Traces

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A Letter from the Managing Editor

The editorial staff of *Traces: The UNC-Chapel Hill Journal of History* is pleased to present the publication of its thirteenth volume. Thanks, first, to this year's authors, whose hard work throughout the revision process produced ten excellent articles and four incisive book reviews. Additional thanks to Dr. Kathleen DuVal and Sam Louie-Meadors, whose support and advocacy for *Traces* keeps the whole operation running. Both are ceaseless advocates for *Traces* within the History Department, and we offer them our heartfelt gratitude. The Office of Scholarly Publishing Services at UNC Press, and especially John McLeod and Samuel Dalzell, make publishing the journal a breeze, and we very much appreciate their constant support when we go to print. Special thanks to our donors and the History Department. Together, they ensure that each author and editor can hold a physical copy of the journal each year, and we truly cannot thank them enough!

In my second year as Managing Editor, I am even more thankful for the assistant editors and members of the editorial board for all their hard work. *Traces* is a completely student-run and managed publication, and it has been a joy to work alongside everyone. One of my favorite parts of each year is working with our incredible undergraduate Assistant Editors to read every submitted paper and select the ones we plan to publish. From there, the Assistant Editors do the remarkable and hard work of peer reviewing each paper, and their superb work is evident on each page of the journal. I am very grateful to all of them. Cristian Roberto Walk and Hooper Schultz took on the task of selecting and editing book reviews this year. Many thanks to both, whose work meant I could focus on other *Traces* related work throughout this year. Thanks also to Katherine (Thryn) Hager for finding the lovely cover image for this year and securing image permissions. Madeline Behnke and Virginia Feagans took the initiative in getting us back on Instagram this year. Thanks to both of them. Last, but certainly not least, Azavia Barsky-Elnour helped me layout the journal, for which I am very appreciative. Several of our undergraduate Assistant Editors completed amazing senior theses this year and are ending their time at Carolina. Working with each of them has been a joy, and I have no doubt they will make the world a better place. Thanks to all of you. I look forward to next year when we get to do this all over again!

This year, snow graced UNC-CH's campus for the first time in several years, and our cover image is a testament to how lovely this campus can be. I think I speak for all of us at *Traces* when I say this campus is loveliest when students come together to make it a safe, welcoming, and creative intellectual, social, and political space, no certain thing in our current world. My hope is that *Traces*, too, stands as a testament to the amazing and lovely things that students can produce. Inside, readers will find articles and book reviews written by undergraduates and graduate students from throughout the UNC system and beyond. As I layout the journal each year, I am proud to be a part of a journal that promotes and publishes undergraduate research alongside of graduate student work. *Traces* is a lovely space where we have a chance to break down the artificial boundaries between undergraduate and graduate students to produce a truly collaborative journal, something reflected in who works for and writes for *Traces.*

With gratitude for all,

Aaron Pattillo-Lunt

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Articles

Book Reviews

Unveiling Elouise Loftin: Exploring the Expression of Sexuality by Black Female Poets During the Black Arts Movement

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Abstract: This article analyzes the poetry of Elouise Loftin written in her published collection *Barefoot Necklace* (1975) within the context of the Black Arts Movement (BAM). The revolutionary movement sought to have Black artists completely reject the white aesthetic and instead focus on creating works that emphasize and appreciate Blackness. Because of their multifaceted oppression on the basis of gender and race, Black women of the era used their art to connect themes of sexuality to the radical activism of the Black Power Movement. This article explores Loftin's poetry within this historical context while putting her work in conversation with other Black female poets of the same era.

Introduction

Though sexuality is most often seen as an expression of attraction, it can also be used as a liberatory tool; this was especially true for Black women during the Black Arts Movement of the 1960s and 70s (BAM). Marked by a radical acceptance of Blackness, the BAM demanded a full-out rejection of white society and culture in the hopes of creating a true, untainted Black aesthetic. The movement featured an influx of revolutionary Black artists, especially playwrights and poets, whose work saw massive success at the time among Black communities and later within the modern study of literature. Following the Civil Rights Movement, which sought to seek legal equality for Black people in the United States, an increased emphasis on the Black arts developed. This came as a result of the search for Black liberation, which drew the attention of Black people across the diaspora. While many celebrated artists came out of the Black Arts and Power era, most artists of the period went unnoticed. This was especially true for women, whose voices, both Black and white men systemically silenced both within Black communities and outside of them. For example, Elouise Loftin is a relatively unknown Black female poet whose work was published during the latter half of the Black Arts Movement.[1] Despite there being limited informa-

1 It should be noted that based on scholar Aldon Lynn Nielsen in his book *Black Chant*, Elouise Loftin currently goes by the name Hanna Loftin. That being said, because she went

tion about Loftin, her published collection of poems, *Barefoot Necklace* (1975), provides an intimate look into the experiences of Black women. Her collection emphasizes the connection between Black womanhood, the erotic, and Black liberation in an ever-changing world. Through the use of sexuality, the erotic, and the Black interior in her poetry, Loftin exemplifies the work of Black female poets during the Black Arts Movement, who sought to address their multifaceted oppression, impacted by both race and gender.

Who is Elouise Loftin?

Elouise Loftin is the author of two published poetry books, *Jumbish* (1972) and *Barefoot Necklace: pome(s)* (1975), both of which exemplify the work of Black female artists during the Black Arts Movement. She uses a uniquely rhythmic style of poetry to communicate her understanding of self at such a tumultuous time. While Loftin is lesser known than many similar artists of the period, her work offers an important look into the experience and perspective of Black female activists whose voices were too often overshadowed by men who purported to be fighting for the same cause. Because Loftin is not a widely recognized poet, there is very little bibliographic information about her. The available information comes from a few short biographies that accompanied Loftin's published works and a handful of articles from local newspapers that reference her involvement in the New York art and activism scenes of the 1970s.

Elouise Loftin was born June 22, 1950, making her just 22 years old when her first book of poems, *Jumbish*, was published by Emerson Hall Publishers, a small, independent publishing group based in New York.[2] In one short artist biography written as part of a Black poetry anthology, Loftin described herself as being born "in the Cumberland Street Meat Market in Brooklyn," elaborating, "i was pretty so my mother took me home. the blessed thing that she is, she cared for me ever since."[3] As such, most of her work centered around NYC and Brooklyn, where she resided for seemingly most of her life. Furthermore, a short biography in *The Broadside Annual: 1973*, a small collection of Black poetry, mentioned that Loftin lived in New York with her daughter, Bambi, at the time of its publication.[4] Another anthology, published the same year, mentions that Loftin was a student at New York University.[5]

While her personal life is almost completely a mystery, the public

by the name Elouise Loftin throughout the time period this research focuses on; she will be referred to as such throughout the paper.

2 Loftin, Elouise. *Barefoot Necklace: Pome(s)*. [1st edition]. Brooklyn, N.Y.: Jamima House Press, 1975; Loftin, Elouise. *Jumbish*. New York: Emerson Hall Publishers, 1972.

3 Adoff, Arnold, ed. *The Poetry of Black America: Anthology of the 20th Century*. First edition. New York: Harper & Row, 1973, 529.

4 Boyer, Jill Witherspoon, ed. *The Broadside Annual*. Detroit: Broadside Press, 1973, 24.

5 Adoff, *Poetry of Black America*, 529.

academic and artistic career of Elouise Loftin revealed her to be very involved in the Black Arts Movement during her time at NYU as both an activist and poet. Almost all of the information about Loftin centered around the four-year period between 1971 and 1975, when she was most openly active in academic art spaces. While short, this timespan allowed for a careful glance into one specific era of the BAM movement of which she was a part. The same biography from the *Broadside* anthology revealed that aside from being a published poet, Loftin also edited poetry for *Black Creation*, a student magazine which was published by the Institute of African-American Affairs at NYU.[6] Additionally, Loftin was the editor of another student-run magazine published at NYU, *Imani*, which sought to "pursue the truth in reporting and analyzing our struggle—knowing, believing, having faith that the truth will set us free."[7] *Imani* magazine was based on the same understandings of Black arts and power that inspired poets like Amiri Baraka, who actually coined the term "Imani," defining it as "faith in Blackness." In working on Imani, Loftin affirmed these ideals and The understanding of knowledge as the key to freedom pursued by Loftin in working on *Imani* is based on the same understandings of Black arts and power which inspired poets like Amiri Baraka who coined the term "Imani," defining it as "faith in Blackness."[8] The publication aimed to center Black voices in all regards, emphasizing the importance of the Black Aesthetic. When the magazine's first issue was released in January 1971, the editor-in-chief emphasized "[t]his whole magazine was produced by black hands," going on to joke that the only part of the publication process that involved white people was the printing.[9] This era and location where Loftin created her work exemplify this, emulating the beliefs of BAM founders. Loftin's involvement in Black activist and artistic spaces demonstrated that she was heavily involved with not just the arts movement, but also the Black power movement and its prominent ideologies. Her relationship with these movements is the reason analyzing Elouise Loftin's poetic works can help in further understanding the lives of women in the Black Arts Movement. As a student at NYU, Loftin seemed to be heavily involved in the Black art scene, especially as the movement reached its peak in the 1970s. Moreover, beyond editing literary magazines and writing her books, *Jumbish* and *Barefoot Necklace*, Loftin also had a few of her works published in other magazines and anthologies.

Loftin was not just well-published in the local poetry scene, but she also made herself known within New York's art world as a public speaker. She attended and led events related to her work, as evident from a few articles and

6 Boyer, *Broadside Annual*, 24; *Black Creation*. New York: Institute of Afro-American Affairs at New York University, 1971.

7 *Imani*. New York: Imani Publications, 1971.

8 *Imani*, 1971.

9 *New York Times*. "NYU Blacks Publish New Magazine, Imani." January 25, 1971.

TV listings featured in the *New York Amsterdam News*, one of the country's oldest black-owned newspapers which was established in 1909 in Harlem, New York.[10] For example, she led a poetry reading and acted as a featured panelist at the Studio Museum in Harlem which is described as being "the nexus for artists of African descent."[11] In the same year, 1975, Loftin also organized a series of outdoor poetry readings in New York, titled "Cosmic Showers."[12] Furthermore, in 1972 Loftin spoke on the CBS show *Black Arts* "discussing the changing styles, content, and general direction of Black poetry" in the 1970s as compared to the 60s.[13] Despite her work not becoming widely popular, in New York's local art scene she was considered to be a notable figure whose art people engaged with. This is further seen in 1974 when New York's CAPS (Creative Artists Public Service Program) nominated Loftin as a fellow. While little information exists on the state of the program during Loftin's fellowship, her biography in *Barefoot Necklace* revealed that the fellowship program sought to encourage and support artists in New York, guiding them through the creation of a full work.[14] Furthermore, an important part of this fellowship was a commitment to community, exhibited through the programs requirement that all fellows must "participate in projects designed to provide artistic services of direct benefit to New York State communities."[15] Through this unique fellowship, Loftin published her most celebrated work, *Barefoot Necklace*, while also supporting the community which she clearly loved.

Given the limited information, it is difficult to make sweeping generalizations about Loftin's life or offer a quick summary. Instead, the best description of Loftin originated from a myriad of snippets revealed in news articles, publications, and short biographies. Looking at all the bits of information together, a story begins to weave itself. Elouise Loftin was an artist-activist who sought to express herself through poetry while also being incredibly integrated into her local community in Brooklyn and New York City as a whole. Loftin used her art as a medium for change and empowerment.

The Black Arts Movement

The Black Arts Movement, at its most basic, was an art movement that took place in the United States throughout the 1960s and early 70s that delib-

10 The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "Amsterdam News." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, July 24, 2020. https://www.britannica.com/topic/Amsterdam-News.

11 *New York Amsterdam News*. "The Studio Museum in Harlem." October 29, 1975; Tapley, Mel. "About The Arts." *New York Amsterdam News*, November 12, 1975; Studio Museum in Harlem. "History & Mission." https://www.studiomuseum.org/history.

12 *New York Amsterdam News*. "Outdoor Poetry Series." May 21, 1975.

13 *New York Amsterdam News*. "Weekly TV Listing: Thursday, April 6." April 8, 1972.

14 Loftin, *Barefoot Necklace*.

15 "Creative Artists Public Service Program (CAPS)," 1976. Pauline Oliveros Papers, MSS 102. Special Collections & Archives, UC San Diego.

erately sought to develop a "Black aesthetic," an art form that fully centered Black voices and culture.[16] Described as "the quintessential theorist" of the BAM, Larry Neal was an essential figure in establishing the meaning of Black Arts. Neal defined the term in his article "The Black Arts Movement," which is described by some as the founding document of the movement.[17] In his article, Larry describes the BAM as the aesthetic and spiritual sister of the Black Power concept."[18] The Black Power Movement was a liberation movement that developed following the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s and continued into the 1970s. Rejecting the non-violent nature of the former movement, the Black Power Movement sought to "pursue… equal rights by any means necessary," leading to a much more militant aesthetic. Where the Civil Rights Movement focused on appealing to whiteness in order to achieve equal rights via legal changes, the BPM emphasized autonomy and nationalism as a vehicle for change.[19] Because the movement focused on emphasizing and appreciating Blackness to achieve freedom, as opposed to assimilating to white society, it led to the development of the Black aesthetic, which inspired the Black Arts Movement.

Types of art created by the BAM were distinctive in their insistence on the radical acceptance of Blackness and rejection of "whiteness," which encompasses the social standards set by white people. Defined by Paul C. Taylor in his book *Black is Beautiful*, the "Black aesthetic" refers to "the practice of using art, criticism, or analysis to explore the role that expressive objects and practices play in creating and maintaining black life worlds."[20] The aesthetic uses Black cultural productions, such as art, literature, poetry, and performance, to maintain the concept of "Blackness," which created Black culture. Certainly, this is a vague idea, as Blackness cannot be simply defined, but it unites the large body of work produced by members of the African diaspora who seek to represent their identity. Taylor theorized that when African people were brought to the United States through the Atlantic Slave Trade and stripped of their identity, they responded by creating a culture that separated them from the oppressive white forces. By developing this aesthetic, Black people "[insisted] on agency,

16 Smethurst, James. "Black Arts Movement." In *Keywords for African American Studies*, edited by Erica R. Edwards, Roderick A. Ferguson, and Jeffrey O.G. Ogbar. New York University Press, 2018.

17 Collins, Lisa Gail, and Crawford, Margo Natalie, eds. *New Thoughts on the Black Arts Movement*. Piscataway: Rutgers University Press, 2006.

18 Neal, Larry. *The Black Arts Movement*. New York, NY: New York University. Tisch School of the Arts, 1968.

19 Cortés, Carlos, ed. "Multicultural America: A Multimedia Encyclopedia." In *Multicultural America: A Multimedia Encyclopedia*, 365–66. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2013.

20 Paul C. Taylor. "Assembly, Not Birth." In *Black Is Beautiful: Foundations of the Philosophy of the Arts*, 12, 2016.

beauty, and meaning in the face of oppression, despair, and death."[21] The BAM sought to refine the Black aesthetic and utilize it as a tool to resist oppression. Larry Neal explained the Black aesthetic was not just about defining Blackness, but also "the destruction of the white thing, the destruction of white ideas, and white ways of looking at the world," which he describes as wholly unethical and "anti-human in nature."[22] He saw the white point of view as being inherently anti-Black because it inherently attacked the core of Black existence. Neal advised artists to stop the production of "protest art" directed at a white audience and instead create works that were made exclusively for Black audiences. If Black artists could "free themselves from 'white standards,'" then they could work towards seeing the world through the Black perspective.[23] Throughout the 1960s and 70s, the Black Arts Movement paired with the BPM's rejection of whiteness to develop an artistic expression of the Black aesthetic.

The Black Arts Movement does not have a singular start date or founder, but poets Amiri Baraka and Larry Neal are both cited as sparking the movement with their creation of the Black Arts Repertory Theater/School in 1965. With this new theatre, Baraka hoped to create a community of Black artists and intellectuals who valued, created, and discussed Black Art. The founders wanted to fight against the "bourgeois separation of arts and politics," which they saw as undermining the struggle for Black liberation. In their minds, liberation required a strong love and appreciation for Blackness, without the influence of whiteness.[24] This is the philosophy that fueled the art of the BAM. Neal first used the term "Black arts" in an unnamed poem, where he equates the creation of Black arts to the creation of power.[25] However, much like the Black Power Movement, the BAM was dominated by Black men. Many Black female poets and playwrights created works of art during the movement, but their efforts went largely unacknowledged at the time.

The lack of recognition for female artists was not just a result of existing sexism, but also the intensely masculine aesthetic of the Black Power Movement—the "spiritual sister" of the Black Arts Movement. As a reaction to continued white violence, emphasized by the assassinations of Malcolm X (1965) and Martin Luther King Jr. (1968), Black activists sharply turned away from a focus on nonviolence. Instead, the Black activism of the late 1960s and 70s relied on a unitary, militaristic aesthetic—using images of Black men dressed in all black and holding rifles to announce their presence. Poet Cheryl Clarke wrote, the BAM had "called upon the race to become men in a way that

21 Taylor, *Black is Beautiful*, 2.

22 Neal, *The Black Arts Movement*.

23 Collins, Lisa Gail, and Crawford, Margo Natalie, *New Thoughts on the BAM*, 7-8.

24 Amiri Baraka, "The Black Arts Movement: Its Meaning and Potential," *Nka Journal of Contemporary African Art* 2011, no. 29 (November 1, 2011): 22–31.

25 Neal, *The Black Arts Movement*.

subsumed race," defining manhood as "the desired end of blackness." to be a revolutionary at the time required masculinity.[26] And yet, women still found a way to make their voices heard throughout the movement. In fact, between 1968 and 1976, of the approximately 695 poetry books published by Black people, 199 were written by women.[27] Nevertheless, despite their significant artistic contributions, Black women were placed in an inherently subservient position, which made their work less important to the male leaders of the BAM. Because the BPM was about creating a new society, procreation amongst Black people became an essential aspect. Larry Neal understood women to be the caregivers of the liberation movement and went as far as to condemn Black homosexual men and lesbians as working against the BPM.[28] Given that Black men acted as the voice of the Black Power Movement and women were relegated to wombs, the works produced by Black women as part of the arts movement were not seen as noteworthy by the leading male activists. Thus, the works of Black women during the BAM went unacknowledged. A major vessel for the spread of Black poetry at the time was through the creation of anthologies, which brought together the work of multiple artists in one place and widely distributed them. However, Black women's poetry was often not included in said anthologies and even when it was, the ratio of male to female-written works heavily favored Black men.[29]

Black women, faced with multiple levels of oppression based on both race and sex, were specially equipped to address the development of a Black aesthetic that challenges whiteness. Being systemically silenced on multiple fronts encouraged Black women, more so than others, to seek artistic forms of expression. Black women, who are so often forgotten by history, had a sense of urgency when it came to recording their own stories because no one else would.[30] In "Diasporadas," scholar Bonnie Claudia Harrison argued that Black women produce the most "radical visions of Black identity" because of their multifaceted oppression. Furthermore, she explained that art as a medium gave Black women "an outlet and an audience for their politics of resistance."[31] When Black women could not fight for liberation through traditional means, they turned to the arts as a catalyst for change. One way of doing this was through poetry, which Black women utilized during the Black Arts Movement to express

26 Clarke, Cheryl. *"After Mecca": Women Poets and the Black Arts Movement*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2005, 17.

27 Clarke, *"After Mecca,"* 20.

28 Clarke, *After Mecca*, 50-51.

29 Henderson, Abney Louis, "Four Women: An Analysis of the Artistry of Black Women in the Black Arts Movement, 1960s-1980s." USF Tampa Graduate Theses and Dissertations, 2014, 32-33.

30 Walker, Alice. *Everyday Use*. Ed. by Barbara Christian. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1994, 47

31 Harrison, Bonnie Claudia. "Diasporadas: Black Women and the Fine Art of Activism." *Meridians* 2, no. 2 (2002): 166.

their need for liberation despite the struggles they faced in their own communities.

Sexuality in the BAM

Due to their subjected social position, Black women have been prescribed a unique sexuality that differs from white women and both Black and white men. Scholar Evelynn Hammonds proposed that Black female sexuality exists in a space that is both invisible and hypervisible, writing, "it often described… as a 'void' or empty space that is simultaneously ever-visible (exposed) and invisible, where black women's bodies are always already colonized."[32] Both Black and white men have always expected Black women to be chaste while also being seen as naturally sexual in the public imagination. The construction of racist stereotypes like the Mammy, Sapphire, and Jezebel archetypes forced Black women into contradicting roles where they were expected to be both chaste and motherly, as well as sexually promiscuous. In her revolutionary essay "Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens: The Radical Potential of Queer Politics?" academic Cathy Cohen extended this understanding, pointing out that because the normative standards of sexuality are defined by white womanhood, Black women exist in an inherently queer position. She argues that queerness is not necessarily defined as just being homosexual, but instead as existing in a sexually marginalized position where they are "defined as deviant and 'other.'"[33] This sense of "otherness" gave way to the political expressions of Black sexuality that are expressed through poetry throughout the BAM and elsewhere.

In response to being othered, Black women began to use sexuality and the erotic as tactics for revolution. Audre Lorde, one of the most influential voices of the Black Arts Movement, revealed this idea of the erotic in her 1978 essay "Uses of the Erotic: The Erotic as Power." In this piece, she considered the erotic, sexuality, as a force for the Black female revolution. She argued that the erotic is not only related to sex itself, but to the unashamed expression of passion for life. She explained that within the context of her work, the erotic is "an assertion of the lifeforce of women; of that creative energy empowered, the knowledge and use of which we are now reclaiming" through artistic expression.[34] In expressing themselves in such a way, Black women can empower themselves from within and reject the hegemonic standards that whiteness has pressed upon them. This is the world that women experienced in their invisible

32 Hammonds, Evelynn M. "Feminist Theory and the Body." In *A Reader*, 93–104. Edinburgh University Press, 1999, 94.

33 Cohen, Cathy J. "Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens: The Radical Potential of Queer Politics?" In *Black Queer Studies: A Critical Anthology*, edited by E. Patrick Johnson and Mae G. Henderson. Duke University Press, 2005, 23.

34 Lorde, Audre. "Uses of the Erotic: The Erotic as Power." In *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches*, 2012.

spaces, and it is out of these spaces that came the Black female body of work, which was created during the Black Arts Movement. At a time when Black women were being pushed out of movements by the overt masculinity of Black Power, Black female artists sought to express themselves through the erotic.

The production of works without the influence of white ideology motivated the Black Arts Movement. For Black women, white ideology frequently attacked their expression of sexuality, leading to it becoming a prevalent theme in the art that Black women created during the movement. Hegemonic understandings of relationships and sexuality in the United States are shaped by whiteness. Consequently, the BAM, which was developed with the goal of removing white influences on Black society, led to a revaluation of Black sexuality. In fact, the BAM was the first time Black women poets "opened a public discourse on sexuality."[35] The culture of the 1960s and 70s gave Black women the space to openly discuss Black sexuality and embrace the erotic for the first time. The work of Black female poets of the era, such as Nikki Giovanni, Ntozake Shange, and Jayne Cortez, demonstrated this phenomenon. The poets combined understandings of sexuality with revolutionary messaging as a form of self-expression. Poetry of the era tied together the experience of being an activist with womanhood and sexuality.

Nikki Giovanni is one of the best-known poets, coming to popularity during the Black Arts Movement as an artist who focuses on the intersection between Black women and revolution.[36] Her poetry offers a very clear lens through which BAM poetry can be analyzed because her work is so straightforward. In a 1970 poem bluntly titled "Seduction," Giovanni writes:

> then you'll say "What we really need . . ."
> and i'll be licking your arm
> and "The way I see it we ought to . . . "
> and unbuckling your pants…
> then you'll notice
> your state of undress
> and knowing you you'll just say
> "Nikki, isn't this counterrevolutionary. . . ?"[37]

Here, she directly references the relationship between Black women and men throughout the Black Arts Movement by contrasting the erotic with the act of revolution. Creating a link between silence and sex, Giovanni points to the failures of the Black Power and Black Nationalist movements. This directly

35 Clarke, *"After Mecca,"* 71.

36 Joni L. Johnson Williams. "Nikki Giovanni." In *Twenty-First-Century American Poets, Second Series*, edited by John Cusatis. Vol. 374. Detroit, MI: Gale, 2014.

37 Giovanni, Nikki. "Seduction." In *Black Feeling, Black Talk, Black Judgement*, 38. New York, 1970.

connects with the notion of silence introduced by Hammonds and Hine, as a method of Black female resistance. Through her particular juxtaposition of elements, Giovanni, "presents the speaker's body not only as a site of discursive resistance but also as a critical participant in the rhetoric of revolution."[38] The concept of using the body in such a way was a very important part of the experience of Black female activists who were not only fighting racism but also the control of their bodies that both Black and white people tried to claim.

Ntozake Shange was a writer and performer who also focused on her work on the Black liberation movement while "focusing her rage against the limitations society imposes on black women."[39] Ntozake Shange is best known for her 1974 choreopoem *For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide / When the Rainbow Is Enuf,* which is made up of dramatized poems recited by unnamed Black women. The choreopoem takes a musical-like approach to poetry, incorporating music and dance fluidly into the performance. Unlike the work of Giovanni, Shange's choreopoem has a less obvious use of sexuality and revolution, more subtly referencing Black women's bodies as a site of resistance and discourse. Yet, the production was an instant hit in Black theatres at the time, promoting discourse on the dual oppression Black women face in America.[40] In the final section of the play, where all the women come together to deliver a shared monologue, Shange writes:

> LADY IN BLUE: i know bout/ layin on bodies/ layin outta man
> bringin him alla my fleshy self & some of my pleasure
> bein taken full eager wet like i get sometimes
> i waz missin something…[41]

This almost directly parallels the journey Lorde describes in "Uses of the Erotic," where sexuality is at first seen as pornographic in nature, boiled down to just intimate relationships with men.[42] However, as Shange notes, something was missing in this expression of sexuality.

In the same monologue, Shange then goes on to have another woman describe how they found out what was missing, ending the explanation with:

> LADY IN RED: the sky laid over me like a million men…
> i found god in myself

38 Esquivel, Anna M. "'Isn't This Counterrevolutionary?': Discourse and Silence in the Erotic Poetry of Nikki Giovanni, Kalamu Ya Salaam, and Etheridge Knight." *African American Review* 47, no. 4 (2014): 511.

39 "Ntozake Shange." In *Gale Literature: Contemporary Authors*. Farmington Hills, MI: Gale, 2018.

40 "Ntozake Shange," *Gale Literature*.

41 Shange, Ntozake. *For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide / When the Rainbow Is Enuf*, 1975, 23.

42 Lorde, "Uses of the Erotic," 54.

& i loved her/ i loved her fiercely[43]

The erotic, which was originally presented as a method of control, became a method for liberation, allowing the women in *For Colored Girls* to find love within themselves. By understanding oneself as "god" and the bringer of everything, the women fully embrace this understanding of sexuality. Through this understanding, at the end of the performance, the featured Black women are able to fully liberate themselves, prompting the audience to do the same.

This type of poetry, as shown through Nikki Giovanni's "Seduction" and Ntozake Shange's *For Colored Girls*, displays the experience Black women faced during the Black Arts Movement. While being oppressed by both white people and members of their own Black liberation movements, Black women found a safe space for reflection within the Black interior exhibited through BAM works. Coined by scholar Elizabeth Alexander, the Black interior refers to an "inner space in which black artists have found selves that go far, far, beyond the limited expectations of what black is, isn't, or should be." Within this space, Black artists are able to define their identities without white influence.[44] Elouise Loftin, who existed in the same spaces and time as these women, was also forced to contend with the same struggles, similarly expressing her experience through poetry while drawing on the erotic. While Loftin takes a different approach to revolutionizing the erotic, it is important to understand her work within the context of these other poets.

Barefoot Necklace **Exploration**

Published in 1975 by Jamima House Press, *Barefoot Necklace: pome(s)* is Elouise Loftin's second book of poems, but along with new poems, it also includes all of the works from her first book, *Jumbish*, published in 1972. A large majority of the poems center on some aspect of Blackness and the experience of being a Black woman in particular. In other poems, Loftin writes about her family and discusses political issues relevant at the time.

Elouise Loftin did not structure her poetry in a typical way, instead having what some call a more "avant-garde" aesthetic that played with the very structure of poetry itself. Where a typical poem may have clear, linear verses, each of Loftin's poems takes on a different format. Some of the poems are merely three lines long, while others take up multiple pages. Many of the poems in *Barefoot Necklace* have ungrammatical capitalization and spacing, with some sentences having seemingly random spaces between them. Loftin's work does not take place in an easily defined space, nor do they tell straightforward narratives; instead, her works are figurative and up to interpretation, trying to evoke

43 Shange, *For Colored Girls*, 24.

44 Elizabeth Alexander, *The Black Interior: Essays* (Saint Paul, Minnesota: Graywolf Press, 2004), 5.

feeling from the reader rather than tell a story. As a result of her bold stylistic choices, Loftin's poetry takes on a musical nature, especially when read aloud. On the inside cover of *Barefoot Necklace,* there is a quote from a review of per poetry reading: "[s]he is able to invoke the growing blues voice trumpet voice of Bessie Smith…She has a song and she can sing it."[45]

Academic and poet Aldon Lynn Nielsen, one of the few scholars who has studied Loftin's work because of his interest in postmodern Black poetry, attributes the musical nature of Loftin's poetry to a connection with jazz music. In his book *Black Chant*, Nielsen notes that Loftin, among other similar poets, worked closely with jazz musicians as they wrote. In fact, Loftin's poetry was actually featured in "Haitian Heritage," a composition by jazz drummer Andrew Cyrille released in 1997, where she recited her poem "Sunni" multiple times over the top of his drumming.[46] She speaks with a very rhythmic and musical tone, holding some words for longer than others as if she were singing.[47] On the album, Loftin is credited simply as "poet," however, Cyrille writes that many facets of his composition were brought into being with the essential help of the other musicians and Loftin. As such, Nielsen proposes that Loftin was not just a poet speaking over the song, but an active participant in the musical process, her poem being the foundation on which the composition was built.[48] Understanding Loftin as not just a poet, but as a musician, further emphasizes her embodiment of the erotic. Emphasized through the use of sexuality in the BAM, the song-like nature of her poems draws on the deep expression of self.

Perhaps the most celebrated group of poems in Loftin's book is the Sunni series, a series of three poems— "Sunni's Unveiling," "what Sunni say," and "Sunni." The three poems center around this figure of "Sunni," a Black woman existing in an unknown context. Each of the poems connects to tell a story about Sunni coming into the world, although the specifics are unknown. In *Black Chant*, Cheryl Clarke mediates on the selection of the name "Sunni," noting that it may reference the growing Black Muslim community as a result of Malcolm X's influence on the Civil Rights Movement, many of whom largely practiced as part of the Sunni branch of Islam. She also considers how it might reference the name "Sonny" or "Sunny," which was a common nickname given by Black fathers to their sons if the two shared the same name.[49] Furthermore, there is a clear connection to the sun—the all-powerful star which lights the world. All of these connections draw on the feminist nature of Sunni, a Black woman who asserts herself in male-dominated spaces, using her femininity and

45 Loftin, *Barefoot Necklace*.

46 Nielsen, Aldon Lynn. *Black Chant: Languages of African-American Postmodernism*. Cambridge England: Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

47 Cyrille, Andrew, and Maono. *Celebration*, 1975.

48 Nielsen, *Black Chant*.

49 Clarke, *"After Mecca*,*"* 74.

sexuality as a tool for power.

The first poem in the series, "Sunni," features Sunni describing herself and her power. In this, Sunni is a fully realized being, in control of herself, understanding of the whole world. The poem, written in first-person language, states "yes, i could lift my blouse/and show you who i am," but she chooses not to. This line references the sense of interiority Black female activists exhibited—able to show themselves to the world but not needing to. This also references the overt sexualization of Black women by the public and Black men, who equate Black women themselves to sexuality in the pornographic sense. Yet, despite how outsiders see her, Sunni has an unshakeable sense of self:

> I dance
> Snap my fingers
> at the table of my desires
> Talk with the food of creation
> in my mouth
> Seduce life…
> I am a Black woman[50]

This is also emblematic of the self-empowerment emphasized by not only Lorde in "Uses of the Erotic," but also by Ntozake Shange, when she writes "i found god in myself/ & i loved her/ i loved her fiercely."[51] The sense that Black women are all-powerful, knowing things others may never be able to grasp is not only empowering, but also makes reference to the true nature of Black female activism, which utilizes the Black interior as a source of liberation. Women participating not only in the Black Power Movement, but also in other Black liberation movements, understood to work within the system set forth by men, obscuring their true intentions. The title of the poem itself makes reference to the "culture of dissemblance" introduced by historian Darlene Clark, when she posited Black women intentionally create "the appearance of disclosure… while actually remaining an enigma" for the sake of protecting themselves in oppressive spaces.[52] "Unveiling Sunni" spins the concept introduced by Hine on its head—the idea of "unveiling" Sunni, a stand-in for Black women, parallels the opening up of Black women's self-imposed silence. Where Sunni reveals her true power throughout the poem, her ability to control those around her and express herself without sex, Loftin is too revealing of her hidden self. This same sentiment is echoed in the series' second poem, "what Sunni say," where Loftin, writing as Sunni, says "…through/ the burning spearing head/ open me

50 Loftin, *Barefoot Necklace*, 10.
51 Shange, *For Colored Girls*, 24.
52 Hine, Darlene Clark. "Rape and the Inner Lives of Black Women in the Middle West." *Signs* 14, no. 4 (1989): 915.

up the me of me/ put it inside where i need."[53] Once again, Loftin references the idea of opening oneself up to the world, although this time in a violent manner. The imagery of a "spearing head" emphasizes the violent nature of speech and activism. The understanding of one's true self parallels the process of Black liberation, which was sure to be a violent process, as emphasized by the ideals of the Black Power Movement.

The series' concluding poem, "Sunni," unlike the other two, is written in the third person, with the author an observer of Sunni. In the poem, the narrator sees Sunni for who she truly is, understanding her hidden power. The poem makes note of the previously mentioned dynamic between the visible/invisible nature of Black femininity, stating "and she sings long and loud/ through her guts quietly."[54] This conflicting set of lines best exemplifies the sense of hidden power that subsumed the organizing of Black women during the Black Power era. Black women are well aware of their subjugated status; hence, when Sunni sings, she feels the passion in herself but also knows how to protect herself. The sense of inherent knowledge Loftin sees in Black women is brought to light in the final lines of the poem:

> Searching African soil beneath her feet
> her tiptoes roar with madness and dance
> messages of our coming of her danger
> yes
> Her mother's womb had a window
> so she knew exactly what she
> was coming to[55]

In just a few lines, Loftin eloquently conveys the state of Black women during the cultural revolution taking place in the 1970s. Black women did not have the luxury of privilege in any facet of their identity, instead, they are acutely aware of their institutionalized oppression within the American context, referenced through the "window" in a mother's womb. Despite the dual oppression, Loftin makes note of the changing politics during the 1970s that inspired Black women to make themselves visible again and fight for their own liberation. This sentiment is echoed by the formation of groups, such as the Combahee River Collective in the 1970s, which focused on the unique experience of Black women.[56] As such, Loftin warns of the coming rage, not only from Sunni but all Black women when she references "our coming danger." Sunni is an embodiment of the erotic, a true and free force to be reckoned with.

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53 Loftin, *Barefoot Necklace*, 31.
54 Loftin, *Barefoot Necklace*, 38.
55 Loftin, *Barefoot Necklace*, 38.
56 Hatch, Shari Dorante, ed. "The Combahee River Collective Statement." In *Encyclopedia of African-American Writing*. Grey House Publishing, 2018.

In *Barefoot Necklace*, Elouise Loftin explores the meaning of Black womanhood while embracing the erotic through her language and imagery. Loftin uses metaphor to parallel her writings to the experiences of Black women in the Black Arts and Power movements. Her musical prose creates a world in which Black women emerge from their invisibility, becoming powerful liberatory forces, determined to create a new world in their image. Through her poetry in *Barefoot Necklace*, Loftin boldly reveals the Black interior, presenting a glimpse into the radical future she is fighting for.

Conclusion

The Black Arts Movement and the development of the Black Aesthetic fundamentally changed the way Black people fought for liberation, inviting a whole new level of art as revolt. With the BAM, it became clear that aesthetics were essential to "defeat programmatic ideology," as art allowed revolutionaries to conceptualize a new, liberated world. In the case of the BAM, the art called for total rejection of whiteness, questioning the role white people played not only in art but in the construction of society as a whole. Moreover, the production of such art had the ability to "produce a new sense of what it means to be human," creating the space for radical change.[57] The female artists of this era sought to restructure understandings of femininity and sexuality within the Black experience. Black women were both seen as hypersexual individuals, while also being seen at times as an unsexual mother figure whose sole purpose is taking care of others. Understanding their position as both hypervisible and invisible, Black women used art to create revolutionary spaces for themselves.

The female poets of the BAM embraced the erotic in order to achieve this liberation, creating passionate depictions of how sexuality and the body can be a tool for activism. While many celebrated female poets came out of the BAM, the movement was still male-dominated, leading to Black female voices going unheard. Despite the public forgetting the masterpieces created by these forgotten female poets, their work provides a very important lens through which the BAM can be understood. Elouise Loftin, an avid participant in the movement, utilized her poetry to express the possibility of radical revolution, moving the Black female experience into the public light. In reflecting on the Black interior and the relationship between femininity and sexuality, Loftin's book of poetry, *Barefoot Necklace,* reveals the ways in which Black women in the BAM contended with their dual oppression.

57 Crawford, Margo Natalie. *Black Post-Blackness: The Black Arts Movement and Twenty-First-Century Aesthetics*. Urbana, Illinois: Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2017, 217.

The Role of the Department Store, Advertising, and Spectacle in The Twentieth-Century American Women's Suffrage Movement

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Abstract: This essay explores the U.S. Women's Suffrage Movement's cultivation of a modern, carefully crafted visual agenda that ultimately became a highly efficient element of the cause's political strategy. The suffrage movement's mastering of the art of spectacle was intertwined with women's relationship with consumerist entities. The latter portion of the American Women's Suffrage Movement (1900-1920) utilized advertising strategies adopted from the very techniques originally used to attract predominantly female customers into buying and spending. With the rise of the department store in the late 19th century as a female-oriented space within an otherwise male-dominated urban landscape, American women assumed the role of "shopper" as an extension of women's so-called domestic duties. Thus, many advertising practices from these institutions were geared toward predominantly female viewers, especially mothers. Though the American Suffrage Movement originally decried consumerism in its early years, twentieth-century suffragists embraced, appropriated, and transformed eye-catching advertising practices originally used to promote buying and demanded support from businesses geared toward female customers. Suffragists' use of political spectacle—wheat-pasted signage, voiceless speeches in department store windows, or extravagant parades—became a significant element of the group's agenda and eventual victory. By exploring various primary sources and modern scholarly research on the connection between consumer strategy and the suffrage movement, this essay sheds light on the complex relationship between the suffrage movement and modern advertising practices.

> Suffrage, when submitted at the polls, is generally won by women through their activity in persuading voters to ballot in its favor. Without their constant hammering at every man whom they can reach, women know, and men know and admit, that the franchise would never be extended to women.[1]—Mary Beard

1 Mary R. Beard, "The Legislative Influence of Unenfranchised Women." In *Women in Public Life, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 56, (Nov.

Mary R. Beard, Secretary of the Legislative Committee of the Women's Trade Union League of New York in 1914, highlighted the importance of suffragists, specifically women's, intentionally crafted persuasive efforts in garnering support for their cause. This suffragist "hammering" was not only persistent, but it was also fervently yet carefully visually curated and performed by women's groups and movements to reflect women's social demands for modernized America in an especially compelling manner. The American Suffrage movement of the early 20th century is deeply entangled with nature of women's relationship with the commercial world which had emerged in the industrialization of the nineteenth century. This is exemplified by the relationship between the suffrage movement and department stores, as well as the use of advertising in suffrage newspapers and magazines. The feminization of shopping and consumption in the late nineteenth century not only proved to be a popular argument for women's right to vote but also arguably became a source of inspiration for innovative, performative means of protest which reflected a deep awareness and concern regarding image and public perception. In the early twentieth century, the spectacle of suffrage—the crafted visual agenda of the cause—in itself became an advertisement for the movement, whether it be in the form of fashion, print culture, or performance. Modes of protest for American women's suffrage not only reflected elements of the consumer culture and advertising that had targeted them but also collaborated with these very forces for mutual gain in publicity. In this vein, publicity for the cause allowed for the ability to persuade greater stretches of the enfranchised public; men. In their acts of persuasion, suffragists legitimized their political agency.

Consumer culture played a major role in the early twentieth century American Women's Suffrage movement (1900-1918), specifically in suffragist's adaptability to accept and implement elements of modern consumer culture and marketing strategies, how they collaborated with capitalist entities to further their cause and garner support, and distinct methods employed by these suffragists (especially those considered to be more radical) which were inspired by the spectacle of print/visual culture often associated with consumption. Arguably, suffragists' embracement of these various elements of consumer culture largely contributed to their eventual success in achieving suffrage. By creating theatrical and eye-catching spectacles meant to catch media attention—especially the use of print culture which explicitly called out government failures towards suffragists and women as a whole—the movement begged spectators to question gender distinctions through their (mostly) media-friendly modes of protest and organizing.[2] Additionally, suffragists deliberately utilized their cultural association with modern buying to their advantage by calling for the assistance

1914), 55.

2 Mary Chapman and Barbara Green, "Suffrage and Spectacle," *100 Years of Women's Suffrage: A University of Illinois Press Anthology* (University of Illinois Press, 2019), 47-48.

of businesses—specifically department stores and other local female-oriented retailers—in the form of patronage through advertising, providing physical spaces for protest and activism, and even selling suffrage goods.[3]

The transformation of the public sphere in the mid-19th century to include enclaves explicitly for women within the male-dominated urban environment allowed women to participate in economic affairs, contributing to the developing interconnection of women's political and commercial status. Department stores, especially, aided in middle-class women's emergence into the industrialized public realm which had previously been almost entirely exclusive to men. By taking on the role of the consumer, women were able to explore the act of shopping as romantic. In their exploration of these imaginative, colorful, visually spectacular spaces, these experiences began propelling ideals of individualism, indulgence, and even liberation in the sense that women were physically liberated, albeit temporarily, from the confines of the domestic, private realm.[4] Additionally, department stores and other forms of emerging consumer culture—notably women's magazines—transformed modes of advertising as they specifically marketed toward women and mothers as the new typical consumer. After all, shopping was originally viewed as an extension of a woman's domestic duties to the family, combining ideals of Republican motherhood and femininity with consumption.[5] Due to the transformative nature of consumer culture on women's status in the public sphere—though controversial among nineteenth-century suffragists who criticized luxury and self-indulgence—it is difficult to deny the imprint of this culture on suffragists of the twentieth century and the lives of women (though majority white and middle-class) as a whole.[6]

Scholars have extensively explored how the emergence of consumer culture and department stores in aided and transformed feminine in the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Some of these sources, though not all, recognize the importance of consumer culture's impact on pre-World War I American suffragists and their mastery of public forms of advertising and spectacle because of this. This essay engages with sources that focus on specific modes of suffragist spectacular protest and demonstrations to

3 Einav Rabinovitch-Fox, "Clothing as a Site of Memory: The Uses and Legacy of Suffrage Fashion," *Social History* 56, no. 116 (2023), 399; Jessica Sewell, "Sidewalks and Store Windows as Political Landscapes," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 9 (2003), 91.

4 William Leach, "Transformations in a Culture of Consumption: Women and Department Stores, 1890-1925," *The Journal of American History* 71, no. 2 (1984), 320-322.

5 Lorna Stevens and Pauline Maclaran, "Exploring the 'Shopping Imaginary': The Dreamworld of Women's Magazines," *Journal of Consumer Behaviour* 4, vol. 4 (2005), 283.

6 Margaret Finnegan, *Selling Suffrage: Consumer Culture and Votes for Women* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 10, 16.

emphasize the influence of consumptive practices on the movement's methods for advancing their political agenda. Various primary sources, specifically those collected from newspapers and women's magazines, have been included to emphasize these ideas and further contextualize the complex history of the relationship between American women and commodity consumption, advertising, and the urban public sphere. Thus, this essay attempts to tie together the diverse scholarship on suffrage's relationship with modern capitalist culture in order to exemplify the importance of suffragists' reclamation of the department store's imaginative spaces as well as marketing strategies in garnering public support and ultimately achieving their political demands. I argue that suffragists, through their politicization of capitalist marketing practices to prove the competence of their sex, recognized, appropriated, reclaimed, and ultimately mastered the very methods traditionally used to manipulate their senses and induce their spending in the modern consumer domain.

Firstly, to contextualize the importance of the early department store in this argument, it is notable that department stores and women's magazines encouraged imagination, albeit in the context of consumption and fashion, for American women. Though preying on women's senses with new advertising technologies to promote buying, department stores and women's magazines both ultimately created aesthetically utopic, women-oriented islands within the public realm. This is a concept that Lorna Stevens and Pauline Maclaran refer as a "dreamworld" for women in the late nineteenth-century. The two imaginary and feminized spaces—one notably a physical space, the other a descendent of the former and accessible within the comfort of the home—allowed women of the late 19th and early 20th centuries to explore various personas and personalities through commodities.[7] Within these spaces, consumption became an experience specifically catered to women, providing the freedom to dream of indulgence while browsing. Stevens and Maclaran additionally note that women's magazines' fragmented nature was compatible with the busyness of women's everyday lives, making them easily digestible and requiring little attention and effort. In this way, they provided a sense of relaxation and imaginative escape for their readers.[8] Shopping—whether it be browsing in a department store or a women's magazine—provided a pleasurable experience for women who were able to explore various choices laid out before them in a visually appealing manner meant to invoke the imagination. With primarily middle-class and white women, able to experience a newfound consumer freedom, these spaces naturally evoked the greater question of women's political freedom as time went on.

Beginning in the twentieth century and especially following the 1910s,

7 Lorna Stevens and Pauline Maclaran, "Exploring the 'Shopping Imaginary': The Dreamworld of Women's Magazines," 284.

8 Lorna Stevens and Pauline Maclaran, "Exploring the 'Shopping Imaginary': The Dreamworld of Women's Magazines," 285.

suffragists inspired by British suffragettes' more radical, deliberately disruptive methods of political protest began to implement elements of commodity-style marketing into their movement in what William Leach refers to as the "art of publicity,"[9] a form of aesthetic politics borrowed from the practices of urban merchandising which early 20th-century suffragists would come to master.[10] This "art of publicity" took the form of mass spectacle, whether it be billboards, posters, advertising/protest within department stores, pageants, parades, the use of feminine fashion to promote a palatable public image, or even movies.[11] By embracing commodity culture, suffragists could promote their "brand" through visual images that utilized consumer culture as a political strategy, simultaneously recognizing women's status as consumers as political in itself. Arguably, suffragists' use of print culture and various elements of consumer culture to maintain a benevolent, manufactured public appearance played a major role in the ultimate success of the movement in achieving the right to vote in 1919.

With the rise of the department store in American urban life came the rise of the concept of show in the greater cultural consciousness.[12] New architectural technologies of the time—color, light, and, perhaps most importantly, glass—enhanced the manufacturing of an imaginative, abundant space with the department store window especially serving as an instrument for attracting female customers from the outside.[13] These newly formed concepts of advertorial spectacle that aided in constructing a distinctly feminine consumer space were eventually reclaimed by women in the suffrage movement in a (perhaps ironic) effort to theatricalize and publicize their cause. Suffragists, specifically those of the early twentieth-century radical faction, deliberately utilized and reclaimed elements of consumer and material culture as a political and marketing strategy to gain public support, thus commodifying their cause. Additionally, interactions between the suffrage movement and department stores at the time highlight the mutually beneficial relationship apparent between the two during the latter years of the movement.

Suffragists' relationship with department stores was not always one of mutual collaboration. In fact, suffragists of the late 19th century were more likely to view consumption from a place of contempt than their 20th-century counterparts. Prior to the American Civil War, suffragists held contradictory beliefs about fashion and consumerism with many leaders questioning the morality of consumption based on traditional republican and Protestant critiques

9 William Leach, "Transformations in a Culture of Consumption," 338.

10 Jessica Sewell, "Sidewalks and Store Windows as Political Landscapes," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 9 (2003), 91.

11 Margaret Finnegan, *Selling Suffrage*, 6-12.

12 William Leach, "Transformations in a Culture of Consumption: Women and Department Stores, 1890-1925," 325.

13 William Leach, "Transformations in a Culture of Consumption: Women and Department Stores, 1890-1925," 324.

of luxury and "aristocratic emulation."[14] 1880s Christian reform work also, in the words of Leach, competed with shopping "for the attention of city women."[15] It was urban Progressive Era suffragists that naturalized consumption into the movement's ethos, embracing consumer issues as a central argument in the fight for suffrage by arguing that women, characterized by society as shoppers, deserved the ability to politically express their consumer concerns regarding the protection of their family and lifestyle (notably through agendas to protect food/milk supplies and establish more humane labor environments for women workers).[16]

To more conservative suffragists in the Progressive Era, however, shopping and suffrage were seen as mutually exclusive due to the lingering 19th century notion that suffragists were concerned with the morality of consumption (influenced by Calvinist beliefs)[17], though this was not the case. In an anecdotal clipping from a 1913 edition of the New York Tribune titled "Suffrage vs. Shopping," suffrage was painted as an antidote to the temptations of the shopping world.[18] In fact, in the anecdote, a man seeks to "transfer" his shopping-crazed wife to "the cause" as a way to reign in her spending and (ironically) reaffirm her role as a housewife. The paper remarks that the husband must "cry for his supper" due to his wife's shopping excursions and that "he thinks if his wife will transfer her affections from shopping to suffrage, the home will be happier."[19] Not only does the clipping perpetuate stereotypes of a shopping-addicted woman—which fails to acknowledge the liberatory nature of shopping for middle-class women at the time—but it also incorrectly characterizes the nature of the relationship between the suffrage cause and consumer culture. It insinuates that if the wife were to "transfer" to the cause, she would ultimately be rid of her consumer impulses and return to a proper housewife state. The source highlights greater cultural concerns at the time over consumer culture's influence on the changing status of women in public life and surprisingly opposing attitudes towards suffrage and shopping. The fact that the suffrage cause was preferable to the world of consumption and materialism is particularly notable in characterizing larger social attitudes at the time among the general public, especially demonstrating a benevolent attitude towards suffrage as something that did not entirely disrupt traditional cultural ideas of gender (arguably a result of the detailed, deliberate visual programming of the movement itself). Addition-

14 Margaret Finnegan, *Selling Suffrage: Consumer Culture and Votes for Women*, 16.

15 William Leach, "Transformations in a Culture of Consumption: Women and Department Stores, 1890-1925," 333.

16 Margaret Finnegan, *Selling Suffrage: Consumer Culture and Votes for Women*, 16-17.

17 Margaret Finnegan, *Selling Suffrage: Consumer Culture and Votes for Women*, 24.

18 "Suffrage vs. Shopping." *New-York Tribune* (New York: New York, 1913), 10.

19 "Suffrage vs. Shopping." *New-York Tribune*, 10.

ally, in characterizing a woman who indulges in shopping in this way, the source demonizes the shopping world—a highly feminized space—thus dismissing its significance to women's political activism.

What the aforementioned source failed to recognize was how middle-class women's identity as a consumer became a key element of the argument for suffrage given how everyday shopping decisions made by women were equated to decisions made as voters.[20] One example that demonstrated this was a key newspaper in the suffrage movement, *The Woman's Journal.* Established in 1870 and publishing its final edition in 1931, *The Woman's Journal*, was a corporate entity founded by Lucy Stone Blackwell and her husband Henry B. Blackwell, used commercial tactics to finance itself and keep the paper afloat, thus publicizing and legitimizing the fight for women's suffrage (though in its roughly 60 years of operation, the paper was largely an economic failure).[21] The publication was mostly centrist in its stance on women's suffrage to maintain a wider audience, largely focusing on suffrage essays, fundraising, campaign news, book reviews, short stories, and other various topics geared toward politically inclined women readers.[22] In order to maximize the income from their paper, the Blackwells themselves became advertising agents attempting to find sponsors in various companies and manufacturers, perhaps inadvertently reinforcing ideas of gendered notions of consumerism and domesticity by allowing advertisers to promote the concept of shopping as an element of womanhood, an idea that will be further explored below.[23]

In a 1918 edition of the newspaper, Alice Stone Blackwell—a principal editor and daughter of Lucy and Henry Blackwell—highlighted several points made by Nathanial C. Fowler from his book, *The Principle of Suffrage*. Fowler's work noted the importance of women's power within the consumer world as an argument for suffrage. In his book, Fowler argued that the majority of advertisements at the time were garnered towards women consumers, that most purchases were made by women, and that women possessed heightened consumer and monetary savviness. Fowler additionally noted women's ability to, "discriminate between material quality and the lack of it, who can make a dollar bring a dollar's worth," compared to "men who do not know any better than to pay two dollars for a dollar shirt or fifty cents for a pair of twenty-five cent stockings." He also built on the belief that women, through their assumption of the role of consumer, were thus responsible for supporting their families and taking on the role of both "father" and "mother" in their doing of "man's work" in addition

20 Jessica Sewell, "Sidewalks and Store Windows as Political Landscapes," 92.

21 Margaret Finnegan, *Selling Suffrage: Consumer Culture and Votes for Women*, 139-141.

22 Margaret Finnegan, *Selling Suffrage: Consumer Culture and Votes for Women*, 141.

23 Margaret Finnegan, *Selling Suffrage: Consumer Culture and Votes for Women*, 143.

to their own.[24] Fowler utilized heavily gendered language and distinctions in his writing, but his point is clear: women's "buyer" status alone should prove their competency to cast a ballot given that it suggests their skillfulness in managing money and the necessity of supporting their families.

The emergence of Consumer Leagues alongside the suffrage movement directly connected the fight for suffrage to concerns over the rights of women workers and labor practices. In Rheta Childe Dorr's 1910 book, *What Eight Million Women Want,* she explicitly detailed the importance of women's demands on industry in the following quote:

> Woman dominates the department store for the plain reason that she supports it. Whoever earns the income, and that point has been somewhat in question lately, there is no doubt at all as to who spends it. She does. Hence, she is able to control the conditions under which this business is conducted. . . Not until the development of the department store were women able to observe at close range the conduct of modern business. Not unnaturally it was in the department store that they began one of the most ambitious of their present-day activities,—that of humanizing industry.[25]

Dorr highlighted that the uptick of women in the workforce at the time, a result of factors relating largely to increased industrialization, and directly points to the department store as a laboratory of middle-class women's involvement in the modern capitalist realm. In recognizing the transformative nature of the department store in affording women purchasing power and the ability to partake in the world of business, Dorr notes that women, being prime consumers, began to take issue with the nature of labor practices within the industry (specifically among female workers). The sentiments expressed by Dorr were not uncommon among fellow suffragists. Dorr further details what she refers to as the "humanizing" of the industry when she speaks on the formation of the Consumers' League of New York. Working alongside the Working Women's Society around 1890, the League created a "White List" of firms and businesses that treated their workers fairly as a way to inform consumers—again, mainly women—and thus influence them to patron the listed shops.[26] This League additionally hoped that the list would urge outcast businesses that were *not* included to make changes to their labor practices, though these firms ultimately regarded the League with indifference due to their discredit of the feminine organization and its abilities.[27] Nonetheless, the formation of the League as well as Dorr's ideas about female interest in modern business both express the importance of women's indirect influence as consumers, though the discredit of

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24 Nathaniel C. Fowler quoted in Alice Stone Blackwell, "Woman is Buyer" (1916), 388.

25 Rheta Childe Dorr, *What Eight Million Women Want,* (Boston: Small Maynard,1910; Project Gutenberg, 2004), 119-120.

26 Rheta Childe Dorr, *What Eight Million Women Want,* 122-126.

27 Rheta Childe Dorr, *What Eight Million Women Want,* 125.

women's organizations attempting to exercise influence may have fueled the fire that would become direct, deliberate, and disruptive political activism among suffragists of the 1910s.

