia and Louisiana under U.S. control; it had become narrower in scope, further linking blackness with permanent enslavement. Conversely, Cuba had never framed blackness and citizenship as wholly incompatible. De La Fuen-
More time spent using a relational framework—perhaps in a dedicated chapter analyzing the knowledge and ideas that were inevitably shared by enslaved and free people of color across the three regions—could be instructive, as claims to freedom and citizenship rights didn’t exist in a vacuum. De La Fuente and Gross periodically employ a relational lens, but in a scattered and disjointed fashion. Shifting rapidly from one region to the next and vacillating between comparison and similarity at a dizzying speed, often in the same paragraph, produces a disorienting effect in some sections of the book. Despite this minor critique, Becoming Free, Becoming Black is a meticulously researched synthesis of the law of freedom and its differential effect on the meaning of blackness over time and place, and an important contribution to the historiography of legal race-making in the slave societies of the Atlantic.

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Tiya Miles passionately wrote All That She Carried: The Journey of Ashley’s Sack and a Black Family Keepsake, where she tells the story of love between enslaved mother and daughter and how the mother, Rose, tried to protect her daughter Ashley. Miles came across the story of
a woman who found a sack in a garage sale bin that was stored with other linens. The sack became known as Ashley’s Sack, and the woman who found it took it to Middleton Place, which was once a plantation and is now a museum. Ruth Middleton sews into the sack “My great-grandmother Rose Mother of Ashley, gave her this sack when she was sold at age in South Carolina it held a tattered dress, 3 handfuls of pecans and a braid of Roses’ hair. Told her it would be filled with my love always she never saw her again Ashley is my grandmother. Ruth Middleton 1921” (p. 5). Miles takes the reader on this journey of trying to find Rose and Ashley through numerous plantation records. Through this excruciating search, Miles believes she found the correct Rose and Ashley that match the period when they were supposed to be alive. They were listed as the property of Robert and Milberry Martin in South Carolina. Upon Mr. Martin’s death, his widow began to liquidate his estate, which meant slaves were sold and sent to other plantations. Rose knew that the death of a plantation owner or master meant that separation would occur, and she was right.

According to Ruth Middleton’s record, Rosa’s daughter Ashley was sold at the age of nine. Although Rose could not protect and keep her daughter because she was property herself and could not own property, she did what she could as an enslaved woman who loved her child. Rose packed a tattered dress, three handfuls of pecans, and a braid of her hair. There is no record of Ashley and Rose reconnecting later on in life. The story is only known through Ruth Middleton, whose grandmother, Ashley, must have told her about this event.

Miles takes us on a journey of forced separation and the love of a mother through the lineage between Rose, Ashley, and Ruth. Miles writes in a passionate voice, you can sense that she wants to find out what happened to Rose and Ashley just as much as the reader. She highlights how all three women each have a different battle within their time of living. Miles highlights aspects of slavery that a general audience may not have known prior to reading this book. It is exciting yet dreadful to think of what these women experience and the lengths they went to in order to protect themselves, physically and psychologically. Miles makes assumptions for the reader as to why Rose packed the carefully selected items she did, for instance, the tattered dress. The tattered dress could have been used as an extra layer of protection from the elements and a
sinful master who had lustful intentions for a young enslaved lady. But this dress could have also been used as an item for trading, as slaves were rationed on how many yards of fabric they got annually.

Miles gives many historical references to prove why the items in the sack were so critical to aid Ashley in her survival. These additional historical references helped create feelings of how life was very limited for enslaved Africans, especially enslaved women. Although these sources helped support Ashley and Rose’s complex relationships as enslaved mother and daughter, I did tend to lose focus and became interested in other stories, like Harriett Jacobs and Louisa Picquet. While these other sources were intended to support the struggle enslaved women had endured, I felt they became excessive, and I found myself asking what about Ashley and Rose? By the end of the book, I understood Miles’ writing style, where you made a claim, gave a supportive narrative of another enslaved person’s life, and then came back to why she feels that claim is accurate. She did circle back to the main point of the current chapter. I did enjoy this book, the search, and the examination of the items Rose bundled and how and why it was important for Ashley to use the items by Miles.

