

# Northwest Passages

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September 2018

## Northwest Passages: A Collection of Historical Writings from the University of Portland 2017-2018

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# Northwest Passages: A Collection of Historical Writings from the University of Portland 2017-2018

## **Authors**

Kale Kanaeholo, Emma Hunter, Mary Sullivan, John Herrmann, Ana Hurley, Emily Nelson, Melinda Roddy, Zoe Haengi Wattenberg, Athena Hills, and McKenna Vorderstrasse

# NORTHWEST PASSAGES



A Collection of Historical Writings  
from the University of Portland  
2017-2018

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2017-2018

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## Introduction

Welcome to the 2017-2018 edition of The University of Portland History Department's student journal, *Northwest Passages*. Under the personal initiation and guidance from Dr. Mark Eifler, an American history professor in the department, we are excited to resurrect this publication after a brief hiatus.

This journal serves as a showcase of student work, specifically senior theses and exceptional submissions in history classes throughout the year. Each spring, junior history majors select a topic which they then research thoroughly into the subsequent semester. This original research provides majors with the opportunity to immerse themselves in primary sources and develop an argument to submit in partial fulfillment of their Bachelor of Arts degree in History.

This year, our contributors wrote on a large scope of topics. Their articles contribute to political, cultural, social, and economic history through a variety of lenses including gender, race, and class. Due to the specificity of topics, the editorial team decided to publish the works with regards to broad themes of the papers. We begin with the works which fall under the general theme of American history, then include those which discuss gender, specifically women's history, and end with pieces providing a more global view of history.

We want to thank the fantastic students who used their interests and passions to create these outstanding submissions. Our journal begins with Kale Kanaeholo's thesis, "Ho'olohe i Nā Mele, Alualu Ka Mana'o Evaluating the Role of Mele Hawai'i in the Second Hawaiian Renaissance," for which the history department awarded him the Rev. Erwin Orkiszewski, C.S.C. Outstanding Thesis Award. We are grateful that Kale also captured and provided the images of the university featured in the journal.

Thank you to each of the professors in the University of Portland History Department for inspiring each of us to become better writers, readers, and citizens of the world. This publication would not be possible without you.

## Northwest Passages Editors

**Mary Sullivan** is the co-editor of *Northwest Passages* and a member of the Class of 2018. As a proud Colorado native and history major, she used her interest in both food and craft beer to create her senior thesis, "Beer Goggles: Looking at Colorado's Cultural, Economic, and Social Developments in the Late Twentieth Century through the Lens of its Brewing Industry" which she has contributed to this journal. Her favorite part of her four years at the University of Portland has been strengthening the history major cohort through her role as president of the History Club.

**Stephanie Rowan** is the co-editor of *Northwest Passages*. Stephanie is from Montrose, Colorado, and is in the Class of 2019 majoring in History and minoring in Psychology. She is interested in social and cultural history in the United States and Latin America during the twentieth century.

**John Herrmann** is a member of the Class of 2019 at the University of Portland, hailing originally from Denver, Colorado. John contributed his article "Historical Preservation in Portland and the Effects on the Growth of a Burgeoning City" along with being an assistant editor on *Northwest Passages*. A history major with a minor in English, his focus lies primarily in social and cultural identity formation in twentieth-century urban settings.

## Section I: American History



## Ho‘olohe i Nā Mele, Alualu Ka Mana‘o

# Evaluating the Role of Mele Hawai‘i in the Second Hawaiian Renaissance

By: Kale K. A. Kanaeholo

### A Note on Language

O ka mea mua, kekahi mea koke e pili ana i ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i: ‘A‘ole e ho‘ohiō ana nā hua‘ōlelo Hawai‘i ma loko o kēia pepa. A ka ‘ōlelo kūhelu o ke aupuni ‘o Hawai‘i, he kuleana na‘u i ko‘u mau kūpuna e ho‘ohana i nā ‘okina ā kahakō pololei a ho‘ohana ‘ole nā hua palapala hiō. A pale kēia mai ka huli ‘ana i kekahi ‘ōlelo maoli i kekahi ‘ōlelo haole.

Aia ana nā wehewehe ‘ana no kēia mau hua‘ōlelo ma hope pono, a hiki ke huli i ‘ike hou ma loko o ka puke wehewehe ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i ai‘ole ma [wehewehe.org](http://wehewehe.org).

Mahalo no kou ho‘omaopopo.

Before I begin, a quick note about the Hawaiian language: The words, in Hawaiian, used throughout this paper will not be italicized. As a recognized, official language of the State of Hawai‘i, I feel that I am obligated to my ancestors to use correct diacritical markings and forgo italics. This also prevents turning an indigenous language into a foreign one.

Definitions for these words will be given immediately after, and further information can be found in the “Glossary of Terms,” the Hawaiian-language dictionary, or on [wehewehe.org](http://wehewehe.org).

Thank you for your understanding.

Throughout this paper, I use the term “kanaka maoli” and “kanaka ‘ōiwi” (plural “kānaka”) interchangeably to refer to Native Hawaiians, the indigenous people of the Hawaiian Islands. The terms signify indigeneity and does not apply to residency (i.e.,

“Californian” refers to a person from California, but “Hawaiian” does not refer to a person from Hawai‘i).

I would also like to mahalo (thank) the following people for their kōkua (assistance) throughout this endeavor:

Dr. Michael Johnson of the University of Portland  
Dr. Michael Puleloa of the Kamehameha Schools  
Kumu Jerald Kimo Keaulana of Honolulu CC  
Dr. Blair Woodard of the University of Portland  
Dr. Ku‘ualoha Ho‘omanawanui of UH-Mānoa  
Ke Ali‘i Bernice Pauahi Bishop, founder of the  
Kamehameha Schools  
Markus Perry for providing translations

My parents, Vincent and Lori  
My sister, Brooke  
My friends, both here in Portland and in Hawai‘i  
My extended family and relatives  
The people involved in the Hawaiian Renaissance  
  
My workshop group for their critiques and  
suggestions

Dedicated to my grandmother, Jean Watanabe

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## Introduction

During the 1960s and 1970s, a cultural revival occurred in Hawai‘i that resulted in the preservation of the Hawaiian culture. This restoration, which became known as the Hawaiian Renaissance, was a pivotal moment in Hawai‘i and Hawaiian history. It shifted attitudes of the indigenous population and influenced the agendas of non-natives in support of Native Hawaiians. The reason for such a resurgence of the Hawaiian culture was due to the consequences of nearly two centuries of Western influence, dominated primarily by the United States.

Starting in the 1960s, the Hawaiian Renaissance reached its peak in the 1970s, and slowly waned in the 1980s; however, its effects can still be seen today. Many elements of the revival contributed to its success, but none proved to be more vital than the impact of music. Mele Hawai‘i, or Hawaiian music, was one of the driving forces in the overall success and legacy of the second Hawaiian Renaissance of the 1960s and 1970s. Music effectively communicated messages and attitudes about the changing social and political worlds to both Native Hawaiians and the general population of Hawai‘i. Music directly influenced the politics in Hawai‘i at the time, the local culture and society of Hawai‘i, and the identity of kānaka maoli (Native Hawaiians). To get a better understanding of how and why such a movement was needed, one needs to evaluate Hawai‘i’s history.



The Kingdom of Hawai‘i was established in 1810 with the unification of the islands by Kamehameha the Great. After his death in 1819 and the ascension to the throne by his eldest son, Liholiho, the Kingdom saw dramatic changes that would leave it vulnerable to foreign influence. The kapu (taboo) system, the system of laws that regulated daily life and society, would be abolished and Christianity would slowly infiltrate the hearts and minds of the ali‘i (chiefs/ chiefesses) such as Ka‘ahumanu, Kamehameha I’s favorite wife and kuhina nui (regent) who reigned alongside Liholiho during the early years of his kingship. The House of Kamehameha would rule the Kingdom until 1874 with the death of Lunalilo. David Kalākaua was elected as king and assumed the throne, establishing the House of Kalākaua. On January 17, 1893, a group of American businessmen, with support from U.S. Marines from the USS Boston, overthrew the Kingdom of Hawai‘i in a coup d’état. Kalākaua’s sister and successor, Queen Lili‘uokalani, was deposed and, in 1898, Hawai‘i became a territory of the United States of America.

The first Hawaiian Renaissance came during the reign of King David Kalākaua, who ruled from 1874 to 1891. During his tenure, he reinstated the art and practice of hula, the traditional dance form of Hawai‘i. Hula was previously outlawed by foreign missionaries due to its pagan and deviant nature but was revived under Kalākaua. At his coronation ceremony, he requested that hula be performed and invited kahuna lapa‘au (medical priest or practitioner) to partake in the festivities. The practice of lā‘au lapa‘au, the medicinal practice of healing using herbal plants, was also brought back with the establishment of the Hawaiian Board of Health.<sup>1</sup> Also during this time, Kalākaua penned “Hawai‘i Pono‘ī,” one of the Kingdom’s national anthems and the current state song of Hawai‘i.<sup>2</sup> He also produced a written version of the Kumulipo, the creation story of Hawai‘i that was traditionally passed down orally. Though this revitalization would be beneficial to the Hawaiian culture, it was short-lived as Kalākaua would die in 1891 and the Kingdom would be abolished just two years later. The loss of the kingdom adversely affected the people and society. As George Kanahale described, “The collapse of national sovereignty had an almost fatal effect on Hawaiian cultural integrity.”<sup>3</sup> An example of this integrity was the capacity for self-governance exhibited by kānaka maoli (Native Hawaiians).

Native Hawaiians exercised a high-level of autonomy during the existence of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i through the establishment of treaties with the major world powers at the

time. For example, the Anglo-Franco Proclamation of 1843 was a joint resolution in which Great Britain and France recognized Hawai‘i as an independent, sovereign state. In 1846, the Kingdom followed this with a treaty with the United States, France, Japan, and Spain.<sup>4</sup> Resistance to foreign interests was also well-documented; the Kū‘ē (Resistance) Petitions serve as a prime example. When the United States Congress debated whether or not to annex Hawai‘i in 1897, thousands of kānaka (Native Hawaiians) signed a petition to stop the annexation process. By the end of the weeklong campaign, 21,269 signatures—representing more than half of the islands’ indigenous adult population—were collected and sent to Washington, D.C.<sup>5</sup> The people were victorious but only for a moment, as the sinking of the USS *Maine* propelled the U.S. into a war with Spain and gave Congress justification to annex Hawai‘i. On July 7, 1898, President William McKinley signed the Newlands Resolution, the formal proclamation for annexation, and converted the republic to a territory of the United States of America.<sup>6</sup> From that moment until the mid-twentieth century, the process of Americanization began to spread throughout the islands.

On August 21, 1959, voters in Hawai‘i elected for statehood and became the fiftieth state of the Union. In the following decades, a steady wave of dissent to the status quo spread across the U.S., including Hawai‘i. The indigenous population called into question their place in local society. Various organizations and groups were formed to deal with a wide array of issues, ranging from the cessation of U.S. naval bombing of an uninhabited but sacred island to reevaluating their identity as a people. This is collectively known as the Hawaiian Renaissance, a term first used by Hawaiian historian George Kanahale in 1977.<sup>7</sup>

My father, Vincent, recalled what it meant to grow up as a Hawaiian during this period of cultural and societal change. Born in 1952, seven years before statehood, he said there were no negative attitudes towards Hawaiians, but students were taught to be “American.” “Well, all we thought was [that] we were American citizens growing up. Growing up as an American citizen, not as growing up as not an American citizen because we [were] a territory when I was born.”<sup>8</sup> There were no opportunities to learn about the Hawaiian culture in school. He recounted how his education included courses such as history, English, and science, but that there was no such thing as “Hawaiiana” studies (i.e., Hawaiian history and Hawaiian culture). The only way one could learn about their culture was at home, and this included learning the Hawaiian language:

[The] guys who could speak Hawaiian [learned] mostly from their tūtūs (grandmother). Their [aunties'] and [uncles'] tūtūs. The old people that passed it down to their families [...] [it stayed] around in their family. Not to go outside and talk to other people. [You] know like how nowadays, you can speak Hawaiian; you can communicate [in] Hawaiian from person-to-person. I think they only [kept] it within their families. But you [didn't] go out and speak Hawaiian in public, that I know of.<sup>9</sup>

Dr. Michael Chun, former headmaster of the Kamehameha Schools, reiterated this sentiment in the documentary *One Voice*. Dr. Chun graduated from Kamehameha in 1961 and said of his academic career at the school, “The purpose and the goals were to assimilate us into Western society. So, we had no culture. We had no Hawaiian culture. We became Americans and we saluted the flag. [...] I didn't know anything about my history.”<sup>10</sup> Kīhei Soli Niheu, a prominent activist in the struggle for Kalama Valley, in an interview stated:

I didn't learn much about Hawaiian history at Kamehameha. [...] After eighth grade, they cut out Hawaiian language. They wouldn't teach us Hawaiian because they said we had to become American. I remember thinking, ‘What? Who the hell are they?’<sup>11</sup>

There was a suppression and disassociation of the culture, and Native Hawaiians fell victim to it all. This did not remain the case for much longer, though.

In 1964, John Dominis Holt IV wrote a short essay, *On Being Hawaiian*, which has been described as the literary piece that lit the spark for the second Hawaiian Renaissance. Holt, a self-proclaimed hapa haole (part-white, part-Hawaiian person) went to New York to attend Columbia University. Upon returning, he began to sift through the archives of the Bishop Museum and Hawai'i State Archives, where he gathered information about the once vibrant culture that blanketed the islands. Soon thereafter, he began to educate kānaka (Native Hawaiians) on the greatness their people once held. *On Being Hawaiian* reinvigorated the interests of Native Hawaiians to look within themselves and revive into their “dying” culture.<sup>12</sup> Throughout the rest of his life, Holt would remain active in the Native Hawaiian community and advocate on behalf of key issues facing kānaka (Native Hawaiians) including the push for sovereignty. Another matter of concern was the dwindling number of Hawaiian-language speakers.

The number of mānaleo (native speakers) and Hawaiian-language speakers in general

steadily declined for many years. This shortage stemmed from an 1896 law that prohibited Hawaiian from being used as a medium of instruction in both public and private schools.<sup>13</sup> The Kamehameha Schools, a private school that sought to provide education to Native Hawaiian children was subject to this law as well. The school was unable to be grandfathered in or exempted from the law although the school was founded in 1887 (nine years before the ban) and had been teaching students in the Hawaiian language since its establishment. Students caught speaking Hawaiian at school were physically punished, harshly reinforcing the notion that only English was to be spoken. Some of the most well-known people in Hawai‘i’s history, such as ‘Iolani Luahine, Mary Kawena Pukui, and Winona Beamer, suffered the consequences of corporal punishment in their early education at Kamehameha.<sup>14</sup> The spread of Hawaiian Pidgin, simply known as “Pidgin,” as the common dialect among younger generations furthered the decline of Hawaiian language speakers. It is unknown how many families continued to speak Hawaiian at home despite the legal restriction that had been placed on it in the school system.

The Hawaiian Renaissance paralleled other national movements taking place at the time, such as the Civil Rights Movement and the Chicano Movement. In the book *The Island Edge of America*, author Tom Coffman recognizes these movements. He argues that across the U.S. and the world, marginalized and non-majority ethnic groups pushed against the grain of centuries of oppression; the privileged society that fostered the necessary environment for it to happen were suddenly thrust into the conversation and forced to acknowledge the issue. “Around the world indigenous peoples—about one-tenth of the earth’s population—became more assertive in the course of the 1970s,” Coffman says. “A shift was occurring in the relationship between the colonizing societies and those who had been colonized.”<sup>15</sup> In Hawai‘i, this shift could be seen in the political realm with much credit due to music and the messages it carried.

### **Music’s Effects on Politics**

The political landscape of Hawai‘i rapidly changed during the late 1960s through the 1970s. The archipelago became the fiftieth state admitted to the United States of America in 1959 and the population gained a newfound sense of power. In the Native Hawaiian community, the opportunity for change presented itself and young activists were eager to begin. However, their crusade would not have been successful if it was not for a key element of local culture:

music. At both the state and federal levels, the Hawaiian Renaissance influenced the politics of Hawai‘i largely due to the efficacy of music and the message within it. The resulting effects included the cessation of bombing on the sacred island of Kaho‘olawe by the U.S. Navy, the recognition and establishment of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) as an official language of the state, and the creation of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs.

Beginning in the 1970s, a group of young Hawaiian activists sought to end the U.S. Navy’s bombing of the island of Kaho‘olawe, an uninhabited and the smallest island in the Hawaiian archipelago. The group, known as the Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana (PKO), was a spin-off of Hui Alaloa, an association of Native Hawaiians that tried to retain access rights to the coastal resources of Moloka‘i.<sup>16</sup> PKO adamantly pressed the U.S. Navy and its leadership to end the shelling of Kaho‘olawe. The U.S. performed bombing tests and training on the island after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, gaining the nickname “The Target Isle.” One of these experiments, codenamed Operation Sailor Hat, tested the blast resistance of U.S. ships and involved a series of three separate explosions. Each trial detonated 500 tons of conventional TNT on the surface of Kaho‘olawe.

The result created a crater, “Sailor Man’s Cap,” and is said to have cracked the island’s cap rock, releasing fresh water into the ocean.<sup>17</sup> These two factions were led by various persons; the two most notable being George Jarrett Helm, Jr., and James Kimo Mitchell, Helm’s distant cousin. Helm was a Native Hawaiian activist born in Hawai‘i on March 23, 1950 and became a local musician known for his incredible falsetto. He became inspired to act against the atrocities committed on Kaho‘olawe after attending a Catholic school called Saint Louis on O‘ahu, stating, “[I] went to Honolulu to get an education and instead, I lost my innocence.”<sup>18</sup>

Along with Mitchell, Helm attempted to venture to the island on March 7, 1977, but disappeared en route. Their bodies were never recovered and much speculation was raised at what their fate was, with some going as far as believing they were murdered by the United States government.<sup>19</sup> Another key figure in the Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana was Walter Ritte. Ritte, who continues to be active in Native Hawaiian land rights and issues today, landed and survived on Kaho‘olawe for a few weeks in March 1977 with his friend and fellow PKO member Richard Sawyer. The U.S. Navy looked for the two men for several weeks to no avail. The musical duo Jon & Randy, comprised of Jonathan Osorio and Randy Borden, produced the song “Hawaiian

Soul,” which memorialized Helm and his campaign for justice for Kaho‘olawe. The song took on a slow, quiet feel, but managed to convey the importance of Helm’s quest and ardent beliefs. The chorus goes as follows:

Hawaiian soul  
How could you leave us  
You’ve not been lost at sea  
You’re only wandering

Hawaiian soul  
We sing your melody  
And send them out to sea  
You know the harmony<sup>20</sup>

Osorio and Borden’s song immortalized Helm and his fight for Kaho‘olawe. The song paid homage to Helm’s actions and his pursuit for integrity, while nodding to his musical ability (i.e., “You know the harmony”). Aside from the struggle for Kaho‘olawe, music’s influence extended its reach to the creation of a new state constitution.

The concept of a constitution as the supreme law of the land was nothing new to Native Hawaiians. In ancient Hawai‘i, law and order was maintained through a system of laws called the kapu (taboo) system but a changing world forced the ali‘i (chiefs) to adopt Western ideas and ultimately, the constitution. Between 1819 and 1887, the Kingdom of Hawai‘i enacted four constitutions with the first in 1840 during the reign of Kauikeaouli, King Kamehameha III. The most notable of these was the Constituion of 1887, known as the Bayonet Constitution. It stripped the monarch, Kalākaua, of much of his power and transferred it to the Hawaiian League, a group haole (foreign) businessmen with capitalistic interests. It also imposed considerably higher income requirements for eligible voters. Some scholars argue that this legislation was illegal since it was signed under threat of violence. To be sure, Lorrin Thurston, one of the chief authors of the constitution and Minister of the Interior for the Kingdom, admitted, “Unquestionably the Constitution was not in accordance with the law; neither was the Declaration of Independence from Great Britain. Both were revolutionary documents, that had to be forcibly effected and forcibly maintained.”<sup>21</sup> Thurston played a crucial role in the

orchestration and execution of the overthrow in 1893. He used his power and influence as a cabinet member to rally American businessmen to protect their interests. After the immediate events of the coup, Thurston convinced U.S. Minister to the Kingdom, John L. Stevens, to immediately recognize the de facto government that proclaimed its jurisdiction over the islands.

In response to the U.S. annexation of Hawai‘i came, among other things, the composition “Kaulana Nā Pua,” which translates to “Famous Are the Flowers,” by Ellen Keho‘ohiwaokalani Wright Prendergast. Members of the Royal Hawaiian Band approached Prendergast after the overthrow and asked her to compose a song that capture their emotions. Its lyrics hold no subtleties when translated to English:

‘A‘ole a‘e kau i ka pūlima	No one will fix a signature
Ma luna o ka pepa o ka ‘ēnemi	To the paper of the enemy
Ho‘ohui ‘āina kū‘ai hewa	With its sin of annexation
I ka pono sivila a‘o ke kanaka	And sale of native civil rights <sup>22</sup>

Prendergast transcribed the raw emotions felt by many kānaka (Native Hawaiians) during a tumultuous time in Hawai‘i’s history. It held greater power since non-Hawaiian speaking listeners were unable to translate or understand the kaona (hidden meaning) embedded within this piece. The song was originally called “Mele ‘Ai Pōhaku” (“The Stone-eating Song”), but is also known as “Mele Aloha ‘Āina” (“Song for the Love of the Land”) and “The Patriot’s Song.” During the second Hawaiian Renaissance, “Kaulana Nā Pua” was used to rile up support for the campaign. Proponents of the Hawaiian sovereignty movement have also used the mele (song) as an expressive form of opposition against the United States’ continued occupation of the islands. Regarding legislative advances, music played a role in this area of the Hawaiian Renaissance as well, most notably with the state constitution.

Prior to the 1978 Hawai‘i State Constitutional Convention, ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) was dying out as a result of educational and cultural suppression by non-natives, particularly at the government level. The ironic, and awfully painful, twist was that when Hawai‘i was admitted as the fiftieth state, it retained the Hawaiian language motto once used by the Kingdom of Hawai‘i: “Ua mau ke ea o ka ‘āina i ka pono.”<sup>23</sup> This decline was remedied with the adoption of the Hawai‘i Constitution of 1978. One of the major results stemming from the



convention was Article XV, which established both English and Hawaiian as the official languages for the state of Hawai‘i. This suddenly gave citizens the ability to conduct business, such as writing personal checks and giving testimony in court, in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language). The legislation also required that Hawaiian culture be taught in public schools and that traditional and customary practices were protected under the law.<sup>24</sup> It constitutionally protected the rights of cultural practitioners, allowing them to practice traditional customs without fear of prosecution. Moreover, Hawai‘i’s education system witnessed the creation of the Hawaiian-language immersion school ‘Aha Pūnana Leo in 1982 as well as strides in higher education at the University of Hawai‘i. Additionally, the Constitution of 1978 created the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA), a semi-autonomous government entity that works on bettering the lives of Native Hawaiians. Although Native Hawaiians had achieved great progress in legislative and bureaucratic endeavors, this was met with bitter objections by others.

Despite the legal success that resulted from the political aspect of the Renaissance, some individuals felt differently about the affair. For example, Pierre Bowman, a column writer for the now-defunct Honolulu Star-Bulletin, believed that it was too early to apply the term “renaissance” to the movement. In a February 20, 1979 article, Bowman wrote:

...with the word “renaissance,” one is certainly looking for an intellectual and artistic movement, which implies the tangible creation of works of art and literature. There is scant evidence of such work in a Hawaiian Renaissance...<sup>25</sup>

This was met with immediate criticism by George Kanahele, president of The Hawaiian Music Foundation, which published the Ha‘iloni Newsletter. In the July 1979 edition, Kanahele responded:

...the renaissance encompasses more than the creation of works of art and literature. It also includes a revival of interest in the past, in the pursuit of knowledge or learning, and in the future. In short, it deals with the revitalization of the human spirit in all aspects of endeavor. And when we look very carefully at what is occurring among Hawaiians today economically, artistically, politically, socially, culturally, it is impossible to ignore the spirit of rebirth. I think the word “renaissance” fits.<sup>26</sup>

Kanahele was right: Bowman attempted to draw a far-fetched conclusion. He naïvely equated the renaissance taking place in Hawai‘i with the European Renaissance, which spanned about three

hundred years. This type of false equivalence not only threatened the legitimacy of the movement but had the potential to deter future generations of kānaka (Native Hawaiians) from joining in or continuing the breakthroughs made by the leaders of the crusade. The progress made in the political realm for Native Hawaiians was great and music had been interwoven throughout its entirety. This area of revitalization within the Hawaiian Renaissance would run alongside the role of music in changing Hawai‘i’s local culture and society.

### **Music’s Effects on Local Culture & Society**

With the second Hawaiian Renaissance affecting change in Hawai‘i’s political realm, the sentiment spread to and influenced Hawai‘i’s populace. The reason for such profound change was due, in large part, to the importance of mele Hawai‘i (Hawaiian music). The prevalence of Hawaiian music in everyday life shaped the overall society and local culture in Hawai‘i, most notably through radio formats. The creation of a network that played only mele Hawai‘i (Hawaiian music), as well as the formation of various bands and groups that played both traditional and contemporary Hawaiian music, strengthened the efficacy of spreading music throughout Hawai‘i’s population. In order to better comprehend just how mele Hawai‘i (Hawaiian music) affected local culture and society in Hawai‘i, one must first evaluate the conditions that made it necessary for true Hawaiian music to appear.

Prior to the Hawaiian Renaissance, “authentic” Hawaiian music was absent from radio airwaves and the shelves of record shops across Hawai‘i. Hawaiian music during the early twentieth took on a “twangy, white-washed” sound that appealed to the ears of malihini (foreigners) and portrayed Hawai‘i as “tropical” and “exotic.” Radio stations, such as KGU and KDYX, played music throughout the islands, but the genre of choice was big-band throughout the 1920s and into the 1930s. There was the occasional Hawaiian music program such as the one put on by Johnny Noble, but this music was not continuously played on radio airwaves. Noble, a musician and arranger of hapa haole songs, debuted the first Hawaiian music feature on April 11, 1924.<sup>27</sup> The on-air concert included traditional songs such as “Aloha ‘Oe,” “Akahi Ho‘i,” and “Hanohano Hanalei” performed by his Moana Hotel Orchestra.<sup>28</sup> This production was well-received by local residents and KGU began to feature more groups similar to Noble’s – the Waikīkī Beach Boys, the Kunawai Trio, Rose Tribe and Emma Bush, and Bina Mossman and her

Glee Club, to name but a few. After World War II, more radio stations were established, extending the reach of music throughout the Hawaiian Islands. However, these stations continued to cater to the growing American population while ignoring the kānaka (Native Hawaiians) and kama‘āina (local residents) who were the primary consumers of this radio. This changed with the introduction of a broadcast network dedicated to playing mele Hawai‘i (Hawaiian music).

In the mid-1960s, a radio station based on O‘ahu emerged: call sign KCCN-AM. The station played Hawaiian music and only Hawaiian music, making it the sole radio station in Hawai‘i to do so at the time. This platform allowed Native Hawaiian musicians to introduce themselves to the local population of Hawai‘i and share their talent. The radio station provided an outlet for these artists to reclaim ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) and pila ho‘okani (musical instruments), both ancient and modern. Despite its initial success, KCCN began to experience problems with funding beginning in the early 1970s.

In April 1970, a company based in Dallas, Texas acquired the station’s broadcasting license. The new owners believed a format change was necessary in order to turn a profit and decided to switch from Hawaiian music to American Top 40.<sup>29</sup> This elicited a profound reaction by listeners of the station. In just thirty minutes of the modification, callers had voiced their distaste for the new change and the owners reverted to the previous format.<sup>30</sup> The pressure from local residents in Hawai‘i prevented the station from becoming one that played mainstream, “American” music. It also showcased the resistance to outside influence by local residents. This is not to say that kānaka (Native Hawaiians) were not involved in stopping the change but that the vast majority of KCCN’s listeners, including Hawaiians, found this adjustment undesirable. Radio was one area of local culture and society Native Hawaiians were able to breakthrough and create something of their own. The suggestion that the “all-Hawaiian music” format now be restructured to favor the musical preferences of American citizens and tourists was objectionable. Today, KCCN continues to play Hawaiian music, but is not the only station to do so. In 1990, KINE came on the air and topped KCCN as the “all-Hawaiian music” station. Nevertheless, authentic mele Hawai‘i (Hawaiian music) has maintained a presence on Hawai‘i’s radio airwaves ever since KCCN’s inception. The prosperity of Hawaiian music on radio would not have arisen without bands that felt the need to ho‘i i ka piko, to “return to the source,” and redefine the

category of true, authentic Hawaiian music.

Throughout the 1960s and into the 1970s, local groups formed and continued to develop the genre of Hawaiian music while simultaneously furthering the advancement of the Hawaiian Renaissance. These groups used more traditional lyrics, historic instruments, and authentic sounding melodies. In the preceding decades, classic Hawaiian music was hard to find because it had become bastardized to appeal to the interests of visitors (i.e., white Americans) to the islands. Edward “Eddie” Kamae and the Sons of Hawai‘i laid the framework for future musical groups by doing just that – they created a baseline that gave up-and-coming artists something to aim for. Kamae’s original composition of “E Ku‘u Morning Dew,” co-written with Hawaiian language professor Larry Kimura, became one of the group’s greatest hits.<sup>31</sup> Their influence did not stop at just music; the group was also known for grounding themselves in their racial identity. They would introduce themselves to concertgoers, “We are the Sons of Hawai‘i, and we are Hawaiian.”<sup>32</sup> This preface conveyed a sense of pride for kānaka (Native Hawaiians), while simultaneously inspiring younger musicians in Hawai‘i. It ushered in a new era in Hawaiian music that performers, both native and non-native, began to take hold of.

Various groups arose during the second Hawaiian Renaissance such as Cecilio & Kapono, Kalapana, and Country Comfort, but none of these bands proved to be more innovative than The Sunday Mānoa. The group was made up of Peter Moon and the brothers Robert and Roland Cazimero. In 1969, the trio released their first record, *Guava Jam*, to much critical acclaim. It has been cited by some as “the immediate musical ‘spark’ that ignited the Hawaiian Renaissance of the 1970s.”<sup>33</sup> The album featured Hawaiian-language lyrics and traditional Hawaiian implementations such as the ipu (bottle gourd), ‘ulī‘ulī (gourd rattle), and pahu (sharkskin-covered drum). Their usage of these instruments in their songs was groundbreaking.

Using traditional implements showed kānaka (Native Hawaiians) that it was possible to create popular and contemporary music while honoring the Hawaiian culture. The utilization of these instruments spoke to the larger movement of the Hawaiian Renaissance and connected music to language; to culture, to identity, to being a kanaka ‘ōiwi (Native Hawaiian). A few years later in 1975, Robert and Roland formed the Brothers Cazimero; the two eventually split and started their own successful music careers. The Cazimero brothers never lost touch with their Hawaiian roots. In 1975, Robert Cazimero founded Hālau Nā Kamalei o Lililehua, a hula hālau

(hula school) and Roland allied himself with the struggle for Kaho‘olawe and Hawaiian sovereignty during the Hawaiian Renaissance.<sup>34</sup> Peter Moon continued to make music with The Peter Moon Band, which he formed in 1978. In 1979, this new group produced their first album, *Tropical Storm*, which included a rendition of “Kaulana Nā Pua” and featured an original mele inoa (name chant), “Ke Au Hawai‘i,” written by Larry Kimura.<sup>35</sup> The Sunday Mānoa was joined by another significant group during the Hawaiian Renaissance: The Mākaha Sons of Ni‘ihau.

Another influential musical group during the Hawaiian Renaissance was The Mākaha Sons of Ni‘ihau. Performing since 1974, the group formally established themselves in 1976 with members Sam Gray, Louis “Moon” Kauakahi, Jerome Koko, and Henry “Skippy” Kamakawiwo‘ole III. Their most prominent member was Skippy’s younger brother, Israel Kamakawiwo‘ole. “Bruddah Iz,” as he was affectionately called, was known most famously for his cover of “Somewhere Over the Rainbow/What a Wonderful World,” but his impact extended far beyond a medley of two songs. He spoke out in support of Hawaiian nationalism and Hawaiian sovereignty and on his album *Facing Future*, Iz included the song “Hawai‘i ’78.” Kāwika Crowley wrote the mele (song) in 1976, but Iz managed to make it famous. Its lyrics reflected upon the changing physical landscape Hawai‘i was having to acknowledge; it also challenged Native Hawaiians to ponder what their ali‘i (rulers) would think if they were still alive and the current issues plaguing their lāhui (race) such as, but not limited to, land disputes (e.g., Kaho‘olawe) and a decreased socioeconomic status. Its lyrics go as follows:

Tears would come from each other’s eyes  
As they would start to realize  
That our people are in great, great danger now  
How, would they feel, would their smiles be content, then cry

Cry for the gods, cry for the people  
Cry for the land that was taken away  
And then yet you’ll find, Hawai‘i<sup>36</sup>

In Iz’s cover, he begins with the line “Ua mau ke ea o ka ‘āina i ka pono” – the state of Hawai‘i’s motto. Though the irony in this is great, the mana (power) is even greater. It hit at the development happening around Hawai‘i. The song’s lyrics forced the listener to stop and think,

‘How exactly is the ea, the life, of the land being perpetuated in righteousness?’ The fact that Iz released this mele (song) in 1993, about fifteen years after its title, suggests a furthered evaluation of the past events. Iz was a member of The Mākaha Sons of Ni‘ihau and experienced the Hawaiian Renaissance firsthand. He understood the hardships that Native Hawaiians faced, especially with regards to health statistics.

When the album was released in 1993, four of his five immediate family members, including his parents, were dead. They died relatively young of weight-related health problems.<sup>37</sup> Kamakawiwo‘ole himself succumbed to complications from obesity at the age of 38 in 1997. His death resonated greatly in the Native Hawaiian community and raised awareness of the grim health statistics for kānaka ‘ōiwi (Native Hawaiians). After Skippy and Iz’s deaths, his former band, The Mākaha Sons of Ni‘ihau, dropped the “of Ni‘ihau” portion of their name. It was originally kept to differentiate themselves with another group of the same name and to pay homage to the Ni‘ihau heritage of the Kamakawiwo‘ole ‘ohana (family).<sup>38</sup> The Mākaha Sons of Ni‘ihau cemented their legacy in Hawai‘i’s musical history by producing 21 CDs; however, their most notable accomplishments came in the form of winning multiple Nā Hōkū Hanohano awards throughout their existence. “The Hokus,” as they were called, was “Hawaiian music’s biggest night,” and it would not have been possible without the formation of a few enterprises stemming from mele Hawai‘i’s (Hawaiian music’s) growing reputation.

The establishment of organizations and events such as the Hawaiian Music Foundation (HMF), founded on March 17, 1971, the Hawai‘i Academy of Recording Arts (HARA), and the Nā Hōkū Hanohano Awards played a critical role in growing the genre of Hawaiian music in Hawai‘i’s local culture and society. The Hawaiian Music Foundation was created out of a dire need to preserve and stimulate interest in Hawaiian music. HMF produced the Ha‘iloni Mele (“News of Hawaiian Music”) newsletters, monthly publications that provided updates and discussion on current events in mele Hawai‘i (Hawaiian music). The Ha‘iloni Mele newsletters proved to be an essential tool in disseminating information to kānaka (Native Hawaiians) and the greater population of Hawai‘i. Readers could learn about musicians in the “Artist in Profile” section, learn a new mele (song) with the included page of sheet music, and write opinion pieces and letters to the editor. The newsletters allowed for two-way communication between HMF and its readers, the majority of whom were interested in this type of material. It also allowed HMF to

better adapt and narrate what its audience wanted to learn about.

In 1977, KCCN-AM disc jockey Krash Kealoha created the Nā Hōkū Hanohano Awards (“Stars of Distinction”). It originally was a promotion for the station and its host venue, the Ala Moana Americana Hotel (now the Ala Moana Hotel). The awards ceremony, dubbed “the Grammy Awards of Hawaiian music” by local residents, recognized the outstanding talent and mele (music) made throughout the year. There were also categories for best performance of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) and a haku mele award, which was a composer’s award for best newly written song or chant. A panel fluent in Hawaiian and well-versed in writing and comprehending Hawaiian poetical sayings, or kaona, selected the winners. The Hawai‘i Academy of Recording Arts was established four years later in 1982 and became the main benefactor for “The Hokus.” The prominence of Hawaiian music began to expand to a national level decades later.

In 2005, the National Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences (NARAS), the organization which also produced the Grammy Awards, created a separate category for mele Hawai‘i (Hawaiian music): “Best Hawaiian Music Album.”<sup>39</sup> This was a very important moment for Native Hawaiian musicians. Not only did the special designation give greater recognition to a genre of music that struggled to gain popularity outside of the islands, and therefore votes on the preliminary ballots for the awards, but it also assured a Hawaiian recording artist would win a Grammy every year. Unfortunately, its inception also brought with it much disagreement, particularly amongst the very artists whom were up for potential nomination. This discourse rested mainly in the language standard: How much ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) should be included in the album for it to be considered “Hawaiian”? Some argued seventy-five percent, while others said a mere fifty-one percent.<sup>40</sup> The conversation highlighted the tension within the Hawaiian music community and in 2011, The Recording Academy (formerly known as NARAS) announced that it would be restructuring the number of awards given that year from 109 to 78.<sup>41</sup> “Best Hawaiian Music Album” was one of the 31 categories that would be consolidated with others. This move pitted mele Hawai‘i (Hawaiian music) against other ethnic music genres such as Cajun, zydeco, polka, and Native American recordings the newly created category, “Regional Roots Music.” It lessened the chance of a Hawaiian music album winning considerably.

There are a few other noteworthy songs from this era which influenced the Hawaiian



Renaissance and local culture and society in Hawai‘i. The first of these is “Ku‘u Home O Kahalu‘u” by Olomana. Lead singer Jerry Santos composed the song in honor of his hometown of Kahalu‘u, a town on the Windward side of O‘ahu. The song first appeared on their 1976 album *Like A Seabird In The Wind* and addressed the sentiment felt by some at the time when Honolulu was transitioning into a modern municipality. Its chorus talks about the potential development Kahalu‘u faced and the uneasiness that came with it:

Last night I dreamt I was returning,  
And my heart called out to you.  
But I fear you won’t be like I left you.

Me ke aloha, ku‘u home o Kahalu‘u. (“With love, my home of Kahalu‘u”)<sup>42</sup>

Santos’ composition elicited the yearning for the days of old whilst recognizing the progress being made. “Ku‘u Home O Kahalu‘u” debuted in the middle of the Hawaiian Renaissance, when Native Hawaiians were looking to the past as guidance for the future; however, the song reminded kānaka (Native Hawaiians) that it was okay to embrace the changing times. Santos, a Native Hawaiian himself, realized that adaptation was necessary for survival and without incorporating this change into society, their lāhui (race) would be left behind while the rest of Hawai‘i progressed into the 1980s.

The second is “Honolulu City Lights” by Keola & Kapono Beamer, the sons of Winona Beamer. Composed by Keola, it was the title song of the album of the same name released in 1978 and became one of the most well-known songs in Hawai‘i. The album itself achieved much commercial success in the islands, and was arguably the top-selling local album released between Statehood (1959) and the end of the twentieth century.<sup>43</sup> Its lyrics contained the same feeling echoed by Olomana’s “Ku‘u Home O Kahalu‘u”:

Each time Honolulu city lights, stir up memories in me.  
Each time Honolulu city lights, bring me back again.  
Bring me back again.<sup>44</sup>

The song described the feeling of leaving Hawai‘i at night, overlooking the twinkle created by the city’s lights. The Carpenters would cover the song after hearing it on a trip to Hawai‘i in

1977. Initially released as a single in 1986, the song was eventually included on their 1989 album *Lovelines*. In terms of the Hawaiian Renaissance, Keola & Kapono Beamer broke new ground in the world of music not only in Hawai‘i, but their significance spread across the United States as well. As noted in *Ka Mele Hawai‘i a Me Ka Po‘e Mele*, “[They] were among the first Hawaiian artists of their generation to have their music featured in a Hollywood film (*Big Wednesday*) and on television (*Sesame Street*).”<sup>45</sup> This was a feat achieved by none before them and gave greater recognition to Native Hawaiian artists and Hawaiian music. Thus, music influenced the Hawaiian Renaissance and it immediately reciprocated the affection. With a presence now established on radio and notoriety in the political realm of Hawai‘i, the influence of music would spread to affect the identity of *kānaka ‘ōiwi* (Native Hawaiians) during the second Hawaiian Renaissance.

### **Music’s Effects on the Identity of Native Hawaiians**

The Hawaiian Renaissance of the 1960s and 1970s brought with it much change to the political realm as well as to the cultural and societal landscapes of the islands. Another area where the Renaissance extended its reach to was the identity of *kānaka ‘ōiwi*, or Native Hawaiians. This reorientation of self-identity rested mainly on the significance of Hawaiian music. Certain traditions and practices of Hawaiian culture were spared from extinction during the second Hawaiian Renaissance due to the influence of *mele Hawai‘i* (Hawaiian music). Some of these customs included hula, traditional navigation and wayfinding techniques, and the resurgence of *‘ōlelo Hawai‘i* (Hawaiian language). To get a better understanding of this impact, one must first evaluate the preceding conditions that warranted a cultural revitalization.

Hawai‘i undoubtedly became more Americanized following statehood in 1959. Tourism from the U.S. and other countries soon began to rise and quickly became the state’s largest industry. Military bases such as Schofield Barracks and Hickam Air Force Base on O‘ahu reinforced America’s military presence in the islands. The overall interpretation of Hawai‘i became one of “escape from the rawness and violence of daily American life.”<sup>46</sup> The islands were a tropical paradise for tourists to flock to in search of adventure and “exoticism.” Haunani-Kay Trask, a former professor of Hawaiian studies at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, talks about the exploitation of the Hawaiian culture in her book, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism*

and Sovereignty in Hawai‘i. She writes:

...the commercialization of Hawaiian culture proceeds with calls for more sensitive marketing of our Native values and practices. After all, a prostitute is only as good as her income-producing talents. These talents, in Hawaiian terms, are the hula; the generosity, or aloha, of our people; the u‘i, or youthful beauty of our women and men; and the continuing allure of our lands and waters, that is, of our place, Hawai‘i. [...] The purpose is entertainment for profit rather than a joyful and truly Hawaiian celebration of human and divine nature.<sup>47</sup>

The distortion of the Hawaiian culture was a trend that began before 1898 when the republic was formally annexed, but as the influx of American tourists and American culture seeped into the islands, the identity of k̄anaka (Native Hawaiians) became misrepresented and ultimately compromised. One’s Hawaiian identity became intertwined with their newfound American identity and soon, the two became indistinguishable.

My father recalled that growing up as a kanaka ‘ōiwi (Native Hawaiian) in Hawai‘i during the 1950s and into the 1960s was no different than your average, American kid’s childhood. He regarded himself as an American citizen because Hawai‘i was a territory of the United States when he was born in 1952. When asked about certain American practices such as reciting the “Pledge of Allegiance” in class, he told me:

When we [were] growing up, there wasn’t this Hawaiian movement. [There weren’t] Hawaiians stepping up and trying to identify themselves. Just growing up is just ordinary family as being a Hawaiian, it didn’t make any difference. [...] The “Pledge of Allegiance,” and that’s what we did growing up in Hilo. But when we came down to Honolulu in the eighth grade, middle school, there was nothing that I can remember that would gear you towards being a citizen because you already know you’re a citizen...<sup>48</sup>

His was not a unique story. Puhipau, a Native Hawaiian documentary film-maker who co-created *Nā Maka o ka ‘Āina* (“The Eyes of the Land”) with Joan Lander, detailed his experience with Americanization in education in the chapter “(Self-)Portrait” from the book, *A Nation Rising*. He writes, “When I went to school, I went to an English-standard school that prepared me to enter Kamehameha Schools, where I was programmed to become a full-on American. I cried when I sang ‘God Bless America.’”<sup>49</sup> Aside from one’s identity, hula faced its own struggle in the time before the Hawaiian Renaissance. However, the establishment of hula festivals helped to

promote the move toward a more genuine hula style.

Authentic hula, the dance form of Hawai‘i, was revived with the creation of hula festivals. There are two forms of hula: the ancient style, hula kahiko, and the more contemporary form, hula ‘auana. The former uses traditional implementations (e.g., ipu, ‘ulī‘ulī, pahu), while the latter incorporated Western musical instruments (e.g., guitar, ‘ukulele, double bass). Both kahiko and ‘auana utilize ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) in their hō‘ike (performance); however, hula ‘auana deviated, more often than not, to using ‘ōlelo haole (English language) lyrics. Hula was commodified and, similar to the music being played at the time, commercialized to appeal to American visitors to Hawai‘i. Dancers were often portrayed in a sexual manner, with gyrating hips that swayed to the melody of music that complemented their movements. However, the formation of hula competitions during the 1960s and 1970s recovered this dance form and reconditioned it back to a more authentic style. As Amy Stillman notes:

...hula competitions [provided] venues of high visibility and prestige for hula performance [...] these events have played an important role in stimulating participation in the hula and, thus, have contributed significantly to the preservation and perpetuation of the hula tradition.<sup>50</sup>

One of the earliest hula competitions came as an addition to the Merrie Monarch Festival, which was started in the early 1960s.

The establishment of the Merrie Monarch Festival in 1964 aided in revitalizing the art of hula. It was the first of its kind in Hawai‘i and took place the week after Easter at the Edith Kanaka‘ole Stadium in Hilo, Hawai‘i. The festival honored King David Kalākaua, who was instrumental in bringing back hula during his reign as mō‘ī (king) and known by the people as the “Merrie Monarch.” The original Merrie Monarch Festival featured a King Kalākaua beard look-alike contest, a barbershop quartet contest, a relay race, a re-creation of Kalākaua’s coronation, and a Holokū Ball.<sup>51</sup> The hula aspect was not introduced until a few years later when George Na‘ope, a world-renowned kumu hula (hula teacher), and Dottie Thompson, who took over as Executive Director of the festival in 1968, decided to “move the festival more toward a Hawaiian theme.”<sup>52</sup> In 1971, Na‘ope and Thompson added the hula component as well as the Miss Aloha Hula competition. Nine wahine (female) hālau (schools) entered the hula competition in its inaugural year. The Miss Aloha Hula portion decided the best female hula

dancer of the festival and took place on the Thursday of the weeklong festivities. The hula kahiko portion occurred on Friday and the hula ‘auana, along with the announcement of scores, followed on Saturday.

The festival’s economic feasibility and sustainability came into question during its early years. When the hula competition was introduced, those who purchased a \$1 button gained access to all of the events. As Luana Kawelu, Executive Director of the Merrie Monarch Festival and daughter of Dottie Thompson, explained, “...it didn’t go very well. My mom and uncle would go all around town begging people to buy buttons, and still it was very coolly accepted.”<sup>53</sup> In 1976, the festival opened the competition up to kāne (men); this move helped to grow the Merrie Monarch into the most prestigious hula competition in the world. The reason for this was because men were not typically seen dancing hula in media. Not only this, but men did not want to dance hula “for fear of being perceived as effeminate.”<sup>54</sup> With men now cast onto the hula scene, interest for hula and the Merrie Monarch began to rise. Other hula competitions that were created in the 1970s included the King Kamehameha Chant and Hula Competition (1973), the Queen Lili‘uokalani Keiki Hula Competition (1975), and the Prince Lot Hula Festival (1978).

Hawaiian music was critical to the success of the Merrie Monarch Festival, and this came in the form of the judging criteria. There were many components which made up a hālau’s (school’s) score, but the musical elements included the ka‘i (entrance dance), oli (chant), and ho‘i (exit dance).<sup>55</sup> The ka‘i (entrance dance) served as the first impression for a hālau (school) to make on the judges, all of whom were kumu hula (hula teachers) themselves. In the hula kahiko, an oli (chant) marked the entrance of a hālau (school) into the contest, while a mele (song) was used in the hula ‘auana portion. After a hālau (school) finished their hō‘ike (performance), the ho‘i (exit dance) provided the final glimpse of the group. It was critical that a hālau (school) demonstrated their understanding of their mele (song) and hula to the judges and, to a greater degree, the audience. If a group was not pa‘a (firm) in their commitment to the mele (song), it appeared as sloppy and was generally not well-received by judges and spectators alike. Another area of revitalization in the Hawaiian Renaissance that should be examined is the recovery of ho‘okele wa‘a, or wayfinding.

Traditional navigation and voyaging techniques were saved during the Hawaiian Renaissance, too. The construction of a replica double-hulled Hawaiian voyaging canoe, the

Hōkūle‘a (“Star of Gladness”), fascinated kākā (Native Hawaiians), but also revived interest in a fading and nearly extinct practice. At the time of its construction, no one in Hawai‘i was trained in traditional navigation techniques. Created in 1973, the Polynesian Voyaging Society (PVS) set out in search of finding someone who knew this trade and eventually connected with Pius “Mau” Piailug, a Micronesian master navigator. Piailug faced the same problem in Satawal that Native Hawaiians did in Hawai‘i: Interest among the youth to learn traditional wayfinding skills was waning and few people were still alive that knew the practice. PVS approached Piailug and asked for his help. He agreed and began to teach members of PVS.

The Hōkūle‘a launched on March 8, 1975 from Kualoa Ranch on O‘ahu, becoming the first voyaging canoe built in the Hawaiian Islands in over six hundred years. A year later on May 1, 1976, the vessel left Hawai‘i and embarked on its inaugural huaka‘i (journey) to Tahiti. The crew was accompanied by Piailug who successfully brought Hōkūle‘a to Tahiti on June 3, 1976 using solely ancient navigation techniques. The journey proved to be an inspirational moment for kākā ‘ōiwi (Native Hawaiians). When the canoe returned to Honolulu on July 26, 1976, over 15,000 people, both native and non-native alike, greeted her and the crew at Ala Moana Beach Park.<sup>56</sup> Former governor George Ariyoshi remarked at the welcome back ceremony, “People are not just here to greet the vessel, but are here for the whole idea of regenerating a vital Hawaiian culture.”<sup>57</sup> The Hōkūle‘a embarked on subsequent journeys throughout the Pacific for decades following its maiden voyage. The Mākaha Sons of Ni‘ihau produced the mele (song) “Star of Gladness” in 1999 which celebrated the Hōkūle‘a. Although the lyrics were written entirely in English, other songs created or covered at the time devoted themselves to engaging with ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) lyrics. Since English was the primary language of many native and non-native residents, most enjoyed the music without actually knowing what was being said. Combined with the decline in mānaleo (native speakers) and Hawaiian-language speakers in general, one solution was to create educational opportunities for Native Hawaiians to teach themselves their ‘ōlelo makuahine (mother tongue).

The establishment of higher education degree programs in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language), as well as the creation of the ‘Aha Pūnana Leo, Inc. school system and other Hawaiian-language immersion schools, added to the overall prevalence and resurgence of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) in daily life. There was a need to save the Hawaiian language from

extinction, a fate to which many other Native American tribes across North America succumbed to. As Hawai‘i progressed into the 1960s and 1970s, individual artists and various musical groups started to cover traditional songs and retained the original Hawaiian-language lyrics. By doing so, it challenged listeners to learn ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) in order to understand what was being said in the song. Unfortunately, a dwindling number of speakers made it difficult to do so. Thus, a need arose whereby educational opportunities for the Hawaiian language was necessary.

In 1976, the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa created Bachelor of Arts programs in Hawaiian language and Hawaiian studies to satisfy demand for these studies at the higher education level. Six years later in 1982, the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo initiated a Hawaiian studies degree program taught through Hawaiian, marking the first time that ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) had been used as a medium of government-funded education since 1895.<sup>58</sup> Students at UH-Mānoa also created *Ka Leo Hawai‘i*, a Hawaiian-language weekly talk show hosted by Hawaiian-language professor Larry Kimura on KCCN-AM 1420.<sup>59</sup> The Hawai‘i State Legislature established the *Ka Haka ‘Ula o Ke‘elikōlani*, the College of Hawaiian Language, at UH-Hilo in 1989. There, the first doctoral program for ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) and indigenous languages, as well as cultural revitalization, was created. Although higher educational opportunities were firmly established, a weakness had emerged in the primary and secondary schooling for the *kamali‘i* (children). This was remedied with the creation of the ‘Aha Pūnana Leo, or “Language Nest,” preschools and K-12 Hawaiian-language immersion schools.

The ‘Aha Pūnana Leo, Inc. school system was modeled after the *Kōhanga Reo* (“language nest”) centers in Aotearoa (New Zealand), which opened in 1982. At these centers, Māori elders interacted with infants and preschoolers all day using the Māori language only.<sup>60</sup> ‘Aha Pūnana Leo defined itself as “a non-profit, family-based educational organization dedicated to the revitalization of the Hawaiian language.”<sup>61</sup> Today, ‘Aha Pūnana Leo maintains accreditation from World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium (WINHEC) and has thirteen preschools across the state of Hawai‘i. The Hawai‘i State Department of Education also manages twenty-three K-12 *kula kaiapuni* (Hawaiian-language immersion schools) and charter schools on five islands. These schools deliver instruction in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) only until grade five, when English is introduced alongside Hawaiian.<sup>62</sup> One can now obtain a



preschool through doctoral-level education in the state of Hawai‘i completely ma ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, in the Hawaiian language. The cultural significance of this was great. It gave kākāka (Native Hawaiians) the ability to educate themselves and their keiki (children) in their ‘ōlelo makuahine (mother tongue). Not only this, but it legitimized the language itself through the creation of educational opportunities. It proved that ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) was important enough to create an entire system dedicated to revitalizing a once-dying indigenous language.

There are a couple of noteworthy songs worth mentioning that impacted the identity of kākāka ‘ōiwi (Native Hawaiians): “He Hawai‘i Au” by The Sunday Mānoa and “‘Ōiwi E” by John Keola Lake.

The Sunday Mānoa, the band that produced the record Guava Jam, included the original composition, “He Hawai‘i Au,” on the 1969 album. The song contained only two verses, but its lyrics had the potential to elicit a serious reaction. It was sung ma ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, in Hawaiian, which The Sunday Mānoa practiced extensively on Guava Jam. The song’s lyrics in their entirety go as follows:

I kēia pō eia au me ‘oe	Tonight, I am here with you
Kēia pō ua ho‘i mai au	Tonight, I have returned
He loa ka helena ma	Long was my journey on the
ke ala hele	path
E huli i wahi ma kēia ao	To seek a place in the world
Maopopo a ua ‘ike ho‘i	I now clearly see and understand
Ka home i loko o	The home within
ku‘u pu‘uwai	my heart
Ua ho‘i mai au, ke ‘ike nei au	I returned when I realized this
‘A‘ole au e ‘auana hou	I will not wander again
Ke maopopo he Hawai‘i au	For I understand, I am Hawaiian <sup>63</sup>

The song talks about the singer’s ill-awareness of his identity as a kanaka ‘ōiwi (Native Hawaiian) and his wandering aimlessly throughout life and the world with no true understanding. One could interpret it as an identity or existential crisis that is answered, in part, by the notion that they are a Hawaiian. Stereotypes about Native Hawaiians at the time often described them as

“lazy,” “stupid,” and “[lacking] initiative.” In *Nānā I Ke Kumu*, author Mary Kawena Pukui writes, “The stereotype, sometimes fairly accurate, sometimes false, represents public image. It can help or hurt the individual Hawaiian.”<sup>64</sup> These assumptions had the potential to dissuade Native Hawaiians from seeking better for themselves and in turn, their *lāhui* (race) as a whole. “He Hawai‘i Au” was an attempt to connect with *kānaka* (Native Hawaiians) who felt disenfranchised by a modernizing Hawai‘i. No one person is specifically mentioned (i.e., “you”), but the “home” can be viewed as a metaphor for Hawai‘i. The final line tugged at the heartstrings of *kānaka* (Native Hawaiians), who recognized their culture’s steady decline. This *mele* (song) has been covered by many Native Hawaiian artists since it first appeared on *Guava Jam* such as Bruddah Iz, Ho‘okena, and Sean Na‘auao.

Another *mele* (song) that influenced the identity of *kānaka ‘ōiwi* (Native Hawaiians) was John Keola Lake’s composition “‘Ōiwi E.” Although the song was not featured on many albums, Lake managed to teach the lyrics to his students at Saint Louis, the same school George Helm attended. The first verse goes as follows:

‘Ōiwi e	Natives
‘Ōiwi e kāhea ana iwi e	Natives the bones (ancestors) are calling
Ua ‘ike mai nei	I know
Ua ‘ike mai nei ku‘u one hānau e	I know my home land <sup>65</sup>

The importance of this song comes from Lake himself. Lake was pivotal in perpetuating the Hawaiian culture at Saint Louis, teaching Spanish and history and creating the school’s Hawaiian studies program.<sup>66</sup> He wrote “‘Ōiwi E” after a trip to Aotearoa (New Zealand), where he heard the Māori song, “Nga Iwi E.”<sup>67</sup> His version is not an exact translation of “Nga Iwi E,” but the sentiment and feelings contained remained the same.

### **Enduring Outcomes**

During the 1960s and 1970s, the indigenous population of Hawai‘i created a cultural revitalization known as the Hawaiian Renaissance. This movement raised awareness of Native Hawaiian issues and it would not have been possible without *mele Hawai‘i* (Hawaiian music).

Hawaiian music during the second Hawaiian Renaissance of the 1960s and 1970s greatly influenced various aspects of the movement such as, but not limited to, politics, Hawai‘i’s local culture and society, and the identity of kānaka ‘ōiwi (Native Hawaiians). Its legacy and influence remains prevalent in Hawai‘i today. There were many enduring outcomes that stemmed from mele Hawai‘i’s (Hawaiian music’s) impact and the Hawaiian Renaissance in general.

In 1996, Hilo resident Harold Rice filed a suit against Governor Benjamin Cayetano after Rice was barred from running in the statewide election as a candidate for OHA due to the fact that he was a non-Hawaiian. The case made it all the way to the Supreme Court of the United States, which ruled in 2000 that it conflicted with the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the U.S. Constitution and was therefore unconstitutional.<sup>68</sup> The ruling opened the OHA election to all residents of Hawai‘i, regardless of racial or ethnic background. The Rice v. Cayetano case was one of legal resistance by non-natives to the benefits granted to Native Hawaiians. This set precedent for another lawsuit that would follow months later: Arakaki v. State of Hawai‘i.

In this case, Earl Arakaki and twelve other plaintiffs filed a suit against the State of Hawai‘i challenging the requirement that candidates for the Office of Hawaiian Affairs be of Hawaiian descent. The U.S. District Court later allowed non-Hawaiians to run in OHA elections. Dr. Kenneth Conklin, one of the plaintiffs named in the case and a staunch opponent of Native Hawaiian rights, ran unsuccessfully for OHA trustee-at-large in the election following Arakaki v. State. These are instances of dissent by members of the population of Hawai‘i whom saw this ‘preferential treatment’ as unfair and unjust.

With regard to the issue of Kaho‘olawe, the United States Navy ceased live-fire training on the island in 1990. “Title X” of the U.S. Department of Defense’s Appropriations Act of 1994 transferred the title for Kaho‘olawe from the U.S. government to the state of Hawai‘i. However, the Navy retained access control to the island; it was required to complete environmental restoration and remove unexploded ordinance on the island by November 11, 2003 or until completion, whichever came first.<sup>69</sup> It was a celebratory moment for the Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana and those involved in the struggle for the island. There still remains tons of unexploded ordinance on the island, which makes it extremely dangerous to go there. Nevertheless, PKO and the Kaho‘olawe Island Reserve Commission (KIRC), created in 1993 by the Hawai‘i State Legislature, continue to send groups of volunteers to the island to plant native flora and remove

invasive weeds. Volunteers also learn about Kaho‘olawe’s ancient and contemporary history as well as practice Hawaiian chants and other cultural traditions.<sup>70</sup> This provides those unfamiliar with Kaho‘olawe’s prominence to learn about what activists like George Helm and Walter Ritte went through during their effort to bring justice to the island. The “Sailor Man’s Cap,” the resulting crater from Operation Sailor Hat, holds an anchialine pool and is also home to two endemic species of shrimp.<sup>71</sup>

Harry Kunihi Mitchell wrote the song “Mele O Kaho‘olawe,” which honors the island and calls upon ka lāhui Hawai‘i, the Hawaiian people, to stand up for the moku (island). Here is a preview of its lyrics:

Alu like kākou Lāhui Hawai‘i	Let us band together the Hawaiian Kingdom
Mai ka lā hiki mai,	From sun up to
i ka lā kau a‘e	sun down
Kūpa‘a a hahai hō‘ikaika	Stand together and follow, be strong young
nā kānaka	people
Kau li‘i mākou	We are but a few in numbers
Nui ke aloha no ka ‘āina	But our love for the land is unlimited <sup>72</sup>

It has since been covered by multiple artists such as Maunalua, Olomana, and the late Dennis Pavao. The struggle for Kaho‘olawe set a precedent for contemporary resistance campaigns such as the fight for Mākua Valley and the Thirty Meter Telescope controversy. The Office of Hawaiian Affairs remains a key opponent of the telescope’s construction atop the summit of Mauna Kea a dormant volcano on Hawai‘i-island that some Native Hawaiians deem sacred.<sup>73</sup>

The United States government also issued Public Law 103-150, informally known as the Apology Resolution, in 1993. The legislation came at a poignant time for kānaka (Native Hawaiians): The year marked a century since the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i. The Apology Resolution recognized that kānaka maoli (Native Hawaiians) “never directly relinquished their claims to their inherent sovereignty as a people or over their national lands to the United States, either through their monarchy or through a plebiscite or referendum.”<sup>74</sup> It also acknowledged the fact that American citizens were instrumental in the coup d’état and apologized on their behalf. However, the joint resolution stopped short of offering any sort of

settlement on claims against the United States.<sup>75</sup>

Ironically, the Kamehameha Schools, the school that formerly prohibited Hawaiian language instruction, created an annual choral competition for high school students at its Kapālama campus on O‘ahu. All songs are sung a cappella and ma ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, in Hawaiian. In essence, Song Contest provided a place of refuge for ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) at the Kamehameha Schools. In 2008, the theme for the 88th annual showcase was “Ola Ka ‘Ōlelo ‘Ōiwi O Ka ‘Āina: Celebrating Hawaiian Language Revitalization.” The showcase marked thirty years since ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) was recognized as an official state language with the Constitution of 1978. In recent years, its Pukalani and Kea‘au campuses, located on Maui and Hawai‘i-island, respectively, created their own versions of Song Contest called ‘Aha Mele.

The Hawaiian Renaissance of the 1960s and 1970s inspired the next generation of Native Hawaiians who were interested in traditional wayfinding techniques. The voyaging canoe Hōkūle‘a completed a three-year circumnavigation of the earth using these skills and without the aid of modern or Western instruments in June 2017. The local Hawaiian group, Kapena, recorded “Hōkūle‘a Mālama Honua” in honor of the huaka‘i (journey) undertaken by the vessel and her crew.

## Conclusion

The Hawaiian Renaissance was arguably the single greatest thing that happened to kānaka (Native Hawaiians), and it can lend its success to mele Hawai‘i (Hawaiian music). The resulting effects of music during the Hawaiian Renaissance are what enabled Kalani Pe‘a, a graduate of Ke Kula ‘O Nāwahīokalani‘ōpu‘u, a kula kaiapuni (Hawaiian-language immersion school) in Kea‘au, on Hawai‘i-island, to become the first Native Hawaiian musician to win a Grammy award in history.<sup>76</sup> Music is what inspired a former member of Eddie Kamae’s Sons of Hawai‘i to write a mele (song) about an area on Hawai‘i-island, Pōhakuloa, that headed down a path similar to that of Kaho‘olawe.<sup>77</sup> This in turn raised awareness and culminated in a lawsuit against the State of Hawai‘i’s Department of Land and Natural Resources.<sup>78</sup>

The influence of mele Hawai‘i (Hawaiian music) was undoubtedly one of the largest enablers of change during the Hawaiian Renaissance; its influence reverberated, and continues to

influence, Hawai‘i today. Kamanamaikalani Beamer summarizes this contemporary extension of the Hawaiian Renaissance and the attitudes of kānaka (Native Hawaiians) in his book *No Mākou Ka Mana: Liberating the Nation*. He writes:

Across the Hawaiian Islands today there is an escalation of a Hawaiian national consciousness. For the most part this emergence is an outgrowth of native communities, but there are also nonethnic Hawaiian individuals who have declared themselves Hawaiian national by joining one of the many independence groups or by claiming their descent from a non-Native Hawaiian national. On many campuses of University of Hawai‘i, growing number of Hawaiians are looking deeper into the status of the Hawaiian Kingdom as an independent state under international law. Other Hawaiian students seek recognition by the U.S. federal government, allowing for a nation-within-a-nation government. And there are still others who reject either of these notions, believing in their national identity as Americans.<sup>79</sup>

This is the legacy of the Hawaiian Renaissance that endures today. It has reawakened the identity of Native Hawaiians, but more importantly, given them the opportunity to choose for themselves where they will go. It is an empowerment of the indigenous population to seek out what they feel is best for their lāhui (race). Though tensions may arise in the course of future endeavors, one thing will remain constant: the Hawaiian culture is here to stay.

Lorenzