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MARIAN DAYS: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF A VIETNAMESE RELIGIOUS PILGRIMAGE TO THE HEARTLAND OF AMERICA

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate School
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of
Master of Science

by

C. H. Patton

PITTSBURG STATE UNIVERSITY

Pittsburg, Kansas

May 1993

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study is dedicated to the Vietnamese pilgrims to the annual Marian Days celebration and the people of Carthage, Missouri, the host city. Without both there would have been no study.

The writer wishes to thank the Fathers and Brothers of the Congregation of the Mother CoRedemptrix for their courtesy and help during the research, especially Father Pias for granting permission to do the study. Father Alphonso, Brother Peter, and Mrs. Diane Ott were especially helpful and gave generously of their time assisting the writer in gathering background material.

Chief Ellefsen and the Carthage Police Department together with all the numerous law enforcement officers assisting during the celebration provided the writer with additional insights that were extremely helpful. Their cordial welcome among their midst during the study was very gratifying.

Mere words of thanks to Dr. Dale Frihart for his patience, encouragement, and help with the research and editing are insufficient. The support and encouragement of the other committee members, Dr. Donald Viney and Dr. Ralph David, was deeply appreciated.

Last but certainly the most important was the help and support of the writer's wife Mary Patton. It was her suggestion that the study be undertaken and without the

countless hours she spent in proof reading the manuscript as it was being written, there is no doubt in the writer's mind that the writing would still be in progress.

MARIAN DAYS:

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF A VIETNAMESE RELIGIOUS PILGRIMAGE TO THE HEARTLAND OF AMERICA

An Abstract of the Thesis

by

C. H. Patton

For the past fifteen years Vietnamese people have made a pilgrimage from all over the United States and many other countries to the annual Marian Days Celebration held each summer in Carthage, Missouri. The observance is held to promote devotion to Mary, mother of Jesus Christ. For three days these people engage in prayer, renew their faith in God, renew old friendships, establish new ones, and attempt to preserve their culture. This annual influx of people, with a culture foreign to the area, has grown in such magnitude that it is now over four times larger than the population of the host city.

The purpose of this study was to identify problems that were experienced by the visitors and the people of the host city, what had been done to prevent or eliminate problems, why the event had grown to such a degree, and what led to this area being chosen for the pilgrimage.

Results of the study indicated an elaborate amount of

preparation and cooperation between the local governmental agencies and the religious sponsors of the event. The research did not support the anticipated degree of resistance by the community to the celebration. However, the interest exhibited by out of state law enforcement agencies in the celebration was unexpected.

Specific observations were discussed, conclusions drawn, and recommendations given regarding further studies.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background to the Study

A heading for a news article that appeared in a local newspaper on Saturday, August 3, 1991, caught the writer's eye: it stated "Carthage preparing for annual influx." It was stated in the article that followed that the City of Carthage was expecting between 40,000 and 45,000 Vietnamese to attend the fourteenth annual Marian Days Celebration beginning on August 9, 1991, and continuing for three days. Police officials seemed concerned because there was another convention also being held at the same time in Carthage. A drought had fire officials very concerned about fire, since the majority of those in attendance during the celebration would be camping out.¹

The most puzzling question to the writer about this article was why a celebration of Vietnamese Catholics would be held in the heart of the Bible belt? Although there were a number of Catholics in the area it was not exactly a Catholic stronghold, nor were there many Vietnamese in the area. Another question was how the local public had reacted to this? The writer had vague memories of a shooting incident in Carthage some time before at the seminary where the celebration was to be held. A local Carthage man had fired shots into one of the buildings and made threatening phone calls to the Vietnamese brothers. He was later convicted of

unlawful use of a firearm and ethnic intimidation.2

The writer had held an interest in Asian culture and religions for a number of years. Upon entering the graduate school sociology program at Pittsburg State University in the fall of 1991, it was decided that the Marian Days Celebration would offer an excellent opportunity to study one aspect of an Asian culture within the confines of the heartland of America.

Need for the Study

On June 30, 1975, seventy-five Vietnamese Refugee Catholic Priests and Brothers took over an abandoned Catholic seminary in Carthage, Missouri, and began rebuilding their order, the Congregation of the Mother CoRedemptrix. In 1978 they started the Marian Days Celebration, a religious pil-grimage celebrated no other place in the world. It was for the Vietnamese people and has grown in size of attendance from about one thousand to over fifty thousand annual visitors in fifteen years.

Between 1961 and 1990, 480,719 immigrants from Vietnam were admitted into the United States as permanent residents under the Refugee Acts.³ The Congregation of the Mother CoRedemptrix estimates that there are more than 183,000 Vietnamese Catholics in the United States. The earliest refugees were scattered throughout the United States.⁴ The more than fifty thousand Vietnamese visitors to Carthage represents approximately ten percent of the immigrants and 27 percent of the estimated Vietnamese Catholics in the United States. Their pilgrimage is to a small mid-western town, in the heart of the

Bible belt, a stronghold of fundamentalist Christian churches.

The population of Carthage in 1990 was 10,747, of which 134 were Vietnamese. Most, if not all, of the Vietnamese resided at the Congregation of the Mother CoRedemptrix seminary. The success of a small number of Vietnamese Priests and brothers in the attraction of such a large Vietnamese/American population to the celebration and a community which not only tolerated their own inundation but goes to great lengths to insure a peaceful celebration seemed worthy of study.

The need for the study was made most evident by the dearth of information in published form encountered by the writer. Such a unique event would have seemed to attract a great deal of attention, yet the writer found little more than the news item that stimulated his interest initially.

Statement of Hypothesis

The present work was an ethnographic study and is, therefore, purely descriptive in nature. The working hypothesis which guided the research in the present study was that the community in which the celebration took place would display minimal cooperation with the festival participants and organizers due to the contrast between regional, religious, and ethnic orientations and that of the celebrants. It was further hypothesized that the celebration would serve regional immigrant populations and area non-Vietnamese observers.

Data Collection Procedures

The methods used for the study were a combination of library research, newspaper archives, personal interviews, and passive observations. Library research was conducted at Missouri Southern State College, Pittsburg State University, and the Joplin and Carthage city libraries. The archives of the Joplin Globe and the Carthage Press were utilized, and over fifty different people were interviewed.

Observations and interviews were conducted from May 8, 1992 to August 9, 1992. However, those efforts were especially concentrated during the week of the celebration. Some additional interviews and research to clarify information previously obtained were conducted after the celebration.

Definition of Terms

<u>Culture</u>. The knowledge used by people in coping with life situatuions and to interpret social behavior.

<u>Congregation of the Mother CoRedemptrix</u>. A Pious order of Vietnamese Catholic priests and brothers (also referred to as the Congregation or the CMC).

Ethnography. A description of people and their behavior from the observer's point of view and what the people see themselves doing.

<u>Father</u>. The title of Father is used in referring to Catholic Priests.

Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate. A Pious order of American priests and brothers (also referred to as the Oblates or the OMI).

Delimitations of the Study

The groups selected for this ethnographic study were the Vietnamese people attending the 1992 Marian Days celebration held in Carthage, Missouri and residents of that community. It was believed that the event offered an opportunity to observe a large religious pilgrimage of people with an ethnic and cultural background foreign to the area where the celebration was held and the community that for a few days was overwhelmed in number by the pilgrims.

An historical review of the City of Carthage and the development of the physical site where the celebration was held were included for the purpose of establishing the ethnic/cultural background of the area. It was felt that

the historical background of the sponsoring organization should be included as it was the first intrusion of such a different ethnic/cultural element into the area, and also because it led to the establishment of the Marian Days celebration.

The data were obtained by archival research, personal interviews, and passive participant observation. An abundance of material was available on the history of the Carthage area and the site where the celebration took place. However, documentation on the celebration was limited to newspaper articles and the records of the sponsoring organization, the Congregation of the Mother CoRedemptrix.

Limitations of the Study

Since an ethnographic study is purely descriptive in nature no attempt was made to research the influence the celebration might have beyond the observations made by the writer. However, inferences were made by a few people interviewed during the celebration regarding far reaching influences. Numerous economic, political, religious, and cultural aspects could have been included in this study but were omitted because it was felt that those elements should be the subject of other studies.

Review of the Literature

A computer search to identify sources on the Marian Days Celebration was conducted at the Pittsburg State University and Missouri Southern State College Libraries using the key terms Vietnamese, Catholic, Religion, Marian, Marian Days, and Refugees. Numerous books on each of these subjects were located, but only one included a specific reference to Marian Days. That reference consisted only of one paragraph about the event.

Numerous newspaper articles were located that related together the terms Vietnamese, Catholic, Religion, Refugee. A computer printout of thirty-seven articles was obtained. Twenty of these articles did not have anything in them that referred to Carthage, Marian Days, or Congregation of the Mother CoRedemptrix. However, one article from the Oregonian dated July 3, 1989 mentioned a Vietnamese Catholic gathering of more than 2000 people at the Sanctuary of Our Sorrowful Mother in Northeast Portland, Oregon for the fourteenth annual Pilgrimage to the Grotto. A feature article from the August 21, 1991 Los Angeles Times and a shorter version of the same story featured in the San Jose Mercury News, together with two other articles about Asian gang activity at the reunion site were the only articles that pertained to the Marian Days Celebration. The balance of the articles dealt with problems being experienced among Catholics and Catholic Vietnamese. Each article had some mention regarding priests or brothers from the Congregation of the Mother CoRedemptrix. The Joplin Globe and the Carthage Press provided the major portion of the information regarding the celebration.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF THE CELEBRATION AND COMMUNITY

History of the Area

Carthage, Missouri, the host city of the Marian Days Celebration, held its Sesquicentennial Anniversary in 1991. Established in March of 1842 for the purpose of serving as the seat of government for Jasper County, the city and the surrounding area has a history of both violence and religious faith.

Although traces of an earlier aboriginal people have been found, the oldest known inhabitants of the area were Osage Indians. The first white men known to have been in the region were French explorers and traders who arrived in 1719, although there are some indications that Spanish explorers may have arrived even earlier. The region around Carthage was ceded to the U.S. in 1825 by the Osage Indians and the first white settlers in the area came in about 1831. In 1837, the Missouri militia drove out the Osage bands that had returned to their old hunting grounds in a bloodless disturbance.8

According to Marvin L. VanGilder, <u>Carthage Press</u> historian, "Christian faith has been a constant aspect of Carthage life from the beginning." The Harmony Mission established in 1821 in Vernon County, Missouri, and the Osage Mission in St Paul, Kansas, had introduced the Osage Indians in the area to the fundamentals of Christianity. Consequently, the early settlers were greeted by Christian

Indians. Both Baptists and Methodists had organized congregations established in Carthage shortly after 1842 and had built churches by 1869. During the construction period they shared the county jail as a worship site, along with the Congregational, Disciples of Christ, and Presbyterian congregations. A newspaper account about the period states that the:

First Christian Church was established in 1866 during a meeting at the jail. The congregations of First Presbyterian Church, Grace Episcopal Church, St Ann's Roman Catholic Church and First Congregational Church all followed within a decade. Other denominations made their advent at various times through the years in such numbers that Carthage became known widely as a city of churches, a particular center of faith for Southwest Missouri. 10

Most of the earliest settlers in the region were from border states east of the Mississippi, but some were from Tennessee and farther south. According to the 1860 census there were 350 slaves in Jasper County included in the total population of 6,860. Local sentiment was generally with the South during the Civil War, but not in favor of Missouri secession from the Union. Some citizens hoped that the state might remain neutral.

Carthage lays claim to being the site of the first land battle of the Civil War. This engagement was between 5,000 Missouri State Guard troops (of Confederate sympathy) under the personal command of Governor Claiborne F. Jackson, and a force of 11,000 Federal three-month volunteers from St. Louis under the command of Colonel Franz Sigel. Sigel was

attempting to prevent Jackson's forces from linking up with Confederate and Arkansas forces to the south and the battle occurred on July 5, 1861, sixteen days before the First Battle of Bull Run. This was the first of thirteen engagements that took place near Carthage, which was a record number for a community during the Civil War.

Civil government ceased in August, 1861. The town was a part of the theater of war and came under the control of both Confederate and Union forces as Armies passed through it from time to time. During Colonel Shelby's raid in October of 1863, the brick courthouse was burned. According to the historical placard located in Kellogg Lake Park, the town was completely destroyed on September 22, 1864. Most of the farm homes in the region were also destroyed by 1865. The Kendrick house, which was built in 1854 and used by Shelby as his headquarters in 1863, still stands.

With the end of the Civil War and the return of former residents, and an influx of new ones, townspeople began rebuilding the city early in 1866. During the reconstruction period, Carthage was aided by the coming of the Memphis, Carthage and Northwestern Railroad (Frisco) in 1872 and the Lexington and Southern Railroad (Missouri Pacific) in 1880. Leggett & Platt Inc., a Fortune 500 company and the world's largest manufacturer of bed springs and related products, began in Carthage in 1883 and still maintains its corporate headquarters there. The Carthage Marble Company was established in 1885, and the present day castle-like courthouse was

built in 1894 using the marble (a structure listed in the 1973 National Register of Historic Places), as was the Missouri State Capital building.

Present-day Carthage has a population of 10,747, of which 134 are Vietnamese and 236 are black. The city is served by U.S. Highway 71, Interstate 44, State Hi-way 96, the Union Pacific and Burlington Northern Railroads, Myers Municipal Airpark, and Joplin Municipal Airport (10 miles west). The city has 35 churches, one daily newspaper, six parks, seven motels, three banks and two savings and loans. Numerous stately homes built around the turn of the century are located throughout the city. The world's only underground tennis court is located in the Carthage underground storage facility. Carthage is also the home for Sam Butcher's Precious Moments and Lowell Davis's Red Oak II commercialized art enterprises.

Carthage and the surrounding area have been the home of many notable people. Carthage was the home of Anne White Baxter, the first woman ever elected to a public office in the U.S. She was elected to the office of Jasper County Clerk prior to women being allowed to vote. He infamous woman Confederate guerrilla outlaw, Myra Belle Shirley, more commonly known as Belle Starr, was from Carthage. Marlin Perkins, noted naturalist, was a native of the city. James Scott and Clarence Woods, two principal composers of ragtime music, were also from Carthage. Lamar, 15 miles to the north, was the birthplace of President Harry Truman. Diamond,

15 miles to the south, was the birthplace of the world famous botanist George Washington Carver.

History of the Site

The site for the Marian Days Celebration, sponsored by the Vietnamese Congregation of the Mother CoRedemptrix has a long and colorful religious history that began on January 24, 1924. On that date, a thirty acre plot of land south of Carthage was chosen for the location of the Methodist Episcopal Ozark Wesleyan College. Many Methodists lived in the area and it was felt that a Divinity-General Education College would draw students from the four-state area of Missouri, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Arkansas.

Negotiations for the property were completed on March 24, 1924. A million and one-half dollar campaign was started immediately and within a month, \$300,000 had been pledged. The whole campaign ended on June 13, 1924, with \$1,251,202 pledged. Since the drive was such a great success, Ozark Wesleyan College began classes on September 16, 1924, using the houses on the grounds for classrooms and teachers' quarters.

The first President, Dr. W. King, D.D., dreamed of building up the enrollment and academic stature of Ozark Wesleyan College until it ranked with the foremost Methodist schools of the West. The first-year enrollment of 150 jumped to over 200 the following year, so that the temporary quarters were soon overcrowded. The Administration Building was designed by Fred Bonsack of Bonsack and Pearce (St. Louis Architects) and P.K. Simpson, the Associate Architect in Carthage. On April 2,

1925 the general contract was awarded to the George Fuller Construction Company of Kansas City. The completed building cost nearly \$300,000.00. On April 10, 1925, Rev. J.N. Pierce, Missouri's oldest Methodist minister, turned over the first shovel of dirt before a crowd of 1,000. On June 2, 1926, George R. Grace, Methodist Bishop of Peking, China, dedicated the massive white Carthage tavernelle marble college. spacious building was 248 feet long, 60 to 120 feet wide, three full stories, and a fourth floor tower room. There were music rooms, classrooms, and faculty offices in the building, as well as a science laboratory on each floor. On the campus was a cinder track, a football field, and a pair of quickdraining clay tennis courts. For five years, Ozark Wesleyan College's enrollment and prestige grew, but in 1931, back taxes, salaries, and maintenance costs, compounded by unpaid pledges which were unfulfilled because of the Depression, forced the school to be reduced to a junior college. Methodists dropped their fiscal support in 1932. As a last resort, the teachers who lived in Carthage reopened it as a private college and renamed it The Junior Ozark College. The second venture was abandoned in 1933. A New Deal Project, the NYA, used the structure as a girls' vocational school in 1936, but it too, was a failed venture. So, after 11 years the doors of the facility were closed to the public in 1936.

In 1943, a small advertisement in a St. Louis newspaper caught the eye of the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate (hereafter referred to as the Oblate Fathers or the OMI) at

St. Henry's Seminary in Belleville, Illinois. A college in Carthage, Missouri was for sale and was going to be sold in January to cover several thousand dollars in back taxes.

On December 28, 1943, at 6:30 a.m., Father Alphonse Simon, OMI, the Provincial of the Central Province, accompanied by four other Fathers, began the 350 mile journey from Belleville, Illinois, to Carthage. Twelve hours later they reached Carthage, which was blanketed with six inches of snow. They went immediately to the "college" to conduct an inspection. The next day negotiations began. At the conclusion of the negotiations, the former Ozark Wesleyan College became the property of the Oblate Fathers (on March 10, 1944) for about \$25,000.00, and it was once again to become a school, Our Lady of the Ozarks, a boarding school for boys.

On May 21, 1944, the Oblates took possession. Father Alphonse Simon, OMI, and Father John Weissler, OMI, were responsible for getting the school renovated. The first reconstruction job went to the Salton Construction Company of Joplin for \$9,300.00 on June 21. That day also marked the beginning of a mail campaign, directed by Father John Weissler, to support the work of the Oblates. The initial repair work and the conversion of the structure to a boarding school cost over \$100,000.00.

Father Valentine Goetz, OMI, the first Superior of Our Lady of the Ozarks College, arrived on July 14, 1944. Nine students transferred from St. Henry's Seminary in Belleville,

Illinois, to form Our Lady of the Ozarks, experienced student body. Those sophomores and juniors arrived a week before classes started and were joined on September 1 by Father Orville Minie, OMI, and 33 new freshmen. During those days, chairs, tables and copy books took the place of hard-to-get desks and textbooks.

On November 28, 1944, Our Lady of the Ozarks was dedicated by Bishop Edwin O'Hara, D.D., of Kansas City. The ceremony opened with a procession of seventy priests and three Bishops into the auditorium and ended with a talk by Bishop O'Hara welcoming the Oblates and their new seminary into the Diocese.

In 1945, Father John Weissler moved the printing facility he had set up in the main building to a former grocery store opposite the northwest corner of the campus and began publishing the Roses and Gold newsletter that kept in touch with friends and benefactors for the next 36 years. On December 12, 1947, an extensive campaign for enlarging Our Lady of the Ozarks recreation facilities was begun. struction of a new field house, a 92 foot by 175 foot structure with a regulation-size college basketball court, was begun in the summer of 1947. Work on the new building was completed November 18, 1949, at a cost of \$190,000. summer of 1948, the Oblate Brothers' house and workshop were constructed. The 40 foot by 70 foot two-story frame building was an army barracks building which had been disassembled and hauled to Carthage from Camp Crowder, Missouri. The reconstruction was completed in November of 1948.

In 1949 the College of Our Lady of the Ozarks became officially affiliated with the Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C. With this new recognition, Our Lady of the Ozarks began its fall term with 138 students. Our Lady of the Ozarks continued to grow and prosper for the next five years.

Our Lady of Fatima Shrine Chapel was started on July 24, 1959, when the ground breaking ceremony took place. The cornerstone was laid by the Most Rev. Charles Helmsing, Bishop of Springfield-Cape Girardeau, on October 20, 1959. Bishop Helmsing dedicated the beautiful structure, which cost \$187,000, on October 13, 1960. The architecture of the chapel is a blend of traditional and modern high-peaked roof styles which complement the administration building. The exterior walls are of the same split-face Carthage stone; the interior walls of the nave are rose brick. Fifteen feet above the altar is a statue of Our Lady of Fatima, sculptured in Italy from white Carrara Marble. Eighteen stained glass windows depict the three virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity, and the 15 decades of the Rosary.

On May 21, 1964, ground-breaking ceremonies were held for the start of a new dining hall that was completed the following year. It contained a private dining room for the faculty, a somewhat smaller guest dining room, an enormous kitchen with an adjoining storage room, staff dining rooms and the main student dining hall. Our Lady of the Ozarks had changed its status from a six year high school and junior college seminary to that of a high school seminary in September of 1966, with an enrollment of 94 high school students. The collegians were transferred to Lewis College in Lockport, Illinois, where a new community under the Oblate Fathers was formed. Taking on the name of Our Lady of the Ozarks Prep, the new school set to the task of acquiring full accreditation as a high school in the State of Missouri. On April 14, and April 17, 1970, the college suffered two serious fires. Because of decreasing enrollment the school was closed in 1971 and the students transferred to St. Henry's Seminary in Belleville, Illinois.

In 1975, the Oblate Fathers granted complete use of the college and its entire contents to the Vietnamese Congregation of the Mother CoRedemptrix as their seminary. The first group of Vietnamese priests and students arrived at their new home from Ft. Chaffee, Arkansas, on June 30, 1975. On May 9, 1981, the sale of Our Lady Of the Ozarks College to the Vietnamese Congregation of the Mother CoRedemptrix was announced. 16

Since that time, numerous improvements have been made. In 1983 a seven ton statue depicting the welcome by Mary, with the Christ child, of a Vietnamese child refugee was consecrated. This statue overlooks "Our Lady of Refugee Prayer Garden" in which the names of deceased persons have been enshrined by their families. Later, a large addition was

added to the print shop. During the 1992 Marian Days Celebration, ground breaking ceremonies for a new auditorium were held.

History of the Order

The Congregation of the Mother CoRedemptrix (hereafter referred to as the Congregation or the CMC) was founded by a Vietnamese priest, Father Dominic Mary Tran Dinh Thu. Father Thu was born November 29, 1906, in North Vietnam, received his first communion, and was confirmed on Easter Sunday, 1914. He dedicated his life to God in 1915, with the decision to become a priest. Nine years later he entered seminary and was ordained a priest on May 22, 1937, by Bishop Dominic Can, the first native bishop of the diocese of Bui Chu.

Father Thu pondered the idea of joining some monastic community, but was inspired otherwise and established a native missionary congregation. By 1948, there were already about 40 people who volunteered to follow his leadership. On August 15, 1948, Bishop Can wrote and signed a document which formally recognized Father Thu's group as a Pious Union. The group was then permitted to operate publicly in accord with Canon Law. In February, 1950, the Holy See appointed the Most Reverend Peter Chi bishop of Bui Chu. He eagerly supported Father Thu's enterprise.

Realizing that Father Thu's Union needed to become a religious order according to Canon Law in order to serve the Church more effectively, the bishop advised that constitutions be written and submitted to the Holy See. The constitutions were written and translated into French and Latin and sent to the Holy See, which in turn examined and approved them on December 15, 1952.

The official day of establishment of the Congregation of the Mother CoRedemptrix was February 2, 1953. Its primary purpose was evangelization throughout Vietnam and the world. The motto of the Congregation is "Non Ministrari Sed Ministrare" - "Not To Be Served, But To Serve." In 1954, a year after its foundation, the Congregation had to move to South Vietnam to escape religious persecution.

The Congregation expanded greatly during the next 20 years. An average of about 100 members usually resided at the General House. The Candidacy Establishment had room for 300 candidates. An elementary school and high school and the CoRedemptrix boarding house, which were established in 1956, enrolled from 800 to 1000 students. A clergy sanatorium was established in 1957 for elderly retired priests and those other priests who wanted a convenient place for retreat or temporary rest. A poultry farm was in operation from 1965 to 1973. A print shop of medium size and a publishing house for the monthly magazine, which had a circulation of over 40,000 in 1975, were established.

When moving to South Vietnam, the entire Congregation totaled about 125 members. That number reached 624 by 1975. Among these were 177 perpetually-professed members (including 23 priests), 91 in temporary vows, four novices, 54 auxiliaries, and 281 candidates.

In April, 1975, over 170 members, priests and brothers, escaped the Communists by the sea to face an indefinite future, while another 150, priests, brothers, auxiliaries, and

nearly 300 candidates were left behind in Vietnam. After hours of struggling with high seas in fragile fishing boats, the refugees were picked up by American cargo ships. Excited and encouraged, every boat tried to be the first to get to the rescue ships.

Seeing only a few ships, people were afraid that the numbers being picked up would be limited. That caused a noisy and tumultuous struggle to get aboard. As a result, many fell to their deaths while attempting to board the ships. Many families were scattered. CMC brothers were dispersed in different ships, and some were unable to get aboard and drifted away in small boats remaining at sea for days. Others decided to return to Vietnam, thinking that there were no more ships around to come to their rescue.

After a week on board the rescue ships, CMC brothers, with thousands of other refugees, were first taken to temporary camps at Guam and Wake Island, and then to refugee camps in the United States for processing and sponsorship arrangements. Though they were further and further scattered due to these procedures, the Brothers tried to maintain the communal prayer life as much as the situation allowed and used it as an opportunity to minister to their countrymen.

The Brothers were advised to divide themselves into small groups and find sponsors as other families were doing. Then in the future, with financial stability, they might be able to congregate, they were told. However, they did not wish to be divided into small groups, so they continued to discuss and

pray for guidance and protection. On May 28, 1975, at the meeting of the Advisory Council of the Diocese of Springfield-Cape Girardeau, Missouri, with Bishop Bernard F. Law (now Cardinal Law) presiding, the diocese decided to sponsor all the members of the congregation still scattered in different camps.

In 1975, the Congregation of the Mother CoRedemptrix was allowed to take over the closed facilities of Our Lady of the Ozarks College as their seminary. The college and its entire contents, including all the facilities, were made available for the use of the Vietnamese. The first group of priests and students arrived at their new home from Ft. Chaffee, Arkansas, on June 30, 1975. Later, other groups from California, Florida, and Wake Island joined them to reorganize their religious life as a new Catholic congregation in this country.

After the first year (1975-76), many members of the community spread throughout the United States. The college, however, has remained their main headquarters. Father Ignatius M.Le An Dia, CMC, was elected as Superior by a convention held in Carthage on August 14, 1975. The selection was made in Carthage due to the difficulty in corresponding with the Superior General in Vietnam. The second Superior, Father Barnabas M. Thiep, CMC, was appointed by the Superior General and his Council on May 31, 1979. The Superior General and his Council are still in Vietnam. Father Barnabus M. Thiep is at present the first formal Provincial of the community, appointed by the Most Rev. Bishop Bernard F. Law on

December 30, 1980, according to the authority given him by the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples in its letter, Protocollum number 4931/80, dated October 25, 1980.

On October 25, 1980, the Holy See erected the first province of the Congregation outside Vietnam, the United States Assumption Province, headquartered in Carthage, Missouri, for all affiliated members in America. The Province has more than 178 members working in different dioceses in this country. The priests serve as pastors in American and Vietnamese parishes, chaplains in hospitals, and associate pastors in American parishes ministering specifically to the spiritual needs of Vietnamese people, or working in other ministries for more than 183,000 Vietnamese Catholics throughout the country. Many young members of the Congregation are in priestly formation programs in U.S. colleges and seminaries. Also, the Congregation has numerous new vocations each year. At present the Congregation has two of its priests taking advanced studies in Rome.

The present residents at the Carthage facility consists of 158 members: 45 candidates, 6 novices, 82 brothers, including 38 scholastics, 5 deacons ordained by Bishop Bernard Law on June 14, 1980, and 20 priests. Eleven priests ordained by Bishop Law on May 28, 1977, were the first to be ordained to the priesthood from among the members of the community since its arrival in Carthage. The second ordination took place on June 13, 1981.

The college has become an important Marian Center for the

Vietnamese and others. Other projects have been developed by the community to serve the refugees, particularly the NGUYET SAN TRAI DUC ME (The Immaculate Heart of Mary Magazine). That Vietnamese magazine has been published monthly, both in Vietnamese and English, with the staff and main writers being members of the community. The first issue of the magazine was sent to its readers throughout the world at Christmas, 1977. It is being published to help Vietnamese who have come recently to this country in the process of adjustment to a new culture. 17

History of the Celebration

Since 1976, many ecclesiastical and civil authorities, as well as benefactors and friends of the community both Americans and Vietnamese, have been invited by the Congregation of the Mother CoRedemptrix to share in religious activities and/or cultural presentations. Included in the activities were ordinations, celebration of the Vietnamese New Year's Day (the TET) and the Marian Days. Marian Days was established by the Congregation of the Mother CoRedemptrix to promote a devotion to the Immaculate Heart of Mary through an annual reunion of the Vietnamese community in the United States. For three days participants engage in prayer for their families, themselves, and freedom for their mother country, Vietnam.¹⁸

The first Marian days celebration was held in June, 1978. No food was served and no special shelter was provided, but there were about 1000 visitors. The second celebration in June, 1979, attracted 2230 followed by 4000 in June, 1980, 6300 in June, 1981, and 8500 in August of 1982. Attendance has continued to grow annually to the point where over 50,000 Vietnamese people from Thailand, Canada, Holland, and the entire United States participated in the 1992 celebration.

The fourth annual celebration in 1981 included a fire-works display, plays, songs, a concert reflecting Vietnamese culture, 20 and it was highlighted by a float carrying the statue of Our Lady of Fatima. 21 The celebration in 1982

included a special Thanksgiving Day to celebrate the establishment of Carthage as the Provincial Headquarters for the Congregation. The public was invited to join in the celebration and share a dinner of Vietnamese food following the ceremony. The Public was also invited to tour the building and grounds.²²

The first reference found regarding the involvement of the Carthage police department in the celebration was an article in the Joplin, Missouri, newspaper where the Carthage City Council had approved a fireworks display and had approved traffic control by the police department during the traditional Marian Days procession.²³

In 1988, the Carthage Downtown Merchants Association and the Carthage Recreational Department rented a forty-six passenger bus and offered free rides to the visiting Vietnamese during the celebration. The bus made a continuous circuit from 10:00 a.m. until 6:00 p.m. on Friday and Saturday between the celebration site, downtown Carthage and the municipal swimming pool.²⁴

In 1989, the Carthage police department closed several streets in the immediate area of the celebration site to all vehicular traffic except for neighborhood residents and visitors entering the grounds. Neighborhood residents were provided passes allowing them free access through the area, while visitors were restricted to one place of entry.²⁵

Although the Marian Days celebration is a religious and family gathering, it has not been without problems. In 1989,

34 police reports were received that could be connected to the celebration. One traffic accident, ten vehicles towed away, four containers of alcohol confiscated, trespassing, loud music, one fight, and one theft were among the complaints. Three Vietnamese fugitives from other regions of the country were also apprehended, one of whom was being sought on a murder charge.²⁶

Until 1988, the city had spent very little money on security. The Vietnamese priests paid \$3,700 for four security officers and two firemen. In 1989, the city budget included \$6,060 for security in addition to the money paid by the priests. The possibility of undesirables entering the grounds and concern that some area residents might cause problems led to the increased security.²⁷

According to the police department, security costs for the 1992 celebration totaled \$19,140. The city paid \$9,620, and the CMC paid the balance. Thirty-two uniformed officers from Carthage and 59 uniformed officers from other local jurisdictions were involved in the security. There were 1620 uniformed officer man hours that year. No salaried officers from the Carthage police department were included in the uniformed man hour total nor was that of any of the officers from jurisdictions outside the immediate Carthage area.

CHAPTER III

PRE-CELEBRATION RESEARCH

Site Observations and Interviews

Pre-celebration research on the Marian Days celebration began with a telephone call to Monsignor Thomas E. Reidy at the Catholic center in Springfield, Missouri, on May 8, 1992, but the writer was unable to contact him until May 19, 1992. When Monsignor Reidy was informed that the writer was seeking information and permission to do the research from the church authorities, he suggested that Father Pias be contacted at the Congregation of the Mother CoRedemptrix seminary in Carthage, Missouri. Monsignor Reidy said that he had little knowledge of the celebration or the history of the seminary.²⁸

Father Pias was contacted by telephone on May 19, 1992, and he in turn referred the writer to Father Alfonso, whom he said was in charge of the Marian Days celebration. Father Alfonso was contacted the same day, and an appointment was made to interview him on May 20, 1992.

Father Alfonso, who was eleven years old when he came to this country in 1975, informed the writer that he was leaving for California the next day and would not be available until after the first of June. He suggested that in the meantime the writer contact Mrs. Diane Ott, a friend of the order, who helped with all public relations. Father Alfonso granted permission for the writer to spend as much time touring the seminary grounds and talking to the fathers and brothers as

the writer felt was needed for research purposes.30

Mrs. Ott, a very charming lady of Spanish/American descent who volunteers her time to the order, provided the writer with a copy of the unpublished history of the Congregation of the Mother CoRedemptrix and a video-tape of the Marian Days celebration made the previous year. Mrs. Ott suggested that the writer review those two documents and then contact her for further assistance in the research.³¹

Later in the day, Sharon Matthews, manager of a convenience store a few blocks from the seminary grounds, was interviewed. Mrs. Matthews, a native of Southwest Missouri, had lived in Carthage for twenty years. She looked at the Vietnamese from a business viewpoint. She indicated that in her obervations they were good, clean, polite people and presented no problems. At her present location she sees them throughout the year and indicated that they seem to appreciate having others take an interest in them. Mrs. Matthews commented that if the Marian Days celebration consisted of that many Americans it would be the biggest mess one ever saw. She had a lot of respect for the way the celebration was handled, especially the clean-up, she said, however, that there had been a lot of animosity in the past exhibited by some of the locals driving by and calling them names and remarking that "them damn Chinks are back in town."32

An interview with Mr. and Mrs. Candela at their place of business in downtown Carthage offered a perspective of the celebration from a different vantage point. Mr. Candela was a member of the Carthage City Council. Both he and his wife were active in the local Catholic community. They both had high praise for the way the Marian Days celebration had been conducted in the past and informed the writer that the Knights of Columbus were allowed to have a food tent on the grounds during the celebration. In fact, theirs is the only non-Vietnamese concession stand sanctioned by the hosts.³³

Later, an interview with the Carthage Chief of Police was conducted, and Chief Ellefsen was very cooperative. He said that he would inform his department of the writer's expected activity in the area around and on the seminary grounds, but cautioned the writer to expect animosity from some of the people in the area. The Chief provided the writer with a computer printout of a police survey conducted the previous two years regarding the attitudes of the people living in the immediate area of the seminary grounds. He felt that this could be used quideline by as the writer seeking/conducting personal interviews in the neighborhood, or perhaps serve the writer's purpose since the survey covered 186 residents in the area. Chief Ellefsen also provided the writer with a copy of the written directions issued to all officers that had worked the 1991 celebration and a critique of the 1991 event. In addition, the writer was provided with a four page summary of the Marian Days celebration from its beginning to the present as he, the Chief of Police, viewed it. The Chief indicated there would probably be few, if any,

changes in the methods to be employed by the Carthage police during the 1992 festivities.³⁴

No information regarding the Marian Days celebration was found at the Carthage Chamber of Commerce. The secretary who was interviewed did not know when the next celebration was scheduled. She informed the writer that the Chamber did not promote the celebration in any way. However, she provided the writer with a copy of the Sesquicentennial publication of the Carthage Press published on March 31, 1992, and a copy of the 1992 City Directory.

While conducting research at the Carthage City Library, the desk clerk offered a comment on how clean the seminary grounds were, even during the celebration, in comparison to the city square downtown. In contrast with that observation, a service representative from a local soft drink supplier said that he had experienced problems with some of the people who were operating the food tents not wanting to pay for supplies when delivered. Contrasting observations and attitudes about the celebration and participants were not unusual, in the writer's experiences in doing the research.

The writer visited the spacious, well-kept grounds on several occasions prior to the beginning of the celebration. The serenity experienced during these visits was very enjoyable. Later, during the celebration, the writer felt that same serenity during one of the evening performances. Guided tours of the seminary buildings, provided for the writer's benefit, were conducted at different times by Mrs. Ott and

brother Peter. Those tours revealed that preparations for the Marian Days celebration continued year round and were interspersed with the fathers and brothers religious duties and studies.

Preparations required that the schedule of events for the 1992 celebration be printed, window stickers for vehicles prepared, and promotional material written and mailed. Signs to be placed in various places on the grounds had to either be repaired or new ones made. Portable stands and equipment for providing water at various locations on the grounds for use during the celebration had to be built or repaired. Paintings, sculptures, and other religious artifacts made during the year by the brothers had to be readied for display. Communication and electronic equipment had to be checked and readied for use. Garbage bags and trash cans and the means for dispersing and collecting them as necessary were not neglected. Numerous other behind-the-scenes preparations that escaped the writers attention no doubt took place in addition to those that were observed.

While the priests and brothers of the CMC were busy with their own preparations, the Carthage police department was also busy preparing for the event. Scheduled duties for the officers that would be involved had to be drawn up. They were based on assessment of previous experiences. As mentioned earlier in the present section, the writer was given a copy of the 1991 survey of property owners that lived in the immediate

area of the celebration site. A summary of survey showed the following results:

| No Response | 20 |
|--------------------------------|-----|
| Will call if needed | 40 |
| Does not want on property | 42 |
| No camping will call if needed | 12 |
| May camp on property | 3 |
| No camping, | |
| but may sit in shade on lawn | 40 |
| Request extra patrol | 2 |
| Will house nuns in basement | 1 |
| Will sign complaint | _19 |
| Total | 179 |

Other than persons directly involved with the celebration, the writer was unable during the pre-celebration inquiries to contact any individual that had any knowledge concerning the event other than that there was a gathering of Vietnamese each year in Carthage. Residents of the community hosting the event had no more knowledge of it than the writer before his research began. The pre-celebration research was made more difficult by the limited knowledge of local residents. Had it not been for members of the congregation and material provided by members of it and the frequent visits to the campus by the writer in the days preceding the celebration, what was observed during the six-day period described in the following chapter would have little more value than usual, random observations.

CHAPTER IV

CELEBRATION FIELD RESEARCH

Day One

Field observations were initiated three days prior to the scheduled start of the celebration. On the first morning, the writer stopped at the Carthage Walmart Store to purchase some camera film and was surprised to see four carloads of Vietnamese in the parking lot. One of the cars was a Mercedes with Virginia license plates. The Marian Days celebration was not scheduled to start until the following Thursday, yet when the writer arrived at the CMC grounds a few minutes after purchasing film there were already a number of camp tents pitched and 19 thirty-by-fifty-foot tents for the service area were either already in place or in the process of being erected. Workers from the Weiser Tent Company of Monett, Missouri, which is approximately 25 miles away from Carthage, said they were supplying 35 large tents for the celebration.38 Trucks bringing in huge trash disposal bins were also arriving and the bins were being spotted in strategic locations on the grounds.

Signs directing traffic within the grounds, written in both English and Vietnamese, had already been erected. Other signs designating places within the compound for people from different areas of the U.S. had also been put in place. The Vietnamese brothers were installing water pipes to supply drinking water and washing facilities and drainage pipes to

carry waste water away. It appeared that many of the early arrivers were assisting in the preparations.

In the neighborhood around the center of activity, other preparations were observed. Across the street from the main entrance to the reunion site the American flag was flying at the side of a house, but the yard was roped off and no trespassing signs were in place. Next door a little boy was selling fresh tomatoes to some Vietnamese.

At 11:40 a.m. the writer went to the Coastal Mart convenience store (four blocks from the reunion site) for a cup of coffee and to get out of the of muggy heat. There was no breeze at all and the sky was clouding up to the south. Traffic on the street in front of the store was heavy, which was surprising considering the number of people that had already arrived. In an interview with the store's cashier, the writer was informed that most of the early arrivals usually parked their vehicles on the grounds, leaving them there in order to hold their places, and then walked to the stores.³⁹

The writer returned to the CMC grounds about 1:30 p.m. after having eaten lunch at one of the local Chinese restaurants. It was interesting to note that the business was run by Vietnamese, yet they advertised themselves as being Chinese and the menu specified Chinese Hunan and Sichuan foods.

Upon returning to the grounds it was observed that little children were playing very quietly and politely on a giant turtle statue at the north end of the prayer garden. It was

as if they did not want to interrupt the peace and tranquility that prevailed there. In fact, peace and tranquility seemed to extend over all of the grounds except the area where the commercial tents were located. It started to rain at 2:30 p.m., so the writer left for home.

Day Two

On the second day of observations, the writer interviewed a 74 year old man from Carl Junction, Missouri, who worked for a 92 year old lady whose property adjoined the reunion site. He said that some years ago the elderly lady let a young Vietnamese couple with a baby stay in her home during the celebration, but a few others had taken advantage of this and entered her home without permission so she no longer allowed them on her property. He felt that most of the Vietnamese behave quite well, but he expressed mixed emotions about the celebration itself. "The whites that formerly occupied the property were more rowdy than the Vietnamese," according to the gentleman.⁴⁰

At 11:30 a.m. the writer interviewed Phat Nguyen from Ft. Smith, Arkansas the city where he had lived for the past 14 years. Mr. Nguyen was born in 1934 at Jamdong, Vietnam, and had been in the Vietnamese Airborne Army. He and his immediate family had escaped from Vietnam, by boat to the Philippines on April 30, 1975. From there they went to Guam, and then to Indian Town Gap, Pennsylvania, where they spent their first year in the United States. He spoke no English prior to arriving in Pennsylvania. He thought things

were nice where he lives and he likes living in a rural area near a small town. Mr. Nguyen has six brothers that are still in Vietnam. He was expecting friends that have recently arrived in America from Vietnam to join him at this year's Marian Days reunion. Mr. Nguyen has not missed any of the celebrations since they started, and each time he attends he prays for peace and freedom in Vietnam. He said that he would not go back to Vietnam as long as the Communists are in control there.⁴¹

An interview with Duy Tram from Grand Rapids, Michigan, revealed that he had missed only two of the previous fourteen reunions. He came to this country in 1975, escaping from Saigon by boat to Hong Kong and then to Ft. Chaffee, Arkansas, when he was seventeen. He spoke a little English before arriving in this country. Mr. Tram, now 34 years old, viewed Marian Days as an exciting reunion, but had never seen much of the city of Carthage itself. He has 3 children but has no immediate family still in Vietnam. Mr. Tram said that he hates violence and expressed his opinion that there is too much violence and sex on television, which he believes to be bad for children. He also felt that there is "too much freedom of speech in this country."

At 12:10 p.m., a very impressive young Vietnamese couple approached the writer inquiring as to the purpose of the writer's picture- and note-taking. Loon Pham (27 years old) from Ban Me Thuwt, Vietnam, and Lam Pham (31 years old) from Blao, Vietnam, now living in Holland, were attending their

first Marian Days celebration. Mrs. Pham had left Vietnam for Holland 12 years ago with two brothers and a sister. Mr. Pham had left Vietnam a year later by himself. They had met in Holland five years ago while attending college and were married two years later. He is a computer software engineer and she is a chemical engineer. They had spent two days in New York City before coming to Carthage and were very intrigued with the number of different people (nationalities) they had seen there. "In Holland there are few different kinds of people."43 They said they knew most of the Catholic Vietnamese in Holland since there was only about one thousand The Phams felt that the English language was much there. easier to learn than Dutch and that Holland had little experience in dealing with foreign students. According to them, "Americans have the opportunity to become more perfect" (i.e. better than they are)44 and they did not think that second generation Vietnamese wish to return to Vietnam. Phams also expressed the opinion that the Vietnamese people came to America in order to build a new life, that there is opportunity here, but that it has been easier for younger ones to adapt. They were staying in a motel, but neither one of them had seen anyone yet that they had previously known. They were looking forward eagerly to the prospect of doing so.

At 12:40 p.m. the Carthage police started setting up their command post on the north side of the CMC grounds. Sgt. Van Bennett, who had worked the festival since its beginning 14 years ago, said that a man who lives in the nearby

neighborhood holds a beer party and invites some of his friends to join him and watch the parade every year. Sgt. Bennett also said that the priests control what can be charged at the concession stands. The policemen bringing in the two command trailers said "this is the best behaved bunch they have ever come into contact with. As one stated, "they work very hard; these people seem to exhibit the Protestant work ethic. "47

It had clouded up and started sprinkling rain, so the writer left for shelter in a coffee shop at 1:15 p.m. Observations to this point indicated that taking pictures of the people was an avenue to starting conversations with them. fact, most of the interviews/conversations during the entire celebration resulted from picture-taking. In many instances, even though no conversations took place, friendly smiles, a nod of the head, and a spoken greeting occurred as the writer toured the grounds. All of the people were very polite, clean and neat appearing. Their camp sites were immaculate. writer was awed by the behavior of chiddren playing on the grounds. It seemed impossible that children could play so energetically yet so quietly. Running children seemed to have a built in radar system as they avoided getting any closer to the writer than five feet. Never did the writer have to avoid a child who was playing.

Upon returning to the grounds after the rain shower, the writer observed trucks from the Mid-American Sanitation Company of Pittsburg, Kansas, a city approximately 30 miles to

the west of Carthage, placing portable toilets in strategic places around the perimeter of the grounds. Subsequent inquiry revealed that a total of forty of these were placed on the grounds and were serviced twice during the three day festival. 48

At 2:00 p.m. the sun began to come out and soft oriental music could be heard coming from a tent at the southwest corner of the grounds as the writer walked by. An interview with one of the CMC brothers revealed that complaints were being heard by the priests regarding the allocation of camp spaces.⁴⁹

At 2:40 p.m. the writer interviewed Le Hau from Lincoln, Nebraska. Mr. Hau, a field underwriter for an insurance company, said he had been to 12 previous celebrations. While engaged in conversation with him, several young men in clerical attire (40 to 50 in number) exited the chapel in a double line and approached the spot where the writer and Mr. Hau were sitting. Mr. Hau stood up as they came near, but the writer had to be prompted to do so by a not-too-subtle look from Mr. Hau. Mr. Hau excused himself immediately after the solemn procession had passed. Shortly afterwards, Brother Peter of the CMC, who had acted as the writer's host at a lunch in the CMC dining room on a previous visit, came by and gave the writer a printed English version of the scheduled events of the celebration (See Appendix A).

Two young Vietnamese boys (aged 15 and 16 respectively, and born in the United States) from Orange County, California,

interviewed by the writer said, "the celebration is fun times." They had attended five previous reunions and said they were planning to meet friends from Texas, because a reunion with them had been arranged. They were anticipating a lot of fun in the reunion with the opposite sex. The irony of their girl watching in the shadow of the Statue of Mary at the entrance to the prayer garden, in contrast with the reverence shown for the young priests that had been witnessed earlier, was not unnoticed by the writer.

At 2:30 p.m. Father Alphonso came by and reminded the writer that without a pass it would be impossible to park very close to the grounds after 12:00 noon on Wednesday. All people who were not permanent residents of the area were restricted from driving into the area of the celebration without a pass.

At 3:40 p.m., while interviewing the Chief of Police at the police command post, there was a constant stream of campers, mini-vans and cars entering the grounds. Workers were engaged in erecting a large sign announcing the start of construction on a new auditorium to be completed within 300 days. The Chief told the writer to feel free to use the command post facilities and instructed Lieutenant Davis, who was in command of Marian Days security, to be certain that the writer secured a pass allowing free access with a vehicle to the grounds before the street barricades were in place on Wednesday. In retrospect, the Chief said he should have set up road blocks two or three years earlier than they were.

At that moment, two young blond girls walking across the grounds were noticed. Upon inquiry by the writer, Chief Ellefsen said they probably lived in the immediate area and that there was also a certain amount of curiosity exhibited by some of the teenagers who lived close by.⁵²

Leaving the command post, the writer walked across the street to the north where a man was working in his garden. Clayton Metcalf, the gardener (78 years old and born in Carthage) said he owned the house next door (a rental house which was roped off with no trespassing signs in the yard) and the vacant lot that he gardens. Mr. Metcalf said that although he did not like the police, he did like the Vietnamese and had never had any trouble with them. He used to let them camp on the vacant lot when he was not gardening it. Mr. Metcalf, the owner of an auto supply business in Carthage and also a member of the Board of Directors of the Southwest Missouri Bank in Carthage, indicated he had more problems with the police than the Vietnamese. He felt that the police were over-doing things and that the kids (Vietnamese) are Americans. He said, "The Chief is just standing over there waiting to nail one of them. "53 Mr. Metcalf also said that he thought the people of Carthage could treat the Vietnamese people a lot better than they do.

Although there was a mass of people moving about, children playing and people entering the grounds, there was an atmosphere of reverence present throughout the grounds. In spite of the large number of people already there and the work

of setting up booths and camp tents, it was unusually quiet. As the writer was leaving the grounds at 4:15 p.m., the sun was coming out and it was hot and sultry.

Day Three

When the writer arrived at the celebration site on the third day it was cloudy, sprinkling rain, and religious music was being played over the public address system. With camera case and notebook in hand, the writer proceeded to the police command post where a huge black man was sitting on one of the benches under the protection of an awning. He introduced himself as Jerry Downs from the Kansas City Office of Immigration. He was originally from South Dakota and had been with the Immigration Department since 1978. He and his partner, Jesse Stoker, whom he introduced to the writer, were there to assist the local police with identification problems and look for alien gang members and people wanted by immigration authorities.⁵⁴

This was the first time for either of these agents to attend the Marian Days festival and both thought it was a great idea for the Vietnamese people. Mr. Stoker voiced the opinion that perhaps it should be more open and that the general public should be encouraged to attend. He expressed his opinion that Vietnamese people seem to be isolating themselves because they think Americans hate them. 55 Mr. Downs was a Vietnam veteran, having served there in 1967-68, and said he used to speak Vietnamese. He indicated that he thought that too many of the Vietnamese that supported the

United States during the war were left behind. He also voiced the opinion that a celebration of this kind would probably have many more problems if held in some large city. 56

The agents viewed the checkpoints that were to be installed later in the day as a means of reducing drug and alcohol problems. Identifying gang members and keeping a close watch on them also would help to reduce extortion that was known to have taken place in the past. According to them, the first year the checkpoints were installed, 67 or 68 weapons were confiscated in contrast with the seven that were picked up in 1991. Confiscating the weapons helped to prevent violence and served to protect the people on the grounds, the agents indicated.

An interview with the Carthage Fire Chief revealed that the fire department would drive through the established fire lanes on the grounds every two hours to make certain they were kept open. Two firemen working six-hour shifts would remain on duty on the grounds twenty-four hours a day until the reunion ended. In addition, police officers would be walking beats in pairs throughout the grounds, and the CMC Brothers would assist in keeping the fire lanes open. The greatest fear for the Fire Chief was that a fire might break out in the extremely crowded camping area during windy conditions. 57

At 11:10 a.m. the writer started on another tour of the grounds. Two police officers returning from their foot patrol remarked to the writer that everything was progressing smoothly. They expressed the view that a lot of credit for

reducing crowd control problems belonged to the CMC Brothers who kept the religious influence going. Two workers from the R. E. Smith Construction Company were marking the site of a new auditorium in preparation for ground breaking ceremonies that were to be held later in the day. Religious music continued to be piped through speakers of the public address system.

At 11:25 a.m. a photograph was taken of an elderly Vietnamese woman dressed in her native costume. She was standing in front of the registration tent. Her teeth were totally black, a condition that probably resulted from chewing beetle nuts, according to the CMC Brother the writer was interviewing at the time. The brother also informed the writer that the registration tent served two purposes: it assisted people in contacting other people that were in attendance at the Marian Days celebration, and also served as a means of determining accurately the number in attendance. 59

At 11:45 a photograph of a young Vietnamese girl, her hair bleached red, was taken in front of a food tent. A sharp contrast in appearance between some of the teenage boys and girls was noted throughout the celebration.

Workers from Allen Rentals in Springfield, Missouri, were unloading tables and folding chairs in the service tent area shortly before noon. Inquiry revealed that the company was supplying 300 tables and 5500 chairs for the festival. 60

Walking back through the central portion of the grounds, the writer was deeply impressed by the expressions on the faces of the people wandering through the prayer garden looking for names on the plaques placed there in commemoration of those known to be deceased. The flower garden in which the plaques were located offered a beautiful background. In the writer's opinion, the prayer garden and plaques served as a cemetery.

Back in the camping area an interview with a teenage girl and boy aged 15 and 16, respectively, took place. They were from Lansing, Michigan. The boy had been in the U.S. a year and a half and loved it here. The girl was born in the United States and could not remember how many times she had been to the celebration. They both liked the reunion because they said that it afforded them the opportunity to know more about Marian and praying to Mary. 61

An older sister of the girl approached and inquired as to what the writer was doing. The writer's explanation that information was being gathered for a study of the Marian Days celebration and the people attending it was accepted. The protective intent of the older woman was very evident. That served as a restraint for the writer throughout the balance of the celebration in approaching young persons.

The older sister was born in Vietnam and had come to the United States 17 years earlier from Saigon. In response to the question of what they disliked most about the United States, the indication from both was the "unfriendly people." The younger girl expressed her resentment at people making fun of her culture. She said the black people were more likely

than whites to make fun of her culture, but she said both populations did so. The earliest memories of trips to the Marian Days reunion reported by both girls was of people staring at them, but both of them said "people are more friendly now." 63

Police roll call was held at 12:45 p.m. Immediately thereafter officers moved to install road blocks and traffic control at all points simultaneously at 1:00 p.m. As the road blocks were being put into place, a truck hauling a bulldozer entered the grounds in further preparation for the ground-breaking ceremonies at the auditorium construction site.

Walking south on Grand Avenue from the checkpoint at Highland Avenue, the writer attempted to interview one of the local residents who had roped off her yard and posted no trespassing signs. The resident was in her front yard. When approached by the writer she turned her back and went into the house. Two blocks farther south on Grand Avenue the writer again approached a lady in her front yard and received a very cordial welcome. She invited the writer to come around to the patio in back of the house and said she would get her husband.

From 1:20 p.m. until 2:30 p.m. the writer enjoyed interviewing Mr. and Mrs. Hibbs while sitting on their patio and drinking iced tea. Those very gracious people had lived in their present home for 32 years and had lived next door for ten years prior to moving into their present home. Mr. Hibbs recalled that attendance at the first Marian Days celebration was about 1000 people. They had seen many changes without

realizing it, as was indicated when they said, "you do not see so many older people now." They used to see a man and wife with small children accompanied quite often by a grandmother and grandfather. They also noted that in times past the police were not so well organized. They revealed that there were problems in the neighborhood caused by the presence of the participants, but they personally had never had any. However, they reported that in 1989 they had watched a couple wrapped in a grass mat copulating in the alley behind their house. It was also the opinion of Mr. and Mrs. Hibbs that the younger people came for beer and women rather than for religious purposes.

Two years ago the church authority (CMC) seemed to have requested help from civil authorities for the first time. In 1990 the Hibbs had heard about threats and extortion during the celebration. Since the police began setting up checkpoints, the Hibbs have watched as cases of beer were being poured out before the police would allow persons to enter the grounds with their automobiles. They said they have also witnessed the confiscation of guns and the restriction of local traffic, especially teenage traffic in the area. In the opinion of Mr. and Mrs. Hibbs, traffic control should have been installed two years before it was and that church authorities seem to have finally realized that not everyone comes to the celebration solely for religious reasons. The priests could not by themselves control their own people.

The Hibbs saw the reunion as a positive economic help for

the community. At times it did become rather noisy and the Hibbs wished the public address system would be turned off, although some of the music sounded beautiful to them. Neither Mr. nor Mrs. Hibbs had ever gone through the grounds while the celebration was in progress. They had only watched from their home. However, they both expressed the thought that it would probably be a lot worse if it was a gathering of Americans.

To the Hibbs it was obvious that a lot of planning had taken place, although in their opinion the event could be a time bomb. When the celebration was initially started, veterans used to drive around town with flags displayed because they saw the Vietnamese people as enemies. The Hibbs believe the Vietnamese people have recognized their opportunity and taken advantage of it, as is evidenced by their nice cars and clothes. Mrs. Hibbs said that although some real nice people had parked in front of their house and sat in the shade on their lawn, some had driven into the yard, which was something the Hibbs did not appreciate. The second or third year of the reunion another problem arose when someone wanted to put a pony ride next door on the corner. Also, the Nazarene church across the street had some problems with vandalism and hired a private agency to guard the property during the reunion.65

After leaving the Hibbs residence the writer went to the service tent area. An interview with Jos Phamductrinh in tent number seven was enjoyed along with a lunch of egg-rolls and shrimp. Mr. Phamductrinh had been an officer in the

Vietnamese Army. He said that when he left Vietnam on a shrimp boat with his people he had no idea of going to the United States. This was Mr. Phamductrinh's third year to attend the festivities. He felt that this was a very good location for the people to meet. The reunion allowed the boys and girls a chance to talk with each other, build up cultural ideas, express their faith, and offered the opportunity to come back to God.

He had brought about 200 young people from the Phuoc Thand Mission in Palacios, Texas, to the reunion to help with the food, for the opportunity to gain the gift of faith, and have more exposure to their language and culture. According to Mr. Phamductrinh, most of the young people in the United States have a chance to survive long enough "to grow up" in contrast with children in the country he left.

There was a large number of people in and around the food tent, and the music inside the tent was very loud. The food was not bad, although it was very expensive. The writer was charged \$7.50 for the egg-rolls, shrimp and coffee (which was served with cream and sugar that was not requested). There were a number of young Vietnamese girls outside the food tent attempting to entice people inside. Three blond teenage girls followed by two tough looking Vietnamese boys walked past the food tent, an unusual grouping of young people on the celebration grounds.

At 4:35 p.m. an interview was granted the writer by Mrs. Hoi Ngo from Wichita Falls, Texas. She had escaped from

Saigon in 1975 with her husband, his mother and sister, her four daughters and two sons. They were taken by a U.S. Navy ship to the Philippines and then to Wake Island. They were flown from there to Ft. Chaffee, Arkansas, where they were registered for sponsorship by a Catholic Church in Ohio. While at Ft. Chaffee, Mrs. Ngo gave birth to another girl. Later, her husband, who had been in the in Vietnamese Marines, secured work at the Sheppard Air Force Base in Wichita Falls, Texas. He worked there for two years before dying from a heart attack. Shortly before his death fourteen years ago, Mrs. Ngo had her eighth child, another girl. Mrs. Ngo said that her elder son, now twenty-eight, had been here at the CMC Seminary for 14 years and the priests had helped her pray after her husband's death.

Mrs. Ngo, who spoke no English before coming to the United States, said she enjoyed the freedoms and opportunities available in this country. She loved her native country, but she believes the future is better here. Her first job in the United States was working for Johnson and Johnson folding sheets for hospital supplies, but now she works for Levi Strauss Company. Mrs. Ngo said the only Marian Days reunion she had missed was the year her husband died, stating "this place, very good prayer place."

As the writer was leaving the grounds at 6:20 p.m., three white teenage girls were entering the grounds on the north side. Law enforcement officers were very visible. Two uniformed officers walking beats, and three officers on four

wheelers patrolling the perimeters were seen. Asian task force officers and immigration officers in civilian clothes were also seen patrolling or walking beats as if they were just a part of the local establishment.

Day Four

Numerous people walking to and from the shopping center and busses transporting people to the main entrance of the grounds were observed and religious music was being played over the public address system when the writer arrived at the police command post at 10:45 a.m. on the fourth day of observations, a beautiful sunny morning. Detective Williams, wearing civilian clothes, informed the writer that things had been very quiet that morning, although they had just moved some Vietnamese people who were attempting to camp on a private lot illegally. He said that a number of local people had come to sample the food and one local man had planned his birthday party to be observed during Marian Days so that he and his friends could all come to the celebration to eat.68

There was a steady stream of cars arriving as the writer started a tour of the area. In contrast to an earlier observance of the American Flag being displayed and the yard roped off with no trespassing signs posted, another house was observed flying the American Flag and the yard was full of Vietnamese camping tents. An interview with Kim V. Toan from Canada, revealed that he had never missed a Marian Days celebration and that for the past two years he had been allowed to camp on the same private property. 69

The CMC grounds was a sea of tents but very little litter was observed on the grounds or in the streets. The seminary brothers were observed throughout the week making the rounds of the area picking up litter bags that were full and replacing them with empty ones.

As the writer toured the grounds it was noticed that soft to medium-loud rock and roll music could be heard coming from stereos in parked vehicles or tents. At 11:52 a.m. immigration and Asian crime investigators were observed searching the car of four young Vietnamese males. An interesting comment on the incident was made by Lieutenant Willowby of the New Orleans Police Asian task force, who said "more people put themselves in jail than the police do."70 It seemed that the major problem with the boys was that they did not have their green cards with them. However, one of the boys was a suspected gang member from Ft. Worth, Texas, according to An interview with three young local boys, the policeman. sitting on their bicycles and watching the police take action, resulted in the following responses: the first said "it's crazy, why did they have to pick this town."71 The second said "it's interesting, a good time for them to get together, does not bother me."72 The third said "fine by me, I live across the street."73

On his way to the food tent area, one very elderly Vietnamese man, walking alone and smiling, was observed by the writer singing to the music being played over the public address system. In the Knights of Columbus food tent the

writer interviewed Father Raymond Orff, pastor of the St. Ann's church, in Carthage. Father Orff had been present when the first seventy-five Vietnamese priests and brothers arrived at the seminary. He said that he had never seen "a more dejected group of people," and then went on to say "that what you were seeing here was charity in action according to St. Paul" Father Orff said he had been told by one of the Vietnamese Fathers that there were spies from North Vietnam present at the celebration.

On the way back to the police command post the writer noted that one of the food tents was designated for the purpose of raising money for refugees in Southeast Asia. Another interesting observation was of one young police officer carrying a night stick on his belt and paying for his food with a voucher. Upon arriving back at the police command post the writer asked the Chief about observations he had made. The Chief said that the CMC took care of seeing that the officers were not charged for their food. As for carrying night sticks, the uniform commission had decided against it but that each district wore their own uniforms. The Chief also said that this year there was the highest response of investigators from outside the area that had occurred. During the interview with the Chief, a young Vietnamese girl approached him and asked if there was any volunteer work she and her two girlfriends could do. The chief told her to just go have fun and later commented to the writer that hers was the first time he had such an inquiry.

In response to the question of how he viewed the Marian Days celebration, Chief Ellefsen said that he had the advantage of having worked thirteen years with the Vietnamese CMC. He said that he had "always admired them and that when you stood back and watched the pageantry and their faith you could understand them better." He also said that he "thought the majority of Vietnamese are misunderstood."

A tour of the inside of the police command post, granted to the writer by Chief Ellefsen, was conducted by Communications Officer Trudy Waggoner. Officer Waggoner explained that two surveillance cameras were set up at the checkpoint at Grand and Fairview avenues, the only place anyone could enter the area. This was to keep an eye on the officers for their own protection because this was the most likely spot for trouble. A chart of where officers were located was kept and a record was made of where they checked in from while on patrol. A nationwide computer hookup was maintained through the state motor vehicle department to assist in the identification and wanted status of individuals and vehicles. The officers on duty at the grounds were linked to the command post on a separate radio channel which allowed them to function separately from other law enforcement agencies. The police command post was connected to the main police station and other local law and emergency agencies by radio and phone. Officer Waggoner said there were thirteen outside law enforcement agencies represented at the celebration. 77

After touring the command post the writer was invited to

accompany officer Am Truong (a former Vietnamese fighter pilot), a criminal investigator from the Tarrant County, Texas (Ft. Worth) District Attorneys office, to the food tent area for coffee. According to Mr. Troung, if the celebration were to be held in Ft. Worth there was every likelihood that at least one drive-by shooting would occur. He was of the opinion that Vietnamese gangs were the worst as they preyed most of the time on other Asians. As he expressed it, Asians, especially the Vietnamese, seldom if ever report illegal events to the police. "Vietnamese people hate the uniformed police and are fearful of the plain-clothed police because of experiences in their native country," he asserted.76

Sitting in the food tent and drinking coffee offered the opportunity to observe without being observed, according to Mr. Troung, as he pointed out characteristics of the passing people. Two things he called to the writer's attention that marked the Asian gang member, or potential member, were (1) tattoos or weird haircuts for the boys, and (2) girls with semi-bleached hair or wearing short shorts. He also made the point that Vietnamese gangs were completely different from other gangs.⁷⁹

Mr. Troung and the writer were joined by Lieutenant Willowby from the New Orleans Asian Task Force and Jerry Downs from the immigration department. Mr. Downs expressed his opinion that there were North Vietnam agents present at the celebration but that their presence could not be proven. 80 Lieutenant Willowby said he had apprehended a fugitive from

his jurisdiction on the previous day, a person whom he had spent two years attempting to apprehend. Because the Asian gang members move around a lot and exchange information, the Asian Task Force agents were doing the same. They were identifying and pointing out known gang members from their jurisdictions to other task force personnel present at the celebration.⁸¹

At 5:40 p.m. people started to gather in front of and beside the chapel as open confession booths were being set up on the lawn. Young children were becoming a little more rowdy and there was a noticeable difference in the number of teenagers that presented an Americanized appearance. According to Sergeant Van Bennett, these are the only ones with whom the police ever have trouble. 82

At 7:00 p.m. people started gathering for the ground breaking ceremonies of the new auditorium to be built in 1993. The event was completed at 7:25 p.m. and the crowd started moving toward the front of the administration building for the opening ceremony of the fifteenth annual Marian Days Celebration, which would then be followed by a Pontifical Mass scheduled to begin at 8:00 p.m. The congestion of vehicles still arriving, coupled with the number of people walking in the street, required the attention of several police officers.

A cool breeze accompanied the opening music and the arrival of the statue of Mary at the platform for the opening ceremony. Two local women passed by while walking in the street without looking at the activities taking place.

Several local people were observed viewing the ceremonies while other local residents were passing by jogging, bicycling or merely taking their evening walk.

An open area approximately one-half block in size was reserved in front of the administration building for ceremonies. During the opening ceremony it was a sea of black heads over white shirts and blouses. Except for an occasional crying child, it was very quiet during breaks in the activities. The shadows of people moving around in the camp area could be seen. Police Detective Williams later told the writer that usually one person remained at their camp site to protect it during the celebration and that few of the Vietnamese people left the area at night. 83

Day Five

The writer did not arrive at the celebration site until 11:15 a.m. on the fifth day of observations as it had been raining earlier. An older woman and a teenage girl walking towards the celebration site were asked what they thought of the event. Their response was "very good, they guessed" as they continued on their way.

At the police command post the writer was introduced to Joseph Rodriguez from the U.S. Department of Justice office in Kansas City, Missouri. Mr. Rodriguez was there to see if any problems concerning the violation of civil rights existed and if they needed to be investigated by his agency. He had been informed of the Marian Days event by the Atlanta, Georgia, office.⁸⁵

A female deputy sheriff on duty at one of the checkpoints said she had a better and more favorable view of the Vietnamese people now than just after the end of the war in She did not think that this many white people, Vietnam. crowded together so closely, would be as peaceful and respectful as the Vietnamese. She said that the previous year, while alone at a roadblock, she had been friendly toward a group of Vietnamese teenagers and that later they had brought her a half-dozen large donuts. The previous year she said a very "classy"86 lady had sat down next to her in one of the food tents and translated a conversation between a teenage girl and an older girl concerning the objections of the parents of the younger girls' becoming too Americanized. According to the deputy, there are a number of Vietnamese teenagers that attend the celebration unchaperoned.87

Masses, conferences, and prayers, for various purposes were scheduled throughout the fifth day of observation (See Appendix A). There seemed to be an overflow crowd at each activity suggested by the number exiting the buildings upon completion of the event. The prayer tent, a 60- by 90-foot structure, was overflowing each time an event was held there. The prayer garden overlooked by the statue of Mary was usually very crowded and the area seemed to be the favorite place for people to meet. It was also close to the registration tent, which served the primary purpose of assisting people to locate one another.

Across the street from the main entrance to the grounds

one of the local Baptist churches had set up a stand which offered free lemonade or ice water to the visitors. They were also passing out their religious literature printed in Vietnamese (See Appendix B). The pastor of the church said he thought the event had grown too large, but that if you put that many Baptists in the same place it would look like a "pig pen." 88

At 1:42 p.m. the police, using a drug dog, were in the process of searching a vehicle for drugs at the main check station. At the same time, numerous people were observed walking to and from the shopping center located approximately ten blocks away. Some of those returning were pushing shopping carts laden with their purchases. Friendly greetings were exchanged between the people and the officers directing traffic at this intersection. One of the officers from the Joplin Police Department said that he had worked the event for four years and enjoyed doing so. He indicated that there had never been any real problem of which he was aware during those years. He also said that the Carthage police department had always treated him "nice." He worked at the celebration during his off-duty hours for the Carthage police department.

At 3:08 p.m. the writer arrived at the QUAN BIEN seafood restaurant (See Appendix C) where a seat was found in front of an oscillating fan. The weather was sultry, stiflingly hot, and not a breath of air was moving. Sitting there in the shade with a breeze from the fan, and a cold drink in hand, the writer could not help but wonder about conditions inside

camp tents that were fully exposed to the sun.

There was a large-screen television at the back of the food tent showing what appeared to be a Vietnamese movie. The volume was quiet loud. The first and only outburst of loud greetings and hugging observed by the writer throughout the entire celebration took place when two teenage boys walked into the tent. The greeting exchange took place between the boys and seven teenage girls already present in the tent.

At 4:00 p.m. the writer returned to the police command post where officers were in the process of putting up a bulletin board of Asians wanted by police authorities. Captain Davis informed the writer that the event offered a prime opportunity to apprehend criminals as they traveled a lot and a number of them were known to have attended the celebration in the past. 90 A short time after the wanted posters were put up, 25 Vietnamese people were gathered around the bulletin board. Throughout the remainder of the celebration, large numbers of people were observed looking at the wanted posters, and, on a few occasions, information was given to the officers regarding the whereabouts of some of those listed. Police Chief Ellefsen informed the writer that people had been inquiring for two days as to when the bulletin board would be put up.91 The writer was unable to determine the reason for this attraction.

Earlier in the day an interesting and contradictory observation had been made. The Church of the Nazarene, located immediately across the street south of the celebration

site, had their large paved parking lot and vacant ground roped off with no trespassing signs in place. Across the street and immediately to the west of the Nazarene church, the Fairview Christian Church's smaller parking lot was full of vehicles and a number of Catholic Sisters were seen entering and leaving the church building. Captain Davis said that in the past the Church of the Nazarene allowed the visitors to park on their grounds, but complaints caused them to discontinue the practice. However, he said the Fairview Christian Church allowed the sisters to stay in their basement. 92

One of the numerous people crowding around the wanted bulletin board, Paul Mguayn, a twenty-three years old man from Oakland, California, had previously lived in Carthage and attended the Catholic school in Joplin. Mr. Mguayn said that he had attended all of the previous Marian Days celebrations and viewed them as an excellent time for the people to come together, not only to renew their faith, but also to provide mutual support for each other in a foreign land and culture.

In explaining what he meant about mutual support, he gave two examples. The first was the exchange of news. He had just been informed that a friend of his had escaped from Vietnam after being imprisoned for fifteen years. Mr. Mguayn said that all news was not good news, but at least the wondering and speculation could be set aside. His second example was the police bulletin board. From his point of view the Carthage police department had built up a trust with the

people that they (the Vietnamese) had never experienced before. He called the writers attention to two young girls looking at the wanted posters and gesturing very excitedly. As the writer watched, the two girls left the bulletin board and approached the police chief. Mr. Mguayn's explanation of this exchange was that either the girls had seen one of the wanted men at the celebration or they had information as to where the person might be located. In either case, Mr. Mguayn did not feel that this exchange of information would take place anywhere else.⁹³

Mr. Mguayn's assessment of the girls actions was correct in every sense. After the two girls left the police command post the chief very quietly passed the information he had received to the watch commander and members of the Asian task force present at that time. Chief Ellefsen later confirmed to the writer that the girls had spotted one wanted man at the celebration and that two of the wanted men had been seen in the area where the girls lived. 94

During these interviews a number of local people were observed entering the grounds. Most appeared to be middle aged or older and were walking toward the food tent area. Two men from the Law Enforcement Television Network arrived and began filming a documentary on the procedures employed by the Carthage police department for crowd control. According to Ricardo Guzman, producer of the documentary, the television network serviced 3700 police departments nationwide and in Canada by satellite. 95

Many Vietnamese people were still taking advantage of the outdoor confession booths as the writer moved toward the front entrance of the grounds. A Pontifical mass in honor of 117 martyred Vietnamese saints began at 7:00 p.m. and was followed by an entertainment program. Several local people were standing in the street watching or just passing by, and their number increased as the entertainment continued. impossible to make an accurate count of their number as the crowd filled the street as well as the reserved space on the grounds. A young Vietnamese man from the University of Texas-Arlington informed the writer that the entertainment program would be a combination of folk, popular, and comedy music. This was the second Marian Days celebration he had attended and he expressed his opinion that the CMC fathers and brothers "poured their hearts out"96 to provide a gathering place for their people.

Day Six

The writer did not arrive at the grounds until 10:50 a.m. on the morning of the sixth day. It had rained hard earlier in the day. There were 35 Vietnamese people gathered around the police bulletin board where 45 wanted posters were displayed. Detective Williams informed the writer that everything had been very quiet to that point and that the interaction between the Vietnamese visitors and the police department had improved each year. Jose Lema from the Chicago Asian Task Force office of the F.B.I attributed the improvement to the high degree of professionalism exhibited.

He also expressed the opinion that the cooperation between the representatives from various outside law enforcement agencies present and the local police department was one of mutual respect.98

While touring the food tent area six young Caucasian men from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints were encountered. The young men said that they were there to sample the food and to observe the methods employed by the CMC in conducting the celebration. 99

The food tents served a number of purposes. They provided a means for the various organizations to raise funds for themselves and the CMC, a place where the visitors could eat without leaving the grounds and, to a certain degree, attract some of the local people to the event. By allowing the Knights of Columbus to have a food tent offering snow cones, hotdogs, and hamburgers, the support of the local Catholics was increased, according to one of the men working in the tent. He also felt that this in turn would help improve the relationship between the local people and the visitors. A list of the different cities and organizations represented by the food tents was compiled at that time (See Appendix D).

The food tent area presented an atmosphere of a county fair. The writer spent most of the afternoon in different tents observing the people. Although teenagers were predominant in the area during the observation period, there were also a large number of children in the area. Most were

accompanied either by their parents or an older sibling. Two white teenage girls accompanied by three Vietnamese boys were observed going into one of the tents. A Vietnamese and a black teenager were seen leaving another tent together. At various times throughout the afternoon small groups of local people were observed entering or leaving the area.

While interviewing a Vietnamese man from Kansas City, Missouri, three Vietnamese teenagers passed by in front of the food tent where the interview was taking place. The young men had their shirts off and large tattoos of a scorpion could be seen on their backs. The Vietnamese gentleman being interviewed expressed both a hatred and fear of these young men and was of the opinion that they were gang members up to no good and should not be allowed on the grounds. He said that they were very intimidating and felt they interfered with the festivities. This was his eleventh year to attend the celebration with his wife and eight boys. 101

While still in the food tent another interview with a young Vietnamese man from Houston, Texas, was conducted. He voiced a similar opinion regarding the presence of suspected gang members but felt that the police were doing a good job of keeping them under control while on the grounds. This was his first time to attend the celebration and he had brought his aunt and uncle who had come here from Thailand to attend the event. 102

Later in the afternoon the writer returned to the police command post where 18 Vietnamese people were observed gathered

around the bulletin board of wanted criminals. Captain Davis was engaged in calming a crying lost youngster (holding him on his lap) with the aid of some older Vietnamese children while one of the other police officers was in the process of contacting the CMC brothers by radio to come and assist in locating the child's family.

Two different groups of Vietnamese were there waiting for the locksmith that had been called to aid them. They had lost the keys to their vehicles. Another group was gathered around a young man laying on the ground being attended by paramedics. It was believed that he had consumed some Coleman lantern fuel. He was taken to the Carthage hospital shortly thereafter.

At 4:45 p.m. the Carthage emergency support people began to arrive. Their purpose was to assist in traffic control during the major event of the celebration: the Solemn Procession of the International Pilgrim Statue of Our Lady of Fatima. This procession, led by the American Flag and His Eminence Bernard Cardinal Law, Archbishop of Boston, traveled an eight block route and was nearly seven blocks long (See Appendix E). The large number of Vietnamese participating in the parade in their native dress presented a very colorful spectacle. The participants ranged in age from babes in arms to the very elderly, including some in wheelchairs. Numerous people were observed fingering their Rosary beads as they passed the writer's observation point. The Statue of our Lady of Fatima re-entered the celebration grounds to the

accompaniment of music and the clapping of hands.

From the writer's vantage point, a number of local people were seen observing the parade. Among the spectators was a black man, woman, and teenage girl. An interview during the parade with a white man form Dallas, Texas, whose Vietnamese wife was participating in the parade, revealed that this was his second time to attend the celebration. His wife, who was forty years old, had relatives in California and Australia. However, most of her relatives were still in Vietnam, including all of her siblings.

The gentleman informed the writer that one Chinese, two Vietnamese and several Japanese families lived in his immediate neighborhood in Dallas and that all had been bothered by Asian gangs. However, his personal family had not been bothered nor had any of his white neighbors, so far as he knew. 103

The evening concluded with a pontifical mass in honor of the Immaculate Heart of Mary conducted by His Eminence, Bernard Cardinal Law, Archbishop of Boston, with papal blessing followed by a hymnal performance that lasted until midnight. The writer was unable to determine whether the performers were amateur or professional.

Day Seven

The day's activities began at 7:00 a.m. with a Pontifical Mass in Honor of Mary's Assumption. This was followed by the closing ceremony and the farewell procession. A mass exodus then began so that by noon few people remained on the grounds.

A number of people were heard shouting goodbyes' to the chief of police as they passed the command post, telling him that they would see him next year. The brothers from the seminary going about the neighborhood picking up debris and mounds of garbage bags were the only evidence that remained to indicate that a huge celebration had just concluded. Just prior to the writer leaving the grounds that afternoon a middle-aged Vietnamese man approached the Police Chief and requested permission to look at the wanted posters that had been removed from the bulletin board.

No estimate of the number of people attending the fifteenth annual Marian days celebration was forthcoming at that time. However, during a later telephone interview with Mrs. Diane Ott, spokesperson for the Congregation of the Mother CoRedemptrix, the writer was informed the attendance was estimated to be in excess of 50,000.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

A brief history of the site of the Marian Days celebration, the city of Carthage, Missouri, from its bloodless beginning, through the violent Civil War period, and later violent acts, was presented. The progressive, positive, development of the city was described. The evolution of the site where the Marian Days celebrations are held was emphasized. The often-troubled development of the Congregation of the Mother CoRedemptrix was traced from its conception in Vietnam to its uniting with the celebration site and the city of Carthage.

Also presented was a brief sketch of the growth of the Marian Days celebration from a small religious/family reunion into an immense event that attracts people from all over the world. The gradual and increasing involvement of the Carthage police department in the event and the cooperation between the police department and the CMC to promote as peaceful a gathering as possible was presented. The growing interest in the event by outside law enforcement agencies and the reason for their interest was included. The lack of factual knowledge about the celebration by the local public was touched upon and problems for the visitors and the permanent residents was given consideration. Numerous conclusions may be drawn from this information.

Conclusions

The historical research indicates that happenstance is the reason for the Marian Days celebration taking place in the heartland of America. The refugee priests and brothers of the Congregation of the Mother CoRedemptrix needed a place where they could relocate and reunite their order in the United States. There was a sizable number of members of the order located at the refugee camp in Fort Chaffee, Arkansas, not far from Carthage, Missouri. The unused facilities of Our Lady of the Ozarks school in Carthage were still owned by the Oblate fathers, a related Catholic organization, and they were persuaded to allow the refugee congregation to use the site, which later became the main headquarters for the congregation in the United States.

During those first years the congregation devised the Marian Days celebration for the Vietnamese people. There was a sufficient number of Vietnamese people in the surrounding area of Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Missouri to support its modest beginning. Combining the spiritual and the kindred reunion concept, together with the central location, contributed to the celebration's continued growth.

The writer's observations indicated that most of the visitors were engaged in a combined spiritual and family gathering. The conclusion was also reached that there was considerable effort on the part of the older people to preserve their native culture in a foreign land. The behavior of their second generation seemed to follow the pattern

followed by other immigrant populations' second generations as indicated by the dress and hair styles of the younger people, so Americanization would seem inevitable. The manners and politeness of the younger people were exemplary from the writer's viewpoint, however few if any of those attending the celebration had been in the United States prior to 1975.

Most left their native country with little or no material possessions and only limited knowledge of the English language. The affluence acquired since coming to this country, as indicated by the cars, vans, motor homes, and camp tents, seemed remarkable to the writer. The politeness and manners exhibited by them was, however, a pleasing experience in contrast with what the writer had experienced in the past when in crowded conditions, such as a county or state fair. The cleanliness of the people and the way they refrained from littering the celebration grounds was noteworthy.

Other conclusions were reached regarding the small number of local visitors observed in either the food tent area or attending the evening entertainment. It is possible that the novelty of the event has been lost with the regularity of the celebration over the years, or that the large turn-out discourages attendance of those who are merely curious. It is also possible that some might still feel the antagonism remaining from the Vietnamese War, while others might not be interested because of the difference in denomination associated with the celebration. In any case, it was clear that the event does not attract large numbers of non-

Vietnamese persons.

In examining the attitude of the people living in the immediate neighborhood toward the celebration, as indicated by the police survey, it was concluded that similar results would be obtained regardless of the nationality or religious creed of those connected with the celebration. A middle to uppermiddle class neighborhood could be expected to resent intrusion on their lifestyles and the remarkable part from the writer's point of view was the absence of more overt hostility. Perhaps the gradual growth of the event conditioned the neighborhood into being more tolerant of the event.

It is also appropriate to conclude that the extensive amount of preparation and cooperation between the CMC order and the local police department and the overt mutual respect exhibited by these two organizations toward each other has been a major contributing factor in the continued success and growth of the celebration. Both parties have gained the respect of the visitors and the local people and were observed going to great lengths to maintain that respect and cooperation.

The sum of the observations would appear not to support the hypothesis that only minimal cooperation would be observed to exist between the host community and participants in the celebration. Although the residents of Carthage are not enthusiastic supporters of the event, there is cooperation and toleration that contribute to the success of the affair. The hypothesis that the celebration would serve a regional

Vietnamese and area non-Vietnamese population must also be rejected. The event attracts Vietnamese people from all parts of the United States, but also attracts people from other nations. Area non-Vietnamese evidence little interest in it, as is indicated by their low attendance.

Recommendations

Several additional studies could be made of the Marian Days celebration. The economic impact of the event on the local community and the surrounding area would be an excellent study that would be useful to area businesses. Further inquiry into the apparent lack of knowledge about or interest in the celebration by local people would be another appropriate study and it could include a survey of peoples' attitudes about the event.

The celebration and local police crowd control methodology has attracted the attention of law enforcement agencies
from other areas. Why they have so much interest and what
those other agencies have gained should be an excellent study.
Another study that would be productive would be to determine
if there is any other celebration sponsored by a religious
organization in the United States where the local police are
allowed to actually set up headquarters on the property of the
religious organization. A related study would be to determine
the amount of expense for security paid by the sponsoring
religious organization and determining if any other religious
organization does anything like that.

A final recommendation for further study would be to

compare the Marian Days celebration with other pilgrimages of a similar nature elsewhere in the United States.

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APPENDIX A SCHEDULE OF EVENTS

THE FIFTEENTH MARIAN DAYS SCHEDULE OF CELEBRATIONS

(August 6-9, 1992)

THURSDAY, AUGUST 6, 1992 : OPENING

- 09:00 a.m. Confession in the basement of the Immaculate Heart of Mary Strine (IHMS).
- 06:00 p.m. Outdoor confession.
- \08:00 p.m. Opening ceremony of the 15th Marian Days Celebration.
 - * Pontifical Mass in honor of the Blessed Sacrament at the Platform.
 - Principal Celebrant & Homilist: Most Rev. John J. Leibrecht, Bishop of Springfield-Cape Girardeau
 - * The Eucharistic Procession and Benediction.
 - Presider: Most Rev. John J. Leibrecht, Bishop of Springfield-Cape Girardeau.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992: WORSHIP TO THE BLESSED SACRAMENT

- 07:30 a.m. Mass for the Evangelization at the Platform.
- 08:45 a.m. Conference for Youth in the Auditorium.
- 09:00 a,m. Adoration I to pray for the Holy Father Pope John Paul II and the Universal Church in the IHMS.
- 10:00 a.m. Marian Study Program in the Meeting Tent.
- 10:00 a.m. Adoration II to pray for Vietnam and the Catholic Church in Vietnam in the IHMS.
- 11:00 a.m. Adoration III to pray for Peace in the families in the IHMS.
- 11:00 a.m. Conference for World Apostolate of Fatima in the Auditorium.
- 12:00 p.m. Adoration IV to pray for Religious Life and Priestly and Religious Vocations in the IHMS.
- 01:45 p.m. Activities for Teenagers in the Auditorium.
- 02:00 p.m. Meeting of Cursillo at the Cafeteria.
- 02:00 p.m. Mass for the Sick, the Suffering and the Dying in the IHMS.
- 02:30 p.m. Meeting of Reparation Movement at Meeting Tent.
- 03:00 p.m. Continuation of the Conference for Youth in the Auditorium.
- 03:00 p.m. Adoration V to pray for the Persecuted Christians in the IHMS.
- 04:00 p.m. Adoration VI to pray for the Petitions & Needs of Marian Days' Participants in the IHMS.
- 05:00 p.m. Adoration of the Cursillo in the IHMS.
- 05:30 p.m. Outdoor Confession.
- . 07:00 p.m. Pontifical Mass in honor of 117 Martyred Vietnamese Saints at the Platform.
 - Principal Celebrant : Right Reverend Abbot James Jones, OSB. Homilist : A Vietnamese priest.
- . 09:00 p.m.-12:00 p.m. Marian Days Entertainment Performance at the Platform.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 8, 1992: REPARATION TO THE IMMACULATE HEART OF MARY

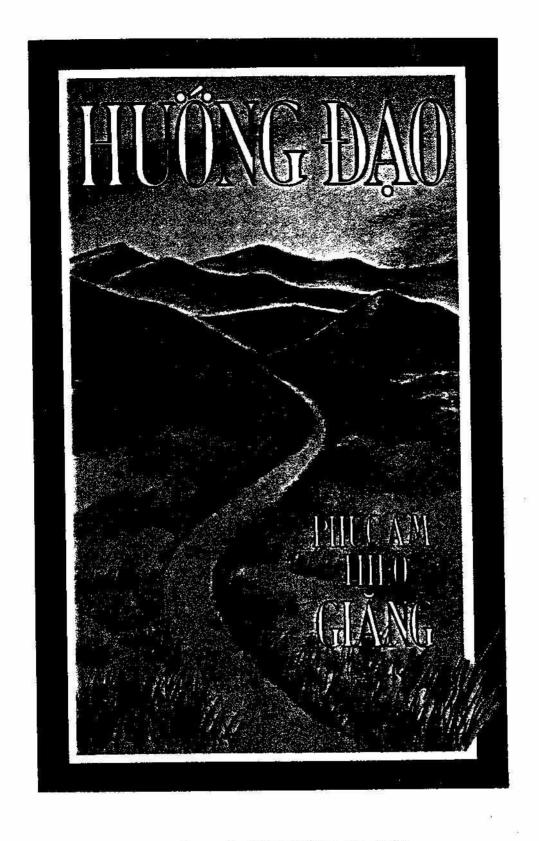
- 07:30 a.m. Mass for Priests, Religious and Seminarians in the IHMS.
- 07:30 a.m. Mass for the Marian Days' Participants at the Platform.
- 08:45 a.m. Continuation of the Conference for Youth in the Auditorium.
- 09:00 a.m. Reparation I of communities in the IHMS.
- 09:00 a.m. Mass for Eucharistic Youths at the Platform,
- 09:00 a.m. Continuation of the Conference of the Family Progress Program in the Meeting Tent.
- 10:00 a.m. Mass and Reparation Hour of the World Apostolate of Fatima in the IHMS.
- 11:00 a.m. Mass for Youth in the Auditorium.
- 11:30 a.m. Reparation II of communities in the IHMS.
- 11:30 a.m. Mass for Family Progress Program participants in Meeting Tent.
- 12:30 p.m. Mass and Reparation of the Reparation Movement in the IHMS.
- 12:30 p.m. Rehearsal for Marian Days' Choir in the Auditorium.
- 02:30 p.m. Mass and Reparation Hour for the Little Soul Movement in the IHMS.
- 02:30 p.m. Conference of the Family Progress Program in the Meeting Tent.
- 02:45 p.m. Activities for Teenagers in the Auditorium.
- 04:00 p.m. Outdoor Confession.
- 4 05:30 p.m. Solemn Procession of the International Pilgrim Statue of Our Lady of Fatima.
 - Presider: His Eminence Bernard Cardinal Law, Archbishop of Boston.
 - 08:00 p.m. Pontifical Mass in bonor of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, Papal Blessing.
 - Principal Celebrant & Homilist: His Eminence Bernard Cardinal Law, Archbishop of Boston.
 - 10:00-12:00 p.m. Hymnal Performance.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 9, 1992 : CLOSING

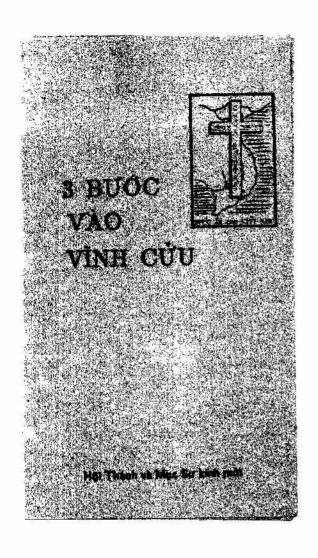
- 07:00 a.m. Pontifical Mass in Honor of Mary's Assumption at the Platform.
 - Principal Celebrant: Very Rev. Pius Nguyen Dan, CMC. Homilist: A Vietnamese priest.

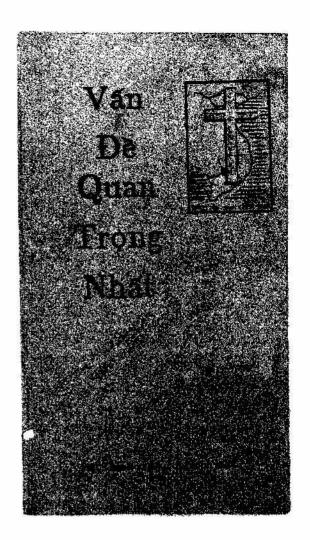
Closing ceremony. Announcing the Sixteenth Marian Days: August 05-08, 1993. Farewell Procession.

APPENDIX B BAPTIST RELIGIOUS LITERATURE



Gospel According to John





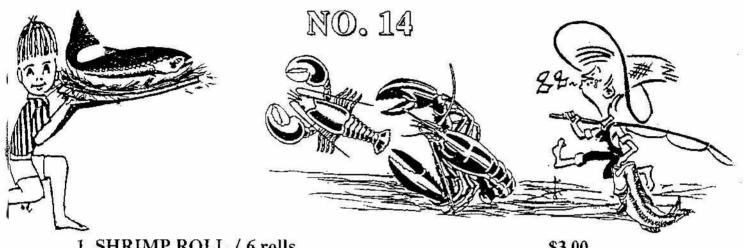
Evangelistic Booklet

Devotional Booklet

APPENDIX C
RESTAURANT MENU

QUÁN BIỂN

SEAFOOD RESTAURANT



| 1. SHRIMP ROLL / 6 rolls | \$3.00 |
|--|--------|
| 2. SHRIMP STEAM or BROIL / dish | \$3.00 |
| 3. CRAB STEAM / 1 crab | \$1.00 |
| 4. CRAB B.B.Q./ 3 crabs | \$3.00 |
| 5. FRENCH SANDWICH / 1 | \$1.50 |
| 6. DUMPLING CAKE FILLED MEAT / 1 | \$1.00 |
| 7. SAUTE SHRIMP, Oriental Spinish soup, Rice | \$3.00 |
| 8. MARINATED FRIED WHITE COD & PICKLE | \$3.00 |
| 9. DEHYRATED FRIED FISH & PICKLE | \$3.00 |
| 10. VERCIMELLI w/ SHRIMP BROTH | \$2.50 |
| 11. VERCIMELLI w/ SHRIMP ROLL | \$3.00 |

BEVERAGE

| 12. COLD DRIKS | \$.50 |
|-----------------------------------|--------|
| 13. FRESH HOMEMADE SOYBEAN DRINKS | \$.50 |

APPENDIX D

FOOD TENTS

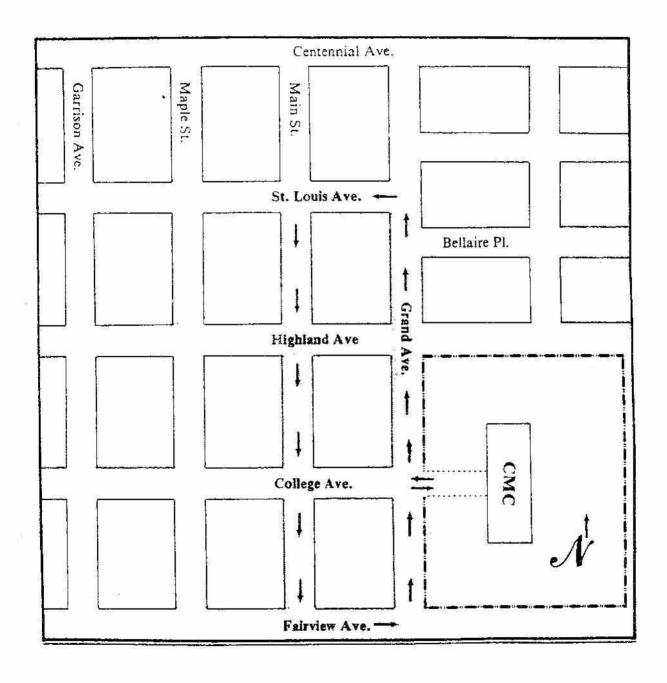
Food Tents

| Tent # 1 | Hu'ng Tho'i | Baltimore, Maryland |
|-----------|-----------------------------------|----------------------|
| Tent # 2 | Qua'n | Wichita, Kansas |
| Tent # 3 | Qua'n Huong Qu | Amarillo, Texas |
| Tent # 4 | Qua'n Suise | Tulsa, Oklahoma |
| Tent # 5 | Quan An Ngo Ngang | Houston, Texas |
| Tent # 6 | Quan An Giao Xu Khiet_Tam MI | Lincoln, Nebraska |
| Tent # 7 | Qaong Doan | Palacios, Texas |
| Tent # 8 | Quan Kar | nsas City, Missouri |
| Tent # 9 | Quan La Vang | New Mexico |
| Tent # 10 | Quong Doan Duc Me Len Troi | Nichita Falls, Texas |
| Tent # 11 | Thanh Tam Sac | cramento, California |
| Tent # 12 | 2 Hong Bang fund raising for Viet | cnamese in S.E. Asia |
| Tent # 13 | B Ta ta da' | Ice Tent \$1.00 |
| Tent # 14 | Quan Bien | Port Arthur, Texas |
| Tent # 15 | 5 Thanh Tam | Houston, Texas |
| Tent # 16 | 5 Quan Hien Thanh | Houston, Texas |
| Tent # 17 | 7 Quan Cong Doan Vietnam | Houston, Texas |
| Tent # 18 | Rnights of Columbus | Carthage, Missouri |
| Tent # 19 | 9 Vietnamese Mutual Inc. | Tulsa, Oklahoma |

APPENDIX E MAP OF PARADE ROUTE

Procession Map

For Marian Days Celebration



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