As a reader, I felt Miles was truly passionate about finding Ashley, Rose, and Ruth. She wanted the audience, similar to how Rose wanted Ashley to know, that although they were property and enslaved, they still deserved love. While Rose was not able to care for her daughter, her love was always with her, and the sack is proof of the care and love Rose intended Ashley to feel. This is a story of the lineage of three black women and their journey from enslavement to freedom, each woman struggled but preserved through their ancestors’ love and preservation. The sack was passed down to Ashley from Rose, then their story was embroidered on the sack by Ruth. The author writes this story in a way that many history books usually tend to avoid; this book is written with emotion and invokes emotions from the reader, which is refreshing. I read this book with ease and had to put it down to sleep. I think the most important thing about Rose, Ashley, and Ruth is that their story could have easily been lost and blended in with the thousands of other enslaved women who did not create a memoir or autobiography. Ruth saved and created a historical document on the very item that was packed by Rose and that was used
by Ashley to survive a life without her mother.

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Tanya Harmer’s meticulous study delves into the life of Beatriz Allende, providing a nuanced perspective of the often-overlooked role of women in Latin American revolutionary movements. Harmer’s primary objective is to challenge the marginalization of figures like Beatriz within the predominantly male narratives of Latin American history. By intricately intertwining Allende’s personal experiences with the political backdrop of Chile during the Latin American Cold War, Harmer successfully unveils a rich tapestry of historical significance.

Through extensive research and sources, this author pieces together a well-versed and chronological story. Conducting research in seven countries, accessing Beatriz’s private correspondence, delving into archival collections, exploring online sources, studying published memoirs, and conducting detailed interviews with Allende’s friends, fellow militants, and family members, Harmer painstakingly reconstructs Beatriz’s life. By cross-referencing and critically analyzing these sources, Harmer masterfully combines them to create a comprehensive narrative of Beatriz’s experiences.

Harmer’s work aims to make four striking contributions. Firstly, she expands the chronology of Chile’s revolutionary movement, shedding light on its successes and failures. Secondly, she examines the youth of the leftist movement through Beatriz’s perspective, exploring the significant roles students play in shaping society and politics. Thirdly, she delves into
the history of Chile’s revolutionary Left, highlighting their re-
jection of institutional strategies for gaining power in stages. 
Finally, and perhaps most significantly, Harmer explores the 
insight Beatriz’s life offers into the experiences of female rev-
olutionaries during this era. Beatriz becomes a lens through 
which Harmer unravels the complexities of being a woman ac-
tively engaged in revolution, providing invaluable insights into 
the challenges and triumphs faced by women in revolutionary 
movements. These points are underscored through numerous 
examples Harmer meticulously examines, proving her signif-
icant additions to these contributions. Youth influence was a 
powerful catalyst for change in Chile. Riots erupted nation-
wide in the late 1950s due to increased transport costs, af-
fecting students and workers alike. The government responded 
by imposing a U.S.-sponsored stabilization plan—the Klein-
Sals Plan. Students, joining with workers, took to the streets 
in demonstrations and strikes against this oppressive policy. 
When Allende narrowly lost the election by just 33,000 votes, 
the Revolutionary Left argued that victory had been snatched 
away from them. The inability of the Left to match the Right’s 
campaign funds became a pivotal issue. This turn of events un-
derscored Beatriz’s revolutionary conviction: elections failed to 
accomplish their goals, prompting disillusionment among the 
youth, leading them to realize they had to take matters into 
their own hands.

In her critique of prior biographical works on Allende, Harm-
er discerningly points out their shortcomings. She admonishes 
Marco Alvarez for romanticizing Allende, Margarita Espuna for 
reducing her to a passive participant in events, and Eduar-
do Labarca for overshadowing Beatriz’s individuality by only 
looking at her through the lens of her father’s legacy. Harmer’s 
critique underscores the importance of acknowledging women 
as active agents of change, rather than mere adornments in 
historical accounts.

A notable strength of Harmer’s work lies in her thorough 
contextualization of historical events and concepts. While her 
assumption of reader familiarity with Latin American politics 
might be a stumbling block for some, her deep explorations 
into political history, though occasionally tangential, showcase 
her profound knowledge and arguments. The book is undeni-
ably tailored for a specific audience: scholars and academics
focused on Latin American women’s and feminist history, not for the casual reader wanting to learn about a historical female figure.

Harmer artfully illuminates Beatriz’s life through three distinct lenses. Firstly, Allende’s experiences are examined in light of the influence of the Cuban Revolution, highlighting the interconnectedness of revolutionary movements across Latin America. Secondly, Beatriz emerges as a key collaborator in her father’s democratic experiment, paving the way for Chile’s peaceful pursuit of socialism in the early 1970s. Lastly, Harmer portrays Beatriz’s defiance of social gender norms, illustrating her struggles and triumphs as emblematic of larger political, cultural, and social processes in Chile during the height of the revolutionary movement.

The book adopts the Cold War as a conceptual framework, enabling Harmer to explore the clash between Marxism, the Left, and social revolution through Beatriz’s experiences. Harmer compellingly argues that Luis, Beatriz’s husband and the Cuban Revolution wielded significant influence in shaping her legacy. By zooming in on Beatriz’s life within a pro-Cuban revolutionary Left group in Chile, Harmer effectively captures the complexities of her journey within the volatile political landscape of the 1960s and 1970s.

In summary, Tanya Harmer’s work stands as a monumental contribution to the history of Latin American women within social revolutions. Through meticulous research and insightful analysis, she resurrects the story of Beatriz Allende, offering her the recognition she deserves as a symbol of resilience and defiance within Latin American revolutionary history. Harmer’s book not only enriches our understanding of Beatriz’s life but also illuminates the broader struggles and triumphs of middle-class women in the revolutionary movements of the era.

Rachel Garcia
MA Student, Department of History
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Author Biographies

Sara Isabel Andrade is currently a senior at Cal State East Bay as a history undergraduate with a concentration in social justice and citizenship. Andrade also belongs to the university’s Phi Alpha Theta Honor Society chapter and serves as the current Vice President. For the past decade, Andrade has been perfecting her craft as a jazz singer, following in the inspirational footsteps of the most timeless voices known to the genre, and analyzing the ways in which jazz is composed, improvised, and performed. However, it was not until she began her work as an undergraduate historian that she connected the music to the events shaping our nation through the Civil Rights Movement. Andrade’s piece pays homage to the High Priestess of Soul and her integral role as the anthem for Black liberation.

Peter Arroyo is currently enrolled in two undergraduate programs at Cal State East Bay: History and Political Science, beginning with the latter during their first semester at Cal State East Bay in 2020 and a year later pursuing the second by recommendation of an advisor. Arroyo is a stellar student, holding a prestigious GPA average and immense interest in American history. Hardly a day goes by when Arroyo isn’t expanding his historical bank of knowledge. Arroyo’s career goals lie in obtaining an online job where they can continue to use and expand on their historical knowledge.
**Sam Balderas** is a history major transfer student from Merritt College in their final undergraduate semester at Cal State East Bay. Balderas hopes to find work in a museum or any profession where they can continue writing. Their historical interests include but are not limited to the Second World War, Latin American history, and the history of Oakland, California. Their essay “The Power of Dependence: How the British Empire Relied on Colonial North America’s Resources” was included in the previous edition of the East Bay Historia. Balderas is the current president of Cal State East Bay’s Phi Alpha Theta Honor Society chapter.

**Margaret Balk** is a graduate student in Cal State East Bay’s History Department, with a concentration in public history. She has taken a circuitous route to her love of history: from earning a BA in Psychology from Reed College; to working in psychology research labs in San Francisco, North Carolina, and Belgium; to completing her Master’s in Social Welfare at UC Berkeley. During the COVID-19 pandemic, looking for a change of pace after working several years in an outpatient dialysis clinic, she happened to get roped into a “Pandemic Project” digitizing correspondence from the 1870s between a mother and daughter who lived in her hometown of Fremont, CA. Her interest in history exploded from there. She hopes to use her passion for history and her love for research to present local histories in new ways to engage community members who think history is dry and dull; that it is, in fact, quite the opposite.

**Devon Caufield** is a first-year graduate student in the public history program at Cal State East Bay as well as a member of the university’s Phi Alpha Theta Honor Society chapter. He received his Bachelor of Arts in history and political science from Sonoma State University in 2021. In his free time, Devon enjoys hiking, watching TV, and spending time with his family. Upon earning his Master’s degree, Devon intends to enter the cultural resource management field.

**Kelly Christensen** is a graduate student pursuing her master’s in History at Cal State East Bay as well as a member of the university’s Phi Alpha Theta Honor Society chapter. Christensen received her BA in Global Studies from Cal State Monterey Bay. Christensen’s historical interests lay in studying the impacts of colonization on queer indigenous communities as well as the histories of silenced and niche groups throughout history.
Christensen is interested in pursuing a PhD program following the completion of her Master’s in the hopes of teaching at the university level.

**Jolie Condon** is a first year history graduate student at Cal State East Bay as well as a member of the university’s Phi Alpha Theta Honor Society chapter. Condon completed her undergraduate at UCLA in Political Science with a concentration in International Relations, and a minor in History. Her political science background has deeply impacted her historical research and how she looks at historical questions. Condon is deeply passionate about history and excited to be able to study it at this level. Her historical interests are diverse. However, she finds herself gravitating towards the 20th century, specifically focusing on the decades of the 1960s and 1970s. Since her undergraduate work remains centered around globalization and international issues, she is sure her historical research will follow suit. Condon is fascinated by the influence of the West on other nations and cultures and how this global influence has affected humanity as a whole. This is her first academic publication, but hopefully, not her last.

**Jason Crabb** is a second-year graduate student in the history program at Cal State East Bay and a member of the university’s Phi Alpha Theta Honor Society chapter. A product of both the CSU and California community college systems, he holds a B.A. in Comparative Ethnic Studies and two Associate degrees in Social Justice Studies and Sociology. Rooted in an interdisciplinary approach to scholarship, Jason’s current research focuses on the history of policing and the carceral state in the U.S.

**LeighAnn Davis** was born and raised in Topeka, Kansas, where she met her husband, Jaymes. The two eventually settled in California, raising their children together. When her youngest began school, LeighAnn returned to the college campus, earning three associate degrees in the social sciences from Los Medanos College and a Bachelor of Science in History from Cal State East Bay. While attending school, she surrounded herself with history by working in archives or traveling to historical places. Davis has worked in the archives of the USS Hornet Sea, Air & Space Museum in Alameda, California, and Park Day School in Oakland, California. Her undergraduate work focused on giving voice to local communities through digital
Ari Diaz is a senior in the graduate history studies program at Cal State East Bay. Diaz attended Chabot College from 2013 to 2019, transferring to Cal State East Bay in the Spring of 2020. Diaz then graduated in 2022 with a Bachelor’s degree in history with a concentration in social justice and citizenship. His historical interests are rooted in global youth cultures and social movements, protests, and uprisings led/started by college and high school students. Diaz also holds a deep passion for the converging worlds of music, politics, culture, and history. After graduating from the master’s program, Diaz hopes to go into the teaching credential program at either Cal State East Bay or San Francisco State, hoping to teach at the high school or the junior college level. Diaz has been running the history department’s social media sites since October 2020 and, as of Spring 2022, has been a member and served as the founding President of East Bay’s Phi Alpha Theta chapter.

Rachel Garcia is a current graduate student of Cal State East Bay’s History Department. Her academic focus encompasses indigenous history, genocide, and women’s history. With a foundation in anthropology and archaeology, she also earned her Bachelor’s degree from Cal State East Bay. Looking ahead, Garcia’s career aspirations involve forging a symbiotic relationship between archaeology and history, demonstrating their mutual utility while illustrating how both disciplines complement each other, fostering a cohesive and interdisciplinary approach.

Parker Hallowell is currently a senior at Cal State East Bay as a history undergraduate as well as a member of the university’s Phi Alpha Theta Honor Society chapter. Hallowell, 27, was born and raised in Hayward, “the Heart of the Bay,” and currently lives in Sunnyvale, California. His historical interests include social justice movements, prisoners’ rights, twentieth-century history, and medical/scientific history. After graduating, Hallowell hopes to pursue a Master of Library Information Science to continue researching and writing about social justice movements of the twentieth- and twenty-first centuries.
Brian Hardy was born in Los Gatos, and he lived in San Jose until 2000 when he moved to Danville with his family. Brian is autistic and is focusing his historical studies on disability history and its Bay Area activists. He is finishing the master’s program at Cal State East Bay and will graduate in May 2024. Brian’s hobbies include hanging out with his friends, visiting historic sites, trying new restaurants and activities, and taking walks to Downtown Danville to go shopping or catch the bus to explore nearby towns. Hardy has a special interest in Diego Rivera and Frida Kahlo and based his final project on their artwork’s rich histories. Hardy has Spanish, Portuguese, and Basque ancestry in his lineage, and his great-grandfather was born in Colima, Mexico. Hardy is also related to former Mexican president Miguel de la Madrid, and his Hispanic and Lusitanian heritage has immensely piqued his interest in Latin American history.

Maria Kaj is a historian-in-training, writer, instructor, and former finance manager from a multi-national bank. Her 2022 book Women at the Olympics: The Struggle for Equality, 1896-2021, explored the barriers women experienced to get into the Games and compelled her to write more history on her blog at kajmeister.com and elsewhere. She is currently finishing her Master’s thesis at Cal State East Bay on “Faith, Finance, Virtue & Control,” an analysis of culture in the Middle Ages as revealed through primary source accounting manuals from the 14th & 15th centuries. Kaj is also a member of the university’s Phi Alpha Theta Honor Society chapter.

Alexander Kashtanoff is a long-time California resident who is currently working through the master’s program at Cal State East Bay. During his last semester as an undergraduate, working towards his bachelor’s degree, Kashtanoff was part of the citations team for the East Bay Historia, as well as the editorial board, which decided which papers and artwork would be included for the 7th volume. Through his own fascination with learning and discovering new experiences and views of history, Kashtanoff is determined to further their studies in the field of history.

Gina Lusher is in her junior year at Cal State East Bay as a transfer student from Columbia Community College in Sonora, California. She is a reentry student and proves you are never too old to return to school. Currently a History major with an
emphasis on Sustainability and Modernization, she hopes to continue to a Master’s degree in Library Sciences. She has been a member of Phi Alpha Theta History Honor Society since 2023 and has recently been elected as the chapter historian for the upcoming year. With help from her family, friends, and teachers, she has made the Dean’s List at Cal State East Bay as a full-time student, while an employee of her local county library, Gina looks forward to participating in the other “end” of a book.

**Samantha Rohman** will graduate with an M.A. in Public History in May 2024. Rohman is also a member of the university’s Phi Alpha Theta Honor Society chapter. She lives in Palo Alto with her rescue dog Beau, and she serves as Vice Chair of the city’s Historic Resources Board. Follow her preservation and public history adventures on Instagram @CaliforniaCottages.

**Katelynn Villalpando** is currently a senior at Cal State East Bay as a history undergraduate with a concentration on social justice and citizenship and a member of the university’s Phi Alpha Theta Honor Society chapter. Villalpando’s historical interests are rooted in the ancient civilizations of Mesoamerica, Greece, and Egypt. A figure that has always fascinated Villalpando is Martin Luther because he challenged the church and society to correct their immoral approach. Villalpando will be entering the Teaching Credential Program in the summer of 2024, and as a first-generation college graduate, she feels as though she is making history within her family and hopes her future students will absorb her innate passion for history.

**Trix Welch** is a recent Cal State East Bay graduate who majored in History with a concentration in Migration and Globalization. They are currently attending the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, pursuing a Master’s program in Library and Information Science. Trix plans to pursue a career in academic librarianship and research how academic institutions can collaborate with local organizations to improve health and information literacy in their communities and on campus.
Kiston Allen is a twenty-four-year-old artist from Hemet, California. Kiston will be graduating with a bachelor’s in computer animation and game development as of May 2024 from Chico State. His art journey started by drawing characters from Dragon Ball and Naruto and from there he continued developing skills to create his own projects that he can share with the world. Any of his free time is spent working, sleeping, and semi-daily drawing sessions due to guilt for not drawing enough. He also loves writing and listening to rap music, and recently learning 3D modeling. After graduating he plans on working until he can pursue a career in art or animation for his favorite shows and new projects.

Bo Gurnee is a Studio Art Major with a focus in Digital Media at Chico State University. They’re in their third year at Chico State and look forward to exploring all types of art. Living in small towns all their life they often look for inspiration in the nostalgia or media they like. Escapism, gender, and emotions often influence their art. They explore those ideas through bright colors and messy line art and coloring. Art to them is less about being perfect and more about how the piece was influenced by the emotions that were felt while making it. Whether they’re experimenting, creating their own stories, or just drawing for fun, they want their art to show a piece of them and let others explore it.
Faelan Foxwood is a Studio Art Major with a focus on ceramics at Chico State. Though their focus is on ceramics, they enjoy a variety of mediums including digital illustration. They find inspiration from a variety of sources like fairy tales, modern media, and people’s stories. They enjoy balancing the beauty of life with dark fantasy in their artwork. When they are not drawing you can find them bringing their concept drawings into the 3D world in the ceramics department at Chico State University or playing games with friends. Faelan strives to merge the concepts and techniques of their digital art with the form and surface techniques of ceramics to hopefully bring some new and interesting stories into the world.

Nati Luna, a Hispanic artist from Los Angeles, is pursuing a BFA in digital art at Chico State. They specialize in digital illustrations, comic work, and occasional oil painting. Their illustrative works often use human biology, horror, and atmosphere as tools to portray dark stories and grim fantasy worlds. When they are not working on the next project you can catch them listening to music, playing video games, or thrift shopping at antique stores. For the future, Luna hopes to land a fulfilling storyboard or script writing job at an animation studio. In this year’s edition of East Bay Historia, Luna created a piece about the historically underrepresented role that women took on financially and how they were silenced by societal and religious pressures.

Sam Shafer is a junior at Chico State currently pursuing a degree in studio arts with an emphasis on the digital side. Growing up in Southern California, Sam has always expressed an interest in creating artwork. By attending Chico State, they hope to be surrounded by like-minded people to become a better and well-versed artist. They hope to one day become a concept artist in the entertainment industry. Outside of drawing, Sam also enjoys alternative music, fashion, and sculpting ceramics. This year’s submitted piece for the East Bay Historia aims to create a discussion around Thomas Jefferson and his real history. The man who historians have desperately tried to hide by intensely focusing on his achievements rather than his faults.

Jose Vargas is currently a student at Chico State. He loves to experiment with different kinds of art and see the value that art brings to the faces of many. He is pursuing a
degree in digital art to become an animator for a big studio company, like Dreamworks. He is currently in the process of getting my bachelor’s degree and still has a lot to learn.

**Brianna Williams** has many interests, including fine arts, music, the natural world, physical fitness, and culinary arts, which has made it difficult to have a focus over the years. She is a first-generation college student, and it wasn’t until her thirties that she decided to embrace her love for art and creating, earning an AA in studio art in 2023. She currently attends Chico State and is pursuing a bachelor’s degree in art education and studio art, with an emphasis on painting. She is interested in teaching art at the college level in the future. She gave up a steady income to live with family and attend college, moving to Butte County in 2020 after spending most of her life in the Monterey Bay area.