Middle-class urban women's status as consumers, though not initially accepted by the suffrage movement due to Calvinist-derived concerns over corruption through luxury, not only became a source of individual liberty but also served as a key argument amongst suffragists as to why women deserved the right to vote. Due to the nature of modern mass production and labor practices, many women began to take issue with the safety of certain goods, especially those which they provided for their families.[28] Additionally, since the majority of marketing was geared towards women and they did the majority of shopping in general, consumer concerns aided in spurring the desire for women's suffrage in America. In the eyes of suffragists, if women were fit enough to handle money and shop to provide necessary goods for their families, why should not they have the right to vote as well? Given that the consumer realm and its marketing were catered toward women, women thus demanded the power to set standards for the safety of certain items and the labor through which they were produced.

Recognizing women's power within the consumer realm, suffragists at the start of the Progressive Era expertly utilized women's consumer status and even the threat of customer loss to garner support from stores, manufacturers, the press, and advertisers, creating a collaborative effort between the movement and select corporate entities, especially department stores whose primary customer demographic was undoubtedly urban, middle-class women (overlapping with the demographic of the suffrage movement). However, some corporate entities reacted to this threat with indifference due to the nature of their underestimation of organized feminine resistance.[29] Nonetheless, 20th-century American suffragists employed elements of capitalist strategy to their advantage by arguing that suffrage itself served as a powerful advertisement tool for businesses. Given that the suffrage cause and many businesses/firms often shared the same target demographic, many suffragists, especially those involved in suffrage publications and newspapers, recognized the value of targeting corporations for support both monetarily and spatially (in the literal sense of requiring space for suffragist activities).

Department stores, especially, were far more likely to sign on to the suffrage cause than other retailers as a continuation of the ideological practices and policies which they were built upon. According to Jessica Sewell's research on urban spaces as prime sites for political activism for suffragists (specifically

28 Margaret Finnegan, *Selling Suffrage: Consumer Culture and Votes for Women*, 39.

29 Rheta Childe Dorr, *What Eight Million Women Want,* 125.

in the state of California), during the suffrage campaign, many department stores simply continued the long-held practice of providing meeting spaces for women's clubs and women's church groups given that many of them held policies to accommodate the female customers for which their interior spaces were constructed.[30] Suffragists thus utilized the store windows of department stores—unique in their being a part of the interior store yet also an extension of the public sidewalk/street—as spaces for spectacle and protest. In addition to this, suffragists pressured retailers, specifically department stores, to join the campaign by publishing the names of participating stores in daily newspapers. This would then incline fellow consumers who supported the cause to shop at the listed stores as opposed to non-participating retailers (similar to how the Consumers League created a "Whitelist," as mentioned previously).[31]

An example of this sort of tactic can be found in an 1899 edition of the *Woman's Journal* which demonstrates how suffrage publications sought monetary support from retailers, pressuring them to join the cause on the basis that their reader demographic correlated with that of commodity-based businesses. The article deliberately highlights seven reasons why advertisers should consider advertising in the *Woman's Journal* (hence the title, "Seven Reasons for Advertising") by arguing for the respectability of their audience of women and mothers, the reputability of their publication, and pointing out the popularity of the newspaper.[32] Of course, as mentioned previously, *Woman's Journal* struggled financially for practically the entirety of its existence. The editor is arguing on behalf of the suffrage cause (though playing into stereotypes of a respectable woman while doing so) but also, and arguably more so, for their own publication's success.[33] Nonetheless, the list posed by the excerpt demonstrates attempts within the suffrage cause to garner support from retailers and businesses, reclaiming women's status as consumers to actively utilize consumer culture in furthering the cause.

Additionally, according to a 1901 newspaper article, Henry Blackwell explicitly urged suffrage leaders to "get on the side of the press" in a speech to the Brooklyn Woman Suffrage Association. Blackwell argues that women achieving the ballot would "purify and regenerate" politics, using an ideal of gendered balance and harmony to argue that the government and politics are incomplete without women's involvement.[34] Blackwell—proclaiming that the suffrage goal would not be complete unless more women converted to the cause—thus testifies to the value of the press, urging suffragists to garner

30 Jessica Sewell, "Sidewalks and Store Windows as Political Landscapes," 91-92; Pauline Maclaran, "Marketing and Feminism in a Historic Perspective, 464.

31 Jessica Sewell, "Sidewalks and Store Windows as Political Landscapes," 91.

32 "Seven Reasons for Advertising," *The Woman's Journal (*23 Dec. 1899),405.

33 "Seven Reasons for Advertising," 405.

34 "Suffragists in Earnest: Mr. H. B. Blackwell Urges Them to Get Editors of the Press on Their Side," *The Brooklyn Citizen* (Brooklyn: New York, 1901), 10.

sympathy from Brooklyn advertisers to further the suffrage agenda. The article also claims that Blackwell stated, "It remains for you to make voting fashionable: then all women will want to vote, for they want to be in fashion."[35] Not only is Blackwell arguing for the importance of press and advertising engagement within the suffrage movement—in part to promote his own newspaper, which is endorsed at the end of the excerpt—but he is also utilizing concepts of fashion/trendiness and gender stereotypes to extend the palette of the suffrage cause among female audiences. Undoubtedly well-versed in advertising given the need to keep his magazine afloat, Blackwell implements similar strategies into his speech to the Brooklyn Woman Suffrage Association to appeal to as many suffragists/readers as possible and urge fellow leaders to do the same. This excerpt also signifies the importance of the *Woman's Journal* to the movement's expansiveness, especially given its connection with NAWSA, further demonstrated in a 1913 photograph of two suffragists distributing the paper on the streets.

Suffragists attempted to not only urge suffrage as an advertiser for retailers but also an aid for cities in need of publicity. In a 1914 publication of *Maryland Suffrage News,* the author claims that women's suffrage itself serves as a particularly powerful advertiser for towns wanting to be "put on the map," explicitly stating, "[a]s a press agent, women's suffrage is unequaled."[36] The paper claims that since California had enfranchised women in 1911, multiple towns in the state claimed that their populations had grown significantly due to supposed migrations from other states. To contrast with this, the paper also uses the example of Seattle—where real estate agencies and railroads attempted to use expensive advertising campaigns exhibiting the "scenic and commercial values" of the city—to demonstrate how women's suffrage, at least according to the source, gave the town more effective publicity than the paid advertisements ever had.[37] Though it is unclear whether or not these statements are true, the fact that the paper is arguing for the advertising capabilities of women's suffrage demonstrates efforts within the movement to integrate itself into the world of advertising and the press. The source is particularly interesting in the fact that it speaks directly to towns rather than businesses or retailers, urging cities to embrace the suffrage cause in order to "put (their) unheard-of hamlet on the map."[38] The nature of this passage is a testament to the American suffrage movement's embracement (and reclamation) of various realms of advertising to legitimize their cause in the eyes of the public.

These examples go to show the manner in which suffragists became

35 "Suffragists in Earnest: Mr. H. B. Blackwell Urges Them to Get Editors of the Press on Their Side," 10.

36 "Woman Suffrage as an Advertiser," *Maryland Suffrage News* (Baltimore: Maryland, 1914), 174.

37 "Woman Suffrage as an Advertiser," 174.

38 "Woman Suffrage as an Advertiser," 174; wording in parenthesis added.

advertisers themselves, arguing that collaboration with the suffrage cause served as a valuable tool for businesses, manufacturers, and even cities. In their embracement of capitalist culture to further the movement's agenda, suffragists, particularly those directly involved in the distribution of suffrage newspapers and magazines, used advertising practices to their advantage. In noting women's social role as consumers, suffragists recognized women's importance to capitalist entities, thereby urging for the support of these businesses which, naturally, advertised directly to women. To stay on the good side of their main customer demographic, these manufacturers and businesses—again, especially department stores—would then often join in collaboration with the movement to gain profits and publicity rather than lose them.

American suffragist leaders' deep and deliberate understanding of the value of visual culture, marketing, and advertising was the most important strategy of all to their cause. Suffragists, for the most part, recognized that in order to garner a beneficial public sentiment on behalf of their cause, they had to plan their acts of protest to be visually cohesive and moderate in their degree of disruption to daily life (as opposed to the more militant approach of their British counterparts). Various forms of spectacular visuals characterize the American suffrage movement: voiceless speeches, parades and pageants, urban protests, printed advertisements, posters, eye-catching signage, pins. . . the list goes on.[39] Suffragists' use of print and visual culture traditionally associated with consumptive practices was a masterful reclamation of the advertising tactics that had been used on them in the decades prior. It was a medium they understood well, perhaps because they had seen first-hand how it had worked on American women for years. Understanding the importance of their image in maintaining a generally positive public attitude towards the movement, suffragists created and executed a strict visual agenda regarding their activism, one which played a vital role in their ultimate acquisition of the right to vote by forcing onlookers, readers, and viewers to truly consider their political demands.

In a brief 1911 newspaper clipping titled "Albany Astir with Suffrage Activity," conveys the extensiveness of suffrage activity in relation to spectacle, noting that the "most extensive advertising plan has been put in operation." In addition to a plethora of "Votes for Women" signs throughout Albany, the clipping describes a "monster" neon sign lit up on State Street for the cause—also noting that the wording on the sign will be changed every night—as well as cartoons/advertising cards being distributed among cars and half-page pro-suffrage announcements set to run in paper for the whole week.[40] Though a short clipping, it highlights the extensiveness of the suffrage campaign in spreading the message of their cause through visually disruptive, eye-catching means. Utilizing advertising strategies one might use to sell a specific shop, good, or

39 Margaret Finnegan, *Selling Suffrage: Consumer Culture and Votes for Women*.
40 "Albany Astir with Suffrage Activity." (Library of Congress, 20 Feb. 1911).

service, suffragists instead sold the idea of their cause through deliberately repetitive, visually jarring, "monster" imagery which denied onlookers the ability to ignore the suffrage activity around them. This tactic would have been debated by more moderate/centrist sectors of the cause due to concerns over garnering public appeal with less disruptive visual imagery and advertising.[41]

Additionally, suffragists across the U.S. participated in a large-scale wheat pasting campaign, displaying large political posters persuading viewers to join the cause, posting announcements for protests, or urging women in states that had passed women's suffrage to vote a certain way. In a 1916 photograph, a member of the Woman's Party—a more radical faction of the suffrage movement—is seen putting up a poster urging Colorado voting women to vote against Woodrow Wilson due to his opposition to the movement, connecting Colorado women's right to vote to the larger cause by noting their potential power in aiding the rest of the country in gaining universal suffrage. In this way, by saturating both print media and physical spaces with suffragist imagery and sentiments, American suffragists undoubtedly increased the cause's popularity (or even fashionability) by increasing the number of eyes on it.

In addition, suffragists recognized the importance of uniformity in their visual appearance, noting that despite their attempts to abolish many forms of gender normalities and expectations for women, presenting themselves in a moderate, "respectable" manner would aid in public approval. Generally, suffragists feared that if those not committed to the cause viewed it as overly radical, their goals would ultimately fail. Thus, as much public support as possible was necessary for forwarding the suffrage agenda. A 1912 newspaper article from the *New York Tribune* demonstrated this. The article details an upcoming suffrage parade and includes a personal message to those who would be joining the parade from Harriot Stanton Blatch, daughter of pioneering suffragist Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Blatch addressed marchers by stating the following:

> Uniformity of dress was the dream of artists for us. I knew that many a marcher would rebel. A white or light dress and a small hat are desirable. They are not obligatory. Any regret some may feel for lack of uniformity in their fellow marchers should be outweighed by the thought that distaste for conforming may be the promise of independence in a future voter. The strongest argument for woman suffrage is the need in politics of a force which can't be easily turned. REMEMBER, WE WANT SUFFRAGE MARCHERS MORE THAN WE WANT UNIFORMITY OF DRESS.[42]

41 Jessica Sewell's essay explores a specific case of suffrage efforts in early twentieth-century San Francisco among more radicalized, British-inspired suffragists participating in visual campaigns. Less radical factions of the movement would have been the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA).

42 Harriot Stanton Blatch, "Final Word to the Woman Marchers," *New-York Tribune*. (New York: New York, 1912), 1.

In this address, Blatch recognized the importance of uniformity of dress while also noting that its importance does not outweigh that of the act of marching in the first place. In fact, she complimented the rebellion towards uniformity as a "promise of independence" for those women as future voters. Although she notes the preferred style of dress for women marchers, she also demonstrates that concern with their image does not trump the cause itself, an important distinction to note. Additionally, Blatch went on to comment on the necessity of order for the procession, adding that the marchers must "maintain the good record" of the previous year's march. Blatch added, "REMEMBER THE PUBLIC WILL JUDGE, QUITE ILLOGICALLY, OF COURSE, BUT NO LESS STRICTLY, YOUR QALIFICATION [sic] AS A VOTER BY YOUR PROMPTNESS."[43] Both recognizing the significance of public opinion and dismissing the need for absolute uniformity, Blatch highlighted that though respectability was an important element of the movement's visual agenda, the ultimate goal of women's independence in the form of suffrage outweighed the desire for the (arguably impossible) perfection of the spectacle.

Perhaps one of the most inventive forms of public protest created and used by women's suffragists of the early 20th century was the voiceless speech. Notably, these protests were known to have taken place within department store windows, explicitly demonstrating the cooperation between the corporate entities and the suffrage movement. In their utilization of the urban spaces of sidewalks and store windows—as explored by Sewell in her research on these spaces as political landscapes in the suffrage movement—suffragists took advantage of the city spaces they had originally gained as consumers and appropriated the marketing techniques used on them by urban businesses.[44] Suffragists gained access to store windows through both social connections and their purchasing power as women, and their publication of lists of stores involved in aiding/participating in the cause in newspapers influenced these businesses—which had a history of providing spaces for women's groups and clubs—to participate.[45] Department stores, ultimately being a business built on perpetual buying and selling, welcomed the publicity. Though the inside of the store windows themselves was an interior space within the "female-gendered island" of department stores in a larger, male-oriented city, the sidewalks that surrounded these show windows were spaces for all sexes (though ideologically male). Thus, all sexes were subject to witness the voiceless speeches inside show windows, which served as interior extensions of the street.[46]

Moreover, through the act of staging voiceless speech in store windows,

43 Harriot Stanton Blatch, "Final Word to the Woman Marchers," 1.

44 Jessica Sewell, "Sidewalks and Store Windows as Political Landscapes," 86.

45 Jessica Sewell, "Sidewalks and Store Windows as Political Landscapes," 91-92.

46 Jessica Sewell, "Sidewalks and Store Windows as Political Landscapes," 86-89, 94.

suffragists turned themselves into what Einav Rabinovitch-Fox refers to as "live mannequins."[47] In this vein, suffragists transformed their cause into a fashionable commodity by displaying it in department store windows (and the women performing voiceless protests were often young and dressed in especially fashionable attire to increase public allure).[48] A clipping from a 1913 Brooklyn newspaper, *The Weekly Chat,* describes a voiceless protest and the reactions of onlookers, noting that multiple women who witnessed the spectacle went into the store and agreed to join a suffrage club and pay dues as a result.[49] Additionally, the clipping states, "When a card announcing that women voted in nine states was displayed, the crowd looked incredulous; but when the statement was made that a baby dies every ten seconds in the civilized world the onlookers fairly gasped."[50] Concerns over "pure food laws" was a major issue for many suffragists, specifically regarding fears for the safety of children who consumed contaminated foods.[51] Not only does the clipping display the types of points brought up in voiceless speeches, it also highlights the varying degrees of their importance to crowds and how suffragists utilized rhetoric to strike an emotional chord among onlookers. By commandeering and politically transforming traditional department store advertising practices, suffragists reclaimed their consumer status as women to promote their political demands.

Perhaps the most thoroughly calculated example of protest regarding the suffrage visual agenda can be seen in the employment of parades and pageants, especially given that these events inevitably garnered such large crowds of onlookers. In a 1913 publication of the *Woman's Journal,* an article titled "Why the Pageant?" outlined the advertising advantages of parades in garnering public appeal. The article reads, "[w]e do not in any way underestimate the value of the parade. Wherever produced, it presents three strong arguments to the public—the argument of numbers, the argument of quality (for many people, viewing a parade realize for the first time that intelligent, level-headed women are suffrage advocates), and the argument of serious purpose."[52] Additionally, the article argues that the pictorial nature of pageants, though presenting the same argument as a lecture might, proves to provide a more "striking and lasting impression" to viewers than spoken word alone.[53] Much like commercial advertising tactics, suffragists' packaged the cause's political demands in an aesthetically charming manner to "sell" their movement to the public. In seeing a large mass

47 Einav Rabinovitch-Fox, "Clothing as a Site of Memory: The Uses and Legacy of Suffrage Fashion," 399.

48 Einav Rabinovitch-Fox, "Clothing as a Site of Memory: The Uses and Legacy of Suffrage Fashion," 399.

49 *The Weekly Chat,* (1913).

50 *The Weekly Chat.*

51 Margaret Finnegan, *Selling Suffrage: Consumer Culture and Votes for Women*, 31, 39.

52 Glenna Smith Tinnin, "Why the Pageant?" *The Woman's Journal*, (1913).

53 Glenna Smith Tinnin, "Why the Pageant?"

of women (and men) organized for women's suffrage, viewers were forced to consider the cause to an arguably larger degree than if faced with a lecture, singular protestor, or sign alone.

This point is further exemplified by a 1913 article from *The Washington Post* titled, "Women's Beauty and Grace Bewilder the Capital." The article detailed a notable suffrage march on Washington that took place on March 3, 1913—the day before Woodrow Wilson's inauguration.[54] In describing the visual nature of the parade, the author wrote, "As a spectacle the pageant was entrancing. Beautiful women, posing in classic robes, passed in a bewildering array, presenting an irresistible appeal to the artistic, and completely captivating the hundred thousand spectators who struggled for a view along the entire route."[55] This quote notes the beauty and "captivating" nature of the protestors attire, as this directly relates to suffragists' understanding of the "power of images." Aware of the importance of public image and perception, suffragists deliberately costumed themselves in traditionally "womanly" attire, paying special attention to color schemes especially in the case of organized processions.[56] Additionally, by packaging their political demands in a colorful, visually pleasing, and media-friendly form, suffragists largely dispelled attitudes depicting women's political achievements as "threatening" and demonstrated women's ability to organize such large-scale acts of solidarity.[57] Thus, parades not only garnered perhaps the largest amount of attention from both onlookers and the media but also presented the suffrage movement in a visually calculated manner, aiming to characterize the movement in a more widely acceptable way.

Finally, it is particularly notable that suffrage modes of protest, especially visually, proved to be useful outside of the suffrage movement alone. The "voiceless speech" originally employed by suffragists in the store windows of department stores (and other similar businesses) was adopted by fellow activist groups at the time due to the nature of its success in garnering public attention and sympathy. In 1918, *Maryland Suffrage News*, a short-lived suffrage newspaper based in Baltimore, noted that voiceless speeches were beginning to be used by the State Commission of Women in Industry of the Women's Section of the Maryland Council of Defense to aid their campaign for the protection of women workers. Given that this group was also female-orientated, it is possible that there was an overlap in the membership of the suffrage cause and the women worker's cause. Nonetheless, this group's voiceless speech demanded

54 "Woman's Beauty, Grace, and Art Bewilder the Capital." *The Washington Post* (1913), 1.

55 "Woman's Beauty, Grace, and Art Bewilder the Capital." *The Washington Post,* 1.

56 Einav Rabinovitch-Fox, "Clothing as a Site of Memory: The Uses and Legacy of Suffrage Fashion," 396.

57 Mary Chapman, Barbara Green, and Nancy A. Hewitt, "Suffrage and Spectacle," 47.

women receive men's wages amidst WWI (considering women were working many of the jobs that had been left by men fighting abroad), the protection of women workers for the sake of "future generations," and argued that the fatigue created by overwork lessened the efficiency of women workers.[58] The adoption of suffrage methods of protest by other activist groups demonstrates the effectiveness of these strategies, thus highlighting the masterful nature of suffragists' advertising campaigns in achieving public attention and support.

These various examples of suffragist visual protest and general concern with public image and advertising all demonstrate the interwoven nature of commercial culture and politics in the American suffrage movement. Not only did suffragists recognize and validate middle-class women's gendered role as consumers in twentieth-century urban culture, but they also embraced and contributed to the modern commercialization of politics.[59] In their adoption of the visual and material tactics of department stores, advertisers, magazine and newspaper publishers, and other commercial entities, suffragists both appropriated and reclaimed strategies traditionally used to garner consumer spending (with consumers most often being women).[60] It was the movement's masterful ability to advertise and commodify their campaign that perhaps encouraged the public sentiments which ultimately aided in the passage of the 19th amendment for women's suffrage.

The commodification of the suffrage cause was apparent in all of its factions, from the non-radical NAWSA to the British suffragette-inspired Woman's Party. NAWSA utilized the sale of mass-produced goods to further the suffrage cause, even collaborating with R. H. Macy's department store in 1912 by naming it the "official headquarters for suffrage supplies."[61] This benefitted both suffragists and the department store in terms of publicity and monetary gain. Woman's Party suffragists, on the other hand, employed more disruptive methods of visual protest in order to gain press attention, even at one point carrying banners that read "Kaiser Wilson" in order to point out the paradoxical nature of American diplomacy and domestic issues.[62] This faction's approach towards protest tended to provoke controversy in a way the non-radical NAWSA party did not, though nonetheless, all sectors of the movement were

58 "Suffrage Methods Prove Useful," *Maryland Suffrage News* (Baltimore: Maryland, 1918), 110.

59 Margaret Finnegan, *Selling Suffrage: Consumer Culture and Votes for Women*, 11-12.

60 Margaret Finnegan, *Selling Suffrage: Consumer Culture and Votes for Women*, 12.

61 Einav Rabinovitch-Fox, "Clothing as a Site of Memory: The Uses and Legacy of Suffrage Fashion," 399.

62 Kerber, Linda K, Jane Sherron, Cornelia Hughes Dayton, and Karissa Haugeberg, *Women's America: Refocusing the Past*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), 349.

involved with the employment of strategies specific to the commercial world in promoting the cause. Suffragists' adaptation to work within the modern urban, commercial, consumer-based world in which they were living allowed them to utilize new ways of garnering public attention in a political manner. Given that women, the simultaneous victims and victors of the modern advertising world, had experienced the imaginative, attention-grabbing power of these methods first-hand, they would be those best equipped to appropriate and emulate them.

The "utopian possibilities"[63] presented by the world of consumption, especially the department store, aligned with the visionary nature of the women's suffrage movement. Additionally, women's consumer demands—especially those regarding possible contaminants in mass-produced food and clothing, or concerns over working conditions in factories—served as arguments in favor of women's rationality, morality, and economic sensibility.[64] The deliberately feminized nature of consumer spaces inevitably led to concerns regarding consumerism practices among women. Given that the consumer world was largely considered un-masculine, consumer (or rather manufacturing) practices were less regarded among men. Without the ability to vote and a lack of concern by those *with* the ability to vote, women—specifically middle-class, urban women—found themselves essentially powerless in preventing these issues. Thus, consumer concerns naturally became a key argument in the fight for suffrage. If women were expected to fulfill their role as a consumers as an extension of the domestic sphere, then why should they not have a say in the practices under which these mass-produced goods were created?

Though suffragists' attitude towards department stores and consumerism in general changed drastically from the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth century, consumer spaces, both physical and print-based, undeniably incubated political independence among a large number of American women. Perhaps it was because of the imaginative nature of consumer spaces that allowed women to consider a future in which they had political agency. The cultural institutions in place at the time of suffrage's height (mostly the 1910s), specifically department stores, arguably aided the suffrage movement in its ability to gain traction and support among a large, heterogeneous group of American women. Due to the economic independence, imaginative capacity, and access to fellow women afforded by these consumer spaces, spaces like department stores and fashion magazines, the consumer sphere nurtured the kindling of women's independence in an otherwise masculine realm, one which would spread to fuel the fire of women's political freedom in the form of suffrage.

The commodification of the American suffrage movement, though

63 Margaret Finnegan, *Selling Suffrage: Consumer Culture and Votes for Women*, 25.

64 Margaret Finnegan, *Selling Suffrage: Consumer Culture and Votes for Women*, 34, 39.

presenting itself in a wide array of variations, ultimately aided in the success of the movement due to its garnering of increased public support and sympathy. American suffragists of the twentieth century recognized the power of the commodity, thus implementing calculated advertising tactics and maintaining a constant awareness of public image. Suffragists had to "sell" their cause, in both the literal and figurative sense, to the country. Without the recognition of the importance of women's consumer status on the modern world, the aid of corporate entities like department stores, the implementation of advertising strategies traditionally used to sell commodities, or the understanding of consumer culture that many suffragist leaders possessed, the suffrage movement would not have been able to reach the expansive audience it was ultimately able to. The consumer-capitalist-inspired nature of the later American suffrage movement and its success as a result of this method, thus, deserves increased scholarship as it aids in contextualizing the movement's political strategy and demonstrates the importance of visuality to the campaign. Much like a corporation/business, the American suffrage movement utilized strategies created by consumer culture to sell the cause, maintain a predominantly positive image, and, perhaps most notably, dare America to imagine: to try on the insurgent idea of women's suffrage as one might try on a dress they see in a magazine, or on a mannequin in a shop window. Suffragists not only argued for women's ability to organize and exercise political power, they showed it. It was this showing—this calculated, psychologically powerful, visual agenda—that proved to be a key element to the success of the American suffrage movement.

The United Daughters of the Confederacy, Leisure, and the Fashioning of Collective Memory

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Abstract: The United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), a lineage-based organization of elite white women, actively and consciously promoted the Lost Cause narrative, a pseudo-historical myth valorizing the Confederacy and downplaying the role of slavery in the Civil War, to the public. This article examines the UDC during its peak years from 1894-1920 and its use of public leisure events that disseminated the Lost Cause narrative to the Southern public. While prior research has extensively analyzed the UDC's involvement in erecting Confederate memorials supporting the Lost Cause, its involvement in public leisure is underexplored. Through an analysis of newspaper articles detailing UDC-hosted events, the personal papers of prominent UDC member Elizabeth Lumpkin Glenn, and UDC scrapbooks, this paper outlines the UDC's active effort to spread the Lost Cause through leisure events. Further, this paper argues that UDC members were driven by a conscious self-interest in maintaining their social prominence as affluent white women, which derived from white supremacy, through promotion of the Lost Cause. Through leisure, the UDC infused the South's collective memory of the Civil War with Lost Cause ideology.

It was 1905, but wedding goers could be forgiven for thinking otherwise. The scene before them was of fifty years past, with church decorations "so characteristically Southern, and so sentimentally associated . . . with the Confederacy."[1] The bridesmaids were "descriptions come to life of the antebellum maids," dressed in the style of the 1860s, and an honor guard in "full Confederate uniforms" oversaw the ceremony.[2] This retrograde wedding was that of Elizabeth Lumpkin Glenn, a scion of Georgia's slaveholding elite, whose commitment to the Lost Cause would yield her the title of "Daughter of Confederate Veterans," bestowed at a 1904 Confederate veteran's reunion. [3] She

1 *The State* (Columbia, SC), December 24, 1905, 8
2 *The State* (Columbia, SC), December 24, 1905, 8
3 *Asheville Citizen-Times* (Asheville, North Carolina), February 15, 1963, 13

was the only person ever afforded the honor. A fervent United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) member and public lecturer, Glenn identified an antebellum South she never personally knew as her birthright. Her personal commitment to the Confederate memory was matched by an equal determination to resurrect the Confederacy in the public consciousness. Glenn's life was characterized by her creation of public leisure events promoting the Lost Cause narrative. Her own wedding, dominated by the presence of "the boys in gray," at Glenn's choice, became a celebration of the Confederate past more than her own nuptials. Though most UDC members didn't bring Confederate costuming into their weddings, Glenn's devotion to the Confederacy– and willingness to transform private events into public leisure in the quest to promote the Lost Cause – was apparent in her wedding and shared by the ranks of the UDC.

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In 1865, the United States Civil War symbolically heaved its last breath in Appomattox, Virginia, bringing four years of warfare that decimated the American population and Southern landscape to a close. For the North, victory was achieved. The South, however, refused to accept that its way of life, built upon slavery, had irrevocably ended with the loss of the Civil War. Southern society was delineated by divisions of race, class, and gender. In the social hierarchy of the South, enslaved people composed the bottom tier of society. Poor whites— those with neither land nor slaves — were plentiful in number, destitute, underemployed, and subject to the denigration of wealthier whites as they stood mere inches above slaves in the consciousness of Southern elites.[4] The middle and planter classes topped the social hierarchy. Even the poorest whites benefited from white supremacy, a benefit white Southerners actively acknowledged and sought to maintain, as demonstrated in the 1858 speech by South Carolina Senator James Hammond in which he named slaves as the "mud sill" on which the "progress, civilization, and refinement" of the white South relies.[5] White Southerners were loath to give up what little they had and clung to their social and racial power as a rare remaining commodity. Rather than admit that the Civil War had irreversibly ended the antebellum way of life, the white South sought to recast the loss of the Civil War as a mere military defeat, with cultural victory having been achieved as the antebellum South lived on in values and the maintenance of white supremacy.[6]

The UDC led this rebranding effort by collectively sanitizing slavery

4 Keri Leigh Meritt, "Poor Whites and the Labor Crisis in the Slave South," *LAWCHA, July* 17, 2017, https://lawcha.org/2017/07/17/poor-whites-labor-crisis-slave-south/

5 James Henry Hammond, "Speech of Hon. James H. Hammond, of South Carolina, on the admission of Kansas, under the Lecompton Constitution," March 04, 1858, Teaching American History, https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/mud-sill-speech/

6 Karen Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press, 2003), 1-13

and valorizing Confederate history, resulting in the pseudo-historical myth of the Lost Cause.[7] The Lost Cause portrays the Civil War as a conflict over state's rights, as opposed to slavery, and romanticizes the institution of slavery by denying the violence of chattel slavery. Through the Lost Cause, the UDC conflated Southern history with the Confederacy until, as stated by historian W. Fitzhugh Brundage, "the prerogatives of race, gender, and class appear to be a natural and inviolable part of history."[8] By presenting the social hierarchy imposed by white supremacy as necessary to the mere existence of the South, the UDC motivated the public to preserve the hierarchy that gave its own members their elite social standing.

Existing research on the UDC and its promotion of the Lost Cause largely centers on its role in erecting Confederate monuments.[9] In contrast, this paper focuses on the public leisure events sponsored by the UDC, including public lectures, civic pageants, and essay contests. Research on Confederate monuments erected by the UDC highlights how these monuments function as physical manifestations of white supremacy. Yet, this research does not analyze the UDC beyond its role in financing and designing the monuments, overlooking the underlying personal interest members held in disseminating their desired collective memory of the Civil War. Monuments and leisure served fundamentally different, though complementary, roles in the UDC's promotion of the Lost Cause. Monuments were physically fixed testaments to the Confederacy. People went to monuments expecting to hear about the Confederacy. Leisure went to the people, bringing the history of the Confederacy directly to them.

This paper will explore how the UDC used leisure activities to disseminate the Lost Cause narrative to the public, forming the South's collective memory of the Civil War and influencing its self-image and conservative ideology. This paper focuses on the members and activities of North Carolina UDC chapters to analyze how leisure can be used to disseminate political messaging and has historically crafted collective memory. Analyzing leisure, rather than Confederate monuments, highlights the conscious and active desire of the organization to promote white supremacy and its desired historical conception of the Confederacy to the public. While this paper explores these questions through the example of the UDC, the use of leisure in creating collective memory is widespread, expanding the implications of this paper beyond research on the UDC.

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7 Cox, *Dixie's Daughters,* 9

8 W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *The Southern Past* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2005), 9

9 Heather A. O'Connell, "More than Rocks and Stone: Confederate Monuments, Memory Movements, and Race," *Social Forces,* Volume 100, Issue 4, June 2022, Pages 1479–1502

Leisure activities are the backdrop against which daily life plays; leisure structures engagement with one's community and forms popular culture. The UDC deliberately disseminated the Lost Cause through leisure because of its mundanity. Instead of being limited to exceptional instances of historical remembrance, the memory of the Confederacy became ingrained into daily Southern life through leisure. The Confederacy was the subject of children's essays and their first dramatic performances. Confederate reunions were the site of family outings, and lectures on the Confederacy were sophisticated entertainment.

Though seemingly innocuous, underlying such leisure events is the UDC's consciousness in choosing leisure as its method of delivering the Lost Cause to the masses. It implored veterans "to teach your children not to forget" and to pass down their record of service to the Confederacy so that a child's "first prayer" was one of "your battles, your company, your regiment."[10] The UDC used militant language to create metaphors of continued cultural battle. Speeches by UDC speakers were regularly greeted with the rebel yell, a Confederate battle cry. In doing so, audiences followed the UDC's call that to remember the Confederacy was to continue it. The UDC deliberately formed its own version of history. To members, this was the accurate version of history, and they sought to spread it across the South. People *wanted* to have fun, and the UDC gave it to them, along with its political messaging. Leisure was the spoonful of sugar with which the UDC slipped Southerners the drug of the Lost Cause.

One must acknowledge, however, that when offered the Lost Cause, Southerners were more than happy to swallow. They were eager to hear a story that minimized the atrocities of slavery and celebrated the Civil War. The Civil War had destroyed the physical landscape of the South, with cities razed and farms burned as the Union wound through the region. It had left psychological scars on a populace who lived through four years of battle and scarcity, and it decimated the male population. The Lost Cause offered a version of history where these sacrifices were worthwhile. It promised that, despite the war, the South's cultural victory had been achieved, with Glenn arguing that "the principles we fought for still live" on through white supremacy.[11]

The Lost Cause also offered the white Southern public a defined and virtuous identity it could embrace with pride. The white Southern public held personal connections to the Civil War, chiefly through elderly family members who had fought, but the majority of the general public had not yet integrated the

10 Newspaper Clipping, SV-5804/4, Elizabeth Lumpkin Glenn Papers, 1880s-1960s. Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, UNC Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC

11 Newspaper Clipping of 1904 Speech, SV-5804/4, Elizabeth Lumpkin Glenn Papers, 1880s-1960s. Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, UNC Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC

Confederacy into their own identity as Southerners. The UDC worked to change that dynamic. The UDC insisted that remembering the Confederacy was essential to the moral upkeep of the South, where without "the glory of the old south" surviving, one would see "the chivalry of man, the purity of woman, the honor of the South" be "laid in the dust forever," as argued in one public lecture.[12] The UDC valorized the Confederacy, allowing Southerners to take pride in their familial histories, by correlating Southernness with the traits members saw in Confederate soldiers—honor, self-sacrifice, and adherence to white supremacy. In doing so, the UDC offered Southerners an identity they could enthusiastically adopt. At a time when the South was the pariah of the nation, the UDC offered Southerners a sense of pride in their regional identity.

Despite working extensively to promote its Lost Cause messaging publicly, the ranks of the UDC were highly exclusive and not reflective of the Southern populace. The vast majority of the white Southern population were poor farmers and small-town tradespeople. As an organization of elite, wealthy white women, the UDC stood at the opposite end of the social spectrum. This social dynamic informed the public leisure events sponsored by the UDC. In promoting the Lost Cause, members needed to look beyond their peers and connect with the Southern masses. Leisure, absent educational or class requirements for participation, offered a venue for the UDC to connect with the masses. Attempts by wealthy white women to uplift the public through both moral instruction and the provision of social services occurred throughout the United States in the early twentieth century as reform movements proliferated during the Progressive Era.[13] Much as women were perceived to be the moral leaders of the home, elite women were expected to be moral leaders in their communities. Consequently, elite women filled their leisure time with involvement in women's civic organizations. The UDC is not an isolated example of women's social outreach. Indeed, many civic organizations sought to promote cultural values and historical knowledge. Women's groups in the North, for example, often worked with growing urban-based immigrant communities to maintain traditional art and rituals. The UDC was similarly focused on cultural promotion; it simply based Southern culture on the maintenance of white supremacy.

Through their participation in the UDC, elite white women were able to gain social and political power inaccessible to them by standard means. In the aftermath of the Civil War, a "general breakdown in paternalism," historian Drew Faust explains, swept the South with men losing social standing through their military defeat and war deaths opening space for women to take more active roles outside the home.[14] While women were still unable to vote or run

12 *Nashville Banner* (Nashville, Tennessee), August 4th, 1905, 9

13 Robyn Muncy, "The Ambiguous Legacies of Women's Progressivism," *OAH Magazine of History* 13, no. 3 (1999): 15–19

14 Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 10

for office, the UDC offered elite Southern women an outlet to express their political beliefs. However, historian Karen Cox explains that women's politicking was always done under the guise of "preserving the integrity and honor of their men."[15] The political nature of the UDC was grounded in the promotion of education and morality, both areas of female domain, allowing women to express themselves politically without contradicting Southern social norms.

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After the end of the Civil War, both the North and South went about relocating bodies from hastily dug graves and burying their dead properly. In the North, memorial efforts for fallen soldiers began almost immediately.[16] However, in the South, memorial efforts did not begin in earnest until the 1890s.[17] Women, organized through local Ladies' Memorial Associations, led efforts to memorialize the Confederate dead.[18] An outgrowth of Ladies' Memorial Associations, the UDC was founded in 1894 in Nashville, Tennessee, originally focused on tending graveyards and establishing memorials for dead Confederate soldiers. Yet, the UDC quickly grew beyond its charitable role, stepping into political and social affairs beyond burial as it became a vocal proponent of the Lost Cause narrative. The expansion in UDC activities parallelled its expansion in membership, with the UDC claiming over 20,000 members by 1900, a mere six years after its founding.[19]

The UDC organized the old guard of the Southern elite, aligned in their desire to maintain white supremacy, under a single name. The UDC drew its membership from the wives and daughters of politicians, prominent businessmen, or the genteel whose fortunes came from slave labor.[20] Despite its public outreach efforts, the ranks of the UDC were not open to the public, as they are a lineage-based organization. To gain membership women must still prove direct descent from an honorably serving Confederate soldier. This ensured the UDC's membership was only composed of those whose families had been in the South and fought for the Confederacy during the Civil War, excluding any women whose families had moved from the North during Reconstruction.

As a female organization, the UDC was in a uniquely favorable position to promote the Lost Cause. The UDC emerged amid increased racial tensions and violence in the South, as lynchings and race riots led by white men became

15 Cox, *Dixie's Daughters,* 9
16 Brundage, *The Southern Pas*t, 3
17 Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 9
18 Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 9
19 Caroline Janney, "The United Daughters of the Confederacy" in *Encyclopaedia Virginia*, 2024, Virginia Humanities.
20 Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 5

increasingly common following the end of Reconstruction.[21] In this context, men's attempts to promote the Lost Cause would likely have been interpreted as an attempt to militarize people in the defense of a past rebellion.[22] In contrast, women's efforts were viewed as an extension of their natural duties of moral instruction. Contemporary views held that among women's other domestic duties they were also responsible for the moral instruction of their children, an idea captured in the concept of Republican Motherhood.[23] By portraying themselves as spreading "Confederate virtues" and educating Southerners on heritage, the UDC grounded its promotion of the Lost Cause in the feminine duty to morally instruct.

The "Confederate virtues," a term commonly used by UDC members in their promotion of the Lost Cause, differed between men and women. For a man to exhibit Confederate virtue, he was to be chivalrous and genteel. A woman was to be gracious, hospitable, and supportive of both her men and her country. The UDC sought to promote these traits among the Southern public. However, these seemingly admirable traits rested upon a foundation of strictly enforced gender and racial hierarchy.[24] A man could only be genteel when his wealth was built with the blood of slaves rather than his own sweat. A woman exhibiting loyalty to man and country was one who espoused the creed of the Confederacy. By using the term "Confederate virtues," the UDC hearkened back to the antebellum South through

The outward appearance of spreading the Lost Cause as promoting morality was necessary to establish the respectability of UDC-sponsored leisure activities. While the members of the UDC were certainly respectable, it had to convince a public increasingly embittered with the Confederacy of its causes' respectability. The UDC drew its ranks from the white elite but proselytized to the white public, who had suffered throughout the Civil War to defend slaveholding without personally benefitting from it. Consequently, the UDC faced an uphill battle in achieving support for the Lost Cause. Simultaneously, the UDC's promotion of the Lost Cause was grounded in its effort to preserve white supremacy. White supremacy disproportionately benefited the white elites of the UDC, who sought to maintain their social status, including their dominance over poor whites, by promoting the Lost Cause. Thus, the UDC cloaked its promotion of white supremacy in the much prettier, and marketable, language of "Confed-

21 Anastasia Sims, *The Power of Femininity in the New South: Women's Organizations and Politics in North Carolina, 1880-1930*, (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1997)

22 Sims, *The Power of Femininity in the New South*

23 Linda K. Kerber, "The Republican Mother: Women and the Enlightenment- An American Perspective," *American Quarterly* 28, no.2 (1976): 187-205. Kerber coined the term "Republican Motherhood" in this article, referring to the 18th century American belief that women should be educated so they may instill republican values in their own children.

24 Brundage, *The Southern Past*, 9

erate virtues."

The UDC was established at the same time as mass leisure culture emerged in the United States. The American government and elite feared that "if used unwisely, leisure would undermine the progress of civilization and democracy," as argued by historian Susan Curell.[25] The UDC capitalized on this fear by promising to promote civilization among the public through its preaching of Confederate virtues. A division between "unwholesome" and "wholesome" leisure activities quickly appeared in the public conception. Contemporary views of leisure held that for it to be wholesome, it should provide enrichment, either for one's mind or body. The UDC presented its leisure events as promoting historical education and cultural values, enriching the minds of participants. Consequently, leading or attending UDC activities fit into the contemporary social conception of moralistic, or wholesome, leisure. The UDC offered a variety of leisure events to the public in its venture to spread the Lost Cause narrative. Among them were essay contests, civic pageants, public lectures, parties, and the nostalgia-infused Confederate veterans' camps that combined reunion and reenactment.

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The UDC sponsored a plethora of local essay contests with the aim of indoctrinating students with the UDC's version of Civil War history. Essay contests fit well within the social demand for moralistic leisure at the beginning of the twentieth century. They functioned as an intellectual exercise, challenging one's mind and fitting the demand for leisure that enriched participants. Essay contests also had a competitive nature, aligning with other popular leisure activities like sports and gaming. The UDC offered essay contests at both elementary and secondary schools and offered both cash and medal prizes.[26] In at least one case, the winning prize was books about Confederate leaders.[27] Cash prizes were frequently $10 or $20 but could be as high as one hundred dollars, the equivalent of over $1600 today.[28] Large prizes and the public recognition of winners generated excitement among participating students. Essay contests asked participants to write about Confederate leaders, the causes of the Civil War, Reconstruction, and the sacrifice of the Southern states. In North Carolina, prompts often highlighted the especially high casualties and deaths in North Carolina from the Civil War. This helped to develop the view that the South was the victim of Northern aggression among schoolchildren who participated in such essay contests.

25 Susan Currell, *The March of Spare Time: The Problem and Promise of Leisure in the Great Depression* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 5

26 *News and Record* (Greensboro, NC), January 4, 1920, 3

27 *The State Journal* (Raleigh, NC), February 18th, 1916, 11

28 *News and Record* (Greensboro, NC), January 4, 1920, 3

While essay contests were ostensibly supposed to generate historical scholarship, in reality the UDC only awarded scholarship demonstrating obedience to UDC ideological dogma by celebrating the South and the Lost Cause narrative. Though essay contests were hosted by the UDC, the organization did not read and select the winning essays. The process was outsourced to independent committees, usually composed of three judges with academic backgrounds, most often professors of history who championed the Lost Cause in their own works.[29] Selected judges were always proponents of the Lost Cause and expected to award essays that aligned with the UDC's values. The fierce commitment to these values was put in sharp relief in the rare moments when selection committees veered away from expected protocols. The expectation that essays compliant with Lost Cause ideology would be awarded was violated in 1909, when an independent committee awarded an essay that derided Robert. E Lee as a traitor and the South as "intellectually dead" at the time of the Civil War.[30] Such statements directly opposed the UDC's veneration of Robert E. Lee, who it claimed was "one of the very best and greatest Americans," and its regional pride.[31]

The award decision quickly received condemnation from UDC chapters across the country, which derided the essay as filled with "historical blunders and perversions."[32] The UDC, therefore, attacked any version of history that was not "considerate of the feelings of the Daughters of the Confederacy and of the people of the South generally" when discussing the Civil War as the erroneous result of not knowing "the true history of the South."[33] The UDC's "true history" was that of the Lost Cause, which it expected to be espoused in sponsored essay contests. Angered by the betrayal of judges who were supposed to be ideologically loyal—especially those who, "being Southern men, must have known that the essay was historically incorrect"—the UDC attempted to revoke the award and censure the judges.[34] In defense of his decision, judge Edwin Alderman, the University of Virginia's president, argued that "he thought that the award was to be made on the ground of literary merit."[35] However, for the UDC, adherence to the Lost Cause ideology in essays was more significant than literary merit.

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29 Daniel Joseph Singal, "Ulrich B. Phillips: The Old South as the New," *The Journal of American History* 63, no. 4 (1977): 871–91, https://doi.org/10.2307/1893614. Academic scholarship from Southerners, such as Ulrich B. Phillips, overwhelmingly supported the Lost Cause. Such scholarship legitimized the pseudo-historical Lost Cause and fostered its entry into academic theory. While there is no evidence Phillips himself ever judged a UDC essay contest, he is representative of the New South school of historians from which judges were drawn.

30 *Fayetteville Weekly Observer* (Fayetteville, NC), February 11th, 1909, 1

31 *Fayetteville Weekly Observer* (Fayetteville, NC), February 11th, 1909, 1

32 *Fayetteville Weekly Observer* (Fayetteville, NC), February 11th, 1909, 1

33 *Fayetteville Weekly Observer* (Fayetteville, NC), February 11th, 1909, 1

34 *The Wilmington Morning Star* (Wilmington, NC), February 6th, 1909, 2; *Fayetteville Weekly Observer* (Fayetteville, NC), February 11th, 1909, 1

35 *The Wilmington Morning Star* (Wilmington, NC), February 6th, 1909, 2

In essay contests, like all UDC activities, the Civil War was always referred to as the "War Between the States." The term "War Between the States" was preferred by the UDC as it emphasized the Confederacy as its own, legitimate, nation that existed in opposition to the United States of America, rather than being a rebellion within the United States. This supported the Lost Cause narrative that conflicts over states' rights sparked the Civil War. The use of language that deemphasized slavery and Southern responsibility in the Civil War is seen throughout the UDC's programming and furthers the spread of the Lost Cause narrative.

Essay contests fit into a wider pattern of the UDC's efforts to teach the Lost Cause narrative within public schools, and they became, effectively, an extension of the public-school curriculum. While essay contests were sponsored and administered by the UDC, they were promoted within public schools, resulting in high student participation.[36] Essay awards were presented alongside officially school-sponsored awards at graduation, demonstrating governmental support for the UDC's essay contests.[37] The UDC also presented portraits of Robert E. Lee to schools to be hung in classrooms and performed civic pageants featuring the Confederacy at schools, all in an effort to integrate the Confederacy into the lives of schoolchildren.[38]

The UDC's conscious effort to promote the Lost Cause within schools is captured in a 1904 letter to the Superintendent of Public Instruction in North Carolina from the North Carolina UDC, in which the UDC requested to "inspect the histories, biographies, readers" and other materials that could convey "false and injurious impressions of the South."[39] They explicitly named their goal of "training our children to love and honor the memory" of the Confederacy, to which the NC Superintendent vows to "co-operate with you [the UDC] in the accomplishment of your laudable purpose."[40] The state's willingness to partner with the UDC to promote the Lost Cause demonstrates the social and political power held by members of the UDC.

Another new leisure activity the UDC harnessed to great effect was the civic pageant. Prior to 1910, the civic pageant was seen almost exclusively in the American Northeast.[41] The civic pageant combined education and dramatic

36 *The Wilmington Dispatch* (Wilmington, NC), April 20, 1917, 5

37 *The Asheville Times* (Asheville, NC), June 19, 1918, 5

38 *The News and Observer* (Raleigh, NC), March 8, 1916, 7

39 Mrs. Helen De Berniere Wills and Mrs. Fred A. Olds to J.Y Joyner, March 3rd 1904, 00519-20, E.E Moffit Papers, 1853-1930, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, UNC Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC

40 Mrs. Helen De Berniere Wills and Mrs. Fred A. Olds to J.Y Joyner, March 3rd 1904, 00519-20, E.E Moffit Papers, 1853-1930, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, UNC Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC

41 Karen Blair, *The Torchbearers: Women and Their Amateur Arts Associations in America, 1890-1930. (*Bloomingdale, Indiana: University of Indiana Press, 1994), 122

performance into an approximately two-hour show divided into episodes with a common theme. Pageants were amateur performances made by and for local communities and often led by women's associations.[42] Civic pageants were almost exclusively led by women, with even paid pageant organizer roles being filled by women.[43] Women's dominance over civic pageants highlights women's power cultural, moral, and educational spaces, a unique sphere of influence afforded to women by ideals of domesticity.

Civic pageants carried the intrinsic capability of communicating political messaging. Viewers expected to learn an accurate cultural history from civic pageants, and pageant makers took advantage of this expectation by infusing pageants with whatever political slant on history they desired. In the Northeast, pageants commonly depicted town history and traditions.[44] The UDC quickly adopted the civic pageant for its own uses. Like in the North, UDC sponsored civic pageants to foster pride in a shared cultural history. However, instead of town history, UDC civic pageants depicted the main events and figures of the Confederacy, and were often featured within UDC conventions.

UDC conventions transformed the meetings of an exclusive women's club into public spectacles celebrating the Confederacy, dedicated to promoting the messaging of the UDC. Conventions were multi-day gatherings of the most powerful women in the state, committed to sharing and glorifying Confederate history. They usually had scheduled closed meeting sessions, which were open only to members, while the rest of the program was open to the public. Included in the public activities was an open meeting of the UDC. While open meetings are generally boring affairs, the UDC brought "great fanfare" to its open meetings, elevating them from a club meeting to an orchestrated night of UDC promotion. One example of a UDC sponsored civic pageant comes from a UDC convention in 1920 in Asheville, North Carolina.[45] The Asheville convention's open meeting featured musical entertainment by a "noted soprano soloist" and a spate of "prominent local people and distinguished heads of state organizations" participating in the evening's program.[46] Other public activities included the opening and closing ceremonies of the convention, which often featured musical entertainment, lectures, and the performance of civic pageants. UDC conventions, therefore, served the dual function of being a private gathering and public leisure event.

The civic pageant at the 1920 Asheville convention was performed "by nearly 150 children," and following the conventions of civic pageants, it featured four scenes, organized under the theme of American history: "the

42 Blair, *The Torchbearers*, 125
43 Blair, *The Torchbearers*, 126
44 Blair, *The Torchbearers*, 126
45 *Asheville Citizen-Times* (Asheville, North Carolina), October 31, 1920, 14
46 *Asheville Citizen-Times* (Asheville, North Carolina), October 31, 1920, 14

landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth in 1620, followed by the Colonial and Revolutionary period… coming next will be the days of the Confederacy and next the impress of the great world war."[47] Each scene contained several vignettes, dances, songs, and comedy sketches within it. The UDC pageant depicted the Civil War not as warfare that tore the United States asunder but rather as the brief existence of the Confederate States, removing the responsibility for the Civil War from the South and legitimizing the Confederate States by employing the Lost Cause narrative. The UDC pageant gave the Confederacy more stage time than the Revolutionary War, which was reduced simply to "George and Martha [Washington], Lafayette, (and) Betsy Ross," demonstrating the UDC's emphasis on Confederate history rather than shared American history.[48] The figures of Robert E. Lee, "the South's beloved hero," and Stonewall Jackson, represented the Confederacy as a whole and led "the daughters of the old south."[49] The pageant also depicted the "making of the flag of the Confederacy," ensuring that the origins of the Confederate and American flags were equally honored.[50]

It was common for pageants to be performed by "nearly 150 children," and most civic pageants were almost exclusively performed by women and children.[51] Pageants were a popular leisure activity for children to participate in, simultaneously offering artistic enrichment and historical education. Pageants exposed child performers to the Lost Cause ideology of the UDC by having children perform a sanitized history of the Confederacy, effectively spreading the Lost Cause to younger generations.

The children acting in UDC pageants were usually members of the Children of the Confederacy, an auxiliary organization of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Members of the Children of the Confederacy ranged from toddlers to adolescents. Like its parent organization, the Children of the Confederacy is a lineage-based organization. UDC members led and organized Children of the Confederacy, whose membership was largely drawn from the children of UDC members.[52] Through the children's chapters, the UDC sought to "teach the rising generation the real facts about the war between the states and the South" in order to "make good Southerners."[53] Auxiliary chapters frequently participated in local celebrations of Confederate holidays and performed at UDC conventions, either through pageants or singing. By giving children an active role in UDC events, the UDC modeled celebrating the Confederacy as an important aspect of adult life to its child members. Children of the Confedera-

47 *Asheville Citizen-Times* (Asheville, North Carolina), October 31, 1920, 14
48 *Asheville Citizen-Times* (Asheville, North Carolina), November 30, 1920, 5
49 *Asheville Citizen-Times* (Asheville, North Carolina), October 31, 1920, 14
50 *Asheville Citizen-Times* (Asheville, North Carolina), November 30, 1920, 5
51 Blair, *The Torchbearers*, 128
52 Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 1-13
53 *The Charlotte News* (Charlotte, North Carolina), October 8, 1915, 2

cy's chapter meetings revolved around studying local Confederate history, with chapters holding "study courses" on different figures or events, singing Confederate songs, and engaging in prayer.[54] Children of the Confederacy functioned as a pipeline for developing future members of the UDC and Sons of the Confederacy, where members enrolled after turning eighteen.

A cross between political rally and history lesson, public lectures served as the most direct promotion of the Lost Cause by members of the UDC. Like pageants and essay contests, lectures enriched participants intellectually and thus fit into conceptions of wholesome leisure. They ostensibly served to educate listeners on the Southern past and Civil War but were also spaces that openly championed the Lost Cause and white supremacy. Lectures given by UDC members were a chance for individual visibility in the promotion of the Lost Cause, as members operated as individuals, rather than representatives of a collective. Consequently, successful lecturers could gain significant social standing. The phenomenon of UDC-affiliated lectures is best demonstrated through the example of Elizabeth Lumpkin Glenn.

Born in 1880, Elizabeth Lumpkin Glenn was the textbook example of the perfect UDC member. She came from a moneyed family in Georgia, with plantation land and a history of slaveholding.[55] Glenn immensely valued her familial history, particularly her father and grandfather's service in the Civil War, and belonged to the generation of UDC members who had a direct connection to the war through their parents and consequently felt personal attachment to the Lost Cause. Throughout her life, Glenn's writings and speeches were infused with a bitterness that suggests she viewed the defeat of the Confederacy as costing her birthright, a genteel life of leisure reliant on enslaved labor. She began her lifelong involvement with the UDC in 1898, when she joined a Georgia chapter while studying at the Oratory of Brenau Conservatory, where she learned the public speaking skills that she later became renowned for[56] Glenn dedicated her life to the Lost Cause, declaring the righteousness of the South and her commitment to maintaining white supremacy throughout her many speeches.

The first press record of Elizabeth Lumpkin Glenn's lectures came in 1904. At the time, she was still Elizabeth Lumpkin, unmarried and teaching elocution. By 1904, she had already achieved a reputation for "being particularly gifted in speaking on subjects concerning the war and the south."[57] When she married in 1905, she retired from teaching but continued to give lectures,

54 *The Raleigh Times* (Raleigh, North Carolina, July 31, 1912, 4

55 Jacquelyn Hall, *Sisters and Rebels: A Struggle for the Soul of America* (New York: W.W Norton Company, 2019)

56 Membership Application, SV-5804/4, Elizabeth Lumpkin Glenn Papers, 1880s-1960s. Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, UNC Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC

57 *The State* (Columbia, South Carolina), Sep 25, 1904, 11

frequently traveling across the South. By lecturing, Glenn was able to be politically active and work outside the domestic sphere.[58] Involvement in the promotion of the

Lost Cause offered women a socially acceptable way to engage in the public sphere during an era where elite women could not hold employment outside the home or directly engage in politics.

Though this paper only examines the UDC through 1920, Glenn lectured throughout her life. Despite the length of her oratorical career, she returned to the same topics over and over. Glenn's speeches centered on the death and destruction of the Civil War, the contributions to the war effort by women, and the necessity of preserving the memory and virtues of the Confederacy. She used the phrase "Lost Cause" when referring to the Confederacy, creating the conception of the South as an ennobled people who, when faced with a cultural attack, battled despite inevitable military defeat. In her speeches, Glenn, directly linked the Lost Cause to white supremacy. In the same 1904 speech in which Glenn "reviewed the story of the old south," she also railed that the "white man must work the law and the white man must rule" as she called for the South to maintain white supremacy "to the last."[59]demonstrated through Glenn, the UDC's promotion of the Lost Cause was grounded in its desire to maintain the white supremacist order of the antebellum era.

Glenn spoke at many different types of public events, ranging from district and state conventions of the UDC, to Confederate reunions and town gatherings. She had received enough acclaim that she was actively sought out as a speaker. According to newspaper accounts, Glenn "electrified Confederate assemblies as has no other human being," and was able to turn any event into a spirited defense of the Confederacy. For event organizers, a Glenn lecture was gold. Listeners' praise was consistently effusive. In her "soul-stirring language," veterans found an invigorated pride for the Confederacy and Southerners found regional pride based upon the history of the Confederacy.[60] She was a headline attraction across the South and increased public attendance at events where she spoke. An article advertising a Confederate veterans' reunion highlighted that "Mrs. Eugene B Glenn Speaks" in its subtitle.[61] Event organizers recognized her prominence in luring attendees to otherwise boring events. At a public sendoff for Asheville soldiers during WWI, Glenn, "the only woman speaker of the

58 Elizabeth Lumpkin Glenn married in 1905, at which she took on her husband's last name Glenn. Prior to her marriage, she went by Elizabeth Lumpkin, and is occasionally referred to in newspapers by her initials, E.E Lumpkin. Though I discuss events both before and after her marriage, I will refer to her by her married name, Glenn, throughout my paper for continuity.

59 *The Brunswick New*s (Brunswick, Georgia), Nov 1, 1904, 1

60 *Nashville Banner* (Nashville, Tennessee), August 4, 1905, 9

61 *Asheville Citizen-Times* (Asheville, North Carolina), Aug 13, 1915, 7

evening, was the last to be heard from the platform."[62] Her position as closing speaker was one of honor but also a tactical decision by organizers, as they placed the leisure activity of her speech at the end of an otherwise somber event to retain the attention of attendees.

Glenn was known for delivering speeches at veterans' reunions, but she also delivered lectures as an individual event. Lectures were a popular form of leisure at the beginning of the 1900s. Held in venues such as opera halls, Glenn's lectures were highly attended as a public leisure event and organized at the behest of event organizers.[63] The occurrence and subject of Glenn's lectures were a topic of conversation for both the press and public. Glenn's lectures garnered frequent praise from both, and officials from the United Confederate Veterans and United Sons of Confederate Veterans took note, writing Glenn to request that she deliver the same speech in their own towns.[64] Consequently, she often gave the same speech multiple times in different towns.

Glenn's delivery of the same speeches across the South fit into existing conventions of lecture circuits wherein the most successful lecturers would go on tour, delivering the same lecture across multiple cities, akin to the tours of modern musicians.[65] Though Glenn did not perform on a circuit, circuits had accustomed the public to speakers delivering the same speech across multiple cities as Glenn did. Glenn's lectures preached the gospel of the Lost Cause to massive audiences across the South. Lectures further legitimized the Lost Cause narrative by grounding a false version of history in a form of entertainment associated with the presentation of knowledge. Attendees did not question the veracity of Glenn's claims, instead accepting her diatribes as "beautiful truths."[66]

Run by the UDC, Confederate veterans' reunions were another venue of promoting the Lost Cause to the public, with specific UDC members chosen to organize reunions and work with the veterans as representatives of the UDC.[67] Reunions were public annual events where Confederate veterans camped on a single site for several days and featured speakers and musical programs.[68] The UDC ensured that "different forms of entertainment are employed to amuse the visitors," as advertised in a local newspaper, luring visitors into a normally

62 *Asheville Citizen-Times* (Asheville, North Carolina), June 24, 1916, 5

63 *The Brunswick New*s (Brunswick, Georgia), Nov 1, 1904, 1

64 Henry Cassill to Elizabeth Lumpkin Glenn, March 4th 1905, SV-5804/3, Elizabeth Lumpkin Glenn Papers, 1880s-1960s, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, UNC Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC

65 Nancy Cooper, " 'Upward Ho! Or, The Way of the Better Life': The Circuit Chautauqua Movement in Montana," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 65, no. 1 (2015): 24-95

66 *Brevard News* (Brevard, North Carolina), May 2, 1913, 6

67 *The Asheville Weekly Citizen* (Asheville, North Carolina), Sep 2, 1904, 6

68 *Asheville Citizen-Times* (Asheville, North Carolina), Aug 13, 1915, 7

private affair.[69] The UDC could only succeed in maintaining white supremacy and the Confederate memory through continual insertion of the Lost Cause narrative into the minds of the public. The public veteran reunion was a post-Civil War invention— veterans of previous American conflicts had gathered informally, with members of their own regiments, to socialize among themselves, with no effort to bring the public into the reminiscing of old comrades. Under UDC organizing, the private social gatherings became public leisure events.

Lectures were particularly prominent at reunions, with an opening speaker beginning the events each year. The public was specifically invited to hear the addresses given at these reunions, highlighting veterans' desire for their perceptions of the Civil War to be shared with the public.[70] Speakers were pulled from the UDC, with Glenn a frequent speaker as her speeches supported veterans' conviction that the Civil War was a righteous struggle.

Reunions featured re-enactments too, as veterans wore their old Confederate uniforms, drilled, and sung war songs.[71] This roleplay of the Confederacy served as a literal manifestation of the Lost Cause desire to return to the antebellum era. Reunions saw large turnouts from the public and were frequently visited by families. Attendees viewed Confederate reunions as an opportunity to interact with and hear stories from the aging Confederate veteran population. Souvenirs such as ribbons and drinking glasses commemorated reunions.[72] The private assemblies of old comrades do not warrant souvenirs; their presence marks the transformation of reunions into public events, with souvenir objects for public consumption. The attendance of "two thousand people" at a 1915 Confederate reunion camp demonstrates that even a half-century after Confederate defeat, the South remained invested in the cultural continuation of the Confederacy.[73] As they had for UDC conventions, leisure activities transformed reunions from private gatherings into public events of Confederate celebration. In the antebellum era, veterans reunited in private social gatherings. Confederate veterans, at the behest of the UDC, reunited at events designed for the simultaneous public consumption of leisure and ideology.

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Today, the UDC is a shell of its former self, living on through the Lost Cause now woven into Southern collective memory. Following the end of World War I, the UDC saw a decline in both power and membership. The UDC

69 *The Asheville Times* (Asheville, North Carolina), June 22, 1920, 10

70 *Asheville Citizen-Times* (Asheville, North Carolina), Aug 13, 1915, 7

71 *The Asheville Times* (Asheville, North Carolina), June 22, 1920, 10

72 [Cup from 1899 Charleston Confederate Reunion], The Museum at Market Hall, Charleston, SC

73 *The News and Observer* (Raleigh, North Carolina), Aug 16, 1915, 7

members who championed the Lost Cause prior to World War I had a personal connection to the Lost Cause. They were the daughters of the former planter class. The fortunes and elite social status they inherited were a holdover from the antebellum era and built upon the foundation of white supremacy. Slavery created their birthright and white supremacy maintained it. Consequently, members of the UDC had a vested interest in maintaining white supremacy. In contrast, the newest generation of UDC members were further removed from the antebellum past, and did not feel as connected to their plantation roots. Having survived the Great War, the Southern public was more focused on enjoying a booming post-war economy than the Confederacy. Though the UDC continues to exist today, its social power and membership has declined. The UDC has left its legacy in its promotion of the Lost Cause. The South's collective memory of the Civil War is informed by the Lost Cause ideology that UDC members dedicated themselves to promoting in a quest to maintain the white supremacy that was responsible for their high social standing.

The Lost Cause fashioned the South's self-image of being a region under constant cultural threat. Jokes about transplants from the North, such as the regional joke that the Raleigh suburb Cary stands for "Containment Area for Relocated Yankees," underlie a real hostility the South continues to hold toward Northerners. Modern protests about Confederate monuments evoked calls to maintain "heritage," the same language the UDC used to disguise its promotion of the Lost Cause and the white supremacy intrinsic to it. The collective memory of the Civil War relies on "states' rights" and "culture," with little emphasis on slavery. Plantations are still more often wedding venues than museums. Through leisure, the UDC wove the Lost Cause into the fabric of Southern social life, where it has remained the defining aspect of the South's collective memory of the Civil War.

The Power of the Provisional IRA Funeral

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Abstract: The funerals of Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) members during the Troubles in Northern Ireland played a crucial role in shaping the organization's public image, advancing its political agenda, and sustaining its mythos. These paramilitary funerals, infused with Irish funerary traditions, were highly ritualized events where elements such as the Irish tricolor flag, militaristic clothing, and live gunfire volleys turned the mourning of the dead into political theater. PIRA funerals often occurred under tense circumstances, drawing opposition from the police, the British army, the Catholic Church, and even family members. Nevertheless, the group persisted, understanding the funerals' potential to inspire recruitment, garner media attention, and legitimize their cause. A funeral gave the organization a rare opportunity to promote its cause publicly, attracting attention locally and in the international media, which helped the PIRA craft a narrative of martyrdom. Despite the authorities' attempts to prevent paramilitary displays, the PIRA successfully wielded funerals as a political weapon to reinforce its position in the ongoing struggle for Irish republicanism and to leave a lasting impact on the living through the legacy of the dead.

Prologue

First, the body is laid in the window for all to see. Over the next few days, friends and family will gather around the home, never leaving the body alone. They will tell stories and share in their grief until, when enough time has passed, it is time for the burial. The cortege will gather outside the house. A group of twenty or thirty, but often hundreds, if not thousands of people, will gather in the street to accompany the coffin on the way to the local Catholic church.

Before the coffin emerges into the fresh air of the day, a tricolor flag is draped across it. The police will certainly object, but they'll seldom interfere this early in the day. Just before the coffin departs the house, a man wearing black with dark sunglasses might approach and carefully place a black beret and leather gloves atop the flag. The coffin is ready. It will be carried by those who supported the deceased in his life and his death: his siblings, his friends, and masked men in balaclavas.

A piper begins to play a lament. They play the same traditional tunes. The procession begins. They'll walk a circuitous route through the neighborhood, sometimes lasting well over an hour. Neighbors will stand outside their homes as a sign of respect as black flags wave in windows and from porches. In alleys, doorways, and side streets, the police and army watch silently, with mourners throwing the occasional rock in their direction. The mourners mostly keep to the Catholic sections of town. However, they occasionally weave into the more mixed areas, where they might be met with heckling from local Protestants who are also liable to becoming victims of flying objects.

They will finally arrive at the church and meet the priest. What happens next is at his discretion and depends on the tension in the community, the Church's most recent policy, and how many eyes, or cameras, seem to be watching. He may allow the coffin in as it is. Often, he will demand removal of the beret and gloves. He might ask for the removal of the flag as well. In the event he objects to the coffin even entering the church, he'll notify the family in advance and the funeral mass will be done in the family's living room, where the body had been laid out.

Regardless of the exact location or circumstances, a Catholic mass will be said, and when it is finished, the deceased will finally be buried–but not before one final step. If it wasn't done outside the family home or along the route to the cemetery, the coffin will be set down. Women will raise sheets and umbrellas into the air so that the coffin is obscured from passersby and the police's cameras. A few masked men will emerge from the crowd and flank either side of the tricolor-draped box. They will remove guns from their coats. Raising the guns into the air, they will fire three volleys of live rounds. The police move in quickly, but they rarely catch them. The masked men retreat into the crowd just as quickly as they appeared, protected by the other mourners until they can flee the scene.

All rituals are complete, and the deceased is left to rest in peace while his or her memory takes on a life of its own. The deceased's legacy, cemented by the tricolor flag, black clothes, and bullets fired, will become the latest chapter in the Provisional Irish Republican Army's mythology: another noble martyr lost to their cause.

Introduction

Funerals are not always about the dead. In Northern Ireland, the funerals for members of the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) during the Troubles were some of the only events where the known terrorist organization could operate freely. The Troubles refers to the conflict in Northern Ireland from the late 1960s until around 1998. While rooted in a deep and complex history, the conflict mostly developed out of a sentiment among the Catholic minority in the region that the British government of Northern Ireland intentionally discriminated against Catholics. This prompted the revival of a nationalist movement

to reunite Northern Ireland or "Ulster" with the Republic of Ireland.[1] Those in favor of a united Ireland were said to be "nationalists" or "republicans."[2] Irish unification was opposed by the British government and the Protestant majority of Northern Ireland, who referred to themselves as "loyalists" or "unionists."[3] Despite being neighbors for generations, the nationalist Catholics and the unionist Protestants maintained two completely different ideas about who could truly lay claim to Northern Ireland.

In the late 1960s, civil rights protests loosely modeled on the ongoing protests in the United States began in Northern Ireland over housing and employment discrimination against Catholics.[4] In 1969, the protests boiled over into violent encounters between Catholics and the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) and eventually included the British Army. It is important to note that the RUC was predominantly Protestant, as was the Ulster Defense Regiment (UDR) of the British Army, which recruited almost exclusively from the local Protestant community. Furthermore, Northern Ireland's governmental leadership and bureaucracy were disproportionately controlled by Protestants.[5]

The Provisional Irish Republican Army, whose members were referred to as the "Provisionals" or "Provos," came into existence in this tenuous environment. The organization known as the Irish Republican Army (IRA) had existed since the Irish independence movements of the 1910s but had been largely dormant post-WWII. In the late 1960s, with the rise of civil rights protests, the IRA mantle was taken up again.[6] The PIRA split off from what became known as the Official IRA (OIRA) over disagreements about the best path forward to Irish reunification, with the new PIRA leadership supporting violence as a means of forcing the British out of Northern Ireland.[7] The somewhat small faction of PIRA members quickly became the majority faction within the Irish republican movement by 1970.[8] The PIRA worked alongside other nationalist paramilitary organizations, including the Irish National Liberation Army (INLA),[9] and received financial support from overseas organizations like the Irish Northern Aid Committee (NORAID) in the United States.[10] There were also loyalist paramilitary organizations operating in Northern Ireland, such as the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) and the Ulster Defense Association (UDA)/ Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF) who targeted Catholic civilians and PIRA members.[11] The PIRA often accused these loyalist organizations of colluding

1 David McKittrick and David McVea, *Making Sense of the Troubles* (Belfast: Blackstaff, 2000), 2.
2 McKittrick and McVea, *Making Sense*, 59-60.
3 Thomas Hennessey, *A History of Northern Ireland, 1920-1996* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 3.
4 McKittrick and McVea, *Making Sense*, 40.
5 McKittrick and McVea, *Making Sense*, 11.
6 McKittrick and McVea, *Making Sense*, 330.
7 James Dingley, *The IRA* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2012), 94.
8 Dingley, *The IRA*, 95.
9 Coogan, *The Troubles*, 277.
10 Coogan, *The Troubles*, 460.
11 McKittrick and McVea, *Making Sense*, 35.

with British security forces, including the UDR and the RUC.[12]

The British government considered the PIRA a paramilitary terrorist organization due to its campaigns of violence that often resulted in the deaths of innocent civilians. However, the PIRA saw themselves as freedom fighters–a righteous militia defending land they believed to be theirs by any means necessary.[13] Ultimately, both Ulster Catholics and Protestants thought they were defending a territory and heritage that belonged to them. Practically, in Northern Ireland, who one considered a "terrorist" often depended on which form of Christianity he or she followed. In this paper, "terrorism" refers to the sum of actions committed by members of the PIRA because they used violence toward noncombatants as well as the army and police to generate fear among civilians to further their political goals.[14]

The conflict escalated quickly, with deaths peaking in 1972 when 480 people were killed. More than 2,000 people would die before 1980 and the final death toll for the Troubles is believed to be around 3,500. The vast majority of those killed were civilians.[15] With so much death in the air, funerals were, at times, a near-daily occurrence across Northern Ireland for innocent bystanders, law enforcement officers, and the perpetrators of violence.[16] Through their use of militaristic rituals and grandeur during the late 1960s, 70s, 80s, and early 90s, the PIRA used funerals to craft political mythology, elevate their soldiers to the status of martyrs, and generate public sympathy for their cause. Despite attempted interventions by the police, military, members' families, and the Catholic Church, the Provisional Irish Republican Army successfully used members' funerals as vessels to promote, maintain, and legitimize their republican agenda during the Troubles.

Irish Funerals

There is a rich funerary tradition in Ireland, which the PIRA carefully manipulated to serve its political agenda. In *Talking to The Dead: A Study of Irish Funerary Traditions*, Nina Witoszek and Pat Sheeran describe how PIRA funerals fit into an Irish tradition where funerals carried important cultural significance: "The instances of the cult of death to which we have alluded [to in Irish society], and their intimate links with Irish nationalism point to a society on which, for long, the funerary sign has remained a strong communal binder and mourning a unifying factor."[17] The PIRA exploited this "binding property" at specific funerals to further its cause.

12 Coogan, *The Troubles*, 460.

13 Tim Pat Coogan, *The Troubles: Ireland's Ordeal 1966-1996 and the Search for Peace* (Boulder, CO: Roberts Rinehart Publishers, 1997), 90.

14 Helen Frowe, *The Ethics of War and Peace: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2011), 179-180.

15 McKittrick and McVea, *Making Sense*, 323.

16 McKittrick and McVea, *Making Sense*, 226.

17 Nina Witoszek and Pat Sheeran, *Talking to the Dead: A Study of Irish Funerary Traditions* (Boston: Brill, 1998), 36.

Key elements of Irish funerary tradition were present in PIRA funerals. For instance, Brian Mullin's death notice included the detail that his body was taken from police custody back to his family home for a traditional wake where family members would visit the home for several days.[18] Beyond these traditional Irish funerary ceremonies, the PIRA adopted several practices that closely resembled military funerals of the time. They draped their national colors over coffins and placed uniform pieces upon them, specifically a beret and gloves. The PIRA also had uniformed "soldiers" accompany the procession, carry the coffin, and perform a gun salute or "volley." As a result, the PIRA paramilitary funerals closely resembled British military funerals, and it was evident that the PIRA saw their soldiers' funerals as equals to those of British soldiers.

One notable difference, though, was in the nature of the volleys. At a typical military funeral, the guns saluting the fallen soldier fire blanks since the burials are often far from the conflict and the conflict is usually over. The PIRA, often using pistols, would fire live rounds into the air above the coffins, not blanks.[19] This deliberate use of real ammunition illustrates how the PIRA saw the funerals not as distant events but as a fundamental aspect of the Northern Ireland battlefield, where the fighting was far from over. The decision to fire live rounds suggests that the PIRA considered themselves to be actively at war, even while attending a soldier's funeral.

Volleys were just one common aspect of PIRA funerals. Another key component was the Irish tricolor flag. Under the Flags and Emblems (Display) Act (Northern Ireland) of 1954, police and military could demand the removal of any flag that could lead to a "breach of the peace," which was aimed directly at the Irish tricolor. Those displaying the flag after being asked to remove it by police could be arrested, fined up to £500, and imprisoned for up to 5 years.[20] Nevertheless, the flag remained an important symbol of republicanism and PIRA resistance at funerals between 1954 and 1987. The Act was repealed by Public Order in 1987.[21] Lastly, there were usually people wearing militaristic clothing. This included clothing worn by mourners, sometimes making up an identifiable "honor guard," pallbearers, or clothing placed on the coffin, usually a black beret and black gloves. The black beret was a widely used clothing article by paramilitary liberation organizations across the world, such as the Black Panther Party.[22] Paramilitary uniforms and symbols were also criminalized in a

18 Owan Bowcott and John Carvel, "Shoot-to-kill Policy Denied by Thatcher," The Guardian (1959-2003) (London (UK)), 1988, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Guardian and The Observer (186942193).

19 Craig Seton, "Both Sides Bury Ulster Dead," *The Times*, May 16, 1981, The Times Digital Archive.

20 "Flags and Emblems (Display) Act (Northern Ireland), 1954," CAIN Archive, https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/hmso/fea1954.htm.

21 National Archives, "The Public Order (Northern Ireland) Order 1987," legislation.gov.uk, last modified January 1, 2006, https://www.legislation.gov.uk/nisi/1987/463/article/27.

22 Nancy MacDonell, "How Berets Became a Part of Black History, from the Black Panthers to Beyoncé," The Wall Street Journal, February 2, 2022, https://www.wsj.com/articles/berets-black-panthers-beyonce-11643753652.

1970 amendment to the Public Order Act of 1951, and those restrictions largely remain in place today.[23]

Research Methodology

This paper discusses the common characteristics and impacts of PIRA funerals held for members of the PIRA Roll of Honor. It does not speak for all funerals in Northern Ireland during the Troubles and especially does not speak for the funerals held for non-PIRA members such as Army soldiers, RUC officers, loyalist paramilitary organization members, or Protestant and Catholic civilians. To determine the prevalence and impact of PIRA funerals, I investigated the funerals of every name listed on the Republican Roll of Honor. The Republic Roll of Honor is a list of claimed PIRA members who died while active in the organization. Most died in the Troubles, but some of natural causes or unrelated incidents. The Roll of Honor is maintained by the An Phoblacht website, which is a republican journal.[24]

The funeral data discussed in this paper is new and sheds light on the unique influence of PIRA funerals on bystanders and distant viewers. While there is significant literature published on the history of the Troubles, as well as books on members of the IRA and Irish funeral tradition, little has been written about funerals as calculated political actions of the PIRA. In *The Troubles*, by Tim Coogan, and in *Making Sense of the Troubles*, by David McKittrick and David McVea, funerals are mentioned briefly throughout the longer histories as politically charged events that brought media attention to the PIRA. The controversy of these displays prompted unionist backlash from the start, which Thomas Hennessey discusses in *The Evolution of The Troubles 1970-1972* in reference to the funeral of James Saunders in 1971.[25] In *IRA Man: Talking with the Rebels*, Douglass McFerran mentions PIRA funerals as recruiting sites for prospective PIRA members.[26] Moreover, in *Lost Lives: The Stories of the Men, Women and Children Who Died as a Result of the Northern Ireland Troubles*, David McKittrick, Seamus Kelters, Brian Feeney, and Chris Thornton explore every death in the Troubles, including details about an occasional paramilitary funeral. Still, they do not discuss the pattern among these funerals. This paper seeks to both highlight the prevalence of paramilitary displays among PIRA funerals and demonstrate the real, calculated impact of PIRA funerals on the success and legacy of the PIRA.

My ability to acquire funeral accounts was limited by the resources available to me. My three primary sources were the archival records of *The*

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23 National Archives, "Public Order (Amendment) Act (Northern Ireland) 1970," legislation.gov.uk, last modified January 1, 2006, https://www.legislation.gov.uk/apni/1970/4/introduction.

24 An Phoblacht, "Republican Roll of Honour 1969-2012," An Phoblacht, last modified March 29, 2012, https://www.anphoblacht.com/roll-of-honour.

25 Thomas Hennessey, *The Evolution of the Troubles*, 1970-72 (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2007), 67-68.

26 Douglass McFerran, *IRA Man: Talking with the Rebels* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1997), 96-97.

Times, *The Belfast Telegraph*, and *The Guardian*, three British newspapers. My three secondary sources were *Lost Lives*, by David McKittrick; The CAIN Archive, maintained by Ulster University; and the aforementioned An Phoblacht website. In *Lost Lives: The Stories of the Men, Women and Children Who Died as a Result of the Northern Ireland Troubles*, the authors briefly discuss the details of every person who died in the Troubles and sometimes include details about their funerals.[27] The CAIN Archive (Conflict Archive on the Internet) is a robust database of information related to the Troubles, including documents, memorials, articles, and legislation, all of which aided in my understanding of the nuances of PIRA funerals.[28] While I found many funeral accounts on Irish republican blogs and Facebook pages, I limited my evidence to the above sources as these other secondary accounts would be difficult to verify.

The Republican Roll of Honor enumerated 366 names, all categorized by brigade. I further sorted the funerals by manner of death. Most PIRA members on the Roll of Honor were killed by the British Army, totaling 117 deaths by both uniformed and covert units. The second leading cause of death was accidental killings, almost exclusively premature bomb explosions, which claimed 114 lives. Loyalist paramilitary organizations killed 39 PIRA members on the Roll of Honor, while the Royal Ulster Constabulary (police) killed 15 PIRA members. There were also 5 PIRA members killed in the post-1969 feud between the PIRA and the OIRA. Some of the most famous names on the Roll of Honor are the 12 who died on Hunger Strikes in 1974 (1 death), 1976 (1 death), and 1981 (10 deaths). 42 PIRA members died of natural causes, in car accidents, or other causes unrelated to the direct conflict. I was unable to find sufficient evidence to conclusively determine the manner of death for 22 members.

From this list, I was able to find descriptions, accounts, or references to the funerals of 215 PIRA members using a combination of the primary and secondary sources described above. If I could not find specific details about a given PIRA member's funeral, it does not mean that a PIRA funeral was not held. It is possible and likely that far more PIRA paramilitary funerals occurred in Northern Ireland than were recorded in British newspapers and secondary sources. Furthermore, there are several instances of funeral accounts that were published without mentioning any paramilitary details, even if they were there. For example, a journalist might mention that a black beret and a pair of gloves were placed on the coffin. In most cases, they were placed directly on top of the tricolor flag. Still, the journalist might choose to omit the flag detail from their reporting as it may have seemed unnecessary–a tricolor was not unexpected at a PIRA member's funeral.

For each funeral, I looked for the presence or absence of the three key paramilitary elements: the Irish tricolor flag, militaristic clothing, and volleys. I also noted the number of mourners present. PIRA funerals were known for being large affairs, sometimes drawing tens of thousands of people, which speaks to

27 David McKittrick, *Lost Lives: The Stories of the Men, Women, and Children Who Died as a Result of the Northern Ireland Troubles* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1999).

28 CAIN Archive, last modified 2024, https://cain.ulster.ac.uk.

their broad influence, especially if they involved paramilitary components. I was able to find specific mentions of the presence or absence of the three identified paramilitary elements for 194 members of the Republican Roll of Honor, which is more than half of all the members listed (see Appendix).[29] There were just 45 known IRA funerals where none of the three paramilitary elements were explicitly mentioned.

Opposition to and Impact of PIRA Funerals

The PIRA was determined to hold these paramilitary funerals. Both civil and religious institutions in Northern Ireland opposed them, as did many PIRA members' families. Yet the PIRA would go to extraordinary lengths to perform their funerary rituals because they realized the impact that funerals could have on recruitment and building support for their movement. Furthermore, the PIRA's ability to hold paramilitary funerals despite legal ramifications and requests from family and community members illustrates the power and control they wielded over Northern Ireland. At least one allusion to a paramilitary element was present in 77% of all funeral descriptions. One quarter of funerals had all three elements.

Police and Army Opposition

The RUC and British Army closely monitored PIRA funerals to prevent paramilitary displays, which they thought gave legitimacy to a terrorist organization. However, their inability to effectively enforce a consistent policy on PIRA funerals meant illegal and paramilitary displays and funeral violence persisted. A journalist noted that the police helicopters that hovered above Charlie Breslin's burial in 1985 were so loud mourners couldn't hear Gerry Adam's graveside oration. This tight surveillance, the journalist claimed, represented how the police refused to tolerate paramilitary activities in the open. However, the tricolor flag, which was draped over Breslin's coffin in remembrance, seemingly did not meet the conditions for it to be removed under the Flag and Emblems Display Act. The police let it be, though they delayed the procession until the gloves and beret were removed from his coffin.[30] Similarly, at William Price's funeral in 1984, police in riot gear clashed with mourners but made no attempt to remove the tricolor draped over his coffin.[31] Then again, at Tony Doris's funeral in 1991, riot police surrounded the funeral cortege but did not remove the tricolor flag nor the black beret perched on top.[32]

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29 The tricolor flag was mentioned in 99 funerals, volleys were mentioned in 92 funerals, the number of mourners was recorded in 95 funerals, and uniforms were mentioned in 115 funerals (the most of any element).

30 Paul Johnson, "Priest Defuses IRA Funeral Fears," *The Guardian (1959-2003)* (London (UK)), 1985, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Guardian and The Observer (186554259).

31 Paul Johnson, "Police Fight Mourners at IRA Funeral," *The Guardian (1959-2003)* (London (UK)), 1984, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Guardian and The Observer (186438592).

32 Owen Bowcott, "IRA Funeral Corteges Flanked by Riot Police," *The*

One of the main RUC priorities was preventing funeral volleys. Not only were the live rounds dangerous to bystanders, but from the perspective of the RUC, the militaristic tone of the volleys gave a false validity to the proceedings. Still, the RUC saw mixed results in practice after banning funeral volleys. They successfully detained the men who fired the ceremonial volleys over Brian Coyle's coffin in 1970. At the funerals of Gerard Bell and David McAuley in 1972, however, they failed to arrest the perpetrators.[33] In the case of Lawrence McNally, the police managed to identify the men coming to perform the gun salute and arrest them the day before the funeral. This completely prevented the volley display at his 1991 funeral and foiled the PIRA's plans.[34] However, these victories did little to influence the PIRA. At the funeral for hunger striker Joe McDonnell in 1981, police intervened to try to arrest the shooters, albeit unsuccessfully.[35] The PIRA was undeterred by the RUC's efforts to stop the gun salute at McDonnell's funeral. At the funeral of Martin Hurson, just one week later, men fired a volley before being strategically evacuated to a nearby building to avoid police.[36]

Further undermining the RUC's enforcement capabilities was the deep distrust between the mostly Protestant RUC and the Catholic community. Most Catholic mourners would have considered the RUC to be on the enemy's side and opposed their presence at a republican funeral, sometimes violently. For example, at the funerals for Thomas McCann and Tony Lewis in 1972, women who lined the streets in the procession held up sheets and umbrellas to conceal the identities of those in the cortege from Army and RUC photographers.[37] Later, at the funeral for Kieran Fleming in December 1984, police were battered with "bricks, bottles and paving stones." The same had been the case in February when Henry Hogan's home was surrounded by police prior to his funeral.[38] Violence toward police at funerals and the police's violence toward mourners became increasingly common. At the funerals of Brandon Watters (1984), Antoine Mac Giolla Bhrighde (1984), Finbarr McKenna (1987), Laurence Marley (1987), Patrick Deery (1987), and Eddie McSheffery (1987), police

Guardian (1959-2003) (London (UK)), 1991, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Guardian and The Observer (187159609).

33 McKittrick, *Lost Lives*, 659; McKittrick, *Lost Lives*, 156; McKittrick, *Lost Lives*, 155.

34 Bowcott, "IRA Funeral."

35 Jones, Tim, "Army Swoop on Funeral Riflemen," *The Times*, July 11, 1981, The Times Digital Archive.

36 "Military Honours for Martyr: David Beresford Follows the Piper's Lament to Hunger Striker's Last Resting Place," *The Guardian (1959-2003)* (London (UK)), 1981, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Guardian and The Observer (186351279).

37 McKittrick, *Lost Lives*, 164; "IRA Style Funeral for Clonard Blast Man," *Belfast Telegraph* (Belfast, Northern Ireland), March 14, 1972, 10.

38 "Cardinal Attacks British Policy in Ulster and Condemns Informer Trials," *The Times*, December 24, 1984, The Times Digital Archive; David Beresford, "Clash at Gunman's Funeral," *The Guardian (1959-2003)* (London (UK)), 1984, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Guardian and The Observer (186417256).

clashed with mourners, leading to injuries on both sides.[39] At Deery and McSheffery's joint funeral, when police attempted to apprehend the men who fired a volley over the coffins, mourners shielded them, and the violence escalated.[40] While individual mourners may not have necessarily endorsed PIRA violence, they were highly opposed to any RUC presence in their community.

Family Opposition

Sometimes, the family of PIRA members stepped in to try to prevent paramilitary elements at their loved one's funeral. In several cases, the family did not know their loved one was even a part of the PIRA until he or she died. Even if they supported the republican cause, many opposed the violence their loved ones were supposedly involved in. To that end, in 1976, Martin McDonagh's parents prevented the IRA's intervention in their son's funeral by keeping the location a secret and moving to England after the funeral.[41] Even if they could prevent flags being flown, shots being fired, or uniforms being worn, families weren't always able to stop the PIRA from making their presence known. While it might not perform paramilitary activities, the PIRA would send wreaths for the burial site (for instance, at Tony Ahern's funeral in 1973) or carry the member's coffin (like in Patricia Black's funeral in 1991).[42] Despite being told to stay away, prominent PIRA members could be found in the funeral crowds at the funeral of Diarmuid O'Neill and Edward O'Brien in 1996.[43]

The PIRA was fiercely defensive over the burial of its members, to the point of defying families' wishes. When British authorities denied Frank Stagg a paramilitary funeral in 1976, the PIRA staked out the grave for more than a year until the uniformed guard was removed and proceeded to burrow a tunnel under the 3 feet of concrete covering his coffin to exhume the body and rebury him in the republican plot with full honors, including a gun salute, next to fellow hunger striker Michael Gaughan. This was all done under the cover of night in the presence of a Catholic priest without informing Frank Stagg's family that it would be happening.[44] Even with no public audience at the burial itself, word

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39 "Funeral Riot," *The Observer (1901- 2003)* (London (UK)), 1984, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Guardian and The Observer (476917576); McKittrick, *Lost Lives*, 1001; Bob Rodwell, "Funeral Hit by Clashes," *The Guardian (1959-2003)* (London (UK)), 1987, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Guardian and The Observer (186732276); «Photo Standalone 4 -- No Title,» *The Guardian (1959-2003)* (London (UK)), 1987, [Page #], ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Guardian and The Observer (186748679); John Cooney, «Plastic Bullets Fired at Funeral,» *The Times*, November 3, 1987, The Times Digital Archive.

40 Cooney, "Plastic Bullets."

41 Our own Reporter, "Parents Stop IRA Funeral," *The Guardian (1959-2003)* (London (UK)), 1976, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Guardian and The Observer (185827240).

42 McKittrick, *Lost Lives*, 355; Owen Bowcott, "Sinn Fein Mourns at Private Funeral," *The Guardian (1959-2003)* (London (UK)), 1991, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Guardian and The Observer (187233791).

43 "IRA Suspect Is Buried in Ireland," *The Times*, October 4, 1996, The Times Digital Archive; Nicholas Watt, "IRA Terrorists Defy Family at O'Brien Funeral," *The Times*, February 28, 1996, The Times Digital Archive.

44 Christopher Walker, "IRA Reburies Hunger Striker's Body in Martyr's

soon got out, and the PIRA's determination to honor its fallen comrade was considered a demonstration of their commitment to proclaiming every member's death as an act of martyrdom, which furthered the Irish republican cause. In the case of Richard Quigley, even though his family did not want any paramilitary displays at his funeral in 1984, the PIRA returned to the gravesite the night after the burial to fire a volley.[45] The PIRA's determination was also evident at the funerals of Charles English in 1985 and Gerard Harte in 1988, when, anticipating a heavy police presence at the funeral, members of the PIRA fired a volley over each coffin the night before.[46]

Catholic Church Opposition

The Catholic Church also intervened to prevent paramilitary displays at funerals. In principle, the Church was categorically opposed to the PIRA's violence. In practice, the primary function of local parishes was to minister to their communities, which included administering funeral rites for Catholics who died. All but one of the PIRA members on the Republican Roll of Honor were Catholic, which thrust the Church into a tenuous situation. Earlier in the conflict, the coffins of Paul Fox in 1975 and Kevin Delaney in 1980 were both denied funeral services in local churches on the basis of their PIRA membership and Catholic funeral rites were performed in their homes as an alternative.[47] The relationship between the PIRA and the Church became more strained when a volley was fired on church grounds at the 1981 funeral of hunger striker Kevin Lynch after the PIRA promised the presiding priest that it would not engage in paramilitary activities. The priest was "furious."[48] Later, after being "embarrassed" by another paramilitary display on church grounds during the funeral of Gerard Logue in 1987, Bishop Daly formally banned PIRA members from being brought into churches.[49] However, this policy was hardly universally enforced, as the 1990 funeral of Dessie Grew involved his coffin and all of its accompanying "paramilitary trappings" entering the church without any objections from Church officials or police present.[50] The Church was never able to consistently

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Grave," *The Times*, November 7, 1977, The Times Digital Archive.

45 Paul Johnson, "Soldier Killed, Six Injured in Derry Ambush," *The Guardian (1959-2003)* (London (UK)), 1984, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Guardian and The Observer (186487118).

46 McKittrick, *Lost Lives*, 1020; Owen Bowcott, "Killing of IRA Brothers 'An Act of Hate,'" *The Guardian (1959-2003)* (London (UK)), 1988, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Guardian and The Observer (186951008).

47 Derek Brown, "IRA Says Priest Denied Mass to Dead Terrorist," *The Guardian (1959-2003)* (London (UK)), 1975, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Guardian and The Observer (185959383); From Our Own Correspondent, «Sinn Fein Leader Arrested after Bomber›s Funeral,» *The Times*, January 24, 1980, The Times Digital Archive.

48 Thomas, Christopher, "Terrorists Fire Shots over Striker's Grave," *The Times*, August 4, 1981, The Times Digital Archive.

49 David Hearst, "Bishop Bans Bodies of IRA Men in Church," *The Guardian (1959-2003)* (London (UK)), 1987, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Guardian and The Observer (186714074).

50 David Hearst, "Police Operation Keeps Peace at IRA Funerals," *The Guardian (1959-2003)* (London (UK)), 1990, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Guardian and

resist the pressure to hold funerals for PIRA members, effectively yielding power to the PIRA.

Loyalist Opposition

The PIRA continued to hold paramilitary funerals despite continued loyalist harassment and violence. For instance, when Eugene Martin's funeral cortege passed a unionist neighborhood in 1974, a group of unionists "jeered" at the mourners.[51] Later, at the funeral of Thomas Begley in 1993, a heated exchange ensued between Protestant and Catholic mourners when funeral corteges collided:

> Mourners passing close to the Shankill Road encountered a small number of Protestant women waiting for the funeral of a young Protestant girl killed in the Shankill bombing. The Protestant women shouted at the republicans, "You're yellow pigs, all of youse." Most of the republicans took no notice but several cars containing men sounded their horns and in two cases men held up nine fingers, signifying the nine Protestants killed. One shouted, "We got nine of youse - we can't kill enough of you bastards."[52]

These incidents were not obstacles in the mind of the PIRA. Even the deaths of mourners did not deter them. For instance, at the joint funeral for James Sloan, Tony Campbell, and James McCann in 1973, a loyalist gunman opened fire, injuring two people.[53] Additionally, as people gathered near the home of Trevor McKibbin to prepare for his funeral in 1977, a loyalist car bomb exploded and killed two people.[54] In the face of these violent attacks, there is no indication that the PIRA stopped holding its paramilitary funerals.

Media Impact

The PIRA used the funerals of its members to win favor in the international media. The funerals of the "1981 H-Block Martyrs," as they are listed on the Republican Roll of Honor, produced some of the most iconic images of the Troubles. From March 1st to August 20th, ten men starved themselves to death in protest of the internment and treatment of PIRA members in Northern Ireland prisons. The suffering these men endured in support of the republican cause drew widespread respect and garnered support for their cause. All ten men received full PIRA funerals with all three paramilitary elements in front of sizable crowds. At Bobby Sands' funeral, one estimate put attendance at more than 100,000 people.[55] Both Sands and his fellow hunger striker Patsy O'Hara

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The Observer (187109753).

51 McKittrick, *Lost Lives*, 446.

52 McKittrick, *Lost Lives*, 1332.

53 McKittrick, *Lost Lives*, 325.

54 Derek Brown, "Funeral Bomb Kills Youth," *The Guardian (1959-2003)* (London (UK)), 1977, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Guardian and The Observer (185991693).

55 McKittrick, *Lost Lives*, 858.

were also displayed in their coffins to hundreds of people in their homes for several days before they were buried, in line with Irish funeral tradition.[56]

The most significant aspect of these funerals was the overwhelming attendance of foreign journalists. In one account of the Raymond McCreesh funeral, a journalist noted how the foreign press's attention on the funeral ceremonies was actively undermining the British government's narrative of the PIRA as an illegitimate terrorist organization.[57] The power of the international press was not lost on the PIRA, which was quoted in an article about Joe McDonnell's funeral as saying that a group of TV cameras kept too far away from the cortege were "no good to us."[58] While they certainly did not want to reveal the identity of members, the PIRA was eager to have cameras document its uniformed, masked men honoring their fellow soldier. In addition to fostering a more sympathetic global image, the reporting in Northern Ireland also generated support overseas, particularly in the USA, where PIRA supporters held a memorial parade and protest in memoriam of hunger striker Thomas McElwee.[59]

The gaze of the world was once again on Northern Ireland's funerals in 1988 when drama engulfed the burials of Mairéad Farrell, Seán Savage, and Dan McCann upon their return to Northern Ireland. The three young PIRA members were shot in disputed circumstances in the British territory of Gibraltar. The bodies were flown to Dublin, where they were then driven under heavy guard back to Belfast. Hundreds of locals lined the road to watch alongside the world's press.[60] When the burial finally commenced in Belfast, a loyalist opened fire on the crowd, killing one man and injuring three others.[61] The notion that the PIRA's opposition was shooting at funeral mourners only generated further sympathy for the dead PIRA members and the cause they represented, especially abroad.

The tone of American newspapers tended to be more sympathetic toward the republican cause than their British counterparts, who tended to objectively describe the happenings of PIRA funerals while devoting several lines to the misdeeds of the person being buried. The British also often noted Troubles victims who had died at or around the same time. American coverage often portrayed the conflict as fought by two just sides. *The New York Times* ran a

56 Witoszek and Sheeran, *Talking to the Dead*, 36.

57 Robert Law, "IRA Honours Maze Man: ROBERT LAW Reports from Belfast on the H-block Hunger Strikes," *The Observer (1901- 2003)*(London (UK)), 1981, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Guardian and The Observer (476685612).

58 Fionnuala O. Connor, "Sands's Funeral Remains the IRA Model," *The Irish Times (1921-)* (Dublin, Ireland), 1981, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Irish Times and The Weekly Irish Times (529228773).

59 George Brock, "Kissing the US Blarney Stone," *The Observer (1901-2003)* (London (UK)), 1981, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Guardian and The Observer (476701690).

60 David Hearst, "Big Crowds Follow IRA Coffins," *The Guardian (1959-2003)* (London (UK)), 1988, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Guardian and The Observer (186907909).

61 David Sapsted and John Cooney, "Gunman Kills 3 in Attack on IRA Funeral," *The Times*, March 17, 1988, The Times Digital Archive.

front-page story following the death of Bobby Sands, which included a mention of anti-British protesters that had gathered in New York, as well as quotes from leaders on both sides of the conflict and from US politicians.[62] A column published the next day in *The New York Times* claimed that: "By willing his own death, Bobby Sands earned a place on Ireland's long roll of martyrs and bested an implacable British Prime Minister."[63] The British media responded to American support, with one *Times* headline saying, "More sorrow than anger in US."[64] While they were quick to mention how *The Washington Post* "recognized British fortitude in striving to maintain a semblance of civic stability in Ulster, and with it the option of peaceful change," British media also noted that American dock workers were refusing to unload British ships for 24 hours and that US financial aid for the PIRA had reached a high not seen since Bloody Sunday in 1972.[65]

Political Impact

The political wing of the PIRA is known as Sinn Féin. Sinn Féin shared PIRA ideology but sought to advance the republican cause through political reform and propaganda. Sinn Féin was primarily led by politician Gerry Adams.[66] Sinn Féin and civilian activist attendance at PIRA funerals was always contentious, as their presence blurred the line between the political and paramilitary wings of Irish republicanism. Media coverage at PIRA funerals, which mentioned or photographed prominent members, led to additional controversy, particularly as it related to overseas funding and the peace process. In 1985, Martin Galvin, an American activist who fundraised for Irish republicanism as a part of NORAID, snuck into Northern Ireland and carried the coffin of Charles English for just 5 minutes before disappearing back into the crowd, defying a British exclusion order banning him.[67] He may have only shouldered the coffin for a few minutes, but his presence signaled to all present how important English and all PIRA martyrs were to the republican political cause. In the 90s, the presence of political figures at PIRA funerals was also seen as detrimental to the Northern Ireland peace process. Gerry Adams' decision to carry the coffin of Shankhill road bomber Thomas Begley, who killed nine people in 1993, was seen to directly contradict the peace accords he was supposedly negotiating with Britain.[68] Even today, newspapers will describe how the presence of key Sinn Féin officials at funerals for PIRA veterans undermines their ability to govern a

62 William Borders and Special To the New York Times, "SANDS DIES in NORTHERN IRELAND JAIL on THE 66TH DAY of HUNGER STRIKE," *The New York Times*, May 5, 1981, https://www.nytimes.com/1981/05/05/world/sands-dies-in-northern-ireland-jail-on-the-66th-day-of-hunger-strike.html.

63 "If Mrs. Thatcher Were Anwar Sadat," *The New York Times*, May 6, 1981, https://www.nytimes.com/1981/05/06/opinion/if-mrs-thatcher-were-anwar-sadat.html?searchResultPosition=1.

64 Our Foreign Staff, "More Sorrow than Anger in US," *The Times*, May 6, 1981, The Times Digital Archive.

65 Craig Seton, "The Verdict Abroad on Sands," *The Times*, May 7, 1981, The Times Digital Archive.

66 McKittrick and McVea, *Making Sense*, 331.

67 McKittrick, *Lost Lives*, 1020.

68 McKittrick, *Lost Lives*, 1332.

peaceful Northern Ireland.[69]

Realized Impact

The PIRA persisted in holding paramilitary funerals despite opposition from local authorities and families because it understood the influence that funerals could have on the longevity and legacy of the republican movement. Funerals were a place for recruiting supporters and soldiers. This is most evident in an account from the morning of Kevin McCracken's funeral in 1988:

> Earlier, as we waited for McCracken's coffin to be carried out of his house we saw the next generation budding. A little boy – he can only have been 4 – came up behind pressmen and shouted "I-I-IRA." Another boy, perhaps 7, was hanging outside McCracken's house when Gerry Adams arrived. The boy looked up at Adams in open-eyed admiration. Adams looked down, ruffled his hair, and chatted to him, all the time puffing on a pipe. He gestured to Martin McGuinness, standing nearby, and said in conspiratorial tones to the lad: "That's the head of the IRA." The little boy's eyes grew round in wonder. Picture him in 10 years time.[70]

There are several instances of PIRA funeral attendees later becoming martyrs themselves. Bernard Fox, a member of the junior PIRA, also called "Na Fianna Eireann," had formed part of the funeral honor guard at the funeral of his friend David McAuley just a few months prior to his own death in 1972.[71] Both Seamus Donnelly and Declan Arthurs, who listened to the impassioned eulogy given at the funeral of hunger striker Martin Hurson in 1981, were shot by the British Army in 1987.[72] Francis Bradley was killed by the British Army in 1986 after being seriously injured during a clash with police at Antoine Mac Giolla Bhrighde's funeral in 1984.[73] Martin Doherty, who attended the paramilitary funerals for the hunger strikers in 1981, was killed by a loyalist in 1994.[74] From mourners wearing "We stand by the IRA" pins at the funeral of Seamus Bradley in 1972 to Maire Drumm's eulogy proclamation that "generations yet unborn will live to hear the name of Captain James Bryson" at his funeral in 1973, unwavering support for the PIRA's mission was never more on display than at funeral ceremonies.[75]

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69 Peter Morrison, Sinn Fein's Gerry Adams, Left, Mary Lou McDonald and Michelle O'Neill Carry the Coffin of Former IRA Commander and Sinn Fein Deputy Leader Martin McGuinness to St. Columba's Church in Londonderry, Northern Ireland, March 23, 2017, photograph, https://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2018/03/01/589106322/a-new-leader-for-irelands-sinn-fein-but-will-it-be-a-new-era.

70 Alan Rusbridger, "Burial Service Where Suspicion and Fear Cannot Be Laid to Rest: Alan Rusbridger in Belfast Experiences the Tension at the Second Political Funeral in Two Days," *The Guardian (1959-2003)* (London (UK)), 1988, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Guardian and The Observer (186887942).

71 McKittrick, *Lost Lives*, 299.

72 McKittrick, *Lost Lives*, 872.

73 McKittrick, *Lost Lives*, 1001.

74 McKittrick, *Lost Lives*, 1362.

75 McKittrick, *Lost Lives*, 240; McKittrick, *Lost Lives*, 393.

Conclusion

Today, as funerals for PIRA members have become less frequent, the PIRA legacy continues to be kept alive by physical memorials that tell the tale of members' sacrifice to young people who could not attend their funerals. Memorials to fallen PIRA members litter the landscape in Northern Ireland. 41% of those on the Roll of Honor have physical representations of their martyrdom beyond their graveyard headstones. The memorials take many forms, including formal plots, plaques in alleyways, roadside shrines, and colorful murals; they all play a role in keeping PIRA ideals alive in the present day. Memorials, like paramilitary funerals, lend legitimacy to the PIRA's cause by literally "cementing" fallen soldiers as martyrs for a noble cause in a public place.

Paramilitary funerals were a key part of the PIRA's ability to present itself as a legitimate political front during the Troubles. PIRA members could be out in public, waving their flag, singing their chants, and firing their guns outside their churches while the police and army remained somewhat paralyzed on the sidelines. The new data shared in this paper shows how funerary rites were essential to the longevity of the PIRA and the legacy the organization created. Today, funerals and memorials in Northern Ireland remain charged affairs, with members of the modern Sinn Féin party facing ongoing criticism for their attendance at PIRA funerals. The persistent tension surrounding PIRA funerals in Northern Ireland is an ongoing testament to the power funerals have in creating myths of nationalist struggles for justice.

The power of paramilitary funerals remains a challenge for authorities beyond Northern Ireland. Through their consistent execution of funerary rites for fallen members, the PIRA established a model that other terrorist organizations looking to draw the attention of the media and prospective members can follow to establish a claim of legitimacy. This creates a challenge for authorities looking to deny terrorist organizations such legitimacy. Funerals allow terrorist organizations to celebrate their dead in full view of the international media, further contributing to their narrative of righteous defense. A funeral is a unique tool that, if exploited by malicious actors, has the power to publicly fuel, celebrate, and encourage violence in a way that no other event can.

Appendix

The table below lists the 194 members of the Republican Roll of Honor, ordered by the year of their death, for whom I was able to locate a specific account of their funeral. An asterisk (*) is listed next to their name if they died outside Northern Ireland and were flown back for their funeral. If I found one of the three paramilitary elements in a funeral account, I noted a "Y" in the appropriate column for the tricolor, volleys, or militaristic clothing (labelled "uniforms"). If a source mentioned one or more elements but not others, the columns for other elements were filled with an "N." If no number of mourners was mentioned, the entry was left blank. Notating an "N" for a particular element does not mean the funeral was held without that element. Rather, it means that the element is not reflected in the historical records I was able to access. In addition, if a funeral description specifically noted the deliberate absence of paramilitary elements, columns were filled with an "N." Sometimes, there were no specific details about the funeral. Instead, for 21 members, there was a blanket statement in the source materials that claimed the IRA member received "full honors." While I can speculate as to what "full honors" at a PIRA funeral entailed, I did not count these more general descriptions towards my tally of paramilitary elements present or absent unless an element was explicitly mentioned. A spreadsheet containing the names of those 21 members, as well as the many funeral accounts that I could not locate, can be found on the project website, alongside a newspaper and image archive, which includes all newspaper clippings and murals used during this research project.[76]

Name	Death Year	Manner of Death	Tricolor Flag	Volleys	Uniforms	Mourners	Total Elements
Liam McParland	1969	Nonviolent	N	Y	N	100s	1
Gerald McAuley	1969	Loyalist	Y	N	N	1000s	1
Jimmy Steele	1970	Nonviolent	Y	Y	N		2
Thomas McCool	1970	Accident	Y	N	Y		2
Joseph Coyle	1970	Accident	Y	N	Y		2
Michael Kane	1970	Accident	Y	Y	Y	1000	3
Peter Blake	1970	Accident	Y	Y	Y	200	3
Tony Henderson	1971	Accident	Y	N	Y	800	2
Terence McDermott	1971	Accident	N	N	N	700	0
Martin Forsye	1971	Police	N	Y	N	5000	1
Charles Hughes	1971	Loyalist	Y	N	N	2000	1
Séamus Simpson	1971	Army	Y	Y	Y		3

76 https://sites.google.com/view/ira-funeral-project?usp=sharing.

Michael Crossey	1971	Accident	Y	N	Y	500	2
James Saunders	1971	Army	Y	Y	Y	600	3
Patrick McAdorey	1971	Army	N	N	Y		1
Tony (Anthony Gerald) Nolan	1971	Accident	Y	Y	Y		3
Gerald McDade	1971	Army	N	Y	N		1
Martin Lee	1971	Accident	N	N	N	300	0
John Bateson	1971	Accident	N	N	N	300	0
James (Joseph) Sheridan	1971	Accident	N	N	N	300	0
Jack McCabe	1971	Accident	Y	Y	Y	5000	3
Dorothy Maguire	1971	Army	N	N	N	1500	0
Maura Meehan	1971	Army	N	N	N	1500	0
Billy (William) Reid	1971	Army	N	N	Y	2000	1
Eamonn Lafferty	1971	Army	Y	N	Y	1000	2
Danny O'Neill	1972	Army	N	Y	N		1
Seán Johnston	1972	Accident	N	N	N		0
Tom McCann	1972	Accident	N	Y	N	1500	1
Patrick Campbell	1972	IRA	Y	N	Y		2
Michael Clarke	1972	Accident	Y	N	Y		2
Daniel McAreavey	1972	Army	N	Y	Y		2
John Donaghy	1972	Accident	Y	Y	Y	2000	3
Joseph McKinney	1972	Accident	Y	Y	Y	2000	3
Stan (Stanislaus) Carberry	1972	Army	N	Y	Y		2
Colm Keenan	1972	Army	N	N	N		0
James McDaid	1972	Army	Y	N	Y		2
Gerard Bell	1972	Accident	N	Y	N		1
Gerard Steele	1972	Accident	N	Y	N		1
Robert Dorrian	1972	Accident	N	Y	N		1
Joseph Magee	1972	Accident	N	Y	N		1
Samuel Hughes	1972	Accident	N	N	N		0

Charles McCrystal	1972	Accident	N	N	N		0
John McErlean	1972	Accident	N	N	N		0
Louis Scullion	1972	Army	N	Y	N		1
Michael Sloan	1972	Accident	N	N	Y		1
Gerry (Gerald Damien) Donaghy	1972	Army	N	N	N		0
David McAuley	1972	Unknown	Y	Y	Y	100s	3
Tobias Molloy	1972	Army	N	Y	Y		2
Peter McNulty	1972	Accident	Y	N	Y	2000	2
Denis Quinn	1972	Accident	N	Y	Y	2000	2
Hugh (Henry) Heron	1972	Army	Y	Y	Y		3
John Patrick Mullan	1972	Army	Y	Y	Y		3
Anne Parker	1972	Accident	Y	N	Y		2
Colm Murtagh	1972	Accident	N	Y	Y	1000s	2
Seamus Bradley	1972	Army	N	N	N	7000	0
Phelim Grant	1972	Accident	N	N	N	300	0
Charles McCann	1972	Accident	N	N	N	300	0
Joseph (Joe) Cunningham	1972	Police	N	N	N	200	0
Albert Kavanagh	1972	Police	Y	N	Y	1000	2
Tony Lewis	1972	Accident	Y	N	Y	350	2
John Starrs	1972	Army	Y	Y	Y	5000	3
Edward McDonnell	1972	Accident	Y	N	Y	400	2
Martin Engelen	1972	Accident	Y	N	Y	400	2
Joseph Campbell	1972	Army	N	N	N		0
Julie Dougan	1972	Nonviolent	Y	N	Y	300	2
Séamus (James) Cassidy	1972	Army	N	N	N	300	0
Patrick Maguire	1972	Accident	N	N	Y	1000	1
Bernard (Samuel) Fox	1972	Army	N	Y	Y		2
James Bryson	1973	Army	Y	Y	Y		3

Michael McVerry	1973	Army	N	Y	N	1500	1
Leo (Leonard) O'Hanlon	1973	Accident	N	N	N		0
Tony (Anthony) Ahern	1973	Accident	N	N	N	2000	0
Vivien Fitz-simmons	1973	Accident	N	N	Y		1
Joe Walker	1973	Army	N	N	N	3000	0
James (Jim) Sloan	1973	Loyalist	N	N	N	1000	0
Tony Camp-bell	1973	Army	N	N	N	1000	0
James McCann	1973	Loyalist	N	N	N	1000	0
Thomas O'Donnell	1973	Accident	Y	Y	Y		3
Dermot Crowley	1973	Accident	Y	N	Y		2
Patrick Mulvenna	1973	Army	N	Y	Y	2000	2
Anne Marie Petticrew (Pettigrew)	1973	Accident	N	Y	Y	2000	2
Desmond Morgan	1973	Army	N	Y	Y		2
Eel (Ethel) Lynch	1974	Accident	Y	N	N	300	1
Frederick Leonard	1974	Loyalist	N	N	N		0
Michael Gaughan*	1974	Hunger Strike	Y	N	Y	3000	2
James (Patrick) McDade*	1974	Accident	Y	Y	N		2
Eugene Martin	1974	Accident	Y	Y	N		2
Seán McKe-arney	1974	Accident	Y	Y	N		2
Hugh Coney	1974	Army	Y	N	N	1000	1
Patrick McKeown	1974	Accident	N	Y	Y		2
Michael Hughes	1974	Army	N	Y	N		1
Jim (James) Murphy	1974	Loyalist	Y	N	Y		2
Gerard Craig	1974	Accident	N	N	N	1000	0
David Russell	1974	Accident	N	N	N		0
Paul Magorrian	1974	Army	N	Y	N		1

Paul Fox	1975	Accident	N	Y	N		1
John Francis Green	1975	Unknown	Y	N	Y	3000	2
Tom Smith	1975	Unknown	Y	N	Y		2
Kevin Coen	1975	Army	N	Y	Y		2
Francis Jordan	1975	Army	N	N	N		0
Séamus McCusker	1975	IRA	N	N	N	100s	0
Laura Crawford	1975	Accident	Y	Y	N		2
James Moyne	1975	Nonviolent	Y	N	Y		2
Seán McKenna	1975	Nonviolent	N	Y	N		1
David Kennedy	1975	Unknown	Y	N	Y		2
Brian (Bernard) Coyle	1976	Accident	Y	Y	N		2
Martin McDonagh	1976	Accident	N	N	N		0
Francis (Frank) Stagg*	1976	Hunger Strike	N	Y	N	6000	1
Maire Drumm	1976	Loyalist	Y	Y	Y	20000	3
James O'Neill	1976	Accident	Y	N	Y	300	2
Peter Cleary	1976	Army	Y	Y	Y	1000	3
Paul Marlowe	1976	Accident	Y	Y	Y	300	3
Frank (Francis) Fitzsimmons	1976	Accident	Y	Y	Y	300	3
Joseph Surgenor	1976	Accident	Y	Y	Y	300	3
Trevor McKibbin	1977	Army	Y	N	Y		2
Paul (Jason) McWilliams	1977	Army	N	Y	N		1
Dennis Heaney	1978	Army	N	N	Y	500	1
Jackie (William) Mailey	1978	Army	Y	Y	Y	500	3
Denis (Emmanuel) Brown	1978	Army	Y	Y	Y	500	3
Jim (James) Mulvenna	1978	Army	Y	Y	Y	500	3
Kevin Delaney	1980	Accident	N	Y	Y	100s	2
George McBrearty	1981	Army	Y	Y	Y	5000	3

Charles Maguire	1981	Army	Y	Y	Y	5000	3
John Dempsey	1981	Army	Y	N	Y		2
Bobby Sands	1981	Hunger Strike	Y	Y	Y	100000	3
Francis Hughes	1981	Hunger Strike	Y	Y	Y	1000s	3
Raymond McCreesh	1981	Hunger Strike	Y	Y	Y	10000	3
Patsy O'Hara	1981	Hunger Strike	Y	Y	Y		3
Joe McDonnell	1981	Hunger Strike	Y	Y	Y	2000	3
Martin Hurson	1981	Hunger Strike	Y	Y	Y	1000	3
Kevin Lynch	1981	Hunger Strike	Y	Y	Y		3
Kieran Doherty	1981	Hunger Strike	Y	Y	Y		3
Thomas McElwee	1981	Hunger Strike	Y	Y	Y		3
Mickey (Michael) Devine	1981	Hunger Strike	Y	Y	Y	1000s	3
Eamonn Bradley	1982	Army	Y	Y	Y	700	3
Seán Burns	1982	Police	Y	Y	Y		3
Gervase McKerr	1982	Police	Y	Y	Y		3
Eugene Toman	1982	Police	Y	Y	Y		3
Peter Corrigan	1982	Loyalist	Y	N	Y	1800	2
Brian Campbell	1983	Army	Y	Y	Y		3
Colm McGirr	1983	Army	Y	Y	Y		3
Richard Quigley	1984	Accident	Y	Y	Y	2000	3
Ciaran (Kieran) Fleming	1984	Accident	N	Y	Y		2
Willie Fleming	1984	Army	N	Y	Y		2
Henry Hogan	1984	Army	N	N	N		0
Seán McIlvenna	1984	Police	Y	N	N		1
William Price	1984	Army	Y	N	N	400	1
Brendan Watters	1984	Accident	Y	N	N		1
Charles English	1985	Accident	Y	Y	Y	2000	3

Charlie Breslin	1985	Army	Y	N	Y	1000	2
David Devine	1985	Army	N	N	N	1000	0
Michael Devine	1985	Army	N	N	N	1000	0
Séamus (Turlough) McElwain	1986	Army	N	Y	Y		2
Margaret McArdle	1987	Nonviolent	Y	N	N		1
Finbarr McKenna	1987	Accident	N	N	N		0
Gerard Logue	1987	Accident	Y	Y	Y		3
Paddy Deery	1987	Accident	N	Y	Y		2
Eddie McShef-frey	1987	Accident	N	Y	Y		2
Tony (Michael Anthony) Gormley	1987	Army	N	N	Y		1
Eugene Kelly	1987	Army	N	N	N		0
Paddy (Patrick Joseph) Kelly	1987	Army	N	N	Y		1
Jim Lynagh	1987	Army	N	Y	Y	2000	2
Pádraig (Patrick Oliver) McKe-arney	1987	Army	N	N	Y		1
Laurence Marley	1987	Loyalist	N	N	N	1000s	0
Kevin McCracken	1988	Army	Y	Y	Y	5000	3
Brendan Burns	1988	Accident	N	N	Y		1
Brendan Moley	1988	Accident	N	N	Y		1
Mairéad Farrell*	1988	Army	Y	Y	Y	10000	3
Dan (Danny) McCann*	1988	Army	Y	Y	Y	10000	3
Seán Savage*	1988	Army	Y	Y	Y	10000	3
Séamus Woods	1988	Accident	N	N	Y	1000	1
Brian Mullin	1988	Army	Y	N	N	1000	1
Gerard Harte	1988	Army	Y	Y	Y	1000	3
Martin Harte	1988	Army	Y	Y	Y	1000	3
Séamus Twomey	1989	Nonviolent	Y	N	N		1
Fergal Caraher	1990	Army	N	N	N	1000	0

Dessie (Desmond) Grew	1990	Army	Y	N	Y		2
Martin McCaughey	1990	Army	N	Y	Y		2
Patricia Black	1991	Accident	N	N	N		0
John Quinn	1991	Loyalist	N	N	N		0
Malcolm Nugent	1991	Loyalist	N	N	N		0
Dwayne O'Donnell	1991	Loyalist	N	N	N		0
Lawrence McNally	1991	Army	N	N	Y		1
Pete (Michael) Ryan	1991	Army	Y	N	Y		2
Patrick Sheehy	1991	Nonviolent	Y	Y	Y	1000	3
Eddie Fullerton	1991	Loyalist	Y	N	N		1
Tony Doris	1991	Army	N	N	N	1000s	0
Paddy Loughran	1992	Police	Y	N	Y		2
Thomas Begley	1993	Accident	Y	N	Y	1000s	2
Peter Gallagher	1993	Loyalist	N	N	N	100s	0
Martin Doherty	1994	Loyalist	N	N	Y		1
Edward O'Brien	1996	Accident	N	N	N	2000	0
Diarmuid O'Neill*	1996	Police	N	N	N	100s	0
Patrick Kelly	1997	Nonviolent	Y	N	Y		2

Imperial Independence: U.S.-Philippine Relations, 1919-1939

Kendall McKinley
William & Mary

Abstract: This article analyzes the evolving relationship between the United States and the Philippines during the interwar period, particularly focusing on the bilateral negotiations over the terms of Philippine independence. By examining primary accounts, memoirs, and letters involved in the negotiations over Philippine independence, this work argues that the Philippine Independence Act was inherently situated within an international context amidst which American and Filipino politicians weighed the terms of regional security. Embedded within the terms of Philippine independence were stipulations for the United States to retain extensive military and economic influence on the archipelago, serving as a deterrent against the expanding Japanese empire. This evolved the U.S.-Philippine relationship from an overtly imperial relationship to an informal one, based upon the terms of cooperation and diplomatic interdependence. Thus, the international context of Philippine independence paved the way for a lasting nexus between the U.S. military and Philippine security, impacting regional American policy during the Second World War and the Cold War. This paper aims to contribute to a wealth of academic literature on U.S.-Philippine relations, linking Philippine independence and American decolonization to U.S. grand strategy in the Indo-Pacific.

After the Philippine-American War ended in 1902, the United States formally annexed the Philippines, establishing a civilian government dominated by American officials. The practical impact of the U.S. occupation reflected a concerted policy of resource extraction, economic subversion, political hegemony, class construction, military occupation, and cultural eradication. Beyond the civic institutions and systems of power upended by American colonialism, the American empire established an enduring system of hierarchy established on the islands that utilized the notion of race-making and class-alienation to pit Filipino elites against non-elites.[1]

1 Julian Go, *American Empire and the Politics of Meaning: Elite Political Cultures in the Philippines and Puerto Rico during U.S. Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University

Though the United States openly claimed ownership to the archipelago, U.S. politicians framed their empire as a mission of modernization, democracy, economic development, and Westernization for the Filipino people, intending to distinguish the American empire from the imperial campaigns of its European peers. In accordance with this mission, American diplomats presented the occupation as an innovative model of imperialism grounded in notions of benevolence, liberty, modernization, and goodwill. By the interwar period, growing global pressure for decolonization led American officials to redefine the terms of their control, culminating in the Philippines' independence in 1946.

Despite the decolonization of the Philippines, the strategic and material operations of the American empire remained deeply embedded in the foundation of the newly sovereign Philippine nation. Born amid the distinct geopolitical context of the interwar period, the archipelago's transition towards independence was inherently international in scope. The United States Congress and members of the Philippine Legislature settled the terms of Philippine independence based on the archipelago's need for geopolitical alliances and economic stability. During the interwar period, the U.S. exploited the economic and military insecurity of the Philippines, justifying its presence in the archipelago by embracing a policy of "benevolence" in the form of military security. Insistent upon the priority of national security, Filipino leaders cooperated with imperialists in Washington, willing to accept American influence in exchange for strategic protection.

Through this promise of security—both militarily and economically—American legislators positioned imperial intervention as a critical foundation of the newly independent Philippine nation while inserting Washington's geopolitical ambitions into the bedrock of Philippine defense. While the Philippine Independence Act of 1934 achieved formal self-determination for the Pacific archipelago, the material implications of Philippine independence reinterpreted the role of American imperialism on the island, reinforcing Washington's economic, military, and political interventions in the region. This phenomenon not only impacted the diplomatic relationship between the two nations but redefined the role of the United States in the Indo-Pacific during World War II, expanding the scope of American imperialism while strengthening its ethical justifications on the international stage.

Interpretations of the American Empire

Early literature presented U.S.-Philippine relations through the lens of benevolence. Writing in 1965, the historian Theodore Friend established the early tone of the field as apologetic towards the United States, "Barring the

Press, 2008), 18-22.

years of the Philippine-American War, whose generalized miseries and specialized atrocities compare with anything in the annals of colonialism, American rule was light and relaxed. The worst was over at the beginning."[2] Highlighting a common narrative presented in early historiography on the empire, Friend argued that the Philippine-American War—the means by which the empire was acquired—was tragic in nature, but the American occupation was benevolent. Friend and many of his contemporaries acknowledged the suffering caused by the war but not the tragedy of the colonial occupation in which Filipinos were displaced, murdered, exploited, and uprooted from their ways of life. These sentiments characterize the early tones of the field through which many historians argued that the Philippine-American War was a necessary evil. Early historians believe the war resulted in a benevolent campaign to civilize and bureaucratize the Philippines in the wake of the Spanish empire, which controlled the archipelago until 1898.

The approach taken by Friend was challenged by revisionist historians who shed light on the imperial throughlines of the American empire. Scholars like William A. Williams and Stuart Creighton Miller spearheaded a historiographical movement to trace the foundations of the American empire to Westward expansion. This "Wisconsin School" of revisionist history highlighted the democratic values by which the United States imposed imperial policy, serving to subordinate the citizens of the Philippines through its campaign of liberalism. Focused on the negative ramifications of colonialism to the government, economy, land, and wealth distribution of the Philippines, these scholars redefined historiography on U.S.-Philippine relations by asserting that the interpretation of the American empire was at odds with the practical implementation of the imperial occupation.[3]

Building on the work of revisionist historians, the twenty-first century offered a shifting historiographical lens that focused on intangible methods of empire-building in the American regime. Many contemporary historians of U.S.-Philippine relations have embraced the so-called "cultural turn" and emphasize the role of race, civilization, class, and perception in empire-building. For example, Paul Kramer recast the U.S. occupation of the Philippines as a race-based hierarchy and argued that the United States engaged in race-making as an imperial policy, formulating categories of difference along class lines through which to justify unequal power distributions.[4] Through this interpretation, Kramer insisted that the methods of imperial administration moved beyond bureaucratic or military subordination into an imperial reworking of Philippine

2 Theodore Friend, *Between Two Empires: The Ordeal of the Philippines, 1929-1946* (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1969), 9.

3 Stuart Creighton Miller, *Benevolent Assimilation: The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903 (*New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 1-6.

4 Paul Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 4.

society. Building on Kramer's argument, the historian Julian Go argued that the United States employed a policy of "cutlery colonialism" as liberalized democratic values were exported through cultural imperialism to pit colonized elites against the lower classes.[5] Go argues that culture was a weapon used by the American empire to establish hierarchy in tune with what Kramer described as "politics of recognition," highlighting the immaterial effects of the colonial project in the Philippines. As argued by Kramer and Go, through a construction and reification of cultural hierarchies, elites who more closely embody the characteristics of "meaning" are incentivized to collude with the imperial power in ways that reinforce the subjugation of the lower classes in the Philippines.

Influenced by the historiographical trend under the "cultural turn," the historian Daniel Immerwahr revisited the lens of Cold-War era historians with an emphasis on immaterial empire-making on the archipelago. Writing in 2019, Daniel Immerwahr focused on the maintenance of the modern American empire in the twentieth century, revisiting the scholarship of the Wisconsin school while utilizing the lens of the "cultural turn." To Immerwahr, America is an empire of denial, one that seeks to misinform citizens in the mainland while extending its authority across the world. By examining diplomacy, military strategy, globalizing trade relations, and cultural imperialism, Immerwahr crystallizes the imperial politics still at play in contemporary geopolitics in a "covert" fashion.[6]

Thus, as major contemporary scholarship on U.S.-Philippine relations is centered around cultural methods of empire building and local agency, this thesis aims to offer a lens in line with the scholarship of Immerwahr, tracing the rise of the modern American empire through immaterial modes of empire-building. More specifically, this thesis aims to revisit the independence negotiations of the interwar period—a period widely understudied—and offer a revisionist, internationally focused lens to the construction of the American empire. Intending to emphasize the significance of Philippine independence to the American empire, this work aims to highlight the voluntary aspect of the American empire in the interwar period, foregrounding the construction of the modern American empire.

Proposing Independence

For global stakeholders, the interwar period marked a transition towards a new world order as the United States vied for increasing power in the international system. As a facet of American approach to international self-determination, U.S. policymakers advocated for formal decolonization consistent with the liberal world order. This national movement was heavily influenced by a Wilsonian approach that gained traction among congressional Democrats

5 Go, *American Empire and the Politics of Meaning,* 8-11.

6 Daniel Immerwahr, *How to Hide an Empire: A History of the Greater United States* (New York: Random House, 2019), 12-19.

following World War I. This perspective advocated for a colonial policy that, in determining questions of sovereignty, the "interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined."[7] Thus, coupled with the desire of domestic agriculturalists to impose protectionist tariffs against foreign agriculture, pressure from Filipino activists and international calls for the U.S. to decolonize shifted the interests of Washington towards Philippine independence. Within this context, the Filipino politician Manuel Quezon seized the opportunity to redefine the U.S.-Philippine relationship, driven by his background in the Philippine revolution and his ardent belief in the viability of Philippine independence. In 1919, Quezon led the first independent Filipino mission to the U.S. Congress. By 1932, Quezon's appeals prompted Congress to consider two opposing plans for decolonization.[8]

The first of Quezon's two policy proposals, the Hares Bill proposed in the House of Representatives, offered an eight-year track towards Philippine independence coupled with relatively low import quotas and moderate immigration quotas, offering a short transition towards independence with minor economic assistance to the Philippines. The Hawes-Cutting Bill proposed in the Senate offered a more lenient path towards Philippine independence, proposing a twenty-year transition period alongside a bilateral agreement for the national charter of the Philippines. Working alongside American political actors, Quezon negotiated a merger of the two bills into the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act, incorporating a ten-year transition towards Philippine independence with the retention of American naval bases and high tariffs against the islands.[9]

Unpopular with the isolationist Hoover administration, the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act was vetoed by President Herbert Hoover for "weaken[ing] our civil authority during the period of intermediate government to a point of practical impotence" and for putting "both our people and the Philippine people not on the road to liberty and safety, which we desire, but on the path leading to new and enlarged dangers to liberty and freedom itself."[10] Despite the president's concerns, Congress overrode Hoover's veto and passed the bill in 1933. Attractive to the Congressional anti-isolationists and domestic agriculturalists whose industries were threatened by cheap Philippine agriculture, the Hare-Hawes Cutting Act offered a conflicting road to independence with little self-determination for the government of the Philippines after independence. For these reasons,

7 Woodrow Wilson, "Address of the President" (Speech given to Congress, Washington, D.C., January 8, 1918), National Archives and Records Administration, Group 46. https://catalog.archives.gov/id/5752371.

8 Friend, *Between Two Empires,* 85-90.

9 Friend, *Between Two Empires,* 87-108.

10 Herbert Hoover, "Veto of a Bill Providing for the Independence of the Philippine Islands," transcript of speech delivered to the House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., January 13, 1933, https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/veto-bill-providing-for-the-independence-the-philippine-islands.

Quezon feared the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act would allow the U.S. to retain an unnecessary level of military influence on the islands. At the behest of Quezon and his counterparts, the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act was rejected by the Philippine Legislature due to its expansive safeguards for the retention of U.S. military assets.[11]

Frustrated by the wasted effort and concerned by the political fallout from a failed independence act, Quezon attempted once more to secure an independence agreement alongside politicians in Washington. Worried that a short transition to independence would leave the Philippines economically and militarily vulnerable, Quezon advocated for an independence agreement that provided for a long transition period and a cooperative relationship between the two nations. However, Quezon confided in the U.S. Secretary of State Henry Stimson that an immediate transition towards Philippine independence would leave the Philippines geopolitically vulnerable.[12] Fearing the political and international implications of a failed independence agreement, Quezon's insistence on avoiding an American military occupation and his desire to achieve American security placed him in a precarious position. With the goal to balance self-determination and national security for the Philippines, Quezon found sympathies with the Democratic wing of Congress that sided with Quezon by rejecting the protectionism espoused by many Republicans in the Congress.

One such Democratic senator from Maryland, Millard Tydings, aligned with Quezon's inclinations to maintain close economic ties between the two nations. As a ranking member of the Naval Affairs Committee, chairman of the Territories and Insular Possessions Committee, and seventh on the Appropriations Committee, Senator Tydings approached the politics of Philippine independence with an eye to retain American power in the region, specifically within the boundaries of the U.S. Navy.[13] Proposing the Tydings-McDuffie Act in conjunction with Alabama Representative John McDuffie, Senator Tydings attempted to undermine the protectionist impulses of the Republican party in favor of a free-trade agreement with the Philippines. After successfully gaining the support of Congressional Democrats, Quezon and Tydings agreed that Tydings-McDuffie Act would ultimately fail to establish a realistic track towards Philippine independence due to the bill's abrupt deterioration of relations between the United States and the Philippines. Yet, the two legislators believed that the proposition of the bill was vital to ensuring that the independence legislation was not abandoned by fatigued Congressmen. Ratified on May 1, 1934, by the Philippine Legislature, the Tydings-McDuffie Act was the first formal independence bill

11 Friend, *Between Two Empires,* 125-135.

12 Henry L. Stimson, *The Henry Lewis Stimson Diaries in the Yale University Library*, December 11, 1933, volume 27, Yale University Library, https://wm.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01COWM_INST/g9pr7p/alma991033731343703196.

13 Keith, *For Hell and a Brown Mule*, 112.

passed in Congress, symbolizing a new wave of decolonization across the West and a significant shift in the international policy of the American empire.[14]

More similar to the Hares-Hawes-Cutting Act than Quezon or Tydings had originally intended, the Tydings-McDuffie Act was only unique regarding one major stipulation: the reduction of the U.S. military on the islands.[15] Unimpressed with the economic terms and military policy within the independence act, Tydings and Quezon agreed that the economic relationship between the two states should be amended in favor of a reciprocal trade agreement. Desiring to procure economic security for the Philippines, Quezon continued amassing political support in the United States, ultimately becoming the first Philippine president under U.S. rule. Using his position, Quezon agreed with Tydings that a stronger economic relationship was necessary in a post-independence context. However, while Quezon's pursuit of a trade agreement stemmed from his desire for a stable transition towards economic independence, Senator Tydings intended to utilize the potential free trade amendment as a mode of retaining American economic interests on the islands. With these goals at the forefront of his legislative policy, Senator Tydings organized a Congressional Commission to the Philippines to negotiate an amendment with the Philippine Legislature.[16]

The 1934 Congressional Committee

On December 8, 1934, Filipino newspapers across the archipelago joined *The Philippines Herald* in announcing, "tomorrow, the Congressional Commission of Four arrives in Manila to carry out the investigation that will determine, as far as Congress is concerned, whether the economic provisions of the Tydings-McDuffie Act should or should not be amended."[17] Traveling to Manila to renegotiate the economic terms of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, the committee en route to the islands was chaired by Senator Tydings and comprised of William Gibbs McAdoo, Ernest W. Gibson, and Kenneth McKellar—four politicians whose conflicting political philosophies were united by their shared economic and military backgrounds.[18] Spearheaded by Senator Tydings, the four

14 Friend, *Between Two Empires,* 91-103.

15 Although the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act explicitly allowed Washington to retain its military bases on the Philippines, the Tydings-McDuffie Act offered a partial retraction of the American military. Granting legal expropriation of Philippine land for "public use," the Tydings-McDuffie Act offered a vague and self-contradicting position on the role of the U.S. military in the Philippines after independence.

16 Friend, *Between Two Empires,* 141-148.

17 "America's Opportunity," *The Philippines Herald*, December 8, 1934, Folder 1, Box 1, Series IV: Philippine Islands, 1928-1955, Millard E. Tydings Papers, University of Maryland Special Collections.

18 "Missioners of Trust and Goodwill," *The Volunteer*, December 1934, Folder 1, Box 1, Series IV: Philippine Islands, Millard E. Tydings Papers, University of Maryland Special

policymakers intended to propose an amendment to the Tydings-McDuffie Act based on their assessment of the economic strength and military preparedness of the Philippines. The congressmen sought to alter the military and economic terms of the Tydings-McDuffie Act to secure a lasting independence agreement. Yet, from the perspective of the American congressmen, the amended independence legislation had to additionally act as international policy. Therefore, the American congressmen believed that the independence agreement must include a policy to deter the expansion of the Japanese empire and satiate the desires of the Quezon administration to achieve independence under the umbrella of U.S. security.

Despite Tydings' and Quezon's endorsement of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, neither politician favorably viewed the stipulations of the Tydings-McDuffie Act due to its immediate severance of the economic relationship between the two parties.[19] Thus, in order to provide for the amendment of the independence act, Congress embedded a provision into the Tydings-McDuffie Act that would allow the two governments to jointly amend the terms of Philippine independence. Paving the way for an amendment to the independence act, Section 13 of the Tydings-McDuffie Act stipulates:

> That at least one year prior to the date fixed in this Act for the independence of the Philippine Islands, there shall be held a conference of representatives of the Government of the United States and the Government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands, such representatives to be appointed by the President of the United States and the Chief Executive of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands, respectively, for the purpose of formulating recommendations as to future trade relations between the Government of the United States and the independent Government of the Philippine Islands.[20]

Granting the Congressional mission and the Philippine Legislature additional time to negotiate the terms of the post-independence relationship, the Tydings-McDuffie Act operated as a placeholder while the tangible terms of independence were negotiated between Congress and the Philippine Legislature.

Seeking to advance American power amidst the naval arms race of the interwar period, Tydings intended to incorporate the Philippines into a voluntary network of economic protectionism based on his belief in the benevolence of American imperialism. Providing for trade reciprocity between the Philippines and the United States, Tydings and his congressional counterparts intended to wield the economic interdependence of the two economies as a tool to deter the

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Collections.

19 Friend, *Between Two Empires,* 90-104.

20 Tydings-McDuffie Act, 48 Stat. 456 §13, (1934).

influence of foreign actors in Philippine markets. Recognizing the economic gain that the Philippines stood to achieve through the retention of reciprocal trade with the United States, Quezon and his contemporaries voluntarily ascribed to the retention of American economic influence. Thus, both liberal-minded members of the American Congress and moderate politicians in the Philippine Legislature agreed that the Tydings-McDuffie Act must incorporate a reciprocal trade agreement, ensuring that the Philippine markets remained tied to the American markets in a post-independence context.

Although outwardly concerned for the economic health of the Philippines, Tydings believed reciprocity would expand the American market and secure preferential treatment for U.S. exports in the Philippines. Similarly, Quezon favored reciprocity to ensure that the Philippine economy—heavily reliant upon its exports of natural resources to the United States—could sell to American manufacturers without the imposition of tariffs. Together the politicians formulated an amendment that would codify a longstanding relationship between the two economies. However, beyond the threat of economic dislocation, Filipino politicians were concerned about the security of the nation following a withdrawal of American forces. Faced with the expansion of the Japanese navy into China, Tydings and his contemporaries intended to couple the terms of trade reciprocity with the retention of the American military on the Philippine Islands.[21]

Although the Tydings-McDuffie Act established a formal withdrawal of the U.S. military from the Philippines, Tydings' Congressional Committee intended to utilize the geopolitical vulnerability of the Philippines to retain American sovereignty over key military bases on the islands. Recognizing this inclination, Quezon opposed an overt American military occupation of the islands by insisting that "the military and naval reservations [of the Tydings-McDuffie Act] are incompatible with independence and should be eliminated."[22] Yet, succeeding the Japanese invasion of Manchuria and the dismantling of global naval limitations, Quezon recognized the increasing threat of a Japanese invasion. These escalating tensions led him to align with Tydings in favor of a free trade agreement and the maintenance of the American military on the islands. Within this context Quezon and the Philippine Legislature sought to balance their nationalism and their pragmatism, opposing a direct American occupation of the islands while advocating for increased American economic cooperation and military protection in the Pacific.

21 Friend, *Between Two Empires,* 144-148, 151-161.

22 John McDuffie, "Memorandum of conversations and exchange of letters between Senator Manuel Quezon and Senator Millard E. Tydings and Representative John McDuffie in reference to controversial provisions of Hare-Hawes-Cutting Bill and other features of Philippine Independence," Undated Memorandum, Folder 4, Box 1, Series IV: Philippine Islands, Millard E. Tydings Papers, University of Maryland Special Collections.

Proposing Trade Reciprocity

While Tydings and the congressional committee campaigned in the Philippines, Franklin Delano Roosevelt succeeded Herbert Hoover as U.S. president. Hoping to appeal to FDR's internationalist foreign policy, Senator Tydings urged him to consider the long-term benefits of amending the Tydings-McDuffie Act and integrating the Philippines into the U.S. domestic market, especially in light of growing Japanese expansion. Tydings viewed the amendment as an opportunity to grow American power while undermining the ability of the Japanese empire to remain competitive with the United States. Additionally, concerned by brewing tensions in the Pacific, Tydings sought to undermine Japan's opportunity to become a global naval power by ensuring the United States retained economic and military precedence on the islands.

In an undated letter to the president, Tydings outlined his predictions for the possible outcome of his trip to the Philippines.[23] Intending to formulate a new relationship between the two states to maintain their colonial dynamic, Tydings argued:

> The matter [The future of Philippine independence] may be disposed of in any one of the three following ways:
>
> 1. Proceed without fundamental changes under the present Independence Act and sever our political connection with the Islands in the next ten years, or
>
> 2. By agreement, or treaty, between the Philippines and the United States, lift all the economic provisions from the Independence Act and thus their trade and economic stability will be secured as now provided, and the United States could withdraw from the Islands within the next two years, and Filipino Independence would become an accomplished fact at that time, or
>
> 3. Give the Islands complete internal independence, such as the election of their own president, the widest measures of local self-government, etc. while we retain control of their immigration, foreign policy tariff, and general external affairs, keep minority representation in their courts, and the Filipinos institute and pay for their own land defense by having a military system supervised and contributed by officers of the United

23 Although undated, the context of this letter provides an estimated date for its conception. Opening with phrases like "A Filipino Mission is now en route" and its discussion of the "Independence Act of 1934," the letter was clearly written in late 1934 while Senator Tydings was in transit to Manila. This timeframe is significant, for it highlights the nature of Tydings' intentions to amend the Tydings-McDuffie Act before his arrival in the Philippines.

States Army.[24]

Advocating for "internal independence" and external American supervision, Tydings urged Roosevelt to elevate the status of the Philippines to that of a politically independent nation whose economic, international, and political spheres remained under the jurisdiction of the United States. By framing U.S. authority over the economy and external affairs of the Philippines as a mutual security agreement, Tydings believed that Washington could preserve its overarching influence in the region while shedding the overt political, economic, and bureaucratic regime of the formal American empire, which had become distasteful to many Filipinos and mainland Americans.

Tydings argued that the extension of free trade between the two states would deter foreign markets and ensure the economic and geopolitical advantages of trade with the Philippines remained within the hands of American policymakers. Insisting that the failure to enact a reciprocal trade agreement would push the Philippines in the direction of foreign markets, Tydings established the terms of the trade agreement as a matter of retaining sovereignty on the islands. In the same letter to President Roosevelt, he argued that "it is likely that if the Islands are unable to continue their sales to us, because of the tariff, they will be forced to try to negotiate trade agreements with other countries for an exchange of the very products which comprise our trade with them.[25] Fearful that an abrupt transition to Philippine independence would result in the retention of the Tydings-McDuffie Act's tariffs, Tydings viewed the terms of reciprocal trade as a battle over the role of the Philippine market within the larger network of the metropole. Concerned not only that the benefits of trading with the Philippines would be lost, Tydings worried that the imposition of the American tariff would drive the Philippines towards international competitors, enriching the nations with whom the United States competed economically and militarily.

Thus, despite his pronounced concern for the economic viability of the archipelago, the Senator inherently viewed the Philippines as an imperial holding whose value lied not only in its economic production but its adherence to the economic and military interests of the United States. Adamant that the lack of a trade agreement would "dislocate almost overnight the trade and economic life of the Philippines," Tydings and his cooperatives in Congress insisted that a strengthened economic and military relationship between the two nations would work in the interest of both parties, maintaining security for the Philippines through the retention American influence in the Pacific. Offering "internal independence" as a meager extension of self-determination to the

24 Millard E. Tydings to Franklin D. Roosevelt, "My Dear Mr. President," Undated letter, Page 1, Folder 1, Box 3, Series IV: Philippine Islands, Millard E. Tydings Papers, University of Maryland Special Collections.

25 Millard E. Tydings to Franklin D. Roosevelt, 7-9.

Philippines, the amendment to the Tydings-McDuffie Act provided enough self-determination to satiate global calls for independence while reinforcing the colonial dynamic between the United States and the Philippines.[26]

Ideological Justifications

Preceding the ratification of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, tensions between the Japanese empire and the policies of Western liberal institutions had steadily increased. To a Western audience, the Japanese invasion of China in 1931 underscored Japan's unwillingness to adhere to the terms of the 1922 Washington Naval Conference, which aimed to curb the international naval arms race involving primarily the United States, Germany, and Japan. Additionally, Western powers viewed the invasion of Manchuria as a rejection of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, a treaty signed by Japan and other global powers that outlawed international war. Thus, by invading Manchuria, Japan signaled to the United States its unwillingness to comply with the liberal world order touted by the U.S., placing an immediate threat to American holdings in the Pacific.[27] Tydings and other American policymakers recognized the threat of Japanese power not only to the physical boundaries of American influence but to the foundations of the world order the U.S. intended to establish.

Based upon these inclinations of Senator Tydings and his congressional counterparts, the Tydings-McDuffie Act operated as a watershed piece of legislation for U.S.-Philippine relations. The contentious geopolitical context surrounding the independence negotiations bound the two nations by their desire to mitigate Japanese expansion, linking the goals of American and Filipino politicians to achieve security in the Indo-Pacific. Thus, constructed to safeguard against a potential Japanese invasion, the proposed amendment to the Philippine Independence Act would maintain American precedence in the region as a deterrent against regional competition.

Reflecting his belief in the "benevolence" of American liberalism, Tydings promoted an amendment to the independence act based upon his concerns for the stability and well-being of the Philippines. In a letter to Vice President John Garner he expressed this point, reflecting his beliefs that a strong American presence in the Philippines was in the best interest of the islands, "The real aim and purpose of the American people, [is] namely to give to the people of the Philippine Islands, real, complete and genuine independence under such terms and conditions that, once secured, they may reasonably hope to retain it."[28] Contrasting his earlier suggestion to President Roosevelt to offer only an

26 Millard E. Tydings to Franklin D. Roosevelt, 7.

27 Robert Smith Thompson, *Empires on the Pacific: World War II and the Struggle for the Mastery of Asia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 48-55.

28 Millard E. Tydings to John N. Garner, Undated Letter, Page 8, Folder 22, Box 3, Series II: Speeches and Personal Writings, Millard E. Tydings Papers, University of Maryland

"internal independence" to the Philippines, Tydings's evocation of values like freedom and independence highlight his contrasting policy towards the Philippines.

Reinforcing this dynamic, Quezon's voluntary cooperation with American economic and military influence modernized the American imperial enterprise. This structure reinforced the unequal partnerships between the United States and its colonies while granting to Washington the international prestige of liberalism and decolonization. Thus, rather than utilizing formal imperial administration to maintain geopolitical leverage in the Pacific, the Congressional Committee advocated for a cooperative relationship between the two nations, incentivizing Filipino politicians to cooperate with American policy in exchange for American security and economic partnership.

In his letter to President Roosevelt, Tydings emphasized this point, marking his reliance on his belief in the benevolence of American imperialism:

> Good friends in the Orient, are an asset not to be measured in money, and in the years to come will be far more valuable than the trade with them itself. In view of recent happenings [The Japanese invasion of Manchuria] the United States has an opportunity to show the contrast of its peaceful foreign policy with that of other countries—and I myself add without pecuniary loss to the United States…That conquest is not a part of our national philosophy, but that instead justice and honest dealings with other nations, and humane approach to an administration of the problems of others is not too much to expect from the most powerful nation in the world.[29]

Hoping to contrast the rising global power of the United States with the overtly militant Japanese empire, Tydings's belief in a democratic route to Philippine independence would foreground the rise of the United States under the guise of liberalism during the interwar period. Seeking to evolve the colonial relationship into an unequal partnership, the goal of Senator Tydings and his peers was to grant the archipelago a new status: not that of sovereign nation but of an economic and military beneficiary.

Tydings's strategy ensured that the Philippines remained an imperial holding of the United States under a banner of self-determination, establishing a relationship that would satiate the desires of Filipino nationalists and American expansionists. Inherently situated as a strategic move against the Japanese empire, the proposed economic amendment would codify American economic and military support into the foundations of the independent Philippine nation.

Special Collections.

29 Millard E. Tydings to Franklin D. Roosevelt, 5-6.

Under the democratically achieved consensus of the Philippine Legislature, the echoes of colonial subordination would sustain American influence in the region and deter the intrusion of the Japanese empire into the Philippines.

Amending the Tydings-McDuffie Act

By February 1935, the Congressional mission had arrived back in the United States, adamant that the economic terms of the Tydings-McDuffie Act must be altered. Although Senator McKellar and Senator Gibson doubted the likelihood of an independent Philippine economy, Senator Tydings and Senator McAdoo believed that an amendment to the Tydings-McDuffie Act would guarantee additional time and economic assistance for the Philippines to transition towards independence.[30] As Senator Tydings and Manuel Quezon's appeals heighted congressional fears of a Japanese invasion of the Philippines, support for amending the Tydings-McDuffie Act grew stronger within Congress. In response, the Roosevelt administration took tangible steps to alter the terms of Philippine independence. In response to the shifting inclinations of Congress, President Roosevelt established the Joint Preparatory Committee on Philippine Affairs to provide tangible solutions to the economic instability of the Philippines. Staffed by American and Filipino politicians, the Joint Preparatory Committee released a report in May 1938, concluding that the tariff policy of the Tydings-McDuffie Act would capsize the Philippine economy. Criticizing the act's aggressive tariff policy against Philippine commodities, the Joint Preparatory Committee advocated for a regressive duty-free quota against Philippine exports that increased by five percent each year until 1961.[31]

Based on the report of the Joint Preparatory Committee, Roosevelt, Tydings, and Quezon concluded that a gradual economic transition towards independence must be incorporated into the terms of the amendment. Diverging from Tydings's previous inclinations towards free trade reciprocity, the politicians agreed that a transitional quotas-based policy would reduce the economic dependency of the Philippines and allow the archipelago to develop its economy. Thus, Roosevelt, Tydings, and Quezon sought to transition the Philippines towards independence through a gradual regression of trade partiality, establishing a free Philippine nation influenced by the longstanding role of the United States on the islands. Mitigating the unsatisfactory terms of the original independence act, the amendment, titled the Tydings-Kocialkowski Act, was signed into law by President Roosevelt on August 7, 1939. Informed by the recommendations of the Joint Preparatory Committee but failing to enact any long-term policy, the Tydings-Kocialkowski Act instituted a regressive preferential trade status for Philippine commodities until 1946, prompting concerns over the

30 Keith, *For Hell and a Brown Mule*, 254-256.
31 Keith, *For Hell and a Brown Mule*, 258.

economic relationship after independence.[32]

The Tydings-Kocialkowski Act decreased import quotas on sugar, cordage, and coconut oil outlined in the Tydings-McDuffie Act, regressing each quota within the period leading up to 1946. The act specified a six-year period in which key Philippine goods could enter the U.S. market tariff free. However, as the date set for independence approached, the quotas on tariff-free imports shrank, allowing fewer Filipino goods to enter the U.S. market duty free. In addition, under the amendment Philippine export commodities excluding sugar, coconut oil, and cordage would retain a preferential place in the U.S. economy with a 25% duty on imports, increased by five percent each year until 1960.[33] Thus, offering a more gradual transition away from economic partiality, the Tydings-Kocialkowski Act operated as a lenient approach to the tariffs levied by the Tydings-McDuffie Act. Placing the Philippines on a revised track towards independence, the amendment shifted the focus of American imperialists away from free trade agreements as a form of economic subversion. Instead, the United States would maintain its trade relationship with the increasingly autonomous export market of the Philippines and utilize the extension of American economic aid as a primary mode to retain American influence on the archipelago.

Yet, wary that the lack of a reciprocal trade agreement might destabilize Philippine security, Congressmen amended section six of the Tydings-McDuffie Act to establish military bases on the islands under the jurisdiction of the United States. In the original Tydings-McDuffie Act, section six notes that:

> The government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands shall place all funds received in such export taxes in a sinking fund, and such funds shall, in addition to other moneys available for the purpose, be applied solely to the payment of the principal interest on the bonded indebtedness of the Philippine Islands, provinces, municipalities, and instrumentalities until such indebtedness has been fully discharged.[34]

Repurposing this clause to embed the American military in the Tydings-Kocialkowski Act, Tydings and his Congressional allies amended section six of the original independence act, allowing the Secretary of the Treasury to "purchase with supplementary sinking-fund bonds of the Philippines, its Provinces, cities, and municipalities...and to invest such fund in interest-bearing obligations of the United States or in obligations guaranteed as to both principal and interest by the

32 Friend, *Between Two Empires,* 123-142.

33 U.S. Congress, House, *A Bill to amend an Act entitled "An Act to provide for the complete independence of the Philippine Islands, to provide for the adoption of a constitution and a form of government for the Philippine Islands, and for other purposes*, H. R. 7096, 76th Cong., 1st sess., passed August 7, 1939, 1.

34 Tydings-McDuffie Act, 48 Stat. 456 §6, (1934).

United States."[35] Rerouting the net revenue levied against Philippine imports into the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Tydings-Kocialkowski Act bound the trade relationship between the U.S. and the Philippines to the extension of an American military presence on the archipelago. Intending to construct an independent Philippine nation that remained reliant upon the aid and security of the United States, Congressional policymakers believed that a transition towards economic independence on American terms would enshrine American influence in the region.

The extent of this amendment fundamentally altered the role the Philippine economy played in the advancement of the American empire. By allotting tariff revenue to the American Secretary of the Treasury, the Tydings-Kocialkowski Act foregrounded the designation of the islands' assets into the hands of the United States. Based on this clause, Washington had formally gained the right to control land in the Philippines despite the looming date for Philippine independence. By 1939, the terms of Philippine independence had been formally reconstructed to ensure that American aid and military support would underpin the foundations of the independent Philippine nation.

Further codifying the role of the United States in the Philippines, the Tydings-Kocialkowski Act ensured that the executive branch would maintain absolute authority on the islands. Providing for additional cooperation between the two entities, the Tydings-Kocialkowski Act allowed the United States to retain its diplomatic fixtures in the Philippines:

> Whenever, prior to July 4, 1946, the President of the United States shall find that any properties of the United States in the Philippines, owned by the Philippine Government or by private persons [or the United States], would be suitable for diplomatic or consular establishments of the United States…[he may] transfer to the said Government or private persons and properties of the United States in the Philippines.[36]

Thus, by empowering the United States to legally seize and repurpose land in the Philippines, the Tydings-Kocialkowski Act reinforced the colonial dynamic between the two nations, not through the terms of free trade reciprocity but within the extension of Washington's physical power on the archipelago. Based on the terms of the amendment, American and Filipino politicians attempted to

35 U.S. Congress, House, *A Bill to amend an Act entitled "An Act to provide for the complete independence of the Philippine Islands, to provide for the adoption of a constitution and a form of government for the Philippine Islands, and for other purposes*, H. R. 7096, 76th Cong., 1st sess., passed August 7, 1939, 3. https://congressional-proquest-com.proxy.wm.edu/congressional/docview/t03.d04.76_hr_7096?accountid=15053.

36 U.S. Congress, House, *A Bill to amend an Act entitled "An Act to provide for the complete independence of the Philippine Islands, to provide for the adoption of a constitution and a form of government for the Philippine Islands, and for other purposes*," 8.

satisfy the desires of the Joint Preparatory Committee to decouple Philippine imports from the U.S. economy while still retaining a strategic partnership. To Filipino politicians, the extension of American security and the promise to offer a more gradual transition toward Philippine economic autonomy made this agreement more favorable than the Tydings-McDuffie Act. Yet, the Quezon administration remained unsatisfied with the terms of the amendment because the Tydings-Kocialkowski Act failed to outline an economic policy after independence in 1946.

While offering a conflicting position on the economic fate of the Philippines, the terms of the amendment focused on an extension of executive jurisdiction in the Philippines, increasing the direct power the U.S. held over the physical geography of the Philippines. Thus, the wake of the Tydings-Kocialkowski Act had left the Philippines further linked to the United States through the retention of diplomatic fixtures on the islands and the funds granted to the Secretary of the Treasury to amass bonds of the Philippines. Not explicitly outlined in the act was the irony in the amendment: that the United States had agreed to provide a gradual path to full economic independence while utilizing the same path to re-occupy the Philippines. In an attempt to keep American stakes in the national legitimacy of the Philippines, the Tydings-Kocialkowski Act established the precedence for an American intervention on the archipelago through the purchasing power of the United States military.

Strategic Implications for U.S.-Philippine Relations

In a speech to the National Assembly in Manila, President Quezon argued that the amendment offered the short-term economic relief needed to transition the Philippines towards independence. However, Quezon noted his frustration with the unsatisfactory transition period given to the Philippine economy before independence. Advocating for a long transition period that would incorporate larger quotas for key Philippine imports, Quezon noted:

> The law, however, does not solve adequately nor completely the larger and more important problem of economic readjustment, for unless preferential trade with the United States is allowed to continue for at least fifteen years after independence, we could not entertain the least hope that our basic industries, representing a production amounting to about forty per cent of our total annual income, may survive the sudden application of the full American tariff on July 4, 1946. The ruin of these industries would severely affect our economy precisely at a time when the economic base of our national structure needs greatest strength and consistency…It is my hope and abiding confidence that when the economic conference convenes at least two years before independence,

this matter will receive careful consideration.[37]

Reflected in Quezon's half-hearted celebration, the advent of the Tydings-Kocialkowski Act provided additional security measures for the Philippines through the expansion of American political and military power on the islands but did not secure the long-term economic aid Quezon desired.

In exchange for providing the Philippines with economic aid, Washington gained the legal ability to amass lands within the independent Philippine nation, setting up parameters for the American government to remain autonomous over the Philippines. Thus, opting to further entrench the American economy into the bedrock of the Pacific nation, the Tydings-Kocialkowski Act operated as a monumental step for the American government to utilize the vulnerability of the Philippine economy to the advantage of the metropole. Further transitioning the American empire into an unequal partnership, the amendment to the Tydings-McDuffie Act ensured that the American government would voluntarily retain ownership of the islands based on the vulnerability of the Philippine economy and military. No longer possessing an overt military presence on the islands, Washington utilized the power of the executive branch to control the military and diplomatic maneuvers on the Philippines amidst the brewing geopolitical tensions of the interwar period.

Although the Tydings-McDuffie Act and its amendment set the Philippines on track to achieve formal independence from the United States, the acts began the transition of the Philippines from a formal imperial colony to a neo-colony, only exacerbating the archipelago's unequal power relationship with the United States. The ramifications of this evolution would hold significant implications for the remainder of the interwar period while Washington became increasingly fearful of involvement in the Second World War. In the early years of World War II, American policymakers, diplomats, and military personnel continued to expand militarization on the archipelago. Purchasing and occupying land in the Philippines based on the terms of the Tydings-Kocialkowski Act, the Roosevelt administration expanded its military presence on the islands, rationalizing its military campaign under the logic of benevolence and its commitment to the democratic security of the Philippines.[38] Constructing precedent for a long-term military occupation of the Philippine nation, the political fallout of the interwar period held lasting impact for the role of the Philippines in the American empire. The ramifications of this amendment established new

37 Manuel Quezon, "Message of President Quezon on Tydings-Kocialkowski Act, August 15, 1939" (Speech given to the Philippine National Assembly, Manila, August 15, 1939) https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/1939/08/15/message-of-president-quezon-on-tydings-kocialkowski-act-august-15-1939/.

38 Hiroshi Masuda and Reiko Yamamoto, *MacArthur in Asia: The General and His Staff in the Philippines, Japan, and Korea*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), 30-32.

incentives for the U.S. Congress to view the Philippine economy as a foreign entity and to secure a long-term grasp on the military and economic functions of the archipelago. Thus, constructing a Philippine nation based upon American intervention became the new goal of U.S.-Philippine diplomacy, one that would have a significant impact on the geopolitics in the Indo-Pacific for the remainder of the twentieth century.

“Praised and Pilloried”: Pirates in Seventeenth-Century English Balladry

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Abstract: For much of history, seaborne crime has been a source of great tension for maritime powers. The ruling classes of antiquity were unmistakable in their condemnation of piracy. More than nautical highwaymen, pirates were “common enemies of the world.” The sentiment proved persistent, reverberating across millennia of literature and policy. However, it did not go unchallenged. This article examines a notable exception to the derogation of pirates: English broadside ballads in the seventeenth century. It begins by placing broadside ballads within their social context, as an emergent genre of popular media enabled by England’s burgeoning print industry. Incorporating extant ballads, it then illustrates the tendency for balladeers to portray pirates as larger-than-life heroes and villains; they were figures morally ambivalent, but nonetheless legendary in both deed and character. The article analyzes developments in the British Empire during the seventeenth century to explain why English commoners lionized pirates, and how government officials responded in turn. It concludes by considering the lasting impact of the pirate legend established in the early modern period, as well as the capacity for pirates to underscore divisions within and between societies.

Introduction and Historiography

“She’s not a pirate,” clarifies Omega, the protagonist of Disney’s *Star Wars: The Bad Batch*. “She’s a liberator of ancient wonders.”[1] The character to whom Omega refers, Phee Genoa, is in fact a pirate, known for her smuggling operations and recalcitrant attitude toward imperial authority. For a throwaway line, it speaks remarkably well to an enduring tradition of cultural ambivalence about pirates. Piracy dates back over three millennia, first identified with sea raiders in the Mediterranean.[2] States have deplored the practice just as long. Correspondence between ancient Egypt and Cyprus noted the threat of pirates to

1 *Star Wars: The Bad Batch*, season 2, episode 13, “Pabu,” directed by Steward Lee, written by Amanda Rose Muñoz, aired March 15, 2023.

2 J. Philip Jenkins, “piracy,” in Encyclopedia Britannica, March 5, 2024, https://www.britannica.com/topic/piracy-international-law.

international security.[3] Cicero of Rome, writing some 1300 years later, minced no words when he called them *communis hostis omnium*, "common enemies of the world."[4] However, societies have not always demonized pirates so holistically. During the early modern period, an era of considerable pirate activity, authors of broadside ballads treated rovers, freebooters, and buccaneers less consistently. Seventeenth-century English balladry exhibited a conflictual ideological environment wherein the opprobrium of government officials clashed with the celebratory verses of commoners. The pirate, both "praised and pilloried," became a controversial figure, indicating lines of division within a developing empire.[5]

Neither pirates nor ballads can be considered hidden treasure. Scholars have written much about both topics, although their overlap, a focus of this article, is yet to be fully explored. In the introduction to *Bandits at Sea: A Pirates Reader*, author C. R. Pennell surveyed the progression of pirate literature up to its current state.[6] His chronology provides a useful reference by which to structure a brief historiography, tracing the roots of analytical literature about pirates as far back as the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Of course, these early accounts should be treated cautiously, inasmuch as they were characterized by blatant vilification, romanticization, and nationalism.[7]

Not until the turn of the twentieth century did more serious, contextual analyses of piracy begin to proliferate.[8] Stanley Lane-Poole's *The Barbary Corsairs* and Clarence Haring's *The Buccaneers in the West Indies*, for instance, sought to examine piracy as a political and economic phenomenon.[9] C. H. Firth's *Naval Songs and Ballads*, published in 1908, was another important contribution, with a lengthy introduction addressing evolving dynamics between pirates and the English state.[10] Critical analysis of pirates continued throughout the century, marking an attempt to incorporate examples of piracy into larger

3 "EA 38: A Brotherly Quarrel," in *The Amarna Letters*, ed. and trans. William L. Moran (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 111-112, https://ia801203.us.archive.org/12/items/TheAmarnaLetters/The%20Amarna%20Letters_text.pdf.

4 Marcus Tullius Cicero, "Book III," in *De Officiis*, trans. Walter Miller (New York: Macmillan Publishers, 1913), 384, https://archive.org/details/deofficiiswithen00ciceuoft/page/n9/mode/2up.

5 John A. Coakley, "Jamaica's Private Seafarers: Politics and Violence in a Seventeenth-Century English Colony," in *The Golden Age of Piracy: The Rise, Fall, and Enduring Popularity of Pirates*, ed. David Head (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2018), 45.

6 C. R. Pennell, "Brought to Book: Reading about Pirates," in *Bandits at Sea: A Pirates Reader* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2001), 3–24.

7 Pennell, "Brought to Book," 4–5.

8 Pennell, "Brought to Book," 5.

9 Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Barbary Corsairs* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1890); C. H. Haring, *The Buccaneers in the West Indies in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Methuen, 1910).

10 C. H. Firth, *Naval Songs and Ballads* (London: Printed for the Navy Records Society, 1908), https://archive.org/details/navalsongsballad00firtuoft/page/n7/mode/2up.

continuums of maritime activity. Robert Ritchie's *Captain Kidd and the War Against the Pirates* was at the fore of this push, helping solidify pirate studies as a respectable subfield of maritime history.[11] His thesis, linking the decline of English piracy to the rise of the British Empire, situated Atlantic sea-raiding firmly within the context of an emerging international system.

Politics and economics were by no means the only channels of pirate scholarship during the twentieth century. Beginning in the 1980s, scholars helped make the pirate a sensational figure once more—not so much as a national hero or foreign adversary, but as a radical, a rebel with a cause. The pirate was not merely a symptom of historical forces, they averred, but an active participant in challenging the status quo. Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker wrote of "zealous abetters of liberty" whose spirited opposition to traditional power structures "would ultimately lead to revolution."[12] Christopher Hill cited the "rough equality of pirate life" as an attractive feature to religious sectarians who fled England after the Restoration.[13] More controversially, B. R. Burg extended the concept of the libertarian pirate to include free expression of dissident sexual practices.[14] These notions are compelling, but likely overblown. Recent scholarship by Margarette Lincoln noted that, actually, many pirates *forced* others to join them.[15] Peter Leeson further qualified that pirate practices represent a "bundle of contradictions," reconciled only by the ultimate incentive: profit.[16] By these measures, one should be cautious in taking pirates at large to embody an organized ideological movement.

Pirate historians of the 1980s and 1990s remembered women, too. Jo Stanley, author of *Bold in Her Breeches: Women Pirates across the Ages*, sought to challenge the tendency of scholars to overlook women in maritime history.[17] John C. Appleby more recently brought attention to the role of women in maintaining networks of support for pirates.[18] There is an ongoing effort to reconsider

11 Robert C. Ritchie, *Captain Kidd and the War Against the Pirates* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986); Pennell, "Brought to Book," 7.

12 Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, "The Many Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, and the Atlantic Working Class in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 3, no. 3 (1990): 231, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6443.1990.tb00149.x.

13 Christopher Hill, "Radical Pirates?" in *The Collected Essays of Christopher Hill* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1985), 26.

14 B. R. Burg, *Sodomy and the Pirate Tradition: English Sea Rovers in the Seventeenth Century Caribbean* (New York: New York University Press, 1995).

15 Margarette Lincon, *British Pirates and Society, 1680–1730* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2014), 78.

16 Peter T. Leeson, "The Economic Way of Thinking about Pirates," in *The Golden Age of Piracy: The Rise, Fall, and Enduring Popularity of Pirates*, ed. David Head (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2018), 162.

17 Jo Stanley, *Bold in Her Breeches: Women Pirates across the Ages* (London: HarperCollins, 1995).

18 John C. Appleby, *Women and English Piracy, 1540–1720: Partners and Victims of Crime* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2013), https://www-jstor-org.proxy006.nclive.

masculine domination of the pirate legend, underscoring how female agency sustained it. Kenneth J. Kinkor applied a similar frame of analysis to pirate race relations. In "Black Men under the Black Flag," Kinkor explored the ways in which pirate crews "transcended the boundaries of race, nation, class, and creed," to the extent that former slaves could become prominent pirate leaders.[19]

Building from the scholarship of the late twentieth century, contemporary pirate studies are diverse and multifaceted. While dominant themes appear in race, gender, and sexuality, the particulars of maritime law, and the cultural implications of piracy, Pennell rightly stressed the width of the field.[20] In many cases, scholars treat pirates less as a subject in their own right and more as a reflection, or rejection, of the world around them; they are a lens through which to analyze any number of historical forces. Interestingly, some scholars have expanded upon this notion to ascertain a "general theory of piracy."[21] They endeavor to link historical pirates with those off the coast of modern-day Somalia, with radical youth culture and gang violence, and even with digital piracy and copyright infringement.[22] There is, in the words of Douglas Burgess, a "battle for meaning."[23] If pirates can be understood, so too can the societies which produce them.

Piracy entails an index of historical topics, generating countless pages of analysis in turn. What has been discussed provides only a small glimpse of the scope, revealing how scholars have argued even the most basic elements of piracy differently over time. The economic pirate, the radical pirate, the woman pirate, the Black pirate—all of them have a place in the academic discourse. Due to the wide variety of possible interpretations, this article will not attempt to define piracy monolithically, but rather to gauge, using the broadside ballad, how Englanders thought about it amid the considerable changes of the seventeenth century. Were pirates detested, as they had been historically? Were they revered? Were they a form of protest against English authority? Placing seventeenth-century pirate ballads within their historical environs provides answers to these questions. It helps explain why the pirate was, and still remains, uniquely captivating.

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org/stable/10.7722/j.ctt31nh6t.

19 Kenneth J. Kinkor, "Black Men under the Black Flag," in *Bandits at Sea: A Pirates Reader* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2001), 196.

20 Pennell, "Brought to Book," 19.

21 Shannon Lee Dawdy and Joe Bonni, "Towards a General Theory of Piracy," *Anthropological Quarterly* 85, no. 3 (2012): 673–99, https://www.jstor.org/stable/41857267.

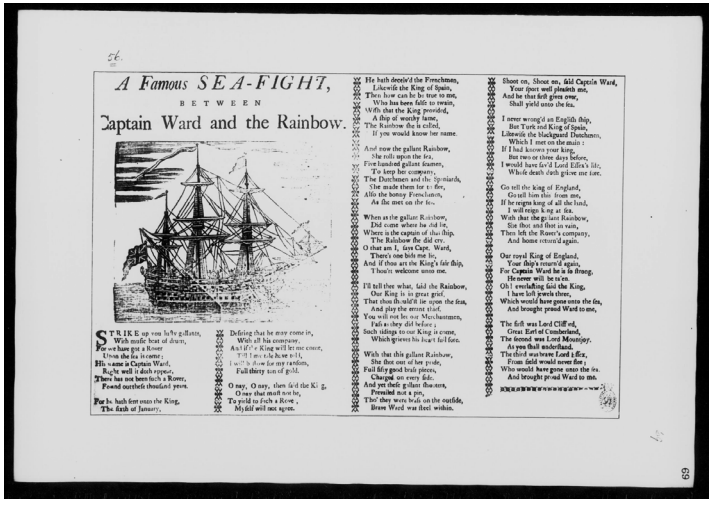
22 Lincoln, *British Pirates and Society*, 216–228; Dawdy and Bonni, "Towards a General Theory of Piracy," 673.

23 Douglas R. Burgess, "Piracy in the Public Sphere: The Henry Every Trials and the Battle for Meaning in Seventeenth-Century Print Culture," *Journal of British Studies* 48, no. 4 (2009): 887, https://www.jstor.org/stable/27752637.

The Broadside Ballad

To discern why ballads are of particular use for the study of early modern pirates, their social function must first be established. English publishers printed ballads on single sheets of paper called broadsides (in reference to their formatting: one-sided and landscape-oriented). The publishers could produce these “broadside ballads,” or simply “broadsides,” quickly and at markedly little expense, with the result that millions circulated throughout England during the seventeenth century.[24] Like traditional oral ballads, many broadsides conveyed romantic narratives and folklore. They dealt in glorious battles, chivalrous knights and fair ladies, unrequited love, and, as relevant to this discussion, pirates. Unlike oral ballads, broadsides found additional use as a means of distributing topical information. While it would be misleading to equate them with newspapers, a later development of the print industry, they often provided commentary on current events, including the executions of notorious pirates.[25] If an enterprising individual sought to capitalize on the latest gossip or public controversy, the broadside ballad was the tool for the job.

As England’s print and literary culture developed, the broadside functioned as an early form of popular media. Broadsides were widely accessible to all, including the illiterate, as many featured striking woodcut illustrations (see figure 1).



A Famous SEA-FIGHT,
BETWEEN
Captain Ward and the Rainbow.

STRIKE up you lu'by gallants,
With merie beat of drum,
For we have got a Rover
Upon the sea is come;
His name is Captain Ward,
Right well it doth reposse,
There has not been such a Rover,
Found outthese thousand yeers.

For he hath sent unto the King,
The sixth of January,

Defying that he may come in,
With all his company.
And if the King will be so cruel,
To have a fight for my ransom,
Full thirty ton of gold.

O nay, O nay, then said the King,
O nay that shall not be,
To yield to such a Rover,
My life will not agree.

He hath deceiv'd the Frenchmen,
Likewise the King of Spain,
They how can he be true to me,
Who has been falle to twain,
With that the King provided,
A ship of worthy fame,
The Rainbow she is called,
If you would know her name.

And now the gallant Rainbow,
She rode upon the sea,
Five hundred gallant foames,
To keep her company;
The Dutchmen and the Spaniards,
She made them for to flee,
Alle the bonny Frenchmen,
As she met on the sea.

When as the gallant Rainbow,
Did come where he did lie,
Where is the captain of this ship,
The Rainbow she did cry.
O that am I, says Capt. Ward,
There's one hits me he,
And if thou art the King's fale ship,
Thou'rt welcome unto me.

I'll tell thee what, said the Rainbow,
Our King is in great grief.
That thou hast stolen me upon the seas,
And play the errant thief.
You will not let our Merchantmen,
Fall as they did before;
Such tidings to our King is come,
Which grieves his heart full sore.

With that this gallant Rainbow,
She shot out of her pride,
Full fifty good brab pieces,
Charged on every side.
And yet their gallant shooters,
Prevailed not a pin,
The' they were brab on the outside,
Brave Ward was steel within.

Shoot on, Shoot on, said Captain Ward,
Your sport well pleaseth me,
And be that first gives over,
Shall yield unto the sea.

I never wrong'd an English ship,
Nor Turk nor King of Spain,
Likewise the blackguard Dutchmen,
Which I met on the main:
If I had known your king,
But two or three days before,
I would have fav'd Lord Effex life,
Whose death doth grieve me sore.

Go tell the king of England,
Go tell him this from me,
If he reigns king of all the land,
I will reign king at sea.
With that the gallant Rainbow,
She shot and fired in vain,
Then left the Rover's company,
And home return'd again.

Our royal King of England,
Your ship's return'd again,
For Captain Ward he is in strong,
He never will be ta'en.
Oh! everlasting fame the King,
I have left you's three,
Which would have gone unto the sea,
And brought proud Ward to me.

The first was Lord Cliff-ord,
Great Earl of Cumberland,
The second was Lord Mountjoy.
As you shall understand.
The third was brave Lord Effex,
From field would never flee;
Who would have gone unto the sea.
And brought proud Ward to me.

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Figure 1. From the anonymous *A Famous Sea-Fight between Captain Ward and the Rainbow* (National Library of Scotland Crawford 1094, EBBA 33731). Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland.

24 Eric Nebeker, “The Heyday of the Broadside Ballad,” English Broadside Ballad Archive, accessed March 25, 2024, https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/page/heyday-of-the-broadside-ballad.

25 Nebeker, “The Heyday of the Broadside Ballad.”

They also made for lively musical productions. Performers would set them to familiar, memorable tunes, usually indicated just beneath the title, and sing them in alehouses or other public venues.[26] Ballad distributors, traveling salespeople known as "chapmen," pasted them on walls, sold them at street corners, and peddled them out to the countryside.[27] Public events were vectors for ballad distribution as well. When the infamous pirate William Kidd met his end at Execution Dock in 1701, a ballad purporting to recount his crimes and last confessions quickly made the rounds.[28]

Broadsides' widespread appeal to commoners earned them a negative appraisal among the upper crust of English society. Wealthier and more educated individuals disparaged ballads as "low" literature and spoke poorly of the "ballad mongers" who produced them.[29] While a far cry from the high culture of Milton or Shakespeare, ballads enable the study of the broader population—a function more useful to the social historian. Insofar as ballads enjoyed a large audience, facilitating the exchange of information and ideas, they provide crucial insight into the sensibilities of ordinary people.[30] Much the same way a popular song, movie, or advertisement can reveal important aspects of the culture that produced it, so can a ballad indicate the prevailing ideologies of seventeenth-century England.

There are, unfortunately, distinct limitations to studying ballads. First, for the same reason they represent a tantalizing avenue of historical analysis, very few have survived. Broadside ballads fall firmly within the category of *ephemera*. Because they were so common, contemporaries made little effort to preserve them. Alexandra Hill thus identified a "lost world of ballads." Despite constituting an impressive 15% of all entries in the Stationers' Company Register during the 1590s, less than 1% of these ballads have surviving copies.[31] Second, a shortage of statistics and printing data impedes ballad analysis. The Stationers' Company logged its entries, but it did not record the number of copies printed. Scholars estimate that a typical print run ranged upward of 1500

26 Nebeker, "The Heyday of the Broadside Ballad."

27 Nebeker, "The Heyday of the Broadside Ballad."

28 Willard Hallam Bonner, "The Ballad of Captain Kidd," *American Literature* 15, no. 4 (1944): 366, https://doi.org/10.2307/2920762.

29 Paxton Hehmeyer, "The Social Function of the Broadside Ballad; or, a New Medley of Readers," English Broadside Ballad Archive, accessed March 25, 2024, https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/page/social-function-of-the-ballad#:~:text=As%20aural%20events%2C%20ballads%20made,circulated%20as%20a%20visual%20artifact.

30 Adam Fox, "Ballads, Libels and Popular Ridicule in Jacobean England," *Past & Present*, no. 145 (1994): 82–83, https://www.jstor.org/stable/651245.

31 Alexandra Hill, "Lost Print in England: Entries in the Stationers' Company Register, 1557–1640," in *Lost Books: Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe*, ed. Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2016), 148, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctv2gjww23.11.

to 2000 copies, but this figure only hints at circulation.[32] In other words, it is exceedingly difficult to quantify with certainty the reach or cultural impact of any one ballad in isolation. Lastly, as ballads could be crude or seditious in their content, authors sometimes printed them without official documentation.[33] Still, limited data does not strip broadside ballads of their historical import. Crossing social boundaries, ballads were lockstep in the emergence of a public sphere.[34]

English government officials recognized the important social functions of the ballad in its own time. Failing to redirect public opinion about pirates through criminal trials, they soon turned to "novel" and "popular" print forms such as the ballad to spread anti-pirate propaganda in the 1690s.[35] They understood the grave implications of a literary medium that seemed to undermine state policy by perpetuating the pirate legend. Government manipulation of popular print media during the trials of pirates Henry Avery and William Kidd, a focus of section four, demonstrated awareness of the ballad's ability to reach common people, and in turn its potential as a tool of influence.[36]

Studying the broadside ballad offers a more complete picture of the discursive landscape in seventeenth-century England. On their own, government documents—namely royal proclamations and trial records—indicate a mostly one-sided view of pirates. When considered alongside broadside ballads, they reveal a more conflictual discourse in which pirates were far from holistically condemned. A single narrative, imposed from above, cannot be assumed to accurately reflect the beliefs of an entire society. It is therefore crucial to examine the broadside ballad, if for no other reason than its immediacy and proximity to the subject at hand. The contemporary English scholar John Selden considered this an essential truth in *Table Talk*, a collection of aphorisms dating to the seventeenth century. "More solid things," he remarked, "do not shew the Complexion of the Times, so well as Ballads and Libells."[37]

A Potent Myth

In examining popular narratives of piracy, it is necessary to consider the phenomenon within its historical context. Factors political, economic, and social explain the variety of contrasting views about pirates. This section explores the relationship between pirates and the English state during the early stages

32 Hill, "Lost Print in England," 146.

33 Hill, "Lost Print in England," 150.

34 Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 5, quoted in Paxton Hehmeyer, "The Social Function of the Broadside Ballad; or, a New Medley of Readers," English Broadside Ballad Archive.

35 Burgess, "Piracy in the Public Sphere," 888.

36 Burgess, "Piracy in the Public Sphere," 888–889.

37 John Selden, *Table Talk*, ed. S. H. Reynolds (Oxford, 1892), 105, quoted in Adam Fox, "Ballads, Libels and Popular Ridicule in Jacobean England," *Past & Present*, no. 145 (1994): 83.

of imperial expansion, incorporating select ballads as evidence of several key points. They will first be used to argue that pirates, as early allies of England's nascent empire, came to be revered by English commoners, taking on heroic qualities in popular media. Then, they will demonstrate the influence of nationalism upon portrayals of pirates, especially those who sailed under rival flags, rounding out a literary paradigm of legendary heroes and villains at sea.

During the sixteenth century, England was far from a dominant world power; Queen Elizabeth sought to change this. Relative to Spain and Portugal, the British Isles were late in forging colonial trade networks. Elizabeth, in turn, sponsored what Barbara Fuchs termed "an aggressive para-naval policy" by issuing letters of marque and reprisal, official sanctions for pirate activity.[38] In a clear rejection of Spain's exclusive claims over the Atlantic, established by the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494, she effectively authorized contraband trade, theft, and violence.[39] For the first time, England endeavored to build an overseas empire by way of strategic maritime predation. The Crown, of course, did not frame it this way. England had officially outlawed piracy as early as 1536, with notable pirate executions—those of Thomas "Purser" Walton and Clinton Atkinson—occurring in 1583.[40] Those employed by the state were not pirates, then, but rather *privateers*, a portmanteau of "private" and "volunteers."[41] The distinction was essentially rhetorical.

Government sponsorship of *de facto* pirates was a defining aspect of English economic activity. With an extensive infrastructure of support, including coastal bases and amenable local officials, who permitted market access, English piracy took on the appearance of a legitimate commercial operation.[42] The practice united war and commerce in a manner characteristic of the early modern period. Robbing, reaving, and raiding from West Africa to the Spanish Main, privateers such as Sir Francis Drake and Henry Morgan were central to the expansion of England's early empire. They guaranteed their royal sponsor a share of the emerging global economy.[43] The alliance, however, proved unstable, as piracy was difficult to control. Increasingly during the seventeenth century, for reasons explored below, it became a source of great tension for the government.[44]

38 Barbara Fuchs, "Faithless Empires: Pirates, Renegadoes, and the English Nation," *ELH* 67, no. 1 (2000): 45, https://www.jstor.org/stable/30031906.

39 "Treaty between Spain and Portugal concluded at Tordesillas, June 7, 1494," in *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies to 1648*, ed. Francis Gardner Davenport (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1917), 84–101, https://archive.org/details/europeantreatie00paulgoog/page/n92/mode/2up.

40 Claire Jowitt, *The Culture of Piracy, 1580–1630: English Literature and Seaborne Crime* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2010), 84.

41 Fuchs, "Faithless Empires," 45.

42 Appleby, *Women and English Piracy, 1540–1720*, 8–10.

43 Jowitt. *The Culture of Piracy*, 49.

44 Fuchs, "Faithless Empires," 45.

Notwithstanding, pirates were initially the "vanguard of the Empire," and unsurprisingly they accrued heroic qualities in the hearts, minds, and songs of the English people.[45] Several broadside ballads demonstrate what Douglas Burgess called a "potent myth" of gallants at sea, born in the sixteenth century and continuing throughout the seventeenth.[46] Although the political and economic climate turned decidedly against pirates under James I and his successors, these ballads nonetheless waxed heroic about their troublesome subjects for decades to come. They transformed pirates into legendary characters.

Ballads written about the English pirate Jack Ward, for example, portrayed a man of epic proportions and heroic qualities. *The Seamans Song of Captain Ward the Famous Pyrate of the World, and an Englishman Born*, printed first in 1609, then several times again during the 1650s and 1660s, demonstrated this with its title alone.[47] The ballad emphasized Captain Ward's courage, might, and global notoriety, as well as his English origins. It recounted his victories over the Turks, who he made "sore to shake," Spain and Portugal, which "Against him dare not bare up sail," and France, Italy, and "all the Countries of the Eastern parts."[48] While exalting his triumphs, the ballad took a more critical stance, though one no less dramatic, toward Ward's later career. It told of bad deeds and evil thoughts, and of "wickedness within his heart..."[49] Ward was both celebrated and condemned within the space of a single ballad. Importantly, this was not an exception to the pirate legend; it was a feature, understood with respect to nationalism.

Indeed, how commoners viewed the pirate—gallant and proud, wicked and evil, or some of both—was largely a matter of national perspective. *The Seamans Song of Captain Ward* was indicative of this. For context, Jack Ward began his naval career as a privateer for Queen Elizabeth. Eventually, he forewent both his political allegiance and his Christian faith, becoming an Islamic corsair for the Ottoman Empire.[50] In the language of the time, he "turn'd Turke."[51] His conversion condemned him in the eyes and verses of seventeenth-century Englanders. The ballad lamented that his aforementioned courage and might were not reserved "for his King & Country," as they had been before, but that he rather "abused vilely" his fellow Englishmen.[52] He came to be vili-

45 Fuchs, "Faithless Empires," 45.

46 Burgess, "Piracy in the Public Sphere," 888.

47 Christopher Marsh, "Song History," 100 Ballads, accessed March 25, 2024, https://www.100ballads.org/show/104.

48 *The Seamans Song of Captain Ward the Famous Pyrate of the World, and an Englishman Born.* (London: Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, and W. Gilbertson, 1658), https://www.proquest.com/eebo/books/seamans-song-captain-ward-famous-pyrate-world/docview/2240881133/sem-2?accountid=8337.

49 *The Seamans Song of Captain Ward*.

50 Marsh, "Song History."

51 Marsh, "Song History."

52 *The Seamans Song of Captain Ward*.

fied not because he was a legendary pirate—that was something to admire—but because he was a traitor.

Another ballad, printed alongside *The Seamans Song of Captain Ward*, bears this out. *The sea-mans song of Dansekar the Dutch-man* celebrated the "great renown" and "proud adventures" of Ward and his partner Dansekar.[53] However, there is a catch. What the ballad first described in terms of praise were then denounced as acts of evil:

> Their glories would so at the highest
> To fight against the foes of Christ
> And such as do our Christian faith deny
> But their cursed Villanies
> And their bloody Pyracies
> Are chiefly bent against our Christian friends[54]

Again, the ballad vilified an otherwise heroic Captain Ward because he deigned to sail for the Ottoman Empire, the enemy of Christendom. In doing so, the "glories" he earned as an English privateer were traded for "Villanies."[55] Chief among Ward's sins was that he began to operate without national prejudice, raiding English ships as well as those of foreign countries:

> England suffers danger
> As well as any stranger
> Nations are alike unto his company
> Many English merchant men,
> And of London now and then,
> Have tasted of their vile extremity[56]

In spite of this, it remains that both ballads were far from consistent in their criticism of Captain Ward. As put by Christopher Marsh, "the tone of celebration is… unmistakable."[57] Describing Ward as "an Englishman born" was undoubtedly to claim him for the English nation, villainies and all.[58]

Ward remained a sensational figure. One ballad printed in 1650, then many times again, in 1684, 1697, 1701, 1705, and 1760, said as much.[59] *A*

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53 *The sea-mans song of Dansekar the Dutch-man, his Robberies done at Sea* (London: Printed for F. Coles, J. Wright, T. Vere, and W. Gilbertson, 1658), https://www.proquest.com/eebo/books/seamans-song-danse-k-ar-dutchman-his-robberies/docview/2240876799/sem-2?accountid=8337.

54 *The sea-mans song of Dansekar*.

55 *The sea-mans song of Dansekar*.

56 *The sea-mans song of Dansekar*.

57 Marsh, "Song History."

58 *The Seamans Song of Captain Ward*.

59 *A Famous Sea-Fight between Captain Ward and the Rainbow* (London: Printed

Famous Sea-Fight between Captain Ward and the Rainbow described Ward as a legendary rover who "deceiv'd the Frenchman" and "Likewise the King of Spain."[60] Here was a man of mettle: "Ward was steel within."[61] The ballad went on to say he "never wrong'd an English ship," adding to his heroic image.[62] As established, this was untrue. Captain Ward raided ships of all nationalities.[63] Still, the inclusion of this line represented an attempt to portray him as a kind of patriot. Numerous reprints suggest that consumers favored this depiction.

Printed in 1630, *A True Relation of the Life and Death of Sir Andrew Barton, a Pirate and Rover on the Seas* further demonstrated the influence of nationalism upon popular portrayals of the pirate. In the ballad, Scottish privateer Andrew Barton boasted commendable traits. He was described as "brasse within and steel without," the proud commander of a "gallant ship" and fierce crew.[64] Even in death, he demonstrated bravery and loyalty to his men:

> Fight on, fight on my merry men all,
> A little I am hurt yet not slaine,
> Ile but lie downe and bleed a while,
> And come and fight with you againe[65]

The real Barton, whose capture of Portuguese merchant ships injured London trade, made powerful enemies of English noblemen. Though he mounted a "brilliant and desperate" defense against their attacks, aggrandized in this ballad, the English successfully overpowered his crew and killed him in 1511.[66] So is it that the ballad ends with Barton losing his head, a rather inglorious fate for an otherwise proud man. Of course, this must be understood in the context of the early seventeenth century. When the ballad was published, England and Scotland were approaching a state of war.[67] The ennoblement of Barton's stalwart character had to be tempered; he was, as portrayed here, a hero on the wrong side. In short, nationalism demanded that Barton and Ward be antagonists. As mettlesome pirates, however, they were nothing short of extraordinary.

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for J. Clark, W. Thackeray, and T. Passinger, 1650), https://www.proquest.com/books/famous-sea-fight-between-captain-ward-rainbow/docview/2240855200/se-2?accountid=8337.

60 *A Famous Sea-Fight*.

61 *A Famous Sea-Fight*.

62 *A Famous Sea-Fight*.

63 Marsh, "Song History."

64 *A True Relation of the Life and Death of Sir Andrew Barton, a Pirate and Rover on the Seas* (London: Printed for E. W., 1630), https://www.proquest.com/books/true-relation-life-death-sir-andrew-barton-pirate/docview/2240937441/se-2?accountid=8337.

65 *A True Relation*.

66 Thomas F. Henderson, "Barton, Andrew," in *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Leslie Stephen (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1885), 340, https://books.google.com/books?id=ZCwJAAAAIAAJ&q=barton#v=onepage&q&f=false.

67 Robert Lewis, "Bishops' Wars," in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, June 23, 2019, https://www.britannica.com/event/Bishops-Wars.

All four examples, *The Seamans Song of Captain Ward*, *The sea-mans song of Dansekar*, *A Famous Sea-Fight*, and *A True Relation*, demonstrate a certain ambivalence about pirates as balladeers portrayed them, and by extension an ambivalence of popular opinion. Generally, English pirates were heroes and non-English pirates were villains. But this was not a hard-and-fast rule. Ward, an Englishman, was partly villainous. Barton, a Scotsman, was yet dignified. What remained constant was the pirate's mythological repute. Pirates appeared spectacular to the commoners who read these ballads or heard them performed. Larger than life in both vice and virtue, they comprised a widely popular, celebratory pirate legend. The ubiquity of this legend would soon become an obstacle for the English government.

Shifting Tides

By the 1690s, piracy had become a direct and constant threat to national interests. English commoners' glorification of pirates was not, at first, a significant problem for the government. So long as England profited from sponsoring raids of foreign treasure ships, the pirate might as well be a legend. But as the seventeenth century progressed, the dynamics changed. The government issued letters of marque and reprisal less often after James I ended hostilities with Spain, greatly diminishing opportunities for licensed privateering.[68] Before long, the government revoked them altogether. Oliver Cromwell, the Council of State, and Charles II each took measures to nullify the permissions Elizabeth liberally granted.[69] These revocations had limited effect; with or without sanction, pirates continued to operate. Robert Ritchie identified this new wave of pirates as "marauders," and they posed a serious challenge for the English government through their disruption of commerce and diplomacy.[70]

At the heart of the change was a simple reality: England was now a

68 "Treaty between Spain and Great Britain, concluded at London, August 18/28, 1604," in *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies to 1648*, ed. Francis Gardner Davenport (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1917), 246–257, https://archive.org/details/europeantreatie00paulgoog/page/n254/mode/2up; James I, "By the King, a Proclamation against Pirats" (London: Printed by the deputies of Robert Baker, 1609), https://www.proquest.com/books/king-proclamation-against-pirats/docview/2248550643/se-2?accountid=8337.

69 Oliver Cromwell, "By the Protector, a proclamation declaring that after the first day of August next, no further use be made of any Letters of Marque, or Reprisal, granted unto any private person" (London: Printed by Henry Hills and John Field, July 12, 1655), https://www.proquest.com/books/protector-proclamation-declaring-that-after-first/docview/2264176611/se-2?accountid=8337; Council of State, "By the Council of State, a proclamation" (London: Printed by Abel Roper and Thomas Collins, April 13, 1660), https://www.proquest.com/books/council-state-proclamation-whereas-is-given/docview/2264209386/se-2?accountid=8337; Charles II, "By the King, a proclamation for recalling private commissions, or letters of marque" (Oxford: Printed by Leonard Lichfield, January 5, 1665), https://www.proquest.com/books/king-proclamation-recalling-private-commissions/docview/2248513025/se-2?accountid=8337.

70 Ritchie, *Captain Kidd and the War Against the Pirates*, 26.

centralized imperial power in its own right. No longer was it a kingdom on the margins, dependent on illicit tactics to compete with its wealthier rivals. Establishing bureaucracies like the Board of Trade, which replaced the aristocratic Lords of Trade in 1696 as the dominant oversight committee for colonial affairs, England consolidated its position in an increasingly interconnected world.[71] The government subsequently refined maritime law to counter the pirate threat to commerce, communication, and colonial security.[72] "The roistering buccaneer," wrote Ritchie, "did not suit the hard-headed merchants and imperial bureaucrats."[73] With colonies of its own, as well as merchant companies forging diplomatic ties in its name, England had much to gain by maintaining peace and stability on the seas—and much to lose by way of pirate raids. As the English government moved to bring order to the Empire, it "turn[ed] ruthlessly on pirates," who had become "a serious embarrassment to the state."[74]

The case of Henry Avery epitomized this embarrassment. Avery began his naval career as first mate aboard the English warship *Charles II*. In 1694, after the ship's merchant owners failed to pay Avery and his men their due wages, the crew led a bloodless mutiny.[75] They became pirates, sensing greater potential for gold and glory under their own command. Their exploits culminated in the 1695 raiding of a treasure-laden convoy belonging to the Grand Mughal of India, headed by the flagship *Ganj-i-Sawai*. Later anglicized to *Gunsway*, the flagship carried several members of the Mughal's royal court, including his own daughter, on pilgrimage to Mecca.[76] It was a disaster of optics for the English government. Already, England was fighting its reputation as a "nation of pirates," which was now all but confirmed.[77] An English crew had wronged one of the Empire's close trade partners, financially, but also personally: "All this will raise a black cloud at Court," remarked an agent for the Mughal, "which we wish may not produce a severe storm."[78] The English government increased its efforts at suppressing piracy markedly. To salvage their reputation and secure England's economic and diplomatic interests, Crown officials needed to demonstrate the harshest possible stance on piracy. Pirates could not be legendary, and certainly not heroic. They had to be, as Cicero called them, *communis hostis omnium*.[79]

71 Burgess, "Piracy in the Public Sphere," 891.
72 Lincoln, *British Pirates and Society*, 63.
73 Ritchie, *Captain Kidd and the War Against the Pirates*, 2.
74 Burgess, "Piracy in the Public Sphere," 912.
75 Lincoln, *British Pirates and Society*, 87.
76 Burgess, "Piracy in the Public Sphere," 887.
77 Burgess, "Piracy in the Public Sphere," 894.
78 East India Company letter from Bombay, 12 October 1695, TNA: PRO Privy Council Unbound Papers, 1/46, quoted in Douglas R. Burgess, "Piracy in the Public Sphere: The Henry Every Trials and the Battle for Meaning in Seventeenth-Century Print Culture," *Journal of British Studies* 48, no. 4 (2009): 888.
79 Cicero, "Book III," 384.

It is within this context that broadside ballads again serve as an indispensable medium of historical analysis, with several examples indicating state-sanctioned manipulation of popular media in an effort to expunge the pirate legend. Joseph Mann rightly identified the unique potential for ballads to disseminate propaganda to the widest possible audience. Consequently, he noted that the English government attempted "consistently and enthusiastically" to shape public opinion through printed propaganda, particularly cheap print forms such as broadsides and pamphlets.[80] Merchant lobbyists, their profit margins threatened by men like Avery, naturally supported the suppression of piracy and assisted the government in manipulating popular media.[81] Multiple ballads dating to the late seventeenth century instantiate their intrusion into the public sphere.

Printed in 1686, *The Caesar's Victory* is one such example. The ballad portrayed pirates as enemies of the state, with brave merchantmen being the true heroes of England.[82] It celebrated the titular *Caesar*, a ship of the East India Company which successfully repulsed a pirate raid near the Cape Verde Islands, and encouraged merchant sailors to defend their cargo.[83] In a bid to alienate pirates, moreover, the ballad highlighted the connection between merchant trade and the livelihoods of common people. This was done with an allusion to one Francis Stevens, a "Water-man, who formerly ply'd at Puddle Dock."[84] London commoners could identify with an everyman like Stevens. His being gravely wounded in the encounter, having "lost his arm," showed that pirates were no friends of common folk.[85] Further disassociating pirates from the values of common laborers, *The Caesar's Victory* depicted pirates as unwilling to work for a living, as would have been expected of most Englishmen. Instead, they were cowardly freeloaders who wanted "Rich Plunder free."[86]

Villany Rewarded; or, the Pirates Last Farewel, printed after the Avery incident in 1696, was another example of "blatant audience manipulation" by government lobbyists, according to Margarette Lincoln.[87] Set just before the execution of several pirates, the ballad portrayed them as incontrovertible

80 Joseph Arthur Mann, "Introduction," in *Printed Musical Propaganda in Early Modern England* (Liverpool University Press, 2020), 15, 17–18, https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv16h2hk0.5.

81 Lincoln, *British Pirates and Society*, 85–87.

82 *The Caesar's Victory. It being Account of a Ship so called, in her Voyage to the East Indies, Richly Laden, was beset with five Sail of Pirates: But the Caesar so rarely behaved her self, that she came off with Conquest, and put her foes to flight, losing no more than One Man, and but Seven wounded, one of which was Francis Stevens a Water-man, who formerly ply'd at Puddle Dock, who lost his Arm* (London: Printed for J. Deacon, 1686), Magdalene College - Pepys Library, Pepys Ballads 4.198, EBBA 21860, https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/21860/xml.

83 *The Caesar's Victory*.

84 *The Caesar's Victory*.

85 *The Caesar's Victory*.

86 *The Caesar's Victory*.

87 Lincoln, *British Pirates and Society*, 86.

criminals who took from honest Englishmen. They seized merchant ships, killed those who did not submit, and thus "liv'd upon others good."[88] *Villany Rewarded* employed a strategy which became part and parcel of anti-pirate ballads, including *Devol's last Farewel* and *Capt. Whitney's Confession*: it was written from the pirates' perspectives.[89] The pirates lamented their "Deeds most base, / For which, alas! we now must dye," acknowledging the wickedness of their crimes and the justice of their deaths.[90] To be sure, "Death looks [them] in the face; / Which is no more than what's [their] due."[91] Through the ballad, the government intended to demythologize pirates, as these fearsome men were reduced to rueful snivellers. The ballad rendered a warning for all pirates:

> Now farewel to this wicked World, and our companions too,
> From hence we quickly shall be hurl'd to clear the way for you,
> For certainly if e're you come to Justice as we are,
> Deserved death will be your doom, then Pirates all take care.[92]

The lobbyists who authored *Villany Rewarded* understood that the public was inclined to view pirates quixotically. They carefully emphasized the importance of merchant trade to the English nation, and the threat it sustained by criminal pirates.

Despite this, the idea that pirates could be heroic did not disappear. Printed in 1694, *A Copy of Verses, Composed by Henry Every, Lately Gone to Sea to seek his Fortune* purported to be written by Captain Avery himself.[93] While the actual author is unknown, a celebratory tone and rousing call to action are clear. In contrast to *The Caesar's Victory* and *Villany Rewarded*, ballads which condemned pirates as good-for-nothing criminals, this ballad promised

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88 *Villany Rewarded; or, The Pirates Last Farewel To the World: Who was Executed at Execution Dock, on Wednesday the 25th of November, 1696, Being of Every's Crew. Together with their free Confession of their most Horrid Crimes* (London: Printed for Charles Barnet, 1696), Magdalene College - Pepys Library, Pepys Ballads 2.199, EBBA 20813, https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20813/xml.

89 *Devol's last Farewel: Containing an Account of many froliksom Intreigues and notorious Robberies, which he committed: Concluding with his mournful Lamentation, on the Day of his Death* (London: Printed for C. Bates, 1670), https://www.proquest.com/books/devol-s-last-farewel-containing-account-many/docview/2248523300/se-2?accountid=8337; *Capt. Whitney's Confession: or, his Penitent Lamentation, Under a Sence of a Guilty Conscience, on the Day of his Execution at the Porter's Block, near Smithfield-Bars, which was on the First of February, 1693* (London: Printed for P. Brooksby, J. Deacon, J. Blare, and J. Back, 1693), Magdalene College - Pepys Library, Pepys Ballads 2.186, EBBA 20801, https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20801/xml.

90 *Villany Rewarded*.

91 *Villany Rewarded*.

92 *Villany Rewarded*.

93 *A Copy of Verses, Composed by Captain Henry Every, Lately Gone to Sea to seek his Fortune* (London: Printed for Theophilius Lewis, 1694), Magdalene College - Pepys Library, Pepys Ballads 5.384, EBBA 22206, https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/22206/xml.

glory to the "brave Boys" who joined Avery's crew.[94] Its appeals to liberty and fraternity were particularly unique:

> For we are now sworn by the Bread and the Wine,
> More serious we are than any Divine.
> Now this is the Course I intend for to steer;
> My false-hearted Nation, to you I declare,
> I have done thee no wrong, thou must me forgive,
> The Sword shall maintain me as long as I live.[95]

Here, pirates were portrayed romantically, as sworn brothers. They were a government of themselves, true and loyal, unlike "false-hearted" England.[96] Echoes of the heroic last words of Sir Andrew Barton reverberate through the ballad. Joel Baer described it as a "spirited expression" of grievances against a faithless nation, appealing to the destitute.[97] Avowing his Englishness ("I Honour St. George, and his Colours I were"), Avery yet remained an emblem of rebellion and defiance.[98] He was heroic in the sense that he opposed a corrupt government and fought for the common man.

The ballad could be interpreted very differently. Baer suggested that, to the higher orders of society, these verses were shocking. They reflected an unnatural violation of the social order. Avery's "terrible determination" was not romantic or legendary from their perspective, but dangerous.[99] London merchant Sir James Houblon thus submitted a copy of the ballad to the Privy Council in 1696, to be used as evidence against Avery and his crew.[100] To the admiralty court tasked with trying the crewmembers, the ballad was a *prima facie* declaration of treason. The public disagreed. At the conclusion of the first trial of Avery's crew, the jury produced an indisputable rejection of the official pirate narrative. Indeed, they acquitted all six men..[101]

Not everyone accepted the government's version of piracy during the seventeenth century. A celebratory pirate legend was difficult to dispel for several reasons, not the least of which being that those most affected by pirates were the rich and powerful. Ordinary people simply did not have the same personal incentive to rally against them.[102] As demonstrated by *A Copy of Verses*,

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94 *A Copy of Verses*.
95 *A Copy of Verses*.
96 *A Copy of Verses*.
97 Joel H. Baer, "Bold Captain Avery in the Privy Council: Early Variants of a Broadside Ballad from the Pepys Collection," *Folk Music Journal* 7, no. 1 (1995): 18, https://www.jstor.org/stable/4522500.
98 *A Copy of Verses*.
99 Baer, "Bold Captain Avery in the Privy Council," 18.
100 Baer, "Bold Captain Avery in the Privy Council," 5–6.
101 Burgess, "Piracy in the Public Sphere," 900.
102 Lincoln, *British Pirates and Society*, 124.

in fact, it was not uncommon for pirates to take on the qualities of folk heroes like Robin Hood. Their crimes were celebrated insofar as they spoke to the plight of disillusioned commoners, who, Lincoln said, “felt a burning sense of social injustice” and “were prepared to challenge the system.”[103] Pirates were criminals, legally, but they could also be symbols of protest. Pirates themselves leaned into this notion: Captain Ward dubbed one ship in his fleet *Little John*, a reference to Robin Hood’s chief lieutenant.[104] The promises of gold, glory, and self-determination must have been captivating. For English men, at least, pirates represented an exciting alternative to ordinary life—one in which they, like the Merry Men, might chart their own course, partake in dramatic adventure, and eschew the suffocating expectations of polite society.[105]

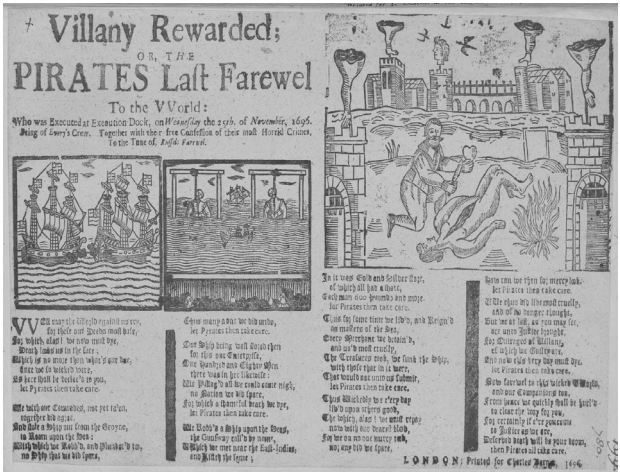

Figure 2. From the anonymous *Villany Rewarded* (Magdalene College - Pepys Ballads 2.199, EBBA 20813). Reproduced with the permission of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College.

Despite setbacks, the government kept on. During the early decades of the eighteenth century, officials continued to reinforce the notion that pirates were enemies of all, divorced from any national pride. Dr. Newton, prosecuting the pirate William Kidd in 1700, appealed to the English public’s strengthening sense of nationalism, affirming that pirate activities were “to the Disgrace and Prejudice of the English Nation.”[106] Pirates, he argued, were traitors; they were

103 Baer, “Bold Captain Avery in the Privy Council,” 13–14; Margarette Lincoln, “Henry Every and the Creation of the Pirate Myth in Early Modern Britain,” in *The Golden Age of Piracy: The Rise, Fall, and Enduring Popularity of Pirates*, ed. David Head (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2018), 170.

104 Marsh, “Song History.”

105 Carolyn Eastman, “‘Blood and Lust’: Masculinity and Sexuality in Illustrated Print Portrayals of Early Pirates in the Caribbean,” in *The Golden Age of Piracy: The Rise, Fall, and Enduring Popularity of Pirates*, edited by David Head (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2018), 200.

106 *The Arraignment, Tryal, and Condemnation of Captain William Kidd, for Murther and Pyracy* (London: J. Nutt, 1701), https://lccn.loc.gov/18011064.

a "Common Enemy" which England could not tolerate.[107] Anti-pirate ballads buttressed these verbal castigations with grisly woodcuts, *aides-mémoire* for the nasty fate which was to befall such criminals (see figure 2 above).[108] The message was as simple as it was consistent: pirates were not to be celebrated, but rather hanged and left to rot.

In time, this narrative began to stick. Sympathy for pirates had evidently waned heading into the eighteenth century, such that Captain Kidd, unlike Avery, had little chance to revel in his notoriety. Rather, he was convicted and executed.[109] One popular ballad, aptly set to the tune of "Coming Down," read as the bookend to an age of legendary pirates.[110] Titled *Captain Kid's Farewel to the Seas*, it concluded with a piteous lament:

> Some thousands they will flock when we die,
> Some thousands they will flock when we die,
> Some thousands they will flock
> To Execution Dock
> Where we must stand the shock, and must die.[111]

The seventeenth century had seen the persistence of a celebratory pirate legend. The turn of the eighteenth marked greater success for the government in portraying pirates as immoral criminals who, "Though [they] have reigned awhile," ultimately "must die."[112] The pirate legend did not cease to be, but with the public execution of William Kidd in 1701, a notable contrast to the acquittal of Avery's crew, its prominence as a social force was on the ebb.

Conclusion

Over the course of the seventeenth century, portrayals of pirates in English balladry were ambivalent and conflictual. Broadside ballads reveal an ideological environment in which a popular pirate mythology competed with the intolerant proscriptions of the English government. They reveal, furthermore, a stark divide between the sensibilities of ordinary people and those of the elite. Undergirding pirate ballads was an emerging sense of nationalism, which accompanied England's development into a merchant empire. This change ushered in new political and economic realities which increasingly marginalized the pirate—once a serviceable asset to the Empire, but very soon a thorn in its

107 *The Arraignment, Tryal, and Condemnation*.
108 Lincoln, "Henry Every and the Creation of the Pirate Myth," 170.
109 Bonner, "The Ballad of Captain Kidd," 362.
110 *Captain Kid's Farewel to the Seas, or the Famous Pirate's Lament* (1700),https://www.proquest.com/books/captain-kids-farewel-seas-famous-pirates-lament/docview/2240869499/se-2?accountid=8337.
111 *Captain Kid's Farewel*.
112 *Captain Kid's Farewel*.

side. England was not the underdog it had been. Open seas, ideal for pirate raids and opportunistic smuggling, were now to the detriment of a more centralized power. Order as the new watchword, so began a concerted effort by state officials, in hand with merchant lobbyists, to demythologize pirates and portray them as an unacceptable threat. Popular print forms, notably the broadside ballad, allowed them to distribute their propaganda quickly and efficiently.

At first, this propaganda met with limited success. Derogation of the pirate chafed with the narrative traditions of English commoners. They clung to a fanciful image of gallants at sea—proud, menacing warriors who engaged in fearsome battles and won great fame. In some cases, celebration of the pirate even embodied a form of protest, as with Henry Avery. Where it seems that commoners did acknowledge the threat of pirates to English trade and foreign relations, they nonetheless felt a sense of solidarity. Those who were disadvantaged, marginalized, or otherwise oppressed by the English government, including religious sectarians, as noted by Christopher Hill, could identify with the pirate's struggle.[113] If pirates were not *national* heroes by the 1690s, they were often *folk* heroes, representing an attractive anti-establishmentarianism.

The eighteenth century was a turning point for pirates, both at sea and in the public sphere. It is no accident that scholars traditionally identify the 1720s as the end of piracy's "Golden Age."[114] Long departed from their reverent days as "vanguard of the Empire," English pirates faced a more powerful government which cut them off from overland support networks and systematically hunted them down.[115] Although the "potent myth" became less socially influential, its legacy endured.[116] A romantic pirate legend was cemented in popular culture, surviving to the present. Today, pirate books, movies, and video games are released to critical acclaim.[117] They allow modern audiences to imagine a life of swashbuckling liberty and self-determination, the very life which appealed to English commoners over three hundred years ago.

At the same time, wealthier nations condemn pirates off the coast of Somalia with much the same terminology used during the early modern period. News outlets have accused them of congregating in "pirates' nests," for instance, as if referring to rodents which must be concomitantly exterminated.[118] Residents of the Somali port of Eyl, like many English commoners during the seven-

113 Lincoln, "Henry Every and the Creation of the Pirate Myth," 170; Hill, "Radical Pirates?" 26.

114 David Head, "Conclusion," in *The Golden Age of Piracy: The Rise, Fall, and Enduring Popularity of Pirates*, ed. David Head (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2018), 243.

115 Fuchs, "Faithless Empires," 45; David Head, "Conclusion," 243.

116 Burgess, "Piracy in the Public Sphere," 888.

117 Antonio Sanna, "Introduction," in *Pirates in History and Popular Culture*, ed. Antonio Sanna (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 2018), 3–4, https://books.google.com/books?id=JXJuDwAAQBAJ&pg=PA1&source=gbs_toc_r&cad=2#v=onepage&q&f=false.

118 Lincoln, *British Pirates and Society*, 221.

teenth century, have instead revered pirates as heroes, and the pirates themselves claim to attack merchant ships in a "just cause."[119] The parallels are striking. Now, as before, pirates exist at the heart of a "battle for meaning."[120] Whether they are legendary characters, local heroes, or insufferable criminals remains highly subjective. As such, portrayals of pirates reflect the values and beliefs of societies, as well as the divisions which exist within or between them. Perhaps pirates' most profound exploit, then, was their capture of the *Public Imagination*. "Our Names shall be blazed and spread in the Sky," remarks the narrator in *A Copy of Verses*, supposedly Captain Avery himself.[121] He was more right than he could have possibly known.

119 Lincoln, *British Pirates and Society*, 225.
120 Burgess, "Piracy in the Public Sphere," 887.
121 *A Copy of Verses*.

“A Source of Red Infection”: Corporate Influence and Policy-making in the 1954 Guatemalan Coup

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Abstract: This essay focuses on the efforts of the United Fruit Company (UFCO) to influence American foreign policy in the 1950s. Its most notable efforts led to Operation PBSUCCESS, an American covert operation to overthrow the government of Guatemala in 1954. While most scholarship focuses on the events of the coup itself, this essay examines the actions of UFCO as an example of the relationship between corporate interest and American policy efforts in the early Cold War. To connect these ideas, this essay explores three primary topics: American fear of communism in the 1950s and its impact on the cultural atmosphere of the time, UFCO’s efforts to exploit this culture, and the CIA’s efforts to find almost non-existent evidence of communist involvement in Guatemala after the coup occurred. This essay finds that UFCO successfully manipulated American media sentiment against the Guatemalan government and that these actions demonstrate how effective manipulation by corporate interests can induce governments to act on their behalf.

Introduction

The influence of the media is an indispensable consideration in government and politics. Often, media attention on a given issue can result in loud calls for government action. This does not mean, however, that the media is immune to outside influence. Often, such outlets are both fickle and moldable. To that end, corporate and government entities have been able to use the media to rally the public around numerous causes, regardless of the reality of the situation. In particular, the relationship between corporate interest and sentiment in news media often contributes to this moldability. This sensitivity to deliberate influence proved especially true during the Cold War, as the unique geopolitical and cultural environment of the period meant that corporations could garner federal support for actions that may not have been supported under other circumstances.

A significant example of such susceptibility came in 1954 with the United States’ effort to back a coup d’état against the government of Guatemala, referred to by the CIA as Operation PBSUCCESS. This covert operation sought to depose democratically-elected president Jacobo Árbenz and install a military dictator who was friendlier to American interests. Guatemala spent the following forty years embroiled in a brutal civil war which saw numerous atrocities

committed by both government forces and the leftist guerrillas they fought.

Surprisingly, the Guatemalan coup enjoyed support from American media outlets and from policymakers on both sides of the political fence. However, this support did not emerge independently. Ungrounded fears of communist expansion were leveraged to sway media sentiment and policy concerns towards Guatemalan intervention. Who, then, was responsible for this manipulation and how did they succeed in convincing Americans — from secretary to senator — that it was in their best interest?

This essay argues that manipulation by the United Fruit Company (UFCO) proved essential in lobbying for U.S. government intervention by leveraging existing Cold War-era fears surrounding the spread of communism. Reforms which harmed the company were presented as the result of communist infiltration to a nation that was particularly susceptible to such messaging. By examining these events, this essay finds that the private interests of the United Fruit Company had considerable sway over government policy in Guatemala through manipulation of ideological fears. First, we will examine the cultural atmosphere created by the fear of communism and how both the public and policymakers perceived its spread similarly to that of a disease. This had a marked impact on how the government understood diplomacy, geopolitics, and the United States' place in the world. Next, we will study the influence of the UFCO and how the corporation leveraged the anti-communist elements of this culture to advance their own interests. Lastly, we will assess the efforts of American intelligence agencies to uncover evidence of communist influence in Guatemala as a means of retroactively justifying their involvement – evidence which they did not find.

Historiography

In-depth historical scholarship on the Guatemalan coup is a relatively recent development, particularly regarding details of US involvement. Many of the documents which detailed the extent and covert nature of such involvement were classified for almost fifty years. Government publications provided a distorted version of events as a result, which eventually drew criticism from academic journals and major newspapers. In response to these criticisms, Congress passed legislation requiring federal agencies to provide greater access to their records for historians and other academics. With the end of the Cold War, the CIA began to publicly acknowledge the agency's covert operations in the early Cold War. Per the legislation, it also began declassifying documents detailing such operations.[1] Before these documents were available, scholars primarily relied on other government documentation such as public Congressional reports, hearings, and interviews as well as State Department memos. These documents revealed little regarding the role of the CIA in overthrowing the Guatemalan government.[2]

1 Susan Holly and David S. Patterson, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952–1954, Guatemala* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 2003), IV.

2 N. Stephen Kane and William F. Sanford, Jr., *Foreign Relations of the United*

For example, the 1983 publication of *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952-1954* — a collection of official American foreign policy documents in that period— was published with the knowledge that the work was woefully incomplete as it related to Guatemala. The volume did not, for example, document the role of the CIA in the covert operation to oust Jacobo Árbenz.[3] It took until the publication of a subsequent volume in 2003 for evidence of that operation to make it into *Foreign Relations.* While other publications like Aybar De Soto's *Dependency and Intervention* (1978) are certainly damning of the events of the coup and make accurate assertions regarding American involvement, here too authors were forced to rely on other sources to try to extrapolate the events leading up to the coup. Richard Immerman's *The CIA in Guatemala* (1982), for example, relies on official Congressional and Presidential library records in addition to interviews with Guatemalan and American government officials, contemporary news articles, and Guatemalan academic history — none of which disclosed the nature of the CIA's involvement in the coup. Despite this shortcoming, *The CIA in Guatemala* effectively explains the spirit of the Cold War as well as public and policymaker sentiment regarding Latin American policy. For that reason, this essay draws considerably on Immerman's scholarship, particularly in the opening pages as we discuss American perceptions of communism in the Cold War era.

Before the wave of declassification in the early 1990s, the exact nature of U.S. involvement in Guatemala was something of an open question. Accordingly, scholarship from this period often depicts U.S. involvement as an inevitability as evidence surrounding covert action and the influence of UFCO of government decision making was not yet available. Lacking the requisite information, most sources published prior to the early 1990s assert that the United States was deceived regarding the nature of communist influence in Guatemala by UFCO and, owing to the culture of fear surrounding the supposed communist monolith at the time, felt compelled to act to defend itself. At this time, the ideological standoff between the United States and the Soviet Union greatly influenced American foreign policy as well as how Americans perceived themselves in relation to the rest of the world. Communism was reviled by many Americans, who saw it as fundamentally incompatible with the capitalist and liberal-democratic institutions to which Americans were accustomed. In effect, American fears of communist expansion were exploited by a private body to protect its financial interests in a foreign country. Without the proper details, American scholarship on the subject relies on these political and cultural norms of the early Cold War to explain U.S. involvement. While later scholarship corroborates many aspects of this idea, access to more information allows these sources to give a clearer picture of the covert side of the operation and the motivations behind it. They also explain the existing concerns of the government regarding Guatemala.

The release of the CIA's files on Guatemala to Department of State

States, 1952-1954, The American Republics (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1983), IV.

3 Holly and Patterson, III–IV.

historians in 1991 and to the public over the following few years proved a boon to scholarship on the subject. Since then, several books have been published using this new information. These works largely affirm the previous scholarship but delve into aspects of the subject that were untouched by previous authors due to a lack of available reference material. Piero Gleijeses' *Shattered Hope* (1991), for example, agrees earlier works from Immerman, de Soto, and others that UFCO made efforts to influence the American government with an eye for intervention. However, Gleijeses builds upon these ideas by asserting that the U.S. government had already been paying close attention to the Guatemalan situation and, even without the influence of UFCO, grew increasingly worried about the influence of communism in the region. To that end, American actions are not explained away by taking the political ideology of the time as a given. Subsequent works, like Stephen Schlesinger's *Bitter Fruit* (1999) and Nick Cullather's *Secret History* (2006) take similar positions regarding American involvement. These works are also able to explore the aftermath of the coup as it relates to the official story and evidence presented to the public. In particular, Operation PBHISTORY — a July 1954 effort by the CIA to *retroactively* uncover evidence of Soviet influence in Guatemala — was not well known prior to declassification, making it difficult to assess its impact. The above sources agree that PBHISTORY did not uncover the evidence of communist influence it was looking for, though it did succeed in concealing American involvement in the coup from the public and asserting that the regime change benefited the United States.

By combining these newer sources, prior scholarship, declassified documents from United States government agencies, and publicly available archives from the Department of State, United States Congress, and Presidential libraries, we can glean a more accurate picture of the events of PBSUCCESS, PBHISTORY, the public relations work required to implement these operations, and the cultural attitudes of the time which made both the media and members of government open to these operations. This essay takes advantage of all these sources - examining them together reveals that the historiography of the Guatemalan coup has not radically changed over time but rather has come into clearer focus as more information has become publicly available and enough time has passed to grant historians a greater understanding of the legacy of these events. In doing so, this essay establishes a clearer connection between the influence of UFCO and U.S. intervention.

American Perceptions of Communism

The existence and spread of communism (or rather, the Western perception of it) did more to shape American politics and culture than almost any other institution, event, or idea in the years following the Second World War. This obsession with communism was founded on several assumptions that made its containment vital to securing American interests at home and abroad. Of these assumptions, four proved to be the most consequential: that communism is a global, monolithic institution capable of spreading to new places, similar to a disease; that communism is dangerous to the American way of life if allowed

to spread; that almost any anti-American interest could be communist; and that, though difficult, the spread of communism can be contained. Below, we explore each of these assumptions and explain how UFCO leveraged them in their efforts to push American news media and policymakers to support Guatemalan intervention under the pretext of communist containment.

Following the Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe after the Second World War, the spread of communism began to attract greater attention from both American policymakers and the public. The notion of communism spreading to the West and eventually to the United States was viewed as an imminent and unacceptable threat.[4] As early as the 1950s, members of Congress believed that much of the world was under communist threat and would soon fall to Soviet influence. The American public, meanwhile, looked on in horror as "one nation after another in Europe and Asia pass[ed] into the control of Moscow."[5] To many Americans, Soviet influence and communist influence were interchangeable (to the extent that 'Soviet' and 'Communist' are often used interchangeably in contemporary accounts). In effect, they believed that the Soviet Union was the sole propagator of communist ideology which existed with no internal dissent.[6] This fear was shared regarding the Global South — supposed communist influence in Guatemala, for example, was believed to only be the first step. American policymakers asserted that the Caribbean and, eventually, Latin America were targets for communist expansion. After the coup, these policymakers claimed that the removal of the Árbenz government helped stymy such expansion.[7] Such fears were also reflected in American news media outlets. The *New York Times*, for example, pointed to locations as disparate as China, Indochina (present-day Vietnam), India, and Western Europe as potential targets for communist expansion.[8] Unlike prior opponents who, though dangerous, were unlikely to attain truly global influence, Soviet-sponsored communism was regarded as a potentially worldwide phenomenon.

American policymakers and journalists regarded this spread as being dangerous to the American way of life. They regarded communist ideology to be in fundamental opposition to American capitalist institutions as a zero-sum game – any gains for communist ideology were equivalent to the loss of American influence. This binary nature led many to believe that only one system could survive; in effect, American leaders and citizens believed that the destruction of American prosperity was a very real possibility if communism were to expand.[9] This idea of communism as not just pervasive, but *dangerous*, spanned from Americans' living rooms all the way to the Senate floor, where influential Congressmen like future president Lyndon B. Johnson clearly spelled out this fear: "International communism is now arming its followers for conquest by

4 Richard H. Immerman, *The CIA in Guatemala: The Foreign Policy of Intervention* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982), 7–8.

5 U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Foreign Affairs, "Ninth Interim Report of Hearings: Communist Aggression in Latin America" (Washington, D.C., 1954), 1.

6 Immerman, *The CIA in Guatemala*

7 U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1.

8 *New York Times*, 5 March 1954.

9 Immerman, *The CIA in Guatemala*, 10.

open and naked force and violence."[10] More specifically, members of the intelligence community and Congress firmly believed that communist infiltration in Guatemala constituted a threat to the United States and negatively affected American interests.[11] By combining these ideas and viewing communism as a disease-like, contagious monolith that would harm American ideals wherever it went, the influence of the ideology on American policy and culture is clear.

These ideas and the fear they caused meant that the question of what constituted communism became rather murky. Because communism was believed to be an affront to American ideals and could spread rapidly, American policymakers sometimes conflated communism with other ideologies or policies which opposed American financial, geopolitical, and social interests. This furthered the belief that, "by understanding the nature of Communism, [one] could identify Communists,"[12] even if they emphatically denied such beliefs. According to this belief, one did not need to be a card-carrying member of a communist party to raise suspicion. By the early 1950s, this idea had grown so significantly that many believed one could essentially duck test their way through the problem of identifying communist elements — according to officials like Ambassador Richard Patterson, if they acted like a communist, talked like a communist, and thought like a communist, they likely were a communist.[13] In the case of Guatemala, many politicians were erroneously branded communists for association with such ideas as nationalism, populism, and an aversion to dictatorship.[14] This mischaracterization caused the influence of communism in Guatemala to be greatly overstated.

A logical assumption emerged among policymakers, the media, and by extension the public as a result of the prior three: if communism spreads, is dangerous, and can be identified, it must be sought out and contained so that it cannot harm American interests. Politicians — both in office and on the campaign trail — boasted to the public that they were being tough on communism and lambasting their rivals for not doing the same. The espoused foreign policy of the Eisenhower administration, for example, was praised by the media because of Eisenhower's unrelenting insistence on liberating areas from communist control and taking back initiative from the Soviets.[15] Meanwhile, Truman's policy on communism was often criticized in the media as indecisive due to his administration's reluctance to rely on covert action to achieve containment.[16]

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10 U.S. Congress, Senate, "Civil War in Guatemala - Communist Penetration of Western Hemisphere," Congressional Record (Washington, D.C., June 25, 1954), 8922.

11 "Present Political Situation in Guatemala and Possible Developments during 1952," National Intelligence Estimate (Central Intelligence Agency, March 11, 1952).

12 Immerman, *The CIA in Guatemala*, 102.

13 Immerman, 102.

14 Piero Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope: The Guatemalan Revolution and the United States, 1944–1954* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 101.

15 Odd Arne Westad, *The Cold War: A World History* (New York, N.Y: Basic Books, 2021), 227-229.

16 Immerman, *The CIA in Guatemala*, 13; Stephen C. Schlesinger and Stephen Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit: The Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala* (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1983), 100.

These assessments fit neatly within the political views expressed by these media outlets. For example, editors of the *New York Times* framed the relationship between East and West as a conflict to be won. American engagement in Latin America was characterized as "the Battle of the Western Hemisphere" in line with this framing.[17] American efforts in Guatemala, therefore, can be understood as part of a wider global effort to contain (and eventually, roll back) the spread of communism.

United Fruit, the United States, and a Call to Action

The cultural and political impact of communism in the United States made many Americans eager to act against anyone they believed would advance communist interests. This predisposition was recognized and taken advantage of by UFCO to secure its economic interests in Guatemala. Here, we examine UFCO's position in Guatemala and how it incentivized them to act. Then, we'll analyze the company's efforts to draw negative media and political attention to the Guatemalan government and how that spurred action by the American government.

To say that the United Fruit Company was a major force in Guatemala is an understatement; it is difficult to convey the level of economic power the company held in the region. In 1945, UFCO was the largest private landowner and employer by a wide margin — the second largest private employer was the International Railways Company, of which 42.6% was owned by UFCO. The banana empire's annual budget was larger than many of the nations in which it operated.[18] The company had operations in Guatemala, Honduras, and Costa Rica, among other smaller holdings. Naturally, such power granted the company considerable influence over the region. Until the fall of Jorge Ubico's dictatorship in 1944, UFCO had been allowed to operate almost entirely independently of any Guatemalan state regulation. Labor, land, and economic relations could be handled however the company deemed fit.[19]

The relationship between UFCO and the Guatemalan government began to sour after Ubico was ousted in favor of a provisional military *junta* which held democratic elections in 1944. Over the following decade, presidents Juan José Arévalo and Jacobo Árbenz implemented reforms which sought to reign in the influence of UFCO, offer greater protections for its workers, and redistribute unused land to Guatemalan citizens. Each of these actions prompted considerable protest from UFCO, which repeatedly claimed it was being unfairly targeted. The implementation of a new Labor Code in 1947, for example, was met with unending criticism as UFCO officials claimed the newly imposed restrictions made operations economically infeasible.[20] Negotiations with the government broke down as the company refused to compromise, instead

17 *New York Times*, 5 March 1954.

18 Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, 88–90.

19 Gleijeses, 92.

20 Gleijeses, 96. Notably, every other agricultural firm subject to these restrictions were able to comply without protest. See Immerman, *The CIA in Guatemala*, 76.

choosing to file numerous complaints with the U.S. Department of State.[21]

This pattern continued for the next several years as the Guatemalan government would make efforts to restrain UFCO while the company chafed against these limitations and refused to negotiate. The situation further escalated after the election of Árbenz and the enactment of agrarian reform legislation in 1953 known as Decree 900. The reform, widely criticized by both the United States government and UFCO, sought to redistribute unused land to the Guatemalan peasantry. By law, any expropriated land was to be paid for by the Guatemalan government in accordance with the assessed tax value of the land.[22] Owing to its size, much of the land subject to the decree was owned by UFCO. The reform greatly outraged the company, which claimed that their land was worth far more than its assessed value. Ironically, this disparity arose because the company historically underreported the value of its property to reduce its already-trivial tax liability.[23] In protest, UFCO sent the Árbenz administration a bill for $15,854,849 – fifteen times the reported value of the expropriated land. Unsurprisingly, this bill was never paid.[24]

Unlike the previous dictatorship, the new Guatemalan government was clearly unwilling to turn a blind eye to the actions of UFCO. Given the privileged position the company had grown accustomed to, it is unsurprising that UFCO resisted against the government's efforts. To government officials, these efforts were discriminatory and sought to restrict the company's activities. Reform was unacceptable; any efforts to constrain UFCO's actions would not be tolerated. Its position as an American company, however, meant that UFCO had another option: if the company could draw the attention of the United States government to their plight, it was possible that American pressure could force the Guatemalan government to back off — or, potentially, replace the Guatemalan government altogether.

In fact, American policymakers had been paying close attention to the situation in Guatemala for some time and, in accordance with the political and cultural atmosphere of the time, had grown increasingly worried about the influence of communism in the country. The standoff with UFCO, therefore, seemed to confirm much of what they already suspected. Between the election of Jacobo Árbenz, the suspected infiltration of communists and sympathetic "fellow travelers" and, importantly, the supposed Soviet influence on this infiltration meant that the United States was already on edge regarding Guatemala.

As mentioned, the policy decisions of Jacobo Árbenz gave the United States serious concerns about his political leanings and susceptibility to communist influence, though these concerns did not emerge right away. As late as January 1952, CIA officials expressed that his administration did not appear to deviate significantly from the previous president's policy regarding commu-

21 Immerman, *The CIA in Guatemala*, 76–78.
22 Immerman, 81.
23 Schlesinger and Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit*, 76.
24 Schlesinger and Kinzer, 76; Immerman, *The CIA in Guatemala*, 81.

nism.[25] Over time, however, their concerns regarding his stance grew. Given the American tendency to conflate communism with other anti-American interests, Árbenz' policies regarding UFCO led to a shift in American media opinion against his administration. Soon, policymakers began to believe that he had greater communist sympathies than they originally thought. By the time he was ousted from the presidency, it was a strong opinion among American policymakers that Árbenz was a card-carrying communist. This conviction was so strong that, in 1954, the American ambassador to Guatemala testified that his embassy had discovered the president's communist 'code number' — 44.[26] Both American politicians and journalists soon began to rhetorically attack the Árbenz government for its supposed communist sympathies.[27]

Such suspicions were not limited to Árbenz either. Policymakers and intelligence officials increasingly believed that the rest of the Guatemalan government was being infiltrated by communists and that, over time, they had taken over much of the country. Even while the CIA lacked significant concern regarding Árbenz, the agency's reports still maintained that "Communist influence in the Guatemalan government continues to be serious."[28] Over time, these officials believed the extent of communist influence in Guatemala to have grown considerably. By 1953, intelligence reports from the Department of State indicated that the labor movement, social and cultural organizations, government, non-communist political parties, and the academic community had all been infiltrated to some extent by communists.[29] In line with the cultural atmosphere of the time, such reports greatly overestimated the influence of communists in the country; because a few communists had been found in Guatemala, officials assumed that the whole country was under communist control.[30]

American officials were concerned that Guatemala was not only being infiltrated by communists, but that these communists were receiving Soviet backing. As discussed earlier, the American public and government both perceived communism as a monolithic entity – one interconnected body with very little dissent from Soviet orthodoxy. The notion that communism could exist as something homegrown was laughable to many policymakers – communism in all its forms took orders from Moscow.[31] This was despite contemporary examples which demonstrated otherwise, such as Yugoslavia, which existed

25 "Memorandum From the Chief of the Western Hemisphere Division, Central Intelligence Agency (King) to the Deputy Director for Plans, Central Intelligence Agency (Wisner)". 11 January 1954. In *Foreign Affairs of the United States,* 1952-1954, Guatemala, ed. Susan Holly and David S. Patterson (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 2003), IV.

26 Immerman, *The CIA in Guatemala*, 107.

27 Immerman, 113.

28 "Memorandum From the Chief of the Western Hemisphere Division".

29 "COMMUNISM IN THE FREE WORLD: CAPABILITIES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, GUATEMALA". 1 January 1953. In Foreign Affairs of the United States, 1952-1954, Guatemala, ed. Susan Holly and David S. Patterson (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 2003), IV.

30 Immerman, *The CIA in Guatemala*, 113.

31 Immerman, 102.

as a communist state that was largely independent of Soviet influence by this period.[32] Under this paradigm, communist infiltration of any kind in Guatemala was a horrifying proposition – if successful, the Soviet Union would have a stronghold in the Western Hemisphere, dangerously close to the United States.

Given these concerns and the existing cultural atmosphere, UFCO had a rather straightforward job: provide evidence to the government to confirm its pre-existing beliefs. The American reasoning for getting involved in Guatemala was already there; the government just needed a little push. Indeed, the first stage of UFCO's plan focused on highlighting the supposed injustices perpetrated against them and to "remind the State Department and influential Americans that United Fruit deserved their affection and their support."[33]

To do so, UFCO enlisted the help of public relations expert Edward Bernays, who had been on the payroll since the early 1940s to try and improve the company's image. Bernays was ideal for such an assignment – widely regarded as one of the shrewdest PR experts of his day, Bernays had been a dominant figure in the field for over thirty years. By this point in his career, he had successfully promoted everything from cigarettes (so-called 'torches of freedom'), to bacon and eggs as breakfast foods, to a book (fittingly titled *Propaganda*), explaining how public relations campaigns should be conducted.[34] Part of this success came from his connections with influential Americans – as part of his efforts to manipulate public opinion, he claimed to have a list of 25,000 so-called opinion molders – journalists, editors, politicians, and others he believed shaped both American policy and public sentiment.[35] With such an impressive resume, UFCO officials considered him more than capable of conducting a campaign to turn American attention on Guatemala.

To conduct this campaign, Bernays devised a pincer movement to target multiple elements of American opinion and policymaking at the same time.[36] The first prong of this pincer movement focused on those who could affect American public opinion. By early 1951, he had enacted a large-scale press campaign with the blessing of the president of UFCO.[37] In this campaign, print media journalists from organizations across the political spectrum were taken on so-called 'fact-finding tours' to allow them to cover US-Guatemala relations. In fact, these tours were often carefully choreographed to expose the journalists to supposed anti-American sentiment and UFCO as a "beleaguered progressive

32 Westad, *The Cold War*, 433-434.

33 José M. Aybar de Soto, *Dependency and Intervention: The Case of Guatemala in 1954* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1978), 244; Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, 90.

34 Schlesinger and Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit: The Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala*, 79–80.

35 Schlesinger and Kinzer, 81.

36 Aybar de Soto, *Dependency and Intervention*, 244.

37 An earlier campaign had taken place in 1950, though it was smaller in nature and had not yet won the full support of the company. See Schlesinger and Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit,* 79-85.

institution"[38] that was being unfairly targeted.[39] Despite the clear conflicts of interest, the press either did not notice or did not care about the compromise of objectivity. The claims they made lined up with the existing picture many Americans had regarding the spread of communism.[40] Soon, stories began to appear in papers like *The New York Times* and *The New Leader* (an anti-communist weekly paper) which claimed that Latin Americans were being trained as Soviet agents and that a Soviet takeover of Guatemala was imminent.[41] Subsequent articles made similar claims and further pushed for American involvement in Guatemala.

On Capitol Hill, the second prong of Bernays' pincer movement was working to influence politicians and policymakers in favor of Guatemalan intervention.[42] Influential Congressmen like Senators Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. and Alexander Wiley, and Representatives John McCormack were targeted by UFCO's lobbying efforts. These Congressmen subsequently pushed hard against the Guatemalan government in their respective chambers.[43] Part of this influence came from the publication of a book published by UFCO titled *Report on Guatemala* (1954). This publication laid out the Guatemalan situation in a manner that confirmed American worries: "A Moscow directed Communist conspiracy in Central America is one of the Soviet Union's most successful operations of infiltration."[44] This book was distributed to Congressmen and other opinion molders, deepening their convictions that Guatemala was home to a repressive communist regime.

It is important to note that Bernays' campaign was more disingenuous in its *analysis* of events rather than the basic facts, which were not greatly misrepresented. After all, there were disputes between UFCO and the Guatemalan government and there was a small number of communists in Guatemala.[45] What made his campaign so effective, therefore, was Bernays' understanding of how these facts would be interpreted. The early Cold War was a time of great fear and mistrust regarding communism —the constant preoccupation with the spread of Soviet-backed communism was so strong that anything which could potentially suggest such a spread was of great interest to the American politician and public. Therefore, Bernays did not need to outright lie about the situation to generate American support for taking action against Guatemala. All he needed to do was present the situation and let the Cold War atmosphere do the work for him.[46] On both Capitol Hill and in the news media, the situation was interpreted exactly as expected; because there were communists in Guatemala and the government was trying to reign in UFCO, these communists must have leverage

38 Schlesinger and Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit*, 87.
39 Aybar de Soto, *Dependency and Intervention*, 244.
40 Aybar de Soto, 244; Schlesinger and Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit*, 88–90.
41 Schlesinger and Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit,* 88-89.
42 Aybar de Soto, *Dependency and Intervention*, 245.
43 Immerman, *The CIA in Guatemala*, 116–17.
44 Aybar de Soto, *Dependency and Intervention*, 245.
45 Immerman, *The CIA in Guatemala*, 183.
46 Immerman, 113.

over the entire nation.[47]

The nature of UFCO's involvement in Guatemala and its subsequent actions to shape American political sentiment in favor of Guatemalan intervention demonstrate how the American understanding of communism left the media and government vulnerable to outside influence. We have seen how the UFCO's position in Guatemala incentivized the company to involve the United States government once they began to receive pushback from the Árbenz administration. The government's existing fears regarding Árbenz, the infiltration of communists in Latin America, and the Soviet backing of those communists combined with the existing Cold War ethos of fear to make UFCO's propaganda campaign to push for anti-Guatemalan action particularly successful.

PBHISTORY, Fact-Finding, and the "Official" Story

In the aftermath of PBSUCCESS, the CIA and Eisenhower administration were left with another, more difficult task: proving that they were correct regarding Guatemala. After all, American covert action against Árbenz's government was predicated on the idea that communists had gained control under Soviet backing, and it was this fear that drove Americans to support a solution to the 'Guatemala problem'. There were allegations in "some quarters" (though it is unclear to whom this referred) that Guatemalan communism was a purely local affair rather than being Soviet backed.[48] Further, if the impetus for covert action were true, there would certainly be available evidence now that the previous government was out of power and its documents could be accessed. The CIA was acutely aware of both facts. Their next step, therefore, was to find documentary evidence of these ideas and make it known to the media that their reasoning was accurate.

Unfortunately for the CIA, such evidence was anything but forthcoming. After the coup, Operation PBHISTORY was initiated and agents were dispatched to Guatemala City to obtain testimony against the Árbenz government and crucial documents which would prove communist control over the government, labor unions, and their involvement in nearby nations.[49] There were so many documents to process, however, that the agency became worried that they would not have enough time to put together compelling evidence against Árbenz.[50] In truth, evidence that the Soviet Union had any involvement with the Guatemalan communist, or that those communists had taken over the government, was nonexistent. A year after the coup, even Secretary of State

47 Immerman, 113.

48 "Telegram From the Central Intelligence Agency to the CIA Station in Guatemala". 9 August 1954. In *Foreign Affairs of the United States,* 1952-1954, Guatemala, ed. Susan Holly and David S. Patterson (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 2003), IV.

49 Mario Overall and Dan Hagedorn, *PBSuccess: The CIA's Covert Operation to Overthrow Guatemalan President Jacobo Árbenz, June-July 1954* (Solihull: Helion & Company Limited, 2016), 88–89.

50 In addition, many had been destroyed or stolen following Árbenz's resignation. See Overall, *PBSuccess*, 89.

John Foster Dulles, a rabid anti-communist, could find nothing to suggest any meddling from Moscow. The Soviets likely would have appreciated communist control of Guatemala but were wrapped up in their own issues with political succession and moderating foreign policy.[51] While the Soviet Union held somewhat greater interest following the events of this essay and did intervene in the region at certain points, the general sentiment was that little could be done to assist the various Latin American revolutionary movements that sprang up in the following decades.[52]

In response to a near-total lack of evidence to support what was sold to the American public and to legislators, the original goals of PBHISTORY were unable to be met. As a result, PBHISTORY began to pivot to another objective: exonerate the United States government from any accusations of involvement in the coup and expose, without evidence, the previous government's communist ties. Notably, these goals were considered independent of one another – after all, proof of American involvement would not disprove communist infiltration in Guatemala.[53]

To accomplish these goals and ensure the cover-up's success, Congress and the State Department both published reports, and in the latter case, entire books, which affirmed the beliefs that had been publicly espoused. Under the aptly named House Select Committee on Communist Aggression, testimony from Guatemalan opponents to the Árbenz government and from similarly biased American analysts repeatedly hammered the idea that American suspicions had been correct.[54] Such proceedings stressed, with absolute confidence and with absolutely no evidence, that the Soviets were involved in the fall of Guatemala to communism: "Our preliminary investigations also revealed, conclusively, that the Kremlin has made astounding headway in this conspiracy."[55] These proceedings ultimately cleared the United States of any involvement and reinforced the idea that the communists had posed a critical threat to the people of Guatemala and the Western Hemisphere.

Meanwhile in the State Department, Dulles pushed for the publication of a literary history of the events in Guatemala. The author of such a piece would have access to all available documentation except those from the CIA. This proposal ultimately went nowhere, with an anything-but-literary history being published as the "Blue Book" in 1954. Because this publication hedged somewhat regarding the role of communism in the revolutionary governments from 1944-1954, it was revised into the "Green Book" in 1957, which included no such uncertainties.[56]

As before, the existing American perception of communism and the

51 Immerman, *The CIA in Guatemala*, 185.
52 Odd Arne Westad, *The Cold War,* 347.
53 Immerman, 182.
54 Immerman, 181.
55 U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Foreign Affairs, "Communist Aggression in Latin America," 1.
56 Immerman, *The CIA in Guatemala*, 181–82.

events of the Guatemalan coup meant that these efforts to rewrite the narrative were successful despite a lack of evidence to suggest that such a perception was accurate. The media, which had been whipped into a frenzy by Bernays and others on the UFCO payroll, took the State Department's version of events and ran with it. In fact, Congress, the CIA, and the State Department had to do relatively little to hide American involvement and reinforce the justifications behind the coup – those who needed to be convinced believed in these things already.[57] Most journalists ardently believed the story, and those who had their doubts displayed remarkable self-restraint in their silence. *Newsweek*, for example, merely hinted at their suspicions through innuendo: "The United States, aside from whatever gumshoe work the Central Intelligence Agency may or may not have been busy with, had kept hands strictly off… Arbenz [sic] had been overthrown in the best possible way: by the Guatemalans."[58] Due to this complicity, media organizations generally published the State Department's version. Because the American public was primed against communist expansion, they too believed the story presented in the media and supported this version of events.[59]

The efforts to both mask American involvement in the Guatemalan coup and to uncover evidence to suggest Soviet-backed communist involvement as a credible justification for it reflect both the importance and malleable nature of American public opinion at the time. After failing to find any evidence to support its justifications for Guatemalan intervention, the CIA pressed on and presented its fabricated version of events to Congress and to the press. Thanks to the pre-existing American perception of communism and the stance of American media organizations, this revised story was presented by the media with little protest[60], reflecting how this perception could be manipulated to change how Americans were informed and what they should believe.

Conclusion

The history of Operations PBSUCCESS and PBHISTORY have fascinating implications when viewed as a case study. Clearly, the threat of communism – or what Americans thought to be the threat of communism – was of great concern to Americans to the extent that it existed as a unique cultural phenomenon that held immense influence. The idea that communism was a lethally dangerous, rapidly spreading monolith that must be contained had many Americans in a panic regarding foreign policy at the time.

In the case of Guatemala, UFCO understood that; their standoff with the Árbenz gave them cause to try and involve the United States to restore their previous position of privilege in the country. The previously mentioned cultural preoccupation with communism was present in the government as well, and their concerns over Árbenz and the infiltration of Soviet-backed communism

57 Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, 367–69.
58 "Guatemala: The Price of Prestige," *Newsweek*, July 26, 1954.
59 Gleijeses, 369.
60 Gleijeses, 368-369.

into Guatemala meant that they were already paying close attention to events in the region. Thanks to Bernays’ understanding of these factors, UFCO’s propaganda campaign proved effective in the media, drawing further attention to the problem and giving further impetus to policymakers to beat back the communists that they believed were invading the American sphere of influence.

These factors also explain the success the CIA had in convincing the media and the American public that the regime change was necessary. The idea that there were Soviet-backed communists in the Guatemalan government and the revolution had unseated them reinforced the existing American worldview regarding communism and how it should be dealt with. They also succeeded in obfuscating the role of the American government in plotting and executing the overthrow of the Árbenz government despite a lack of evidence in their favor.

These events give us a unique insight both into the story of the coup, the influence United Fruit had in convincing the government to intervene, and how the fears surrounding communism made it easier for policymakers to be spurred into action. In the minds of many at the time, there existed a universal threat that does not seem to exist today. Regardless of where one stood in politics, religion, class, or creed, communism was a hazard to the entire world. By examining the events of the Guatemalan coup and the United States involvement in that coup, we can see the power behind that collective fear – it had the power to drive policymakers towards intervention efforts which many today would view as unacceptable. It is this aspect of the story that is often ignored. Most scholarship focuses on PBSUCCESS and the coup itself. By examining these events, the relationship between the Cold War culture of fear and American foreign policy decisions is much clearer and more important than previously thought. Such decisions are not always made with perfect rationality. Sometimes, human fears and simple manipulation play a major role in actions that, when viewed externally, should not have been taken.

Hoovervilles in the Popular Imagination: Portrayals and Perceptions during the Great Depression

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Abstract: During the Great Depression, an overwhelming number of Americans found themselves unemployed and homeless. Hoovervilles emerged as makeshift communities of impoverished individuals, often constructed from scrap materials, as a direct response to widespread poverty. This paper examines various media portrayals of Hoovervilles, including books, songs, and films, to explore how the public viewed these encampments and their inhabitants. Through an analysis of these cultural representations, the study reveals that while the general public expressed sympathy toward the people living in Hoovervilles, the portrayal of these communities was not without complexity. Media often highlighted the dire conditions and the sense of despair within Hoovervilles, yet there was also an underlying recognition of the resilience and solidarity among residents. The findings underscore the nuanced public perception, which combined empathy for the victims of the economic crisis with criticism of the appalling living conditions that defined these makeshift communities. The findings suggest that while these representations fostered sympathy for the homeless, they also critiqued the harsh conditions and the inadequacy of relief efforts, offering insights into how media can both humanize social crises and critique the systems that perpetuate them.

For over a decade during the Great Depression, a Hooverville stood on Elliott Bay in Seattle, where "although just a shantytown, nine and a half acres of ground, but be it ever so humble, it [was] home sweet home" to up to 2,200 people at a time.[1] Amidst the tumultuous era of the Great Depression in the United States, the reverberations of the devastating stock market crash of 1929 echoed across the nation. Countless individuals and families found themselves grappling with the harsh realities of unemployment, poverty, and homelessness. As the economy spiraled downward, these shantytowns, colloquially termed

1 Jesse Jackson, "Appendix A: The Story of Seattle's Hooverville," in *Social Trends in Seattle*, by Carl F. Schmidt, Social Forces, Volume 24, Issue 4, May 1946, 289, https://doi.org/10.2307/2572223

"Hoovervilles," emerged as poignant symbols of the profound shifts in American life. From coast to coast, these makeshift settlements proliferated, dotting nearly every corner of the American landscape.

The principles of hard work and self-determination in America have historically stigmatized homelessness and poverty as failures of individual effort rather than a systemic issue. The financial collapse in 1929 and the subsequent waves of unemployment made poverty and homelessness a much more palpable reality for many Americans, highlighting the systemic vulnerabilities within the economy and challenging the notion of individual responsibility as the sole determinant of one's financial status. At the height of the Great Depression in 1933, 12,830,000 people, 24.9% of the United States's total workforce, were unemployed and for those who were lucky enough to keep their jobs, wages fell by 42.5% between 1929 and 1933.[2]Despite prevailing narratives of individualism and self-determination, the widespread economic devastation of the 1930s challenged these notions and brought to light the systemic issues contributing to poverty and homelessness.

The history of Hoovervilles - as lived by residents and depicted in the media - remains limited. This scarcity can be attributed to the transient nature of these settlements, and the consequent lack of formal documentation. Furthermore, scholarly focus on broader economic, political, and social aspects of the Great Depression has diverted attention from these informal settlements. The existing historical research on Hoovervilles predominantly centers on the precursors to their establishment and the broader context of federal relief programs during the Great Depression. There has been comparatively little research dedicated to exploring the internal dynamics of Hoovervilles and shantytowns themselves, including the daily lives of people who resided there and the interactions between people within these makeshift communities. This gap presents an opportunity to delve deeper into the lived experiences and resilience of Hooverville residents, providing a more nuanced understanding of poverty and the consequences of homelessness during the Great Depression.

As suggested by the namesake, many historians attribute the widespread emergence of Hoovervilles to the failures of the Hoover administration in addressing the mounting economic issues of the 1930s and the president's reluctance to use large portions of the federal budget in aiding the unemployed. As noted by Joan Crouse in her book *The Homeless Transient in the Great Depression*, Hoover's administration made little effort to acknowledge the federal government's role or responsibility in providing aid to struggling Americans. She notes that Hoover consistently opposed "all suggestions and appeals for federal dole" and countered these pleas with a nod of encouragement and

2 Irving Bernstein, "Chapter 5: Americans in Depression and War," Department of Labor, 2016, https://www.dol.gov/general/aboutdol/history/chapter5.

suggestions for individual, local, and state aid.[3] In his chapter "Hoovervilles, Farm Troubles, and Bank Crises," Derek Hoff similarly explores Hoover's efforts to tackle widespread evictions, particularly through the Federal Home Loan Bank Act of 1932. While Crouse does not discuss this act, Hoff argues for its importance in paving the way for the New Deal policies that gave the federal government more centralized power to help Americans.[4]

Despite treating him favorably, Hoff quickly reassures his audience that Hoover "can be faulted for several specific banking crises," while also claiming that Hoover's instincts were strong when it came to technical matters as he could often identify the main problem affecting an industry or organization.[5] While Hoff is more sympathetic than Crouse in his analysis of Hoover's fault in the matter, across the board historians have formed a consensus criticizing President Hoover's insistence on private sector aid over government intervention . In Wyn Derbyshire's *Dark Realities: America's Great Depression*, she joins the chorus in disapproving of Hoover's initial reactions to the financial crisis. However,her criticisms differ slightly from Crouse's in that she discusses Hoover's interactions with the public rather than the policies he did or did not implement. She notes that as his presidency progressed, Hoover's relationship with the media deteriorated quickly. Instead of addressing the criticisms of his attempts to combat the increasingly serious economic decline of the United States, Hoover withdrew from the press, exacerbating "the perception that the President… was out of touch with the increasingly desperate situation beyond the gates of the White House."[6] Derbyshire's analysis of Hoover's lack of interaction with the American people explains why Americans were quick to name their shantytowns "Hoovervilles."

In assessing Hoovervilles, then and now, there is a fine line between recognizing the undesirable conditions of some towns (limited access to clean water and no sewage systems) and romanticizing the life of the American transient, free to go wherever he pleases. Hoovervilles certainly symbolized the bleak situation of hundreds of thousands of Americans, yet they were more than vacant lots lined with structures built from trash and scraps. Alternatives for the Hooverville residents included flophouses, shelters, or labor camps. As Lisa Goff mentions, an article published by *The New Republic* in 1933 about homeless shelters recounted the long lines monitored by the police, providing personal information to strangers, and stripping for medical exams, poor meals,

3 Crouse, Joan M. *The Homeless Transient in the Great Depression* (New York State: State University of New York Press), 51.

4 Hoff, Derek. "Hoovervilles, Farm Troubles, and Bank Crises." In *The Worsening of The Great Depression*, 444–64. Wiley, 2014. 460.

5 Hoff, Derek. "Hoovervilles, Farm Troubles, and Bank Crises." 461.

6 Wyn Derbyshire. *Dark Realities: America's Great Depression.* (London: Spiramus Press, 2013), 92.

and strict rules.[7] These places were oftentimes overcrowded, altogether too expensive, or simply not worth the limited money people had. Historians recognize Hoovervilles as places where personal freedom and dignity were preserved. One of the most notable Hoovervilles, located in Seattle near the city's port, was born from this preference for self-sufficiency. Jesse Jackson, the Seattle Hooverville's eventual mayor, set out to establish the Hooverville following a crude meal at a soup kitchen and a night's sleep on newspapers on the floor.[8] Although oftentimes transient in nature, people who lived in these shantytowns were not necessarily migrant workers; migrant workers followed crops in their seasonal pattern, while the transient resorted to the lifestyle and whatever work he could get and essentially waited it out with a "stoic acceptance."[9]

The prevalence of these shantytowns was reflected in the media and other forms of popular culture. Songs, books, and shows tended to depict a certain intersection of collectivism and individualism established in Hoovervilles. In Lisa Goff's chapter "Depression-Era Shantytowns," she discusses an array of literature and entertainment that "turned the specter of eviction and homelessness on its head," no longer stigmatizing it but accepting it as a form of American resilience and resourcefulness.[11] She does not glorify all representations of shantytowns in American media, recognizing that films such as *Sullivan's Travels* or *My Man Godfrey*, while dismantling some of the stigma surrounding Hoovervilles, are largely based on characters from upper-class backgrounds that obfuscate some of the realities faced by the majority of homeless individuals during the Great Depression. Goff recognizesthe importance of dismantling the idea of the impoverished as lazy, while recognizing the limitations of such representations and the need for a more nuanced understanding of the complexities of homelessness during this period of American history.

Goff is one of the few authors on the subject who directly addresses howthe relative de-stigmatization of homelessness did not apply to all Americans on the basis of race. She argued that while white Depression era pundits depicted white shantytowns as spaces of comradery and resilience, African American shantytowns were portrayed as dangerous and depraved. In this, she noted that while white homelessness was becoming normalized and even socially acceptable, Black homelessness was becoming even more stigmatized.[10]

The role of race in homelessness during the Great Depression underscores systemic biases, as Black individuals faced discrimination from relief agencies and societal stigma, leading to underrepresentation in official records

7 Lisa Goff. "Depression Era Shantytowns" in *Shantytown, USA: Forgotten Landscapes of the Working Poor*, 219-49. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 221.

8 David J. Jepsen and David J. Norburg. "Beyond Breadlines." In *Contested Boundaries: A New Pacific Northwest History*, 231-51. (Wiley, 2017), 235.

9 Joan M. Crouse, *The Homeless Transient in the Great Depression,* 102.

10 Goff, "Depression-Era Shantytowns," 244.

and a higher likelihood of marginal living.Like Goff, Crouse also briefly addresses the role of race in homelessness during the Great Depression. Crouse notes that although homelessness and transiency affected individuals irrespective of race or gender, the predominant demographic among the transient population was supposedly white, male, and relatively young. But these numbers were likely inaccurate since many Black homeless men attempted to stay out of the public eye to avoid the harsh scrutiny and discrimination they faced from both relief agencies and the general public.[14] Oftentimes, Black individuals encountered discrimination from relief agencies or were turned away upon application, forcing them into non-governmental living such as shantytowns (specifically ones with large Black populations such as was the case in St. Louis). Due to the stigma attached to homelessness, which was only exacerbated by their race, homeless Black men often opted to maintain a low profile and refrain from challenging authorities.[11]

Beyond Hoover's culpability, a key idea explored by historians related to Hoovervilles was the changing perception of homelessness in the plight of the Great Depression. Crouse primarily explored the effects of state and federal Transient Federal Relief programs. Although she does not focus on shantytowns, she does present the idea that the increasing of homelessness during the Great Depression countered the predominant narrative of the romanticized American hero in the man on the move. This figure, driven by self-determinism and hard work, was completely unsuited to the economic climate of the Great Depression. Contrary to the ideal American narrative, by the 1930s the unemployed man found himself unable to pull himself up by his bootstraps and "no longer looks like a hero as he stands in soup lines, begs at back doors, scavenges through garbage dumps, and sleeps in make-shift shelters, on park benches, or in the dank basements of police stations."[12] The image was replaced with a character perceived as a menace to the health and financial stability of local communities.

Herbert Hoover's delayed implementation of effective federal aid was too little too late and even exacerbated the housing problem. From this shortcoming, those shantytowns and Hoovervilles that emerged became symbols of American resilience during one of the darkest periods in the nation's history. While Hoovervilles represented a manifestation of the failures of Hoover's policies and the shortcomings of the government's response to the economic crisis, they also embodied the spirit of resilience, resourcefulness, and community that emerged in the face of hardship.

This paper seeks to show that the perception of Hoovervilles and homelessness during this period was multifaceted, encompassing both the harsh realities of destitution and the resilience of the human spirit. By examining the

11 Joan M. Crouse, *The Homeless Transient in the Great Depression* (New York State: State University of New York Press), 9.

12 Crouse, *The Homeless Transient*, 3.

social, economic, and cultural factors that contributed to the proliferation of Hoovervilles, historians gain insights into the challenges faced by individuals and families during one of the most challenging periods in American history. Moreover, by recognizing the evolving perceptions of homelessness and the portrayal of Hoovervilles in popular culture, scholars can better understand the complexities of poverty and destitution in the United States during the Great Depression and beyond. The enormous increase in homelessness during the Great Depression forced Americans to shift their internal narratives surrounding homelessness and dismantle the stigma around poverty as it became an increasingly tangible reality for the average citizen of the United States. Various forms of popular media such as newspapers, movies, and songs attempted to construct a narrative of growing homelessness, specifically in Hoovervilles, as a consequence of systemic failures rather than individual shortcomings.

Throughout the 1930s, the Hoovervilles that popped up around cities across the nation grabbed the attention of journalists. Newspapers, the most readily accessible source for recent happenings, served as a primary platform for reporting on the dire economic conditions of these shantytowns. While the general reporting of the physical conditions of the most prominent Hoovervilles was less than complimentary, reporters appear to have been struck by the strong sense of community amongst the residents of these shantytowns, admiring their ingenuity and seemingly high spirits.

According to publications, the strength of community ran deep in Hoovervilles. Although geographically near major urban areas, the *Columbia Missourian* claimed that residents of Hoovervilles were highly dependent on their internal community for support, resources, and solidarity.[13] In a 1932 publication by the *Star Tribune* regarding St. Louis's famous Hooverville, a reporter claimed that in the growing population of the town, "neighborliness is the keynote of the village," with community gardens and communal meal times as integral aspects of life in the Hooverville.[18] Newcomers, especially families, were often assisted by other Hooverville residents in collecting materials and constructing their shelters. This sense of solidarity is unsurprising in a community formed in response to the shortcomings of public welfare programs during the Great Depression, particularly prior to the implementation of the New Deal. The papers suggest that although many residents depended on some form of government relief, they also relied on each other for support, fostering a climate of mutual dependence among members.

Despite the strong sense of community amongst Hooverville residents, this narrative should not cover the racial and ethnic divides apparent throughout the shantytowns. Although most towns were multiracial, evident divides existed

13 "No Rents Are Due in Hooverville." *Columbia Missourian* (Columbia, Missouri), October 20, 1932. [18] "So Life (and the River) Flow on Cheerfully at "Hooverville." *Star Tribune* (Minneapolis, Minnesota), May 15, 1932.

among racial groups, and the experiences of these minorities in Hoovervilles are largely unknown. While newspapers across the country generally offered very little information on specific distinctions between different racial groups in shantytowns, the *Sacramento Union* regularly noted that the towns were often physically segregated by racial and ethnic groups.[14]

Newspapers, regardless of other attitudes expressed towards the Hoovervilles and their residents, unfailingly expressed admiration at the resourcefulness of those living there. As one article surmised, "the ingenuity of the people [was] amazing."[20] Most writers traveled to Hoovervilles prior to their reporting and wrote that despite falling subject to hard times, "the majority of tenants made a gallant effort to beautify their surroundings."[15] The absence of a permanent structure did not deter residents from creating a sense of pride or simple respectability in their homes. Many tenants painted the sides of their makeshift houses and lined them with flowers or other decorations, attempting to transform the humble structures into places of pride and dignity.[16] Aside from these aesthetic endeavors, much of their innovation came out of necessity. Most Hoovervilles were situated alongside rivers to compensate for the lack of running water in their homes, making them susceptible to floods, so residents raised their homes on stilts to prevent flooding and collected tin and metal to weatherproof their homes.[17]

Likely due to the sheer extent of homelessness across the nation during the 1930s, many outlets expressed compassion for the residents, recognizing that these people were not solely culpablefor their ill-fate as "every type of human-being comes to Hooverville."[18] This reflected the Great Depression's impact as a whole; few industries were left untouched by economic downturn, and individuals from all walks of life found themselves facing homelessness and destitution. By 1932, Americans of almost every trade lived in St. Louis's Hooverville: carpenters, circus clowns, barbers, railway workers, and chefs. An *Indianapolis Times* reporter was shocked that upon his visit to the Youngstown, Ohio Hooverville, the tenants "were not, as one may expect, outcasts or untouchables," they were merely "men without jobs."[19] Although the default narrative may have been to depict these men as degenerates or failures, reporters often attempted to dismantle that assumption. General discourse surrounding homelessness and poverty oftentimes places blame on those fallen victims to their circumstances, but the scope of the economic devastation of the 1930s prompted a reassessment

14 Myrtle Lord. "Thousands Squat in 'Jungle' Settlement." *The Sacramento Union* (Sacramento, California) "Homes Cheap in Hooverville." *The Herald-Journal* (Logan, Utah), June 16, 1932.
15 "So Life (and the River) Flow on Cheerfully at "Hooverville."
16 Lord. "Thousands Squat in 'Jungle' Settlement."
17 "No Rents Are Due in Hooverville."
18 Lord. "Thousands Squat in 'Jungle' Settlement."
19 "Hooverville." *Indianapolis Times* (Indianapolis, Indiana), August 16, 1932.

of such narratives, highlighting the systemic nature of the crisis and challenging stereotypes about the individuals affected by it. This was apparent as early as 1931, as a *Times Herald* article noted that the inhabitants of the Central Park Hooverville were not "down and outers, though they [were] penniless and unemployed."[20]

Interestingly, a notable element in the rhetoric surrounding Hoovervilles in newspapers across the nation was the emphasis on their rent-free living arrangements, which indicated the economic conditions of the era. Newspaper articles emphasized that people resided there without paying rent. Due to the widespread unemployment and poverty, many individuals and families simply could not afford traditional housing and Hoovervilles provided a form of refuge where people could build makeshift shelters using whatever materials they could find and live without the financial burden of paying rent. As mentioned in the *Sacramento Union,* taxes were not a part of the vocabulary in Hoovervilles and there were no gas or electrical bills, making it an economical place to live.[21] In this sense, the allure of Hoovervilles lay in their affordability, providing shelter for individuals who would otherwise be confronted with homelessness.

Despite the general sympathy for the inhabitants of Hoovervilles, newspapers across the country were still candid about the subpar living conditions of the shantytowns. As one *Columbia Missouri* reporter noted, "There [was] nothing romantic about this place."[22] Despite the resourcefulness and good spirited nature of the communities, media accounts noted that these shantytowns existed primarily as the product of a government that failed to provide its citizens with the most basic standards of living. A Boston-based paper noted that even "the best kept corner of [Hooverville] is still ugly with the inevitable discharm of poverty."[23] This sentiment underscores the inherent stigma associated with poverty, accentuating its perceived unsightliness and the intrinsic negative connotations it carries. It is important to note, however, that such attitudes do not solely stem from stigma; rather, they also stem from the acknowledgment that Hoovervilles were genuinely suboptimal living environments. The *Daily News,* a New York City-based paper, noted that Long Island's Hooverville exemplified the less-than-ideal conditions, as workers lived along waste strips and land and garbage dumps that emanated an odor which caused one writer to remark that "one doubted any human being's ability to live within several miles."[24] A prominent concern in newspaper coverage of Hoovervilles

20 "Jobless Build Shantytown in Shadow of Manhattan's Elegant Apartment Houses." *Times Herald* (Olean, New York), December 26, 1931.

21 Lord. "Thousands Squat in 'Jungle' Settlement."

22 "No Rents Are Due in Hooverville."

23 Katre Archibald. "Home, Sweet Home"--in Shantytown: A Temporary Suburb of American Society, Where Courage Triumphs Over Poverty." *The Christian Science Monitor* (Boston, Massachusetts), August 22, 1934.

24 "Hooverville." *The Daily Worker* (Chicago, Illinois), June 18, 1932.

in the Northeast and Midwest revolved around the harsh winter weather conditions. Following a winter storm that swept the Eastern seaboard, the Daily News reported of Hoovervilles "hard hit" by the winter, noting that a man in a New Haven Hooverville had frozen to death due to lack of insulation and inadequate nutrition.[25]

As noted by historian Lisa Goff, aside from newspaper reporting, the prevalence of shantytowns across the nation was reflected in popular culture. In 1936, Universal Pictures released the dual Oscar winning comedy, *My Man Godfrey*, starring William Powell and Carole Lombard. The film tells the story of a "forgotten man" named Godfrey, who is hired as a butler by a wealthy family, the Bullocks, after being discovered at a city dump. As the storyline unfolds, it is revealedthat Godfrey hails from a wealthy Boston family, contrary to his initial portrayal as a poorly educated homeless man. Godfrey found himself on the side of the East River contemplating suicide, but is instead deeply moved by the resilience of the homeless community residing on the river banks "who were fighting it out and not complaining."[26] Although never explicitly stated, the shantytown in the film is likely the Hooverville named "Hard-Luck Town," which was solely inhabited by single men. This resilience that resonated with Godfrey is reflective of the discourse surrounding the strength of these communities.

Although the majority of the film took place in the Bullock's Park Avenue apartment, the limited scenes in the shantytown depicted a sense of community. In one of these scenes, inhabitants arein relatively good spirits, although a romantic comedy would be unlikely to depict otherwise. While one man watered his flowers, others assembled to aid their fellow residents in moving their homes as dump trucks threatened to empty garbage into them. It is noteworthy that Hollywood did not shy away from depicting this less glamorous side of the 1930s in prominent films, suggesting the cultural relevance of the realities of the Great Depression. Far from tattered outcasts, the men in the film politely introduced themselves to the businessman that accompanied Godfrey.

The film attempted to reveal how the tides of the Great Depression could engulf almost anyone, as in living alongside these men, Godfrey came to realize "that the only difference between a derelict and a man is a job."[27] In his departing scene from the Bullock family, Godfrey reveals that he had been secretly aiding the family in avoiding their mounting debt. When questioned about this seemingly selfless act, he noted that "there comes a turning point

25 "Shantytowns Hard Hit." *Daily News* (New York, New York), February 6, 1933.

26 *My Man Godfrey*, directed by Gregory Cava (Universal Pictures, 1936). 52:47. https://www.amazon.com/gp/video/detail/amzn1.dv.gti.82af414e-a1b7-3968-641a-d985c2b51fc1?autoplay=0&ref_= atv_cf_strg_wb.

27 *My Man Godfrey,* 1:09:47.

in every man's life; a time when he needs help."[28] Although addressing Mr. Bullock, an incredibly successful businessman, Godfrey's message attempted to transcend social and class statuses to dismantle the shame associated with needing help in a society that commended Americans for rising above adversity on their own merit. Furthermore, this scene simultaneously served as a poignant reminder that no one was truly immune to the economic realities of the 1930s.

The film's depiction also differed from the reality of Hoovervilles. Godfrey was merely playing a role to fit the narrative of societal redemption, serving as a convenient vehicle for the affluent Bullock family's moral awakening. While his actions aimed to challenge social norms and class barriers, they ultimately reinforced the notion of charity as a temporary solution rather than addressing systemic economic injustices. Despite the film's attempts to humanize the struggles of the Great Depression, it falls short in providing a comprehensive exploration of the structural inequalities and injustices that perpetuated poverty and homelessness during this tumultuous era. The film did not delve deeply into systemic issues, but it underscored the significance of empathy and cooperation in navigating adversity.

Aside from movies, songs such as "Shanty in Old Shanty Town," written by Ira Schuster, Jack Little, and Joe Young, also reflected the lived experiences of individuals residing in shantytowns during the Great Depression. Like various newspapers of the time, the song's lyrics offer a glimpse into the material conditions of shantytown life while simultaneously capturing the emotional and psychological resilience of its inhabitants. It depicts the shanty as a place where despite its dilapidated appearance, residentsfound solace and even a sense of belonging. The lyrics claim that while the shanties were clearly not ideal, with "a roof so slanty that it nearly [touched] the ground," tenants saw their "tumbled down shack by an old railroad track, like a millionaire's mansion calling me back."[29] This sentiment may have spoken to the emotional attachment and sense of home that individuals felt towards their makeshift dwellings, despite their material shortcomings. That said, the tune also romanticizes and trivializes the hardships experienced by individuals living in shantytowns during the Great Depression. By portraying the shanty as a place of nostalgia, comfort, and even charm, the song may overlook the harsh realities of poverty, homelessness, and desperation faced by those who resided in these makeshift settlements.

Although released in 1941, the production and themes of the film *Sullivan's Travels* speak to the sociopolitical context of the 1930s, grossing approximately $1,150,000.[30] The film stars Joel McCrea as John L. Sullivan, a successful Hollywood director who decides he wants to make a serious, socially relevant film about the struggles of the common man in contrast to his usual

28 *My Man Godfrey,* 1:24:31.
29 Ira Schuster, Joe Young, and Jack Little. "Shanty in Old Shanty Town." 1932.
30 "101 Pix Gross in Millions," *Variety*. 6 Jan 1943. p. 58.

light-hearted comedies. To better understand the lives of ordinary people, he decides to embark on a journey across the country as a "common man."[31] During his travels, Sullivan experiences firsthand the hardships faced by the poor and disenfranchised. Along the way, he meets a disillusioned young woman played by Veronica Lake, who becomes his companion. The movie portrays the homeless population as a diverse group of individuals with their own unique stories and circumstances. Films tapped into different aspects of the homelessness experience—often manipulating struggles and vulnerabilities to serve the overarching themes of their projects. This approach can be exploitative as a means to highlight broader societal critiques or emotional arcs, ultimately crafting a narrative that, while resonant, may also obscure the authentic depth of their experiences for the sake of thematic impact.

The main message of the film is not to explicitly address the socioeconomic conditions of the Great Depression, but rather to underscore the importance of empathy and the power of humor in times of adversity. It is a satirical commentary on how Hollywood's elite struggle to grasp what true hardship looks like while underscoring the role of art and entertainment in society, advocating for a balanced approach to storytelling that acknowledges both the struggles and the joys of life. By portraying the homeless characters as complex individuals who value laughter and happiness, the film subverts stereotypes and underscores the universal humanity that unites people across diverse backgrounds. The film called for a reflection on the collective human experience regardless of social or economic status while its portrayal of homelessness as a complex phenomenon helped to humanize those experiencing hardship.

Perhaps the most renowned 1930s representation of Great Depression homelessness is John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*. The novel follows the Joad family as they migrate westward, grappling with poverty, injustice, and the pursuit of a better life. Steinbeck's powerful narrative, now an American classic, captures the human toll of economic upheaval while highlighting the enduring strength and solidarity found within marginalized communities.[32] Although the Joad family does not set up camp at any Hooverville or shantytown for an extended period, the family encounters them quite a bit. The riverbank camp (one of the non-government affiliated camps they spent time in) exemplifies the harsh material conditions of the shantytowns; the absence of sanitation and basic amenities like running water, coupled with the makeshift shelters constructed from scavenged materials, painted a stark picture of destitution and deprivation. Despite its lack of official status, the riverbank camp functions as a refuge for displaced families like the Joads, offering temporary respite amidst the turmoil of the Great Depression. Here, the Joad family encounters a cross-section of society, from the resilient and resourceful to the downtrodden and desperate.

31 *Sullivan's Travels,* directed by Preston Sturges (Paramount Pictures, 1941).
32 John Steinbeck, *The Grapes of Wrath* (New York: Penguin Press, 1939).

They formed connections with fellow migrants, such as the Wainwrights, who shared what little they had and offered support in the face of adversity. Through their experiences at the riverbank camp, the Joads bore witness to the collective struggle for survival and dignity amidst the harsh realities of homelessness and poverty.

While films, books, and movies often depict Hoovervilles vividly, firsthand accounts from those who lived in or around them are scarce. However, to fully grasp the intricate socio-cultural fabric woven around their emergence and impact on public consciousness, it is paramount to recognize the narratives of individuals who not only lived inthese shantytowns but also those who existed on the periphery, witnessing their growth and impact. By incorporating the voices of both inhabitants and observers, a more comprehensive understanding of the multifaceted dynamics at play during the era of Hoovervilles can be achieved. These accounts serve as invaluable windows into the lived experiences, struggles, and resilience of those affected by the Great Depression, offering insights that transcend the limitations of cinematic interpretations and providing a richer tapestry of historical understanding.

A 1972 interview with a mother and daughter who lived in Missouri during the Great Depression offered a glimpse into the more dynamic aspects of these shantytowns. During the Great Depression, Sophie Trattner and her daughter, Sylvia Ehlrich, lived above their dry goods store at the corner of Bates and Virginia Avenue in south St. Louis. Although they did not live in the St. Louis Hooverville themselves, they discussed a Polish immigrant named Sam who spent some time living in a Hooverville shanty. According to Trattner and Ehlrich, Sam had refused to stay in the family's basement due to his immense sense of pride and "not [wanting] to be a charity case," eventually pushing him to move into Hooverville.[33] The preservation of self-sufficient and dignity during the Depression became a common theme.

The same interview also illuminated the divides within shantytowns that contradicted some of the popular media's interpretation of a tight-knit community. Sam harbored significant distaste for many of his fellow tenants due to their drunkenness, lack of cleanliness, and ill-behaved children. Sam's eventual departure from Hooverville, and St. Louis altogether, stemmed from his immigrant status and the treatment that accompanied it. According to Trattner and Ehlrich, the Hooverville had shown "no use for anyone of foreign heritage" and this treatment was routine.[34]

The Seattle Hooverville's mayor, Jesse Jackson, provides another first-

33 Trattner, Sophie and Ehlrich, Sylvia. Interview by Steve Webb. *Depression Era Project Oral History Collection.*The State Historical Society of Missouri.

34 Trattner and Ehlrich. Interview by Steve Webb. *Depression Era Project Oral History Collection.* The State Historical Society of Missouri.

hand account of life in and around Hooverville. While Jackson held the title of mayor, his role wasn't particularly special; he was more of a contact man whom people turned to with their problems, providing a sense of leadership in a place where formal authority was scarce. Jackson's short 1938 memoir, published as an appendix to Calvin F Schmid's article "Social Trends of Seattle," explained that Seattle's Hooverville was a community of cooperation inhabited by honorable, unemployed seamen, lumberjacks, fishermen, and miners who were down on their luck due to America's socioeconomics. He noted that their beginnings were tough due to persistent efforts of city officials to destroy their settlement, yet the arrival of a new administration alongside the worsening conditions of the Depression yielded a more tolerant environment for the Hooverville. This mirrors the increasing empathy felt by people as the Depression deepened. Once the Hooverville was permitted to remain, "it just [took] a little ingenuity" to create a settlement that stood for ten years.[35]

Residents were not angry at the government programs that failed them, realizing that the effects of the Depression were "so big that the [organizations] just couldn't handle it," but concluded that this was the best alternative to living on the streets or adopting a migratory lifestyle.[36] The name of these settlements were an ode to the shortcomings of Hoover's administration, yet residents did not harbor intense resentment towards Hoover. They quietly understood that this was the situation they were in and merely sought a solution that allowed them to preserve their sense of dignity and self-sufficiency. These men had been displeased by the relief options and instead took it upon themselves to construct the shantytown, as noted across historiographical accounts.[37]

In contrast to the accounts of Sophie Trattner and Sylvia Ehlrich, Jackson reiterated the sentiments in media accounts that residents were generous towards their neighbors in times of need, but asserted that the population was generally individualistic with inhabitants who largely kept to themselves. He also echoed that most importantly, life in Seattle's Hooverville allowed men to "hold their heads up and say 'I'm not on relief,'" proudly boasting that no more than one third of residents were on government relief at a time.[38] This sentiment mirrors the deep-seated American values of self-sufficiency and resilience in the face of adversity that drove many Americans towards Hoovervilles in the first place.

The enormous increase inhomelessness during the Great Depression forced Americans to begin to shift their internal narratives surrounding homelessness and dismantle the stigma around poverty as it became an increasingly tangible reality for the average citizen of the United States. Different forms of

35 Jackson, "The Story of Seattle's Hooverville," 294.
36 Jackson, "The Story of Seattle's Hooverville," 293.
37 Jackson, "The Story of Seattle's Hooverville," 287.
38 Jackson, "The Story of Seattle's Hooverville," 289.

media, like newspapers, films, and songs, framed increasing levels of homelessness, especially in Hoovervilles, as a result of systemic failures rather than individual faults. They emphasized the resourcefulness and community bonds of shantytown residents determined to maintain their self-reliance. In potentially hyper-fixating on the culture of community in Hoovervilles during the Great Depression, media narratives not only made their audiences feel better by fostering a sense of hope and resilience but also crafted a more compelling and uplifting story that resonated with audiences, potentially easing their anxieties and providing a narrative of collective strength amidst hardship.

Internal narratives reflected a more nuanced depiction of the dynamics surrounding Americans who resorted to shantytowns as their most favorable option in the face of economic devastation. While media narratives often simplified these complexities, they nonetheless underscored themes of ingenuity, community, and self-reliance, albeit sometimes overstated. This outcome is a natural consequence, given that the media often resorts to degrees of generalization in its efforts to inform the public. It underscores the fact that Hoovervilles did not offer a uniform experience for their residents. These shantytowns were composed of individuals who came from different walks of life, reflecting the wide range of challenges and circumstances faced during the Great Depression. While overarching themes of resourcefulness, community, and pride prevailed, the Hooverville experience cannot be distilled into a singular, universal narrative.

A Close Shave: Understanding British Skinheads in the Media and from within the Movement

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Abstract: This article seeks to recontextualize the early British skinhead movement, arguing that it has been unfairly stigmatized by media portrayals that distorted its true nature. Often overshadowed by the later, more politicized skinhead factions, the early skinheads emerged in the late 1960s and were a complex subculture with diverse political and social attitudes. Contrary to the mainstream narrative that associates skinheads exclusively with violence, racism, and xenophobia, this thesis contends that such attributes were exaggerated by a concerted media campaign designed to demonize the movement. While instances of racism and xenophobia did exist within the subculture, they were far from universal and should not define the entire group. Instead, the early skinhead movement should be recognized for its multi-ethnic composition, its roots in working-class British identity, and its cultural hybridity—shaped in part by the influence of Jamaican immigrants and their music. This article is structured around three main sections: (1) an exploration of the early skinhead movement and its socio-cultural context, (2) an analysis of the media's misrepresentation of the movement, and (3) the responses of skinheads to this media campaign, focusing on their attempts to reclaim their identity and challenge the negative portrayals.

Introduction

On August 27, 1970, an unassuming theater review of a new British play appeared in the middle of *The New York Times* newspaper. Titled "New London Play Treats Skinheads with Compassion," the article criticized playwright Peter Terson's attempt to expand the narrative on the emerging British skinhead movement beyond the simplistic portrayal in the media.[1] Terson's play titled "Spring-Heeled Jack" centered around a London skinhead gang who are depicted primarily as troublemakers, but also affectionately as loveable rogues shaped by the hard post-war socio-economic climate in Britain. This nuanced and sympathetic portrayal was not the standard. Instead, a harsher impression existed away from the realm of theater which sought to marginalize and vilify this complicated subculture. A virulent media campaign existed, hellbent on portraying

1 Irving Wardle, "New London Play Treats Skinheads with Compassion,", *New York Times*, August 27, 1970, 40

skinheads as violent, uncultured, and destitute ruffians. This campaign, in turn, became the master narrative. Continuing Treson's original mission, this article seeks to dismantle the unsympathetic narrative about skinheads constructed by the British media and offer a more humane understanding of this imperfect yet fascinating youth movement.

This study, therefore, seeks to explore how tabloids, broadsheets, and the alternative press in Britain mischaracterized skinheads. A cohesive narrative developed across all three media streams, littered with misleading stereotypes that were exaggerated and superficial and that distorted the public's perception of this diverse and complex youth movement.

Early skinheads like George Marshall discussed the media's ability to damage the public's: "If his [the common British person's] only contact with the skinhead cult comes from media stories, he is going to swallow the media stereotypes of what a skinhead is, hook, line and sinker."[2] Here, Marshall explicitly acknowledges not only the media's influence over the public but also the public's receptivity to these stories. Overall, the media's use of fear-mongering and sensationalism further exacerbated the public's reluctance to critically engage with stories on youth culture, making it inconceivable that British society at large would reconcile with skinheads once they became violent menaces.

Media portrayals overemphasized early skinheads' violence, diminishing the movement's other features. Derek Ridgers, a British photographer dedicated to capturing the skinheads during the early 1970s, deftly noted that "the bad apples of skinheads seemingly have tarnished the name irretrievably."[3] It was precisely the actions of these "bad apples" that were seized upon by the media, dominating coverage on the early skinheads. Within a brief period, the public's perception of the early skinhead movement shifted from a position of intrigue to one of alarm and disgust.

To historically analyze the early skinhead movement equitably, one must also engage in a larger debate about the treatment of historical actors whose actions today's standards deem disgraceful. This raises an interesting point: how to treat historical actors humanely without condoning their actions. In this article, I will emphasize the complex motives behind the early skinheads' actions and their capacity for both good and evil, concluding that challenging those who saw the movement as one-dimensional is of importance whilst also recognizing individuals within the early skinhead movement's penchant for bigotry.

Therefore, a significant portion of this study will be dedicated to investigating how numerous media outlets consistently misrepresented this subculture. I will delve into these stereotypes by situating them within the wider socio-economic situation in post-World War II Britain and by considering relevant socio-

2 George Marshall, "Among the Mugs," *A Skinhead Nation*, accessed March, 27, 2024 https://www.skinheadnation.co.uk/

3 Derek Ridgers, *Skinheads, 1976-1984* (Omnibus Press: London, 2014), 10

logical theories. Additionally, I will shed light on skinheads' efforts to challenge these representations, both directly and indirectly. This will situate the skinheads in conversation with the media's attempts to chronicle the movement. Despite their discomforting nature, I will make clear that the early skinheads and the media engaged in a paradoxical relationship—damaging but mutually dependent. The skinheads required the media tropes to rally against and mobilize as a cohesive movement while the media required the skinheads to generate content and sell their papers. Consequently, this contradiction will inform an overall critique of the media's exercise of power in this domain and a discussion on the power dynamic between establishment and anti-establishment media narratives.

This paper proceeds through three sections. I will begin with a deep-dive into skinhead historiography, highlighting how this paper fits into the historiographical space and outlining the methodology used in this essay. Section one will also provide a concise overview of the early skinhead movement, outlining its periodization and distinguishing it from the more widely recognized and infamous skinhead movement of 1976-1980s. Using primary sources from a selection of media outlets, including tabloids, broadsheets, and alternative press, the second section will explore media outlets' disparaging portrayal of these early skinheads, considering the longevity and intensity of these reports across the period. This section will also critically analyze these media narratives by situating them within the wider socio-economic conditions in which they were written. Section three will shed light on the skinheads' response to the dominant media narrative through a series of direct and indirect methods. Here, I will rely upon written personal accounts of the early skinhead movement by former skinhead George Marshall, sympathetic media articles, and the primary source, *The Paint House: Words from an East End Gang*, which provides insightful dialogue from the perspective of an early London skinhead gang. At this point in the paper, I will open a wider discussion that considers how the media and the skinhead response are interconnected.

Historiography on the early skinhead movement has fallen victim to a trend noted by Matthew Worley in his assessment of the British punk movement. He observes a significant omission in punk historiography, arguing that it was seen as "Punk, then, cataloged and reported; [but] it is rarely explained"—a trend echoed in the limited historiography on the skinhead movement.[4] Both historiographies are dominated by visual documentation and oral testimonies, with little critical engagement of either the punk or the skinhead movements' as a result.[5] This is clear in the dominance of photographic books within the historical conversation on the skinheads, such as Gavin Watson's *Skins* and Nick Knight's *Skinhead*. While these publications include the occasional critical essay like one by Dick Hebdige ("This is England and they don't belong here"), which recounts latter day skinheads' embracement of English nationalism, as a whole, they fail to provide needed critical engagement on the early skinheads.[6]

4 Matthew Worley, *No Future: Punk, Politics and British Youth Culture, 1976-1984* (Cambridge University Press, 2017).

5 Worley, *No Future*, 21.

6 Gavin Watson, *Skins* (Music Press Books, 2015); Nick Knight, *Skinhead*

Another difficulty within skinhead historiography is the overwhelming focus on the second half of the movement, occurring from 1976 into the 1980s. This results in a significant lack of historical engagement on the first wave, with historians more drawn to the inflammatory political nature of the second wave compared to the relatively understated cultural and social scene of the early skinheads. This lack of historical engagement on the early skinheads further exacerbates the popular mischaracterization of the early skinheads, who are wrongly conflated with the far-right, highly politicized image cultivated by the second wavers. Much of this historical analysis on the second-wave skinhead movement is concerned with the emergence of the 'Nazi' skinhead, a later iteration of skinhead preoccupied with white-power politics. It is worth noting that unlike their American offshoots, these early skinheads in Britain were not confined to the far-right; this occurred in the second iteration of the movement in the late 1970s which embodied white nationalist rhetoric and sympathy towards Nazism. In fact, the two types of skinheads were starkly different, a point noted by Timothy Brown who argues that the politicalization of the second skinhead movement was unique and created a "crisis of identity."[7]

While early skinheads primarily expressed their identity through cultural and social markers, later skinheads infused the movement with poisonous political fervor. This paper will therefore challenge oversights within the historiography that wrongly present the skinheads as a monolithic movement. Although minimal, some debates are present in the historiographical record on the early skinheads. These revolve around a discussion of the reasons for early skinheads' emergence in the late 1960s and broadly fall into two schools of thought: the "developmental" explanation and the Marxist-inspired interpretation. Advocates of the developmental view, such as Brown and Nick Knight, argue that the movement arose as a natural progression from the previous "Mod" subculture and through an admiration and imitation of Caribbean immigrant culture – specifically the Jamaican "rude boy" culture. This historicalapproach tends to situate the early skinheads within their initial cultural practices, specifically how they cultivated the movement through style, music, and football culture. Although this analysis does not directly address how the early skins were represented in the media, it provides valuable insights for understanding the dynamic social and cultural practices of the original skinhead movement, which were routinely neglected by the media in favor of a more stereotypical approach.

Marxist-inspired historians, mostly of the Centre of Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS), established in 1964, have attempted to view the early skinheads through a socio-economic lens. Using sociological methodologies, authors such as Dick Hebdige, Phil Cohen and Mike Brake, writing specifically on the skinhead culture at the point at which it materialized, used the skinhead movement to provide evidence for their broader arguments on how youth subcultures often emerged in response to unequal socio-economic conditions of

(Omnibus Press; First Edition, 1982); Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (Routledge, 2003).

7 Timothy S, Brown, "Subcultures, Pop Music and Politics: Skinheads and 'Nazi Rock' in England and Germany." Journal of Social History 38, no. 1 (2004), 111.

British society. These arguments will appear in greater detail in section one of the essay.

Critics today find numerous faults with the CCCS explanations and methodologies. Some argue that CCCS authors knowingly projected their Marxist beliefs onto a youth movement that was unlikely to have been consciously political.[8] Others find fault with the somewhat patronizing tone taken by some of the authors and/or the presumptive conclusions that they were trying to reach. Although these criticisms are valid, this study will analyze these arguments because they provide interesting insight into how the early skinheads reflect their cultural, economic, and social position within British society. Ignoring these arguments would be a considerable oversight, especially as many were formulated alongside the emergence of the early skinheads and therefore provide an interesting real-time response. Of particular relevance to my study are CCCS scholars Mike Brake and Stanley Cohen's arguments. Brake examines the media's intense focus on the ethnocentric attitudes of some of the early skinheads to make sense of rising racial tensions in Britain as a whole.[9] Conversely, Cohen, in a broader assessment of the media's role in shaping the dominant narrative on subcultural movements, suggests that it used a strategy of minimizing teenagers as "folk- devils" in a bid to instigate "moral panic."[10] He notes that this strategy was a media tactic to enable the CCCS's readership to make sense of the changing political, social, and economic dynamic in Britain whilst also being motivated by commercial interest.

Although Cohen does not write on the skinheads directly, his argument can still be applied to the early skinheads. While I will use both Cohen and Brake's arguments to support my thesis, I will extend their scope to include a wider range of media stereotypes and consider the response by skinheads to these representations – a glaring omission in both scholars' work. By doing so, I hope to broaden the discourse and amplify the voices present in overlooked pieces of early skinhead literary, media, and visual output.

In discussing the media's representation of the early skinheads, I have relied upon British media and newspaper archives, which provide both the tabloid and broadsheet perspective and will be considered alongside each other. Additionally, I will also draw upon archival material on left-wing alternative media sources, such as *Black Dwarf*, illuminating the new-left's underground media perspective. By acknowledging a broad media landscape in my argument, I aim to present a wide-ranging analysis. This study will maintain that, although some variations appear, all these media perspectives share a common goal of ridiculing, simplifying, and ostracizing the early skinheads.

The availability of primary source material produced by the early skin-

8 Acknowledged by Worley with a similar criticism levied at the CCCS's interpretation of the punk movement; see. Worley, *No Future*, 17

9 Mike Brake, "The Skinheads: An English Working-Class Subculture," Youth and Society, 6, no.2 (1974), 183.

10 Stanley Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers,* (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1972).

heads is comparatively scarce. Nonetheless, Marshall's memoirs titled *Spirit of 69!* and the online counterpart "Skinhead Nation" are invaluable sources, combining multiple early skinhead perspectives. While these are retrospective accounts, and thus, are clouded by a strong sense of nostalgia for the early skinhead movement, Marshall does dedicate a substantial portion of his work to considering how early skinheads were mischaracterized by the media. His, and other skinheads' responses contained within his work, provide crucial insight for my argument.

These texts will be supplemented by an equally critical primary source, *The Paint House: Words from an East End Gang.*[11] Compiled by Susie Daniel, Pat Doyle and Pete McGuire, the book takes you directly inside an early skinhead gang, and it provides a critical, and, importantly, unpatronizing analysis from the authors that helps us understand these young men's attitude and actions. This unpatronising analysis will serve as a stark contrast to often careless media portrayals, emphasizing the fact that appreciating and fully understanding early skinheads' complexity takes dedicated time and effort.

The Early Skinheads

As mentioned, the skinheads' origin story remains a point of contention within the historiography. Developmental arguments, favored by scholars such a Timothy S. Brown and journalists, Nick Knight and Gary Bushell, both posit that the early skinheads evolved from a previous subculture – the Mods. Specifically, Bushell argues the skinheads grew out of a London sub-group in the Mod culture known as the "Suits," who had working-class roots (expressed most acutely in their wearing of workers boots and their popularization of the Doc Martin boot) and were enamored with "rude boy" West Indian culture.[12] Inspired by Jamaican immigrants' cool-boy fashion—tight-fitting Levi Jeans, short haircuts, braces (suspenders)—as well as their music (especially ska), the early skinheads emerged from a point of admiration for this migrant culture.[13] However, it is essential to recognize that this appreciation for Caribbean culture did not signify the existence of racial harmony between the early skinheads and non-whites within the movement and society at large, as Hebdige argues.[14] Instead, as acknowledged by Moore, this tendency overly romanticizes this racial relationship, with xenophobic and racist attitudes existing amongst these early skinheads. This view appears in the primary source, *Paint House*, which

11 Susie Daniel, Peter McGuire and Pat Doyle, *The Paint House: Words From an East End Gang* (Penguin, 1972).

12 Gary Bushell, "That's My Number: The First Skinheads", in *Where Have All the Bootboys Gone? Skinhead Style and Graphic Subcultures*, LLC Graphic Subcultures Research Group, https://ualresearchonline.arts.ac.uk/id/eprint/7612/6/Bootboys_Catalogue_LR.pdf , 5; Timothy S. Brown, "Subcultures, Pop Culture, and Politics: Skinheads and 'Nazi' Rock in England and Germany", *Journal of Social History*, 38, no.1 (2004): 113.

13 Zybnêk Michal, "Why They Cropped Their Hair and Put Boots and Braces: The Birth of the Skinhead Subculture in Britain" (Bachelor's Diploma Thesis, Masaryk University, 2008), 29; Brown, "Subcultures, Pop Culture and Politics," 112.

14 Dick Hebdige, Subculture: The Meaning of Style (London; New York: Routledge, 1991), 52

shows early skinheads' disdain for immigrants, specifically Pakistani immigrants. Although overplayed by the media (most skinheads likely held prejudicial views yet rarely violently acted upon them), glorifying the racial and ethnic attitudes of the early skinheads is an easy trap to fall into – especially when attempting to differentiate the original skinheads from their latter, openly xenophobic and racist counterparts in the second movement. While emulation of Jamaican "rude boy" culture is key to understanding the development of the early skinhead's cultural scene, particularly in terms of their adopted style of music, this characterization should not be conflated for evidence of racial integration.

The sociological approach, favored by both scholars of the CCCS school and others, contextualizes the emergence of the early skinheads within wider socio-economic and political trends within British society. Brake argues that the subculture emerged from a sense of disillusionment within working-class circles, with post-World War II economic and social prospects regarded as the reserve of the middle-classes in Britain. He posits "subcultures arise as collective solutions to certain contradictions in society, and in English post-war society many of the working-class young felt left out of the highly publicized affluent society."[15] Thus, the skinhead movement provided a necessary place to be oneself, to explore who one was, and to make statements about one's condition—a space in which young working-class boys could go through adolescent rites of passage alongside one another.[16] Consequently, the early skinheads were reactionary, developing out of a pragmatic response to feelings of disillusionment and apathy towards the societal status quo. Clarke and Wright, continue this argument, noting how the early skinhead "gang" was established in response to feelings of being let down by the British state.[17] Early skinheads formed exclusive, visually threatening groups out of a palpable need for belonging in an increasingly atomised society, one that was still marked by economic stratification, limited wealth, and minimal opportunities.[18] Situating the early skinheads within the wider socio-economic trends of society is, therefore, crucial to understanding their origins.

This study combines developmental and sociological arguments. Though they differ in their micro- and macro-explanations, both arguments converge on the fundamental point of the origin of the early skinheads. At its heart, the early skinhead movement represented a "counter-revolution."[19] This concept encapsulates skinheads' pragmatic defiance of the youth subculture from which they splintered off, their rejection of the white status quo through their embrace of Black immigrant music and style, and at the more subconscious level, their response to feelings of social and economic isolation and to

15 Brake, "The Skinheads: An English Working Class Subculture," 183.

16 Brake, "The Skinheads," 184.

17 John Clarke, "The Skinheads and The Magical Recovery of Community," in *Resistance Through Ritual: Youth Subcultures in post-war Britain*, ed. Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson (London: Hutchinson, 1976), 99.

18 Richard Weight, "MOD!: A Very British style" (London: Bodley House), 217.

19 Knight, *Skinhead*, 8.

rising "no future" sentiment amongst young working-class youths.[20] The early skinheads were pioneers of change, fostering a new movement in response to disengagement with the world around them, and they must be seen in this light when considering the widespread misrepresentations that they faced.

Skinheads' general characteristics must be outlined before considering the media's presentation. Primarily, the early skinheads were expressively cultural, and they had a deep commitment to a uniformed style, music, and football culture. Working-class enthusiasm and pride were also central to the early skinheads, and they demonstrated a need for revival in the face of working-class discontent.[21] A more troubling aspect, seized upon by the media, was the early skinhead's anti-authoritarian and aggressive tendencies. Although mostly apolitical, skinheads enjoyed intimidation and fighting; however, this was usually territorially motivated and thus confined to council estate corners or football matches.[22] Although some within the movement added an ethnocentric taint to these acts of "aggro," this was far from the norm amongst the early skinheads.[23] This is not to minimize xenophobic attacks conducted by some early skinheads, but to note that these were often overexaggerated by the media in an attempt to tarnish the entire movement.

(Mis)representations of the Early Skinheads

In light of the representation of the early skinheads, the press must be considered as a political actor. From the outset, both mainstream and alternative media constructed and routinely reinforced a story about the early skinheads that was both deliberately reductionist and sensationalist. Consequently, the press must be treated as an historical agent, and held accountable as a result. The sources analyzed below are representative samples of the type of coverage the press created on the early skinheads—biased and simplified. These sources will form the crux of the argument for this section, which centers on an exploration of the media's portrayal of the early skinheads and engages in a critical dialogue about the authoritative position wielded by the mainstream press, both historically and contemporarily, over the collective imagination.

As discussed earlier, scholars like Mike Brake have spoken directly to the issue of the misrepresentation of the early skinheads. Using Cohen's "folk devils" and "moral panic" framework, Brake specifically focuses on how the British mainstream press intentionally overplayed the early skinheads' occasionally discriminatory actions and attitudes. Noting that distasteful views were apparent within early skinhead circles, Brake finds fault in how this became one of the dominant stereotypes wrongly attributed to all early skinheads. He notes that the media's vilification of early skinheads as bigoted created a moral panic

20 Argument borrowed from Worley, Worley, No Future, pp.112-114; although he is speaking on the origins of the punk subculture, I would argue that a similar argument applies to the emergence of the early skinheads.

21 Derek Ridgers, Skinheads, 1979-1984 (Omnibus Press, 2014), 16.

22 Ridgers, *Skinheads*, 1979-1984, 10; Clarke, "The Skinheads and the Magical Recovery of Community", 101.

23 Knight, *Skinhead*, 20.

suit a particular agenda. He argues that "This appertaining of racism and homosexuality [in Britain]to a small group passed over the fact these attitudes are widely spread through all classes of English society and are reflected in the legal structure and the political climate."[24] Brake argues that the early skinheads were scapegoated for rising minority tensions and cultural shifts within the UK in the 1960s, without recognition that intolerance existed across the social spectrum.

Although I will reach similar conclusions to Brake, there is historiographical space in this matter. I will focus on how they were portrayed both as menacingly violent and uncultured with this broader perspective acknowledging how the media's characterization of early skinheads was multifaceted and included various negative attributes beyond just bigotry. Also missing in Brake's argument is how consistent this type of negative reporting was across the period of the early skinheads, subsequently reinforcing and solidifying these generalizations in the public's imagination.

Media portrayals of early skinheads as both violent and uncultured were also deeply gendered. As a predominantly male-oriented subculture, the stereotype that they were both uncivilized and threatening was easy to levy on a group of young, working-class boys. As noted by Weight, "in style and outlook, skinhead was an assertion of traditional working-class masculinity," a statement of masculinity that was detrimental to their media identity.[25] The combination of their working-class and hyper masculine ethos will, therefore, be explored in the following articles.

Before delving into the media reports, it is crucial to discuss Cohen's "folk devils" and "moral panic" argument. In short, Cohen argues that the media holds a powerful position in setting the moral benchmark on deviant behavior, vilifying individuals and groups who fail to conform to this framework.[26] Hence, the creation of "folk devils" that the press portrayed as threats to the functioning of society.[27] Exaggerated reporting on the actions and beliefs of these "folk devils" subsequently creates feelings of moral panic within society. The media responds to this fabrication by adopting a morally crusading role in providing "cautionary" information on these supposed "folk devils" to its readers. This cycle resulted in the media's ability to manipulate believed stereotypes in a bid to stoke and then quell this created moral panic. Another important aspect of Cohen's argument is his claim that this style of reporting has endured throughout the twentieth century, becoming fairly established by the time the early skinheads emerged in the late 1960s. As Wright notes, this strategy became popularized after the end of the Second World War, in which the media deliberately scapegoated the newly invented "teenager" and depicted teenagers as a negative consequence of socioeconomic and political instability.[28] This press strategy was,

24 Brake, "The Skinheads: An English Working-Class Subculture," 193-194.
25 Weight, *MOD!,* 228.
26 Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*,16.
27 Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics* , 17.
28 Nieve Mullins, "The Emergence of the Teenager", Museum of Youth Culture, January 17, 2023, https://www.museumofyouthculture.com/the-emergence-of-the-teenager/;

therefore, perfected by the time the early skinheads arrived, and thus, reports were highly effective in their vilification of these early skins.

The Daily Mirror

Jeremy Hornsby's September 3, 1969, article on skinheads is a powerful example that illustrates both media sensationalism and its oversimplification of the early skinheads.[29] Focusing on a young skinhead named Johnny, the article describes his lifestyle, from his adherence to the skinhead style to his enthusiasm for labor. The journalist adopts a deeply patronizing tone towards the young boy, noting his lack of culture, religion, and intellectual ambition, implying that the emergence of the skinheads is symptomatic of unsettling trends in British society: "Johnny has never read a book and sees nothing strange in that. He wouldn't have minded being Al Capone. He has never set foot in a church."[30] This paternalistic style of writing sought not only to minimize Johnny as an individual but also the skinhead movement that he represented. In turn, Hornsby swiftly disregarded the flourishing cultural scene at the heart of the early skinhead movement. He continued with this condescending narrative by including a psychologist's assessment of the new movement, thereby relying on the psychologist's authority as an expert to give legitimacy to his claims. The article goes on to note that, "Predictably, these youngsters with their violent creed are reacting against the cult of peace and love preached so long by the hippies and the flower children. There is always a time limit for a pattern of behavior, and it is always superseded by an opposition cult."[31] In one fell swoop, the report minimizes the early skinheads as both inherently violent and fleeting, a sentiment that exaggerates the roughness of the early skinheads while being equally demeaning to the longevity and prosperity of the movement. It presents the movement as one to be feared in the present and dismissed as one without a future. Interestingly, the journalist draws upon other subcultural movements, such as the hippies, as a point of comparison to the early skins. By establishing a hero/villain narrative, the early skinheads are situated as the violent counterparts to the amicable hippies.

Furthermore, Hornsby's article is placed next to one titled, "The Age of Identity," which explores the emergence of youth subculture movements in the post-war era. In the other article, youth subcultures are ridiculed –"their [youth subcultures] morality sometimes approaches high comedy". This article is deliberately placed above Hornsby's article on the skins to draw comparison between the early skinheads and other youth movements. The skinheads are subsequently painted as the more radical, and thus, more threatening iteration of British youth movements that posed a new threat to society: "In contrast to the hippie's vague and shaggy line of gentle coexistence, [the skinheads] preach an alarming new

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Weight, Mod, 215

29 Jeremy Hornsby, "No Love From Johnny...," Daily Mirror, Sept, 3 1969, 12, https://link-gale- com.eux.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/NFINEE126076145/DMIR?u=ed_itw&sid=bookmark-DMIR&xid=b91e7cea.

30 Weight, *MOD!*, 215; Hornsby, "No Love From Johnny…," 12.

31 Hornsby, "No love from Johnny," 12.

doctrine of destruction."[32] Cohen's "folk devil," "moral panic" argument is starkly evident in these articles. By exaggerating the violent nature of the early skinheads and suggesting that they are indicative an era of cultural, intellectual, and religious decline, while situating them in contrast to their subcultural predecessors, the early skinheads are mischaracterized as "agents of social problems," prompting an inevitably alarmist response from readers.[33]

The Times

The first mention of the term "skinheads" in *The Times* occurred in a piece titled "Agro- Agro" by Peter Morley.[34] As the title indicates, *The Times* adopts a similar portrayal as *The Daily Mirror*, in which the early skinhead is simultaneously depicted as a social threat, uncultured, and inherently violent. The important subtext to this characterization is that the early skinhead not only poses an individual, safety risk but also a collective threat by indicating a generational shift away from British cultural values and customs. As seen below, the early skinheads in the article are routinely demonized as highly terrorizing, with a distinct ethnocentric flare to their acts of violence: "Their favorite recreation is "agro" [aggravation] which means fights – at football matches or free pop concerts… In London they tend to dislike Pakistanis and Indians."[35] Similar to *The Daily Mirror* piece, this article ends on a condescending note that seeks to vilify while also suggesting that the early skinhead movement as a whole was insignificant: "And like most teenagers, from teddy boys onwards, they will undoubtedly grow up."[36] By ending on this dismissive note, the writer reassures the reader that the "moral panic" created by the style of reporting is quelled, and for the time being, the early skinheads as "folk devils" remain contained.

The Times consistently reported on the early skinheads through the early 1970s. Much of this reporting concerned the violent actions of a few skinheads. Articles, such as "8 arrests in Folkestone invasion," aroused historic fears relating to the outbreak of violence between Mods and Rockers (youth subcultural movements that the early skinheads grew out of) in the mid-1960s.[37] Another article, titled "'Skinheads' braces seized by police," further speaks to a campaign by *The Times* to situate the early skinheads within a culture of physical violence.[38] It is also interesting to note how these articles were featured on the front page of the newspaper; clearly *The Times* was responding to public

32 "The Age of Identity," *The Daily Mirror*, September 3, 1969, 12.

33 Weight, *MOD!,* 227.

34 Peter Morley,, "The Times Diary.", *The Times*, September 3, 1969, 10, The Times Digital Archive (accessed April 27, 2024). https://link-gale-com.eux.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/CS168522019/TTDA?u=ed_itw&sid=bookmark- TTDA&xid=1b1bba18.

35 Peter Morley, "The Times Diary," 10.

36 Peter Morley, "The Times Diary," 10.

37 From Our Own Correspondent, "8 arrests in Folkestone 'invasion'.", *The Times*, March 30, 1970, 1, The Times Digital Archive (accessed April 27, 2024). https://link-gale-com.eux.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/CS17265278/TTDA? u=ed_itw&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=46dacfc5.

38 A legal correspondent, "Skinheads' braces seized by police.", *The Times*, March 31. 1970, The Times Digital Archive, 1, link-gale-com.eux.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/CS17920639/TTDA?u=ed_itw&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=1a48fa71. accessed 27 Apr. 2024

interest in these newly established "folk-devils." Racial tensions within early skinheads' violence became a predominant focus for The Times, with suggestions that racism were an endemic feature within the early skinhead movement, rather than the just the inappropriate actions of a few. As noted in a 1970 article titled "Skinheads and Race Relations," "The evidence suggests that these [early skinhead attacks on the British-Pakistani community] are examples of a vicious, mindless thuggery rather than a general embitterment between Pakistanis and the white community."[39] To reiterate, this is not to undermine or romanticize accounts of early skinheads' violence towards ethnic minorities; these types of attacks, albeit few, are appalling and should be reported on proportionately. However, in following the "folk devils," "moral panic" concept, the press instead sought to generalize all early skinheads as "examples of vicious, mindless thuggery", generating a warped image for the public that ethnocentric violence was a common activity within the movement. This is a mischaracterization and achieved little aside from marginalizing these early skinheads and ignoring the more complex reasons for their formation.

Black Dwarf

It is important to note that the denigration of the early skinheads was not limited to the mainstream press. In fact, left-leaning British papers often criticized the emergence of the movement through a distinctive ideological lens. One such paper, *Black Dwarf* (a prominent socialist paper in publication between 1968-1972), wrote the following disparaging overview of the skins, in an article titled "The Skinheads: A Youth Group for the National Front."

> Skinheads represent an assertion of working-class identity against the hippies and lefties – groups that [they] very reasonably consider middle-class and irrelevant to their life situation . . . The skinheads are the real dropouts, as opposed to the fancy dropouts who take a few months off work to do very nicely living by their wits. These latter people aren't really dropouts at all, they are people whose dissatisfaction with society has led them to take a nice holiday from it. The skinhead is rejected by society. He is dropped out – because he is thick, because he can't cope with responsibility, because he's disorganised. He lands up in the lowest-paid job where he has had to go work long, boring, unrewarding, unrecognised hours before going back to a home that has blatantly missed out on the glitter of the affluent society.[40]

Although the report provides a more accurate and nuanced picture of the role socio-economic conditions play in the characteristics of the early skinheads, the article succumbs to a highly demeaning portrayal of the movement, drawing upon many stereotypes perpetuated by the mainstream media. In direct onslaught on the entire movement, *Black Dwarf* presents skinheads as "thick,"

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39 "Skinheads And Race Relations." , *The Times*, 14 Apr. 1970, p. 13, The Times Digital Archive, link-gale- com.eux.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/CS218460814/TTDA?u=ed_itw&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=31ce89ee. Accessed 27 Apr. 2024.

40 "The Skinheads: A Youth Group for the National Front", *Black Dwar*f, August 30, 1969, 4.

irresponsible, and "disorganized."[41] In short, they're depicted as social outsiders, as a social pariah that has become so disillusioned that they have abandoned British society at large.

The strong ideological position of *Black Dwarf* adds an interesting dimension to their coverage of the predominantly working-class movement. The article underscores leftist discontentment with subcultures overall, suggesting that they were detrimental to the leftist cause—a needless and ultimately damaging distraction for working-class individuals. Further, it is notable how leftist tabloids and the alternative press advocated for disciplinary measures against the early skinheads. For instance, the left-leaning *The Daily Mirror* responded to an isolated incident of a skinhead attack on a Pakistani immigrant by emphatically concluding: "The police and the courts must crack down, before the problem gets out of hand."[42]

As two left-leaning publications (albeit to varying degrees), *Black Dwarf* and *The Daily Mirror's* unanimity in their reporting on the menacing early skinheads highlights how the movement was isolated by institutions who should have seemingly been sympathetic to their working-class affiliation. Moore delves into this concept by noting how the early skinheads were "easy enemies," and where, therefore, a movement abandoned by institutions purportedly on their side.[43] It becomes evident in these articles that left-leaning publications were instead as committed to the vilification of early skinheads as their traditional enemies in the center/right wing press (*The Times*). Moore highlights the negative repercussions of skinheads' isolation: "They constitute a minority safe to hate, one without an annoying press group to beat them through protests or legal action."[44] Therefore, left-wing publications' marginalization of the early skinheads added another layer to their social exclusion.

The media landscape embarked on a somewhat poisonous campaign of belittling the early skinhead, subsequently reducing them to an uncultured and violent stereotype that threatened British society at the individual and collective level. This has been observed through the lens of Cohen's "folk devil," "moral panic" argument which although was established prior to the emergence of the skinheads, is apt in describing the media's response. Because similar stereotypes were present across opposing media outlets, multiple demographics of readers in British society were subjected to the same stereotypes, which had highly damaging ramifications on the British public's perception of the early skinheads.

The Skinheads Reply

The early skinheads were not passive in the face of the media's portrayal, an impression made possible only by the absence of their voices in

41 "The Skinheads," 4

42 "Ugly, Vicious, Cowardly." *Daily Mirror*, April 10, 1970, 2, Mirror Historical Archive, 1903-2000 (accessed April 27, 2024). https://link-gale com.eux.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/EPWKJR901872229/DMIR? u=ed_itw&sid=bookmark- DMIR&xid=503eb58b.

43 Jack B. Moore, *Skinheads Shaved for Battle: A Cultural History of American Skinheads* (Bowling Green State University Press, 1993), 164.

44 Moore, *Skinheads Shaved for Battle*, 164.

the historiography. In this section, I aim to fill this gap by examining how early skinheads directly and indirectly responded to their own mischaracterization. As evident in the above analysis, early skinheads mostly responded through defiance and by persisting with the movement even in the face of the press and the public's marginalization. Two other contradictory responses were common. Some early skinheads were understandably frustrated with their portrayal, while others clearly enjoyed their newfound fame. The latter response opens an interesting dialogue on the relationship between the media and the skinheads, which was more complex than being simply adversarial.

Media produced by the early skinheads is in short supply; most skinzines were the reserve of the second skinhead movement. However, a few primary sources exist that shed light on the early skinhead's responses to their characterization by the media – both in a direct and indirect sense. George Marshall's two memoir accounts, *Spirit of 69!* and "Skinhead Nation" are central to this discussion as he directly addresses the media's relationship with the early skinheads. Although these were published post-1991 and are therefore, retrospective primary sources with their own issues, they still provide one skinhead's direct and authentic response to the media's portrayal.

I will also reference indirect responses, where skinheads have inadvertently engaged and countered the media's portrayal. One of the most illuminating sources in this regard, *The Paint House: Words from an East End Gang*, offers a deep-dive into the psyche of an early skinhead gang in East London, known as the Collingwood Gang. Members of the gang and the authors formed a collaborative relationship as the authors conducted their research, which provides unparalleled detail into the social functioning of the early skinheads. Reference to alternative responses, including skinheads' engagement in articles written about them, notably in *Gay Culture* magazin*e*, will be considered. These examples highlight that despite the media's ridiculing narrative, the early skinheads responded to the media's depiction and public fascination by championing their cause and sustaining their cultural and social presence.

A self-professed early skin, Marshall harbors significant disdain for the sensationalist media narrative, as evident in his book titled *Spirit of 69!* Described as a 'history' of the early skinhead movement, Marshall's purpose in writing the book is clear cut: "Putting the record straight about the skinhead cult…This book has been written for no other reason than to give skinheads themselves a written history of the cult."[45] It is important to read Marshall's work with a critical eye as a nostalgic tone permeates his wok. Marshall's irritation permeates the *Spirit of 69!*. And he devotes a considerable portion of the book to debunking myths perpetuated by the media, such as the extent of early skinhead violence, while simultaneously portraying the early skinheads as a sophisticated subcultural movement.[46] He importantly considers the harsh socioeconomic conditions for young working-class boys, shedding light on their communal ethos and noting that two successive government's promise of a better future after World War II failed to apply to working-class communities

45 Marshall, *Spirit of 69!,* 4.
46 Marshall, *Spirit*, 57.

across England: "Life wasn't so sweet on the large council estates that were thrown up after the war, in the land fit for heroes."[47] In providing a rich account, he counters the media's portrayal by providing a necessary and lasting record that can be referenced to nuance the history of the early skinheads. One such example Marshall draws upon is the media's fascination with the style of the early skinheads: "While the tabloid headlines were full of boots and braces, they were totally oblivious to the fact that skinheads represented some of the most style conscious kids ever."[48] Despite the hyperbolic language and nostalgic tone Marshall reserves for the early skins, in *Spirit of 69!,* he dedicates himself to directly countering the media's narrative through telling the story of the early skinheads from their point of view.

Furthermore, Marshall's depiction of how the early skinheads responded to the media appears ostensibly paradoxical. On the one hand, profound annoyance by the skinheads is a clear and expected response. Marshall is particularly irritated with the media's exploitation of the early skinheads for commercial interests: "By not letting reality get in the way of a good story, they [the media] have buried the greatest of all British youth cults under realms of sensationalist bullshit."[49] However, in his online work,"Skinhead Nation", Marshall offers a glimpse into another early skinhead response. Albeit brief, he notes: "Like a lot of skinheads, I've got hundreds of newspapers and magazine cuttings related to the cult. When I was younger, these tales of bank holiday riots, trouble on the terraces and associated tabloid sensationalism would find their way onto my bedroom wall."[50] Skinheads were, therefore, somewhat honored by their new-found media fame, and some had a palpable sense of pride in their depiction as societal menaces. This unlikely response by some early skinheads is also evident in a *Daily Mirror* article titled: "TV Made me Notorious, Says a Boy." The article notes how an early skinhead brawl was captured by the ITV program *World in Action*, a popular British current affairs program in the 1960s.[51] Even when their movement was vilified or ridiculed by the press, some clearly responded with a sense of excitement to their newfound sense of notoriety. It is likely that this concerned a juvenile thrill in their new stardom whilst, on a deeper level, representing a survival tactic. In the face of a barrage of negative stereotypes in a hostile environment, skinheads enthusiastically took ownership of this exaggerated identity. In accordance with their anti-authority nature, it is, therefore, no wonder that the early skinheads leaned into this negative image.[52]

The early skinheads responded to the media's portrayal through other various indirect means, with one fascinating example depicted in a *Gay Culture* magazine article, published in 1970 and titled "Skinheads: A Lingering Look,

47 Marshall, *Spirit*, 8.
48 Marshall, *Spirit*, 20.
49 Marshall, *Spirit*, 4.
50 George Marshall, "Among the Mugs", A Skinhead Nation, Google, accessed 19th April, 2024, https:// www.skinheadnation.co.uk/skinheadsandmedia.html.
51 "TV Made Me Notorious, Says a Boy." Daily Mirror, March 17, 1970, 23, Mirror Historical Archive, 1903-2000 (accessed April 27, 2024), https://link-gale- com.eux.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/UMHPYP547382728/DMIR? u=ed_itw&sid=bookmark-DMIR&xid=f622c784.
52 Knight, *Skinhead*, 21

Skinheads on a night out."[53] Although not written by a skinhead, the article attempts to humanize the early skinheads in opposition to their marginalized portrayal, and it aims to contradict common media tropes by recognizing the complexity of the movement: "Like the members of any other group skinheads are individuals."[54] The journalist dismantles the all-encompassing violent stereotype associated with the early skinhead: "To the general public they are most famous and feared for 'aggro' but to imagine that all skinheads are aggressive it to judge solely by appearance and to believe all that the popular dailies say."[55] The article also notes that early skinheads' acts of violence must be seen through a proportional lens: "Again, as with any other group, the majority suffer for the excesses of the few . . . Their real enthusiasms are harmless enough - football, clothes, girls (not always), music."[56] Furthermore, the article recognizes the flourishing cultural scene early skinheads created, including enthusiasm for fashion, music, and football which counters the narrative that skinheads were uncultured, bored social dropouts: "The most obvious characteristic of the group . . . is their ability to enjoy life."[57] In this article, the journalist is clearly committed to providing a more subtle and accurate understanding of the early skinheads.

Photographs of the early skinheads accompanying the article in *Gay Culture* spotlight early skinheads' reply to the media's representation. The posed pictures of early skinheads evoke a sense of a collaborative effort, suggesting that the early skinheads gave their approval to the content of the article. This, therefore, serves as a compelling example of an indirect early skinhead response. In the photographs, a group of skinheads, distinctive in their Ben Sherman shirts, braces, high-waisted jeans, boots and cropped hair, pose for the camera. There is a playful yet assertive spirit to the photographs, with a somewhat performative element to their posture, likely due to their awareness and sensitivity to being sexualized in a gay publication. It is interesting that some early skinheads participated in the content of this article, though indirectly, as this runs counter to the machismo, highly chauvinistic portrayal of the early skinheads in the British press. It is likely that these early skinheads and *Gay Culture* magazine recognized some semblance of unanimity in both gay men's and early skinheads' status—perpetuated by the British press—as social outcasts in British society. Marginalization of gay men in British publications was commonplace in the period of the early skinheads. For example, an article published by *The Daily Mirror* in the same year as the *Gay Culture* piece, titled, "The militant 'Gay' People meet for a big night out" relied upon similar tropes associated with early skinheads.[58] The use of terms such as "militant"

53 "Jeremy, no.8: A Lingering Look - skinheads on a night out", Gay Culture Magazine (1970), in Toby Mott, Skinhead: An Archive (Ditto Press: London), 2015, 12-13

54 "Jeremy, no8", 11

55 "Jeremy, no8", 11

56 "Jeremy, no8", 11

57 "Jeremy, no8", 11

58 "The Militant 'Gay' People Meet for a Big Night Out." *Daily Mirror,* December 23, 1970, 2. Mirror Historical Archive, 1903-2000 (accessed April 22, 2024). https://link-gale-com.eux.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/ MGOWNK621567144/DMIR?u=ed_itw&sid=bookmark-DMIR&xid=f03150e8.

and phrases like "big night out" suggest that gay men, like skinheads, were an aggressive, hedonistic and problematic force in British society. Nonetheless, the participation of some early skinheads in *Gay Culture* magazine represents an illuminating indirect response to the dominant mainstream media's narrative about skinheads.

This opens up an interesting conversation into the relationship between the media and the early skinheads, which I would argue in some ways was unexpectedly contingent on each other. The newspapers relied on the early skinheads to fill their pages while the early skinheads enjoyed and relied on their popularization by the media's fixation. It is likely that the media's presentation of the early skinheads allowed the movement to transform and move from the fringes of society to a movement worth talking about. This counter approach adds an interesting aspect which is omitted in Cohen's 'folk-devils' 'moral-panics' argument.

The Paint House: Words from an East End Gang is another source that situates an early skinhead reply within the media landscape. Published in 1972, the book provides a deep-dive into a London early skinhead gang through use of direct quotations, offering a much-needed voice to the young early skinheads interviewed. To gauge the overall tone and intention of the book, it is worth noting that the authors originally refused a publisher's request for a rushed copy. In the authors' words, they felt that this would result in "happily taking part in a conspiracy to exploit our friends."[59] This not only indicates the authors' commitment to providing a collaborative account in solidarity with the early skinheads, but also shows that fascination with the early skinhead movement was already present in the publishing realm. Taking advantage of the early skinheads was not, therefore, confined to the newspaper realm. It is indeed important to note that the authors, Susie Daniel, Peter McGuire and Pat Doyle, do not attempt to conceal some of the more unpleasant aspects of the movement, as evident in the chapters titled "Immigrants" and "Violence". Instead, by joining forces with the early skinheads, they provide necessary contextual arguments regarding the rise of xenophobic attitudes and violent actions by some of the members of the Collingwood gang, something most media streams glossed over. The Collingwood gang was indeed menacing, unruly, and occasionally, both violent and xenophobic, but it also served as a means of belonging and a sense of brotherhood, especially within the fraught socio-political context of Britain. As analyzed by the three authors in response to the words of the Collingwood early skinheads.

> All the members of the gang were dependent on the gang, they were forced together due to their common experience and common attitudes to the society at large. They gave each other the support that they did not receive from the community. The gang itself was often referred to as a community and even by some on occasion as a family. In this way the gang supplied a real service to the members when they were in need of

59 Susie Daniel, Peter McGuire and Pat Doyle, *The Paint House: Words From an East End Gang,* (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1972), 7. Qu. By, Mike Brake, Skinheads Shaved for Battle, 18

> a sense of belonging. An identity and knowledge that they were wanted by other people…The gang is a social structure which is formed by its members because they need it, because it may be their only form of defence and survival, and therefore it is invaluable.[60]

In providing direct quotes from these early skinheads alongside deeper analysis of the factors that contributed to their beliefs and behaviors, *The Paint House* is an important record. Through their synergetic effort, the Collingwood skinheads and the authors sought to correct the media's reductionist narrative by providing an insider account into the complex workings of an early skinhead gang.

Conclusion

This paper has delved into the British media's misrepresentations of the early skinheads and has examined how the early skinheads directly and indirectly responded to these mischaracterizations. While there has been extensive writing on the media's portrayal of youth subcultures in Britain, there is a notable gap in the historiography concerning the early skinheads' response. One type of media project—the mainstream media response—has also dominated the historiography on the matter. In this paper, I have attempted to shed light on different media and literary projects that take a more nuanced stance towards the early skinheads. I view this absence as a notable shortcoming in the present scholarship that neglects to afford the early skinheads the agency they deserve.

This paper has examined two media projects, situating them in tandem with one another. Firstly, it explored mainstream and alternative media's joint effort in vilifying the early skinheads, and it followed Cohen's "folk devil" and "moral panic" framework. These media portrayals adhered to a strict journalistic formula with little concern for the nuances of the early movement and presented a solely external perception of the early skinheads. To them, the early skinheads were indolent, threatening, and troublesome. Furthermore, this portrayal often relies on contradictory depictions, such as portraying the early skinhead movement as both intimidating and transitory, with this inconsistency speaking to most media sources' lack of adequate engagement with the movement as a whole. The paper also extensively focuses on the media campaign to underscore the impact it had on shaping the public's perception of the early skinheads, engaging in a crucial discussion on the influential role the media has played, and continues to play, in shaping the public's understanding of social movements.

The second media project concerns sympathetic media and literary portrayals of the movement in response to the vilification of skinheads. This response was notably demonstrated in *Gay Culture* and *The Paint House: Words from an East End Gang*, which aimed to individualize and humanize the early skinheads. These works sought to spend time listening to the early skinheads, ultimately portraying them as they sought to be characterized: intimidating in all their glory, culturally vibrant, and importantly, products of the negative socio-economic consequences of British society. In their own words, skinheads were a hyper working-class identity created by a generation of new adolescents in

60 Daniel, McGuire, Doyle, *The Paint House*, 116-117.

response to tangible feelings of working-class disenchantment.

Through collaborative efforts with sympathetic media outlets, the skinheads effectively fought against the false narrative perpetuated by the media. The skinheads were not passive recipients of their negative portrayal, as has been assumed in the historiography, and this article has attempted to present a balanced history; one that considers both the media and the early skinheads' voices on equal footing.

Although this essay centers on the early skinheads, its broader aim is to ignite further discourse on how subcultural social movements have been consistently marginalized in British society. Therefore, the lasting purpose of this paper is to prompt readers to routinely critically analyze the depiction of anomalous movements, both historically and in the present day.

Life in the Permanent Temporariness: A History of the Physical and Mental Journey of Chinese Internal Migrant Workers

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Abstract: This paper examines the lived experiences of Chinese internal migrant workers, who made indispensable contributions to the nation's rapid urbanization but are often overlooked, misunderstood, and excluded from integrating into the cities due to policy and societal restrictions. The study challenges the dominant narratives that portray them as passive, backward, or voiceless by showcasing their resilience, resistance, and self-determination. Notably, few academic studies center on the voices of migrant workers themselves. This study addresses this gap by drawing from firsthand narratives, including diaries, interviews, blogs, and poetry of migrant workers, alongside secondary sources. It explores their systemic hardship, personal growth, grassroots activism, and creative expression. Findings reveal that despite enduring grueling labor, unsafe conditions, and social stigma, many migrant workers actively sought education, fought for rights, and expressed philosophical and artistic insights. These actions reject conventional stereotypes toward them and affirm their agency and humanity. The paper demonstrates the significance of studying migrant workers' lived experiences through their own narratives and the unlikelihood of true social integration under the current hukou system. The findings suggest a need for further research into the structural barriers that limit social mobility and shape the identities of migrant workers in modern China.

Introduction

Before the Chinese New Year of 2017, Qiao and his coworkers, who were also his townsmen, stood outside the train station of Fuyang, waiting for their train to take them home. A journalist captured the moment on camera: Qiao carried a small bag containing all his belongings—a worn-out work uniform, a box of ibuprofen, and an accounting book.[1] These few items were his companions for the past 11 months while he worked on a construction site. When Qiao fell ill, he would fully rely on Ibuprofen and keep going to work. Although his hometown was only an hour away by train, Qiao had not returned home in nearly a year to save every possible penny. As a bar placer, he worked grueling 10-hour shifts on the construc-

1 "农民工的日记本 打开后让人心醉," 每日头条, 2017, https://kknews.cc/zh-cn/society/zmvpxgp.html.

tion site and earned just 200 yuan (about 29 dollars per 2017's exchange rate) a day. Qiao meticulously recorded his hours in his account book to ensure he could verify his paycheck with his supervisor. These small account books served not only as vital records of their labor, reflecting the grueling routines and sacrifices of their daily lives.

Qiao represents just one among millions of migrant workers who constituted a major driving force that made the Chinese Economic Miracle possible. In 1978, the Chinese central government launched the Reform and Opening Up Initiative to modernize the economy and integrate China into the global market. The government established special economic zones like Shenzhen and Zhuhai, promoting rapid industrialization and urbanization of many coastal areas and inland transportation junctions.[2] The newly erected factories, infrastructure construction plans, and growing populations in new cities created numerous job opportunities, which became the gravitation for the massive migration from rural areas. These individuals who migrate from rural to urban areas for better economic opportunities are the migrant workers that this paper will discuss in depth. In 2023, there were approximately 297.5 million migrant workers in China, making up over a third of the nation's labor force.[3]

Despite their vast numbers and crucial contributions to China's economic growth and urbanization, migrant workers have never been fully accepted into urban society. The migrant workers faced policy restrictions in the form of the hukou (户) system, also known as the household registration system. After the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, the Chinese government under Mao Zedong introduced the hukou system in the late 1950s intending to control migration and resource allocation.[4] Hukou is divided into two general categories, urban and rural, with the government assigning urban hukou to individuals born in cities and rural hukou to those born in the countryside.[5] The entitlements to these two kinds of hukous differ significantly. Urban hukou holders enjoy more privileges in almost every aspect of life, including better health insurance, education, job security, and retirement pension.[6] Despite reforms to the hukou system, there are very limited situations where rural residents can obtain urban hukou, especially for peasants who lack education, financial resources, and political achievements.[7] As a result, millions of migrant workers are denied the right to settle in cities permanently and excluded from the full rights and benefits afforded to urban residents, effectively rendering them second-class citizens. This temporariness and precariousness are the sources of most migrant workers' struggle, serving as a crucial focal point

2 Ngai Pun, 中國新生代農民工 = *Migrant Labor in China/Zhongguo Xin Sheng Dai Nong Min Gong = Migrant Labor in China*, trans. Ying Niu (中華書局(香港)有限公司, Hong Kong: Zhonghua Shu Ju (Xianggang) You Xian Gong Si, 2018), 35.

3 C. Textor and Statistics Can Display More up-to-Date Data Than Referenced in the Text, "Migrant Workers in China," Statista, June 3, 2024, https://www.statista.com/topics/1540/migrant-workers-in-china/#topicOverview.

4 C. Cindy Fan, *China on the Move: Migration, the State, and the Household* (Routledge, 2007), 4.

5 Fan, *China on the Move*, 4.

6 Fan, *China on the Move*, 52.

7 Fan, *China on the Move*, 42.

for this research.

Moreover, the migrant workers also faced persistent societal prejudices against their rural origins. Although many of them have worked and lived in the cities for decades, they are still commonly referred to as "peasant workers (农民工)" in Chinese by the general public, official media, and even in government reports and academic works.[8] The normalization of this term in China reveals a discriminative undertone, implying they do not truly belong in urban society and will never transcend their rural, "peasant" status. Although China has deep agricultural roots, rapid modernization in recent decades has led to rural areas being increasingly associated with backwardness and inferiority. Urban populations frequently stereotype these workers with rural origins as vulgar, unambitious, uneducated, and morally deficient.[9] They also view migrant workers as vulnerable, victimized people who need sympathy and compassion, leaving the public with the impression that they lack agency. These perceptions are compounded by the belief that rural migrants overburden urban infrastructure and contribute to rising crime rates.[10] However, these are all oversimplified perceptions that fail to capture the complexity and reality of migrant workers' lives.

In this paper, I will challenge the widespread notion that migrant workers who emerged in late 20th-century China were merely passively oppressed, vulgar, or backward. Instead, I argue that in countering state-imposed restrictions and systemic societal prejudices, migrant workers asserted their autonomy by pursuing better lives for themselves and their families, demonstrating resistance, fostering self-realization, and engaging in creative and philosophical expression. To substantiate this argument, the paper is organized into four thematic sections: the struggles and hardships migrant workers face in urban environments, their acts of resistance, personal growth, and their philosophical and artistic expressions. Specifically, the research seeks to answer several key questions: why do these individuals choose to become migrant workers? What experiences do they undergo during their time as migrant workers? How did they tackle the state-imposed restrictions and systematic societal discrimination? Additionally, the research aims to examine their personal growth, level of autonomy, and the broader impacts of migration on their lives. Through these inquiries, the study will provide a deeper understanding of the migrant workers' journey and its implications on their evolving sense of self.

Notably, there is a lack of academic research analyzing the lived experiences of migrant workers through their own narratives. This gap exists largely because systemic marginalization in Chinese society has left migrant workers with extremely limited opportunities and resources to tell their stories, resulting

8 Tiejian Ji (姬铁见), *Unstoppable Dream: A Migrant Worker's Survival Diary (*止不住的梦想:一个农民工的生存日记*)* (Beijing: Jiu Zhou Press, 2013), III; Fan, *China on the Move*, 111; Yang Shen, *Beyond Tears and Laughter: Gender, Migration, and the Service Sector in China* (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 10.

9 Xiaodong Lin, *Gender, Modernity and Male Migrant Workers in China: Becoming a 'Modern' Man* (Oxford: Taylor & Francis Group, 2013), 33, ProQuest Ebook Central.

10 Jeffrey Becker, *Social Ties, Resources, and Migrant Labor Contention in Contemporary China* (Lexington Books, 2014), 57.

in a scarcity of primary sources directly authored by them. This paper seeks to address this issue by drawing on a valuable and rare collection of narratives created by migrant workers themselves, including oral histories, blog and vlog posts, and a collection of poems. In addition, this paper will draw on a particularly unique source: a book titled The *Unstoppable Dream: A Migrant Worker's Survival Diary* (2013), written by Ji Tiejian, who is a migrant worker himself. In this work, Ji employs the genres of diary, prose, and poetry to meticulously document his experiences working at a construction site in Jincheng, Shanxi.[11] As the only known book authored by a migrant worker, it offers an unparalleled perspective, detailing not only his daily encounters, tasks, and work environment but also his sentimental reflection and philosophical thinking. With these elements, this book is an invaluable source for exploring the inner world of migrant workers. These firsthand accounts provide a unique lens to understand how migrant workers articulate their struggles, offering an alternative to journalist-driven narratives. On top of that, this paper incorporates journalistic and academic sources produced by third parties to provide broader contexts and enhance analytical depth.

Hardships and Challenges of Being a Migrant Worker

Going from rural China to fast-growing urban China was a huge transition that entailed numerous challenges for most migrant workers. One of the challenges migrant workers face is transportation. In the late 20th century, the transportation infrastructure in China was still underdeveloped, especially in rural areas. Cement roads rarely extended to villages and traveling between provinces often took an entire day. The first person I interviewed was Dai, who was born in 1978 in Tianmen, Hubei, and currently owns a breakfast shop in Foshan, Guangdong. He left his village for the first time in 1992 to go to Changde, Hunan, an emerging commercial city, to become an apprentice tailor.[12] Back then, the journey from Tianmen to Changde required a full day of effort. The trip began with a 10-kilometer (about 6 miles) walk, which took two to three hours, followed by a crowded 3-hour bus ride.[13] Dai and his coworkers had to first hop on a small ferry to cross the Han River and then transfer to a bigger ferry to cross the Yangtze River, followed by another bus to get to his workplace in Changde.[14] When talking about the bus, Dai highlighted that it was always overloaded, with many potential safety concerns.[15] In Ji Tiejian's book, he recounts witnessing a bus that had tumbled off the roadside, ending up upside-down and severely damaged at the bottom of a valley – a harrowing memory that still makes him feel dizzy to this day.[16] Starting before dawn and ending after dark, such journeys were both physically and mentally exhausting.

Migrant workers traveling to major transportation hubs often had the

11 Ji, *Unstoppable* Dream, VIII.

12 Dai, interviewed by the applicant, Nov 2, 2024, recording, 4:45, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1T2rodNoLmwCb-ys9Yjx3FNF0ot1ohDpN/view?usp=drive_link.

13 Dai, 7:59.

14 Dai, 9:35.

15 Dai, 8:25.

16 Ji, *Unstoppable* Dream, 208.

option to take trains, which were considered safer, more spacious, and less bumpy than buses. Yet, contrary to what one might imagine, traveling by train is no easier than a bus ride. After Changde, Dai's next destination was Tianjin. Dai recounted his traveling from Tianmen to Tianjin, which involved taking a bus followed by a grueling 20-hour journey on a low-speed train.[17] He and his fellow workers often struggled to obtain even a basic seat ticket, as they were in high demand and frequently sold out. Oftentimes, they had to settle for standing tickets, enduring overcrowded conditions with aisles filled with other passengers sitting on the floor.[18] It was nearly impossible to move through the train because it was virtually packed. At stops, Dai frequently saw desperate passengers climbing through windows to secure a spot on the train, as the train's doors were also blocked by standing passengers.[19] These arduous journeys by bus and train highlight the immense physical and mental challenges migrant workers endured simply to reach their destinations. The lack of developed transportation infrastructure and overcrowded conditions made rural-to-urban traveling not only exhausting but also hazardous, with constant safety risks and long, grueling hours.

The significant disparity in the cost of living between rural areas and cities has made housing another major challenge for migrant workers. While hukou reforms have allowed rural residents to migrate to cities, they are often denied access to essential social welfare benefits, including education, healthcare, and housing subsidies.[20] Due to the stark urban-rural income gap and the absence of housing subsidies linked to urban hukou, the cost of housing, particularly rental housing, remains far beyond the reach of most migrant workers. As a result, they often resort to two options: low-quality housing alternatives or dormitories.[21]

Wang, who came to Beijing to work as an hourly houseworker in 2001, faced similar struggles in finding affordable housing. Wang came from a rural county named Qianjiang in Hubei province. It was Wang's first time in Beijing in 2001, and she was struggling in the first few months to find a job and a place to stay in this unfamiliar environment.[22] Wang and her husband eventually settled in a simple iron-structure cube which was just over 10 square meters (about 107 square feet).[23] The iron cube was located in an "urban village" in Beijing, literally meaning a village surrounded by the city.[24] This kind of simple iron cube was a popular choice among migrant workers because of its cheap

17 Dai, 16:05.

18 Dai, 16:50.

19 Dai, 17:05.

20 Sarah Swider, *Building China: Informal Work and the New Precariat* (Cornell University Press, 2015), 24.

21 Wanning Sun, "Rural Migrant Workers in Chinese Cities," in Routledge Handbook of Chinese Culture and Society (Taylor & Francis Group, 2020), 118, ProQuest Ebook Central.

22 Wang, interviewed by the applicant, Nov 11, 2024, recording, 3:54, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1lQx_iHdgXbANTx47BKRzcXNQLNWK4QeK/view?usp=sharing

23 Wang, 4:00.

24 Shen, *Beyond Tears and Laughter*, 23.

rent and its proximity to where they work. However, the affordability came at a steep cost to comfort and quality of life. Wang paid 250 yuan a month for her iron cube, but there was no air conditioning during summer nor heating during winter, not to mention the lack of access to basic sanitary facilities like a shower or toilet.[25] In the winter, Wang could only warm herself while burning briquettes for cooking. For her daily needs, she relied on public restrooms and carried water back to the cube to wash herself. [26] Despite these challenges and inconveniences, Wang lived in this tiny space with her husband for over a decade.

For migrant workers who chose or had to live in a dormitory, the living conditions varied but usually involved a lot more monitoring. People who live in dormitories are mostly construction workers or factory workers. This arrangement, where living spaces and workplaces are highly condensed into one location, is referred to as a "dormitory labor regime" by many sociologists.[27] This system is particularly advantageous for large corporations managing significant workforces since it enables managers to closely monitor workers, extend working hours, introduce additional shifts, and control workers' activities during their free time.[28] Notably, factory workers were predominantly women, who were considered "submissive" and easy to manage.[29] Factory dormitories mostly only used bunk beds, the most cost-efficient way to house many people in a confined space. A room can accommodate more than 20 workers, leading to overcrowding and little to no personal space. Typically, one floor would have one to two communal hall-style bathrooms, which are always packed during rush hours. There was no privacy in the dormitory: the female factory workers combed their shampooed hair, did their laundry in basins, changed, and got ready for work in front of each other.[30] Some factory dormitories were part of self-contained compounds that included cafeterias, commissaries, clinics, and even movie theaters.[31] This design allowed workers to live without ever leaving the factory, keeping them in guarded walls and close to the assembly line at all hours.

Dormitories for factory workers, though far from ideal, were often considered better than those for construction workers, who were predominantly male and assumed to endure harsher conditions. Construction worker dormitories were typically temporary structures made from thin materials and were dismantled once the buildings they worked on were completed. Ji, who was one of those construction workers, lived in one of those temporary dormitories that lacked air conditioning and bathroom facilities. In Ji's book, he recounted one day he woke up from extreme coldness. When he reached for his forehead, he touched a thin layer of snow that had blown in through holes in the walls of his

25 Wang, 23:52.
26 Wang, 26:10.
27 Pun, *Migrant Labor in China*, 105.
28 Swider, *Building China*, 47.
29 Pun, *Migrant Labor in China*, 106.
30 Leslie Chang, *Factory Girls: From Village to City in a Changing China* (New York: Spiegel & Grau, 2008), 102.
31 Chang, *Factory Girls*, 99.

dormitory.[32] Unlike Wang, there was no place in the dorm for him to burn coal to warm up his body. He vividly described himself curling up like a shrimp and repeating the word "warm" in his mind, as he was, in his own words, "terrified by the coldness."[33] The sanitary conditions in Ji's dorm were also intolerable. Ji's most vivid memory of his dorm was the overwhelming stench caused by the workers' inability to bathe.[34] When workers could no longer tolerate their filth, they would collect a bucket of hot water from the kitchen and head out with flashlights, sneaking to a hidden spot in a finished building on the construction site to wash themselves under the cover of darkness.[35]

After the long, grueling trip and getting settled in a dorm or rental room, the next thing for the workers to face was prolonged working hours and physically demanding labor, which took a significant toll on both their bodies and minds. After working as a tailor in Changde, Dai moved to Tianjin and took on a different role: running a window in a college dining hall and selling xiaolongbao. Each day began at 2 or 3 a.m. with a trip to the wet market to purchase ingredients for the xiaolongbao that students eagerly awaited at breakfast.[36] Making xiaolongbao was a labor-intensive and unrelenting process, requiring him to mix fillings and make dough immediately after returning from the market to ensure everything was ready by 6 a.m. As the most popular food window, his work stretched well into the night, making him the first to arrive and the last to leave the dining hall each day.[37] Dai reflects, "Looking back at that time, I was virtually exchanging my life for money."[38] Dai's story encapsulates the physical and emotional sacrifices migrant workers make to provide for their families, often at the expense of their own health and well-being.

Work at the construction sites and assembly lines was a different kind of toiling, and often entailed unforeseen dangers. Once, Ji was ordered to use the ramming machine, which was his first time using it. He lost control of the ramming machine and the machine hit his leg, leaving a long bleeding wound that swelled rapidly.[39] Yet, the next day, Ji still went to work in pain because his wage was strictly calculated by the time he worked, and any minute off work was a loss of money for him. Ji and his coworkers also often handled building materials with pungent chemical smells without any protection.[40] The construction company failed to provide essential safety equipment such as masks or gloves, nor did it offer work injury insurance or compensation.[41] Workers were left to purchase these items themselves, but many chose to forego them to save their hard-earned money. Death was also a threat that haunted workers on the construction site. At Ji's workplace, a worker supervisor's death left Ji with

32 Ji, *Unstoppable* Dream, 36.
33 Ji, *Unstoppable* Dream, 37.
34 Ji, *Unstoppable* Dream, 32.
35 Ji, *Unstoppable* Dream, 33.
36 Dai, 26:52.
37 Dai, 27:33.
38 Dai, 38:07.
39 Ji, *Unstoppable* Dream, 98.
40 Ji, *Unstoppable* Dream, 109.
41 Ji, *Unstoppable* Dream, 99.

indelible impression. He recalled that worker supervisors were usually the best protected people who knew the most about safety protocols. Yet one day, a supervisor fell down an elevator shaft from the seventh floor to the basement and died instantly.[42] For workers who didn't even receive proper protective equipment and safety education, every day at the construction site risks their health and even life. The recurring workplace injuries and fatalities result directly from employers' negligence in providing proper training and protection, driven by a desire to cut costs at the expense of workers' safety.

Toiling and injuries are also pervasive realities on assembly lines. At Foxconn, workers constantly face demands for increased speed and productivity. In 2010, a group of workers reported that the daily quota was to process 6,400 iPhones per worker.[43] Although Foxconn claimed to comply with the legal 40-hour workweek, it implemented a letter grading system that rewarded those who worked overtime with exclusive bonuses. This system fostered intense competition among workers and added immense pressure. Even today, the grueling demands persist. Huang, a Foxconn worker, uploaded videos describing his 14-hour night shifts peeling off packaging from camera components on social media. The repetitive motions and the strain of carrying heavy loads with one hand overwhelmed him, leading him to quit after just a few days.[44] Yet, the risk usually extended far beyond exhaustion. Reports of injuries such as crushed fingers, amputations, chemical poisoning leading to leukemia, burns, and hearing loss were common.[45] Workers often complained that the safety equipment was either nonfunctional or entirely absent in some production departments. To make matters worse, managers would conceal work injuries to avoid punishment, leaving workers unable to claim compensation.[46]

Migrant workers frequently faced overt discrimination in urban areas, further compounding their struggles. In his book, Ji described how, after work, his mud-stained and shabby clothes caused passersby to deliberately avoid him, some even covering their noses to block any perceived smell.[47] In Ji's own words, these urbanites on the street treated him like "some kind of monster."[48] This blatant prejudice inflicted significant psychological damage, making Ji feel deeply inferior to city dwellers. He would lower his head and walk quickly to avoid any interaction with pedestrians. On another occasion, Ji and his coworkers were riding a bus, and Ji was sitting a row behind his coworker. When his coworker received a phone call that revealed their identities as migrant workers, the atmosphere on the bus changed. Passengers cast uncomfortable glances at them, and the young woman sitting beside Ji's coworker stood up and moved to a row behind, which was where Ji was sitting.[49] Realizing Ji was also

42 Ji, *Unstoppable* Dream, 113.
43 Pun, *Migrant Labor in China,* 150.
44 Night shift at Foxconn, https://b23.tv/ilje3Ou.
45 Xu Yi & Ngai, Pun, "Visiting Injured Workers at Foxconn," Chinese Workers, April 2011, 41-43.
46 Xu & Pun, Visiting Injured Workers at Foxconn," 43.
47 Ji, *Unstoppable* Dream, 82.
48 Ji, *Unstoppable* Dream, 82.
49 Ji, *Unstoppable* Dream, 91.

a migrant worker, she moved even farther away. This physical movement is an embodiment of the social stigma that migrant workers endure in cities. In *China Candid* (2006) by Sang Ye, a migrant worker in Beijing shared a similar experience of discrimination from authority figures. When he first arrived in Beijing, he approached a person who happened to be a policeman to ask for directions to the labor bureau. Instead of helping, the officer first cursed at him, then said: "A labor bureau finds jobs for itinerants? Get the hell out of my face."[50] These words, marked with contempt, emphasize the worker's temporary and marginalized status in the city. Such discriminatory behavior from law enforcement not only reflected societal disdain but also hinted at the systemic challenges migrant workers face in accessing justice and equal protection under the law.

Personal Growth and Self-Realization

If life was so difficult in the cities, why still bother going to the cities? For many migrant workers, they had lands back home to grow crops and seasonal jobs year-round. They could have made a living, although relatively poor, in a familiar environment that was far easier for them to navigate. Yet, there was a spontaneous force that drove them to venture into the cities. The migrant worker that Ye interviewed in *China Candid* acknowledged the common wisdom that "life is always easier at home, and everything is difficult in foreign parts." Yet, he explained his decision, saying, "I couldn't stand being poor. I just had to get away."[51] This mentality was particularly prevalent among younger generations born in the 1980s and early 1990s, who began migrating to cities after the 2000s.[52] For many, their journeys to the cities were not just economic moves but also acts of agency. It symbolized the defiance against the disadvantages they were born into, a declaration of their resolve to overcome hardships and prove their ability to change their circumstances.

Migration to cities became an especially powerful way for young women in rural areas to assert their autonomy. This journey was often motivated by the pursuit of a better financial future, the allure of an urban lifestyle, and the desire to escape restrictive rural norms and patriarchal constraints. In *Factory Girls* (2008), Leslie Chang noted that young women in rural China viewed migration as a chance to change their fate.[53] For them, cities represented freedom and opportunity. This sentiment is vividly echoed in the documentary *Last Train Home* (2009), which follows the experiences of a migrant worker family. The daughter, despite her parents' strong opposition, insisted on leaving for the city, calling her rural hometown a "sad place."[54] For her, although city life entailed painful toiling, it also came with freedom, which she treasured more than anything else and equated with happiness.[55] In Yuan Yang's book *Private*

50 Ye Sang, *China Candid: The People on the People's Republic*, ed. BarméGeremie Barmé and Miriam Lang (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 32.

51 Ye, *China Candid,* 31.

52 Einhard Schmidt-Kallert and Peter Franke, *Livelihood Strategies of Multi-Locational Households in the People's Republic of China* (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2013), 59.

53 Chang, *Factory Girls*, 58.

54 Last Train Home, 32:50, 27:03.

55 Last Train Home, 32:29.

Revolution (2024), Leiya is a migrant worker who left her village to escape its oppressive patriarchal system. In her community, women not only labored heavily in the fields and at home but were also treated with disrespect if they failed to give birth to a son.[56] Determined to break free from this cycle, Leiya sought an alternative life in the city, where she could envision a future of greater autonomy and possibility.

The aspiration to thrive in the cities often fueled a relentless drive for continuous learning among migrant workers, especially young women on assembly lines. They saw their time in the city not just as a way to earn money but as an opportunity for personal growth and skill acquisition. This mindset is manifested by the female factory workers that Chang featured in her book. Determined to adapt and improve her prospects, Wu worked tirelessly to learn Cantonese, a skill she recognized as essential for fitting in and accessing better opportunities.[57] Her self-discipline was unwavering and almost harsh. In her diary, she chastised herself for her slow progress, writing, "If you can't learn Cantonese this year, then you're no better than a dumb pig or ox…With just two or three hundred yuan a month, you'd be better off staying home."[58] Other female workers in Chang's narrative demonstrated an equally fervent thirst for knowledge, particularly in learning English. They carried pocket-sized English textbooks everywhere, seizing every spare moment to study.[59] Many sought out Chang, fluent in both English and Chinese, to perfect their pronunciation of the very detailed variations.[60] Some even went so far as to enroll in English classes and shave their heads as a demonstration of their determination.[61] These actions underscored their view of skill acquisition as an essential form of personal growth, often driven by strong self-motivation. From what Chang noticed, their efforts often yielded tangible rewards, as many factory managers were once rural migrants who started off on the assembly lines.[62] Despite enduring grueling twelve-hour shifts on assembly lines, these women embraced the city's resources and opportunities to maximize their time in the city, transforming their circumstances and proving their ability to rise above their disadvantaged origins.

Sometimes, learning for migrant workers is not tied to external goals at all but stems from a pure intrinsic desire for self-enrichment. Ji, who worked as a security guard, quickly realized the limited prospects his job offered. Determined to carve out a better future, he committed himself to self-study and earned a vocational diploma while still working. Reflecting on this effort, Ji confessed, "I didn't even think about how it would be useful in the future. I just wanted to do it, as a proof to myself. I think as human beings we always need to aim higher."[63] Beyond that, Ji nurtured a lifelong dream of becoming

56 Yuan Yang, Private Revolutions: Four Women Face China's New Social Order (Viking, 2024), 37.

57 Chang, *Factory Girls,* 49.

58 Chang, *Factory Girls*, 51.

59 Chang, *Factory Girls*, 188.

60 Chang, *Factory Girls*, 256.

61 Chang, *Factory Girls*, 256.

62 Chang, *Factory Girls*, 27.

63 Ji, interviewed by the applicant, Nov 22, 2024, recording, 2:15; 8:14, https://

a writer, which fueled his daily routine of reading and writing. His passion for literature was boundless, encompassing topics as diverse as rural Chinese realities, feminism in modern Japan, and American politics.[64] Among the books he highlighted was *Franklin Delano Roosevelt: Champion of Freedom* by Conrad Black, a testament to his wide-ranging intellectual curiosity and commitment to personal enrichment.[65] Ji saw reading and writing not just as hobbies, but as essential elements of his identity, reflecting his determination to rise above societal limitations. Motivated by his literary aspirations, Ji began documenting his life in a diary, hoping one day to shed light on the often-overlooked experiences of migrant workers. He sent his diary to multiple publishers and got many rejections, but his persistence paid off when Beijing Youth Magazine recognized his talent and helped him publish his work, making him the author of the only known book written by a migrant worker.[66] This achievement not only fulfilled part of Ji's literary dream but also gave a voice to his community, marking a milestone that many urbanites never reached.

For migrant workers who did not leave their villages for personal aspirations but out of necessity, self-realization often came in different forms. Both Zhang and Wang acknowledged that their migration to the city was driven by the pressing need to provide additional financial support for their families.[67] Their self-realization did not stem directly from their self-improvement but through the positive impact they have on people they care about, offering them a profound sense of fulfillment. As a security guard, Zhang expressed pride in his role of protecting the lives and property of the residents. He recounted an incident where he and a coworker discovered a trash dumpster in the neighborhood engulfed in flames, with the fire reaching about ten feet high.[68] It was 3 am in the morning, and the fire was so big that they did not have the time to get other people or firefighters. Acting swiftly, Zhang grabbed a fire extinguisher and put out the fire before it could spread, successfully protecting residents in the surrounding buildings who were still in their sweet dreams.[69] Similarly, Wang found purpose and pride in enduring years of harsh living conditions and demanding labor as a houseworker to provide for her daughters' education. She had been a role model for her two daughters, supporting both of them to attend college and become white-collars in Beijing.[70] Through her hardworking, Wang lifted her children of poverty and broke the generational cycle tied to rural hukou. Now, her older daughter owns apartments in both Beijing and Tianjin and has successfully transferred her hukou to Tianjin.[71] Wang not only transformed her daughters' futures but also helped them achieve what she had long aspired to—becoming a true urbanite.

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drive.google.com/file/d/1kyIZ-bciY60TZJ4i678UCtbNChy0ToEC/view?usp=drive_link.

64 Ji, 55:16.

65 Ji, message to author, Nov 22, 2024.

66 万建辉,"农民工出版15万字打工日记:不致命的伤害天天有,"凤凰湖北, September 3, 2013, https://hb.ifeng.com/culture/detail_2013_09/03/1179811_0.shtml.

67 Zhang, 3:26; Wang, 1:43.

68 Zhang, 17:05.

69 Zhang, 17:36.

70 Wang, 42: 42:00.

71 Wang, message to author, Dec 2, 2024.

Resistance Against Oppression

Laws protecting labor rights were not well-developed, leaving migrant workers vulnerable to discrimination and unequal legal protection. They often endured unfair treatment in the workplace, including exposure to occupational illnesses, work injuries, poor working conditions, excessively long hours, delayed or underpayment of wages, and other forms of exploitation.[72] Lacking full access to social resources or effective legal recourse, migrant workers frequently had to rely on their own means to defend their rights. In Ji's book, he recounts a situation where he and a coworker were underpaid at the end of the year.[73] Ji and his coworker felt they were insulted and belittled, so they went to confront the manager on the construction site, which escalated into a physical conflict.[74] Realizing they needed stronger leverage, Ji and his coworker sought help from a workers' leader from their hometown. The leader contacted higher-level executives at the construction company, warning them that failing to pay the promised wages would make it difficult to recruit workers in the future.[75] Through a mix of informal bargaining and minor physical conflict, Ji and his coworker finally secured the wages they were owed—a hard-won victory that highlighted both the hierarchical oppression faced by migrant workers and their resilience in defending their rights.[76]

Informal bargaining is a common way to resolve minor disputes in workplaces, but addressing larger conflicts, particularly those involving groups of workers, often requires organization and collective action, which are far more challenging to achieve. Despite its higher cost and difficulty, workers still made it happen. Tired of the abuse and harassment that she experienced and witnessed in factories, Leiya decided to quit her factory job and take on a role that allowed her to support and empower others. She joined a workers' center, where she provided legal aid, study resources, and social events for laborers in the area.[77] Dedicated to making a tangible difference, Leiya immersed herself in studying the Labor Contract Law and coached workers in navigating disputes with their employers.[78] As the only female leader on the team, she prioritized addressing the unique challenges faced by female workers, organizing workshops on reproductive health, and educating workers on securing maternity leave.[79] Through her efforts, Leiya became a crucial advocate for labor rights, particularly for women, and transformed her frustration into impactful action.

Meanwhile, other workers carried Leiya and the NGO's agenda further into action. Guihua was an electric assembly worker who joined Leiya's team

72 Becker, *Social Ties, Resources, and Migrant Labor Contention in Contemporary China*, 31.

73 Ji, *Unstoppable* Dream, 131.

74 Ji, *Unstoppable* Dream, 131.

75 Ji, *Unstoppable* Dream, 132.

76 Ji, *Unstoppable* Dream, 132.

77 Yuan Yang, *Private Revolutions: Four Women Face China's New Social Order* (Viking, 2024), 105.

78 Yang, *Private Revolutions*, 104.

79 Yang, *Private Revolutions,* 111.

in 2013. The audio electronics factory in the Garland District in Shenzhen, where Guihua and her coworkers worked, had failed to pay its employees' social insurance.[80] This meant that workers like Guihua would not receive pensions upon retirement. Although laws mandated insurance coverage, enforcement for migrant workers remained inadequate well into the 2010s.[81] Determined to fight for their rights, Guihua emerged as a leader and became one of the core organizers of the workers' union in the district. She and her fellow organizers often skipped meals to distribute pamphlets and collect signatures for petitions.[82] To evade factory spies and informants, they held planning meetings at various locations near the factory, devising strategies for the next steps.[83] Their efforts faced significant resistance from both the factory management and local government branches. One major obstacle was drafting a formal constitution for their trade union, a task none of them were equipped for, as it required navigating complex legal language and government documents.[84] After weeks of painstaking work, they finally engaged in negotiations with the factory manager. However, their demands were rejected by the factory, and the protest was eventually cracked down by the government and the police.[85] Despite this setback, Guihua and her union's persistence inspired other workers in neighboring factories to organize and advocate for their rights, creating a ripple effect of worker activism in the area.

Foxconn has a long history of workers engaging in collective action to resist oppression, including strikes, sit-ins, demonstrations, and even riots, which sometimes escalated into large-scale violence.[86] Yet, these actions provided opportunities for workers to collectively voice their grievances and demands. In 2012, a riot broke out at Foxconn's Taiyuan factory in Shanxi Province when a conflict between factory security officers and workers spiraled out of control. The incident involved more than 10,000 workers, resulting in dozens being brutally beaten and injured.[87] The riot not only drew the attention of authorities but also demonstrated the workers' potential to bargain effectively through collective action. It highlighted the workers' power and forced Foxconn to acknowledge their grievances and begin addressing their needs by providing an unprecedented channel for the workers to project their voices to the higher levels of the corporation. Following the riot, Yu Zhonghong, a Foxconn worker, penned a stark and poignant letter to CEO Terry Gou. In the letter, Yu declared, "I hope to reach consensus with you on one thing, that is, you and I are equal… I have the right to talk to you on the same level."[88] Yu urged Gou to "treat your immediate subordinates as human beings and ask your subordinates to treat their subordinates' subordinates as human beings."[89] This rare but direct communi-

80 Yang, *Private Revolutions,* 156.
81 Pun, *Migrant Labor in China,* 43.
82 Yang, *Private Revolutions,* 155.
83 Yang, *Private Revolutions,* 155.
84 Yang, *Private Revolutions,* 157.
85 Yang, *Private Revolutions,* 160.
86 Pun, *Migrant Labor in China,* 184.
87 Pun, *Migrant Labor in China,* 185.
88 Pun, *Migrant Labor in China,* 184.
89 Pun, *Migrant Labor in China,* 185.

cation between an assembly line worker and the CEO proved impactful. By 2013, Foxconn raised wages at the Taiyuan factory to 1,800 yuan per month, 40% higher than the local minimum wage, marking a significant step toward improving workers' conditions.[90]

Migrant Workers' Creative Writing and Philosophical Thinking

Due to the perception that migrant workers lack formal education, people usually pay little attention to what they have to say or think they don't engage in literature or cultural activities. However, recent studies reveal that migrants actively engage in cultural practices through creative writing rather than merely accepting them as predefined by their socio-economic roles or the narratives they encounter.[91] Poetry, traditionally considered an elevated form of literary expression, is surprisingly a popular form of creative writing among migrant workers. This section draws on a valuable source, a book called *Iron Moon* (2013), an anthology of migrant workers' poetry, and other workers' poems that appear in other publications.

A common theme in workers' poetry is the expression of bitterness, often stemming from their arduous lives and grueling work conditions. For many workers, poetry becomes a vital outlet for their frustrations and emotions. As one worker eloquently reflected, they had few means to process their "thoughts of pain, loneliness, and exhaustion."[92] Writing, despite its simplicity, became their refuge. Since they had no "time, energy, or resources to pursue other, more elaborate forms of expression," they just jot down the most raw, unfiltered, and direct words, putting punctuation between them and making them into a poem.[93] In other words, poetry happens to be the most accessible literature genre that suits migrant workers' toiling lifestyle, effectively capturing the raw and unvarnished sentiments of workers. In a poem a migrant worker wrote, he proudly claims that "Writing Poem Has Nothing to do with Culture/all it needs is your perseverance."[94] While challenging people's traditional disassociation between migrant workers and highly literary expression, it also demonstrates how workers are passionate about empowering themselves and projecting their voices through poetry. These literary works from migrant workers' hands are by nature highly genuine and expressive, allowing readers to have a more comprehensive understanding of the inner world of migrant workers.

The temporariness in cities and identity struggles are the two common topics that workers write about in their poems. The uncertainty in temporariness and a lack of sense of belonging mark many migrant workers' lives. For example, Dai has moved from city to city but has never found a place that truly

90 Pun, *Migrant Labor in China,* 188.

91 Sun, "Rural Migrant Workers in Chinese Cities," 124.

92 Wanning Sun, *Subaltern China: Rural Migrants, Media, and Cultural Practices* (Blue Ridge Summit: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Incorporated, 2014), 190, ProQuest Ebook Central.

93 Sun, *Subaltern China,* 190.

94 Sun, *Subaltern China,* 186.

feels like home, even when his family joined him.[95] At 46 years old, he continues to live in a rented apartment in Foshan with no intention of buying a house, explaining that he has never been certain how long he would stay in one city.[96] A poem by a migrant worker poet, *We "Lame Ducks,"* powerfully articulates this sense of rootlessness and alienation. "We who have no permanent residence / We who make our home wherever we are" starkly depicts the precariat impermanence that they are constantly living with.[97] The line "We who were raised on the yellow earth / Who in order to live / Betrayed the yellow earth" poignantly underscores the conflict between their rural origins and their urban aspiration.[98] For the poet and many other migrant workers, there is a strong tie between them and the land and the rural lifestyle that they grew up with. Yet, they have to "betray" the yellow earth to support themselves and their families, creating a sense of rupture within them. The poem also captures the social marginalization migrant workers endure. The poet then highlights the exclusion from urban identity by writing, "We who live in the city / But are still called farmers," reflecting how they remain outsiders regardless of their contributions to urbanization.[99] The repeated question, "Who exactly are we?" underscores the deep identity crisis migrant workers face as they navigate their dual existence—straddling rural and urban lives yet belonging fully to neither.[100] The poem's raw emotion and collective voice not only echo Dai's lived experience but also offer a broader lens into the struggles of millions of workers caught between the yellow earth of their past and the uncertain promises of the city.

Besides writing poems to release their own bitterness, some workers also saw writing poems a way to speak up for their peers who need help and call for social change. A poignant example is migrant worker poet Luo Deyuan's response to the tragic death of Liu Huangqi, a young worker who died from exhaustion in a Dongguan textile factory.[101] In his poem *Liu Huangqi, My Dagong Brother*, Luo stresses his grief and indignation for Lin's death and made an outcry for workers' rights. Lines like "We are not indentured laborers, nor are we modern slaves / Why can't we simply say 'No,' and raise our indignant fists?" call to workers to stand up for themselves and defend their rights against the exploitative structure.[102] Luo condemns that the factory is an inhumane workplace where "wages forever owing," "safety insurance never in place," and workers get "malnutrition," eventually leading to Lin's death.[103] His poem is not just a lamentation but a call to action that urges workers to recognize their collective power and demand justice.

Migrant workers' writings further exhibit their philosophical attitude

95 Dai, 52:35.
96 Dai, 49:30.
97 Xiaoyu Qin, *Iron Moon: An Anthology of Chinese Migrant Worker Poetry*, trans. Eleanor Goodman (Buffalo, New York: White Pine Press, 2016) 161.
98 Qin, *Iron Moon*, 161.
99 Qin, *Iron Moon*, 161.
100 Qin, *Iron Moon*, 161.
101 Sun, *Subaltern China*, 192.
102 Sun, *Subaltern China,* 193.
103 Sun, *Subaltern China,* 193.

toward life and dreams. Ji, for example, is still sticking to his literary dream, practicing by writing poems and lyrics every single day.[104] He picks out works that he is satisfied with and posts them on social media, hoping his talent will be discovered once again. When asked why he perseveres without foreseeable success, Ji remarked excitedly that besides working for the boss, a person must do something he is really passionate about, and that is the way to success.[105] He sees writing as a journey of self-improvement and preparation for future opportunities. "Who knows?" he said, "My lyrics might become viral one day. I need to be ready for that moment."[106] Despite countless rejections from publishers, multiple breakdowns, and numerous self-questionings, Ji always picks himself up and continues writing.[107] For Ji, his literary dream is not just an ambition but an integral part of his identity, something he cannot abandon. Ji holds strong opinions about literature, criticizing much of it as "feigning distress and seeking attention (无病呻吟, 哗众取宠)."[108] In contrast, Ji would cry whenever he read his own work because of the authenticity of his writings.

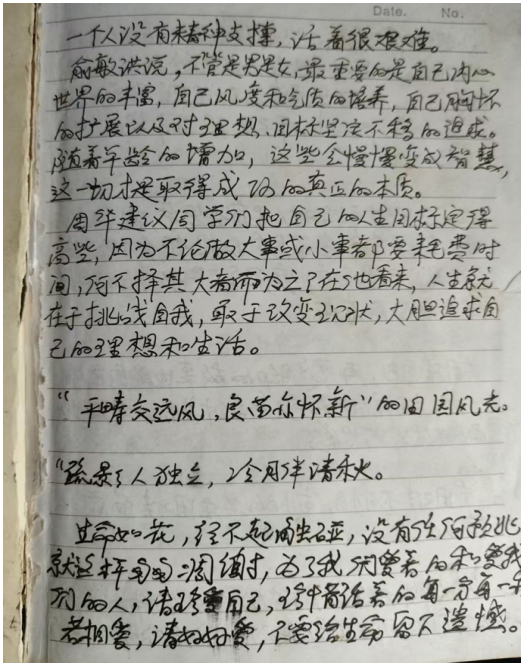

Figure 1. Ji's notebook, from top to middle part, he writes: "No matter you are a man or a woman, the most important thing is to…pursue your goals with unwavering determination…Life is about challenging yourself, daring to change the status quo, and boldly striving for your dreams and the life you desire." Reproduced with the permission of Ji Tiejian.

104 Ji, 36:59.
105 Ji, 37:25.
106 Ji, 39:58.
107 Ji, *Unstoppable Dream*, 201.
108 Ji, *Unstoppable Dream*, 204.

He wants to continue to contribute to literature that is truthful and substantive. Even though he is aware that he has little chance to become famous, Ji shows no regret as he knows he is doing something meaningful.[109] In his notebook (Figure. 1), Ji jots down everything he finds inspirational. Looking through the pages, a couple of sentences appear explanatory for his philosophy for life: "No matter you are a man or a woman, the most important thing is to…pursue your goals with unwavering determination…Life is about challenging yourself, daring to change the status quo, and boldly striving for your dreams and the life you desire."[110]

Conclusion

The experiences of Chinese domestic migrant workers tell a story of endurance, resilience, and self-determination. Although they endured unspoken physical and emotional pain—ranging from grueling travel and intolerable living conditions to overtime toiling, discrimination, and injuries—these workers navigated the challenges of urban life with remarkable perseverance and aspiration. Instead of passive recipients of oppression, they bravely countered policy and societal constraints, embracing the belief that enduring hardship could pave the way to a better future. Many of them, especially the younger generation who made the personal choice to go to the cities, claimed their agency by displaying remarkable self-motivation and an insatiable thirst for knowledge, seizing every opportunity to learn, grow, and climb the social ladder. Their actions defied stereotypes of passivity or simplicity, as they not only pursued individual dreams but also organized collectively to demand rights and challenge injustices. Through creative outlets like poetry and literature, they dismantled the misconception of migrant workers as unenlightened, revealing instead their depth of thought and capacity for philosophical reflection. Through creative writing, they effectively challenge the stereotype that migrant workers are undereducated individuals who only have simple thoughts. They not only successfully express themselves through poems but also aim for higher goals such as social change. Ji, as an outstanding example, overcame all odds and published a book that voices himself and the migrant worker community, showcasing the rich inner world of migrant workers. Through these actions and expressions, migrant workers have proved themselves as powerful, resilient, and autonomous individuals.

However, one major question remains unresolved: after decades of struggle and sacrifice, can migrant workers truly transcend their rural origins to become integrated urbanites? Will their rural backgrounds continue to shape others' perceptions of them? Some scholars, such as Fan, might argue that many migrant workers do not necessarily aspire to settle permanently in cities. Instead, temporary migration is often a strategic move by rural populations to access urban resources and improve the well-being of their families back home.[111] While this remains true, the more critical question is not whether they desire to stay but whether they are given the choice to do so. In the interview, Ji expressed

109 Ji, *Unstoppable Dream*, 204.
110 Ji, message to author, Dec 1, 2024.
111 Fan, *China on the Move*, 94.

deep disillusionment upon realizing that publishing a book ultimately failed to transform his life.[112] Equally disappointing, Wang mentioned that although she is no longer used to the rural lifestyle, she still has to go home for retirement if she cannot transfer her hukou to the city.[113] Without social benefits in the city, she is afraid that she will only impose financial burdens on her daughters as she gets older. Although Chang's observations of upward mobility in factory settings offer a glimmer of hope, the book's 2008 publication date calls for a further examination of more recent reports to determine whether that is still the case in today's China.[114] The attainability of social mobility and full integration for migrant workers in urban areas remains an unresolved issue, urging further research into the complexities of the rural-urban divide and its lasting impact on their migratory lives.

112 Ji, 1:05:28.
113 Wang, 36:53.
114 Chang, *Factory Girls*, 27.

Coming Out Republican: A History of the Gay Right. By Neil J. Young. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2024. 400 pp.)

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Given the Republican party's longstanding opposition to LGBTQ+ rights, why would any person in this community be a Republican? This is the central question animating Neil J. Young's *Coming Out Republican: A History of the Gay Right*. Written in engaging prose and broken up into bite-sized chapters, *Coming Out Republican* is an easy read backed by years of painstaking research on every facet of the gay Right that will interest the everyday reader and academics alike. This book is an important contribution to the massive body of literature on conservatism since World War II, serving to complicate the often-predictable boxes into which scholars and general observers alike often sort Republicans.

The first few chapters of the book assert that gay Republicans have always been there—whether hiding in plain sight or out in the open. Young sheds light on powerful links between gay Republicans and more general gay-rights activism during the homophile movement that preceded the post-Stonewall era, highlighting the presence of gay Republicans since the mid-twentieth century. Young stunningly reveals in the second chapter that several members of William F. Buckley's inner circle at *The National Review* were closeted Republicans, speaking to their broad influence and legacy within the Republican party. Young balances telling stories of these influential but closeted Republicans with the long and winding institutional origin story of the Log Cabin Republicans, the largest gay Republicans organization in the United States, which originated in late 1970s California.

As Young's story progresses, the focus begins to shift towards the work of non-closeted gay Republicans and their institutions' attempts to implement their "two-party strategy" for gay rights: while many LGBTQ+ individuals chose the Democratic party as their vehicle of political power, gay Republicans attempted to change their party from within. Young highlights the struggle of gay Republicans like Log Cabin Republicans president Rich Tafel to fight against traditional values campaigns increasingly espoused by conservative leadership. This battle ramps up in the book after the AIDS crisis in the 1980s,

and ideological warfare between the gay Right and the religious Right is a major feature of the author's analysis of gay conservatism in the George W. Bush era. Young's book is especially useful for interpreting current political events, as he examines the Trumpian turn to conservative politics and the role of newer, more radical gay conservative organizations that have challenged the centrality of the Log Cabin Republicans to conservative politics. While scholars tend to dismiss fringe celebrities like Milo Yiannopoulos, Young convincingly contextualizes figures like Yiannopoulos with his longer history of the gay Right.

One way that Young could have improved his argument is by better unpacking the religious dimension of his story. This is surprising, given that Young's first book was on the dynamics of interfaith politics and coalition-building during the rise of the religious Right in the twentieth century. As Young acknowledges in the conclusion of *Coming Out Republican,* "Gay conservatives of faith like Andrew Sullivan, Bruce Bawer, and Rich Tafel had spent decades carefully challenging religious arguments against homosexuality while also affirming the right of religious institutions not to solemnize same-sex unions" (p. 341). However, the faith of the major characters is incidental to their actions throughout the book. Indeed, many of the main characters have interestingly ambiguous relationships with Christianity—for example, W. Dorr Legg, founder of ONE Inc. and star of the first chapter, was the driving force behind founding the Southern California Council on Religion and the Homophile and had been part of the Church of Christ, Scientist, until at least his college years. How is it that these Christians on the Right countenanced their sexuality with their faith and fought the Christian Right? While Young is understandably much more preoccupied with the political machinations of these gay Republicans, their religious backgrounds do not seem entirely incidental to their political beliefs.

Amidst a growing body of scholarship, *Coming Out Republican* provides a fresh angle on the rise of the Right during the second half of the twentieth century. Read in conversation with a wave of studies in the past ten years focusing on minority conservatism, Young contributes to an increasingly complicated discussion on how we should understand and interpret what the legacy of twentieth-century conservatism means for the politics of the present.

Since Time Immemorial: Native Custom & Law in Colonial Mexico. By Yanna Yannakakis. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2023. 352 pp.)

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In *Since Time Immemorial*, Yanna Yannakakis explores how Natives and Spanish authorities constructed, interpreted, and employed customs to achieve various interests in colonial Mexico. In this erudite and deeply researched work, she encourages scholars to "move beyond the impulse to recover a romanticized Indigenous past prior to European contact" and challenges the "essentialization of Indigenous communal norms" (p. 18). She suggests that by the end of the sixteenth century, instead of being "primordial," many of the customs held by Native people were more closely tied to practices and rights that emerged during the postconquest period. In essence, many of these supposed "immemorial" customs were, in fact, the result of cross-cultural collaboration, blending traditional Native practices with the Spanish legal system to address salient issue such as land tenure, labor, and Native self-governance. Drawing on an exhaustive list of primary sources including missionary reports, Inquisition records, Native pictorial histories, royal surveys, and notarial records, Yannakakis adeptly structures her work into three chronological and thematic sections.

Yannakakis begins her monograph by tracing the intellectual roots of the Castilian concept of "custom" back to the Roman Empire. In the Roman legal tradition, custom had to align with reason and natural law, as well as benefit the common good, to be just. Over time, a custom became a source of law, drawing its legitimacy "from time-honored social practices," and applied to "territorially based communities" (p. 43). According to Yannakakis, Roman emperors and proconsuls incorporated the customs of the peoples they conquered to facilitate governance through a system of indirect rule. However, they also judged these customs against Roman values and traditions. Those that were incongruent were either discarded or altered and the resulting product would become subsumed under existing Roman legal traditions, creating a unique system of law. The Spanish, Yannakakis argues, adopted this same process, and used it to maintain control over the Natives they conquered in colonial Mexico. Missionaries and their Native interlocutors engaged in a collaborative process that produced a new concept of custom that maintained a delicate balance, allowing Natives to self-govern under familiar conditions without contradicting Spanish colonial administration based on Christian principles. Yannakakis's exploration of the intellectual origins of the European concept of customs was particularly useful in constructing the foundation of her argument. She shows that the legitimacy derived from "old" customs, often attributed to a romanticized image of Natives engaging in traditional practices, was in part, a European construct. Addition-

ally, she reveals that far from merely being a passive victim of Spanish colonialism, Natives were active participants in designing the legal system that they followed.

While Yannakakis highlights the collaborative spirit that existed at times between the Spanish and Natives, especially in the ethnographic projects that produced the Codex Mendoza and the *Relaciones geograficas de Antequera*, she also recognizes the limits of Native agency. In part two, she clarifies that, ultimately, Natives remained vassals of the Spanish crown, with Spanish and ecclesiastical officials retaining the final authority on which Native customs could be preserved. Native customs had to align with "Spanish expectations" and Christian standards, with Spanish authorities determining which of the old Native practices were appropriate. The trials of don Carlos and Juan Ramos showed how "bad" Native customs, such as polygyny and Native religious practices, and living "in the old law" represented a crime against both Christian faith and civil order. On the surface, the prohibition of polygyny seems innocuous and strictly a matter of religious significance. However, as Yannakakis explains, the Spanish authorities' decision to outlaw polygyny had profound practical consequences, affecting numerous Native cultural institutions, including marriage, gender norms, property ownership, political alliances, succession, and inheritance (p. 135). The use of these two trials and the issue of polygyny effectively emphasized that, despite the Natives possessing a certain level of agency and autonomy, the Spanish were the final authority. Their views on what customs were acceptable or not significantly transformed Native culture and created fissures within the community.

In the final section of the book, Yannakakis skillfully highlights how Native litigants' approach to claiming customs evolved over time, as well as the practical role these customs played. During the sixteenth century, Native litigants typically made claims related to Native antiquity and privilege, while in the eighteenth century, claims to customs were "based in colonial practices and framed as contractual obligations" (p. 16). Additionally, the author depicts a shift in the eighteenth century in which Natives increasingly prioritized communal interests against those of Native nobility. Highlighting this shift towards a more communal identity, some Natives entered partnership contracts to prevent the state or private entities from encroaching on communal lands. During this, custom also took on a more pragmatic definition as "economic utility" became the basis in which many Natives began judging whether a custom was "good" or "bad" (p. 174). While *Since Time Immemorial* primarily examines laws and customs in colonial Mexico, Yannakakis concludes her monograph by illustrating how the gradual blending of Native traditions with Spanish colonial law has had lasting effects beyond the eighteenth century. She highlights a striking example from the early 2000s, when 418 of Oaxaca's 570 municipalities officially operated under local Native customs. However, because

these customs had been deeply influenced by Spanish colonial law, many ultimately perpetuated and reinforced inequality rather than mitigating it.

This deeply researched and insightful work advances scholarship on the legal traditions of colonial Mexico. Yannakakis makes a significant contribution to the field by challenging the presumed authenticity of Native customs, often regarded as timeless. She encourages readers to resist the urge to "recover a romanticized Indigenous past" before European contact (p. 18). Instead, she reveals how both Spanish officials and Native litigants strategically employed the concept of custom to serve their interests, actively shaping and redefining Indigenous traditions in the process. The primary limitation of this work is its accessibility. Yannakakis is clearly writing for a scholarly audience, assuming readers have a background in Mexican colonial history and legal concepts. This work is best suited for graduate-level seminars and should ideally be paired with a discussion or presentation on the broader history of early Spanish colonization.

Luis Gerónimo de Oré: The World of an Andean Franciscan from the Frontiers to the Centers of Power. By Noble David Cook with Alexandra Parma Cook. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2024. xi + 375 pp.)

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In 1586, a 32-year-old Franciscan friar named Luis Gerónimo de Oré began his first job in an Indigenous parish in the Colca Valley in the Peruvian Andes as an "outsider and perhaps more alone among the 'others' than he had been at any time in his life" (p. 91). When he left the valley nine years later, he carried with him a set of religious manuals, dictionaries, and grammars that he had written and translated into Quechua and Aymara, that would reshape the Catholic Church's missionary efforts in the Americas. Noble David Cook's and Alexandra Parma Cook's fascinating biography, *Luis Gerónimo de Oré: The World of an Andean Franciscan From the Frontiers to the Centers of Power*, provides a granular exploration of the friar's life, shedding light not only on Oré's efforts to promote Indigenous languages, but also on his lifelong opposition to the mistreatment and enslavement of Native people.

Beginning with Oré's childhood in colonial Huamanga, the biography is a detailed examination of "Oré's world and the religious beliefs that guided his life" as he moved from Peru to Spain, Italy, Florida, and Chile in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (p. 3). As the eleventh of sixteen children in a Spanish conquistador family, Oré's childhood among the Indigenous peoples of his father's *encomienda* gave him the critical cultural background and linguistic skills needed to understand and teach his Andean parishioners. Using family histories, the first chapter explores what youth would have been like for the "first creole generation" in a largely Indigenous world, including an examination of the so-called Taqi Onqoy revolt that took place at this time. Seen through Oré's young eyes, however, the Cooks provide a complement to other classic studies of these uprisings while showing how the suffering of Indigenous communities had a lasting impact on Oré's moral growth as a priest. Other chapters provide details about the establishment of religious orders and education of nuns and friars, as well as Oré's participation in the Third Church Council in Lima between 1581-84.

Chapter two focuses on Oré's decade as a parish friar in the Colca Valley, as well as his legal disputes with the secular clergy over control of missionary work in the area. The biography sheds light on how Indigenous resistance to the removal of the Franciscans and their refusal to accept the secular priests contributed to a broader conflict between the Church and Crown over who would exercise control in Spain's colonial frontier. This was also a period of transculturation for both Indigenous and Spanish communities as priests like Oré endeavored to replace Andean religious practices with their own, achieving mixed results. In one case, priests tried to prevent communities in the valley from worshiping the bodies of their dead, known as *huacas*, by insisting that they be buried by the Church. But in this way, "the Christian churches became

new huacas and the ancestors could be remembered" (p. 83). By the end of his tour in the Colca Valley, Oré had incorporated all of these experiences into a series of new texts, musical compositions, Biblical stories, dictionaries, and manuals for instructing Native communities, which he sought to publish when he returned to Lima.

A decade after leaving the Colca Valley, Oré crossed the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans to reach Spain, where he sought license to publish three books. The first was the *Sermonario de las Dominicas y Fiestas del año* in Spanish, Quechua, and Aymara, and the other two were a manual to administer the sacraments and a dictionary and grammar in all three languages. Unique at the time, Oré received permission to have the books printed in Spain and, wary of the Inquisition, also sought permission from the Vatican in Rome, spending a total of six years on the Italian peninsula. His growing reputation as a theologian and linguist brought him professional recognition and new responsibilities within the church, including drafting reports on the beatification of the Spanish missionary Francisco Solano and series of Franciscan martyrs, covered in chapters three and four. Oré was also tasked with carrying out a reorganization of the Church's missions in Florida and Cuba, including a series of tedious inspections of frontier parishes. Constant conflicts with Crown authorities and attacks by Dutch and English corsairs were also part of everyday life during these decades. More importantly, however, we see how Oré's experience as a youth in Peru influenced his actions elsewhere, including a recommendation to implement an Andean-style resettlement of the Apalachee people of Florida to make it easier for missionaries to indoctrinate them.

The remaining chapters focus on Oré's rise through the Church bureaucracy and transformation into a more forceful defender of Spanish empire and Indigenous rights, which were inextricably connected in his vision of a better colonial society. Along the way, Oré's life provides insights into everything from the collective production of early Spanish chronicles to migration restrictions against people of Moorish heritage. After a brief sojourn in Lima and a last visit home to Huamanga, Oré embarks on his final mission, this time as Bishop of Concepción along the violently contested southern Chilean border. The Cooks show how Oré took an increasingly strong stance against the enslavement of Indigenous captives in places like Chile, despite owning enslaved people himself.

As the last work published by David Cook before his death in November 2024, *Luis Gerónimo de Oré* provides an extraordinary capstone to a career spanning over five decades. Well-written and teeming with rich details compiled over a lifetime of archival research, the Cooks' biography joins Efraín Trelles Aréstegui's *Lucas Martínez Vegazo* as indispensable reading for colonial Andean scholars. But the breadth and depth of this study also make it valuable for specialists in religious history as well as historians of the early modern Atlantic world more broadly. Finally, while not an argument-driven monograph, this work highlights the pedagogical benefits of biographies as a genre to tell broader, complex histories in ways that are accessible to both specialists and non-specialists alike.

Real Soldiering: The U.S. Army in the Aftermath of War, 1815-1980. By Brian M. Linn. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2023. 320 pp.)

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In his latest work, Brian Linn inverts a common trope of U.S. military history: "the tendency to conflate a postwar army with a prewar army, of interest chiefly for what it reveals about the individuals, weapons, doctrines, organizations, and so forth that proved decisive in later conflicts" (p. xi). *Real Soldiering* rejects this teleological framework while also proposing that, although each postwar period contained singular elements, there is an essential continuity between each of the "aftermath armies" of the last two centuries that has seldom been recognized. Whether in the 1870s or 1970s, Linn sees the postwar Army enduring common challenges—anemic budgets and hollow ranks—in common patterns: a burst of initial reform, which soon peters out as initiatives sputter against a wall of institutional inertia and public disinterest.

Linn demonstrates his thesis in five topical chapters, each examining the ten years after one or more American conflicts, and a brief conclusion applying the model to the post-Cold War era. Linn proposes that in the ten-year period after each major American conflict, two five-year processes take place. In the first, "institutional reforms seek to apply the lessons of the recent war by restructuring the aftermath army's personnel, doctrine, organization, and mission to reposition the service within the current national defense policy" (p. xiv). The second five-year period reveals the actual effects of those changes when confronted by Clausewitzian friction. In essence, five years of intense study, followed by uneven implementation, followed by a variable somnambulance.

The first two chapters span the wake of the War of 1812, Mexican-American War, and the Civil War, as well as the legacy of the Spanish-American and Philippine Wars. Linn argues that these early postwar armies set the precedent for later struggles, facing a mix of bureaucratic dysfunction and material deprivation. He vividly portrays the drudgery, physical isolation, poor pay, bad food, and tyrannical, incompetent officers that characterized the lives of common soldiers in the nineteenth century. Likewise, he presents the dysfunction and disorganization of a War Department balkanized between powerful competing Washington bureaus and boards, and marginalized line officers in the (often literal) wilderness. These early conflicts establish Linn's argument that the Army's postwar experience is shaped not by deliberate planning but by inertia, improvisation, and political neglect. Temporarily flush with men and materiel in wartime, each onset of peace tended to add missions and slash resources. Incremental progress intermingled with these perennial challenges, but more haltingly and unevenly than has typically been portrayed.

Chapters three through five focus on the twentieth century, covering the postwar decades following World War I, World War II, Korea, and Vietnam. Linn highlights the Army's difficulty in adjusting to a large peacetime conscription-based enlisted body, struggling to recruit and retain skilled technicians against a more attractive and lucrative private sector. Meanwhile, "humps" of veteran officers from the last war gummed up the army's leadership ranks, reluctant to cede power to the next generation. This structural stagnation, Linn argues, reflects the postwar Army's perpetual struggle between mirage-like visions of reform and its actual quotidian challenges.

The chapter on the post-Vietnam era presents perhaps the most striking evidence of Linn's claims. The "hollow army" after the end of the Vietnam War represents the lowest ebb of institutional decline, contradicting the conventional triumphalist narrative of an all-volunteer force awash with high technology and honed on the new doctrine of AirLand Battle. Linn instead identifies the same quick ebb of the prior 150 years: "like its predecessors, it was overcommitted and could not fulfill its missions" (p. 194). Few of the elements which dazzled observers in the 1991 Gulf War's hundred-hour victory were evident to the commanders who, mere years before, struggled to keep equipment in service and soldiers out of jail. The key to eventual success in the Iraqi desert was not a handful of genius generals, but the dogged persistence of sergeants and captains fighting to keep the lights on.

A brief conclusion addresses the post-Cold War decade of the 1990s and the developing era after the Global War on Terror, which nominally ended in 2021. Noting that he opted not to devote full chapters to this period due to the lack of appropriate source material, Linn nevertheless opines that "the post-Cold War and the post-Iraq/Afghanistan periods conform to the historic … challenges faced in previous eras: assessing the lessons of the last war; administrative reform; new missions; preparing for future conflict; developing the officer corps; and rebuilding the enlisted ranks" (p. 202).

Fundamentally, Linn asks what it meant to be a peacetime soldier in the wake of war, often battling threadbare budgets, skeletal units, civilian apathy, and internal crises of indiscipline and discontent rather than an external enemy. Linn promises the reader a history rooted in the experience of field soldiers rather than out-of-touch Washington, a task in which he succeeds. His objection to "era exceptionalism" is ultimately persuasive, and the detail he embeds within each chapter speaks to the exhaustive research conducted in the course of this work.

One could object that Linn's case selection is too narrow; many smaller conflicts and interventions are excluded entirely or judged to be blips interrupting the aftermath process of another war. What, after all, makes a proper war? These concerns may be put aside if we view *Real Soldiering* as a collec-

tion of illustrative examples rather than an encyclopedic compendium. Further mining of this vein, either by Linn or other scholars, can only enrich our knowledge of the challenges and limits of organizational reform and adaptation.

This is foremost a work that will benefit those with a professional or scholarly interest in the U.S. Army or military history. Still, in this reviewer's opinion, *Real Soldiering* contains much that is provocative and useful for American historians broadly, especially those interested in the development of bureaucracy, or the many connections between war, soldiers, and society. To servicemembers in our contemporary "aftermath army," *Real Soldiering* is sobering, even gloomy reading. As its final line reminds us, "despite the inefficiency, uncertainty, and under-resourcing emblematic of postwar eras, the service owes its continued existence to those forgotten legions that have done its 'real soldiering' in war's aftermath" (p. 203).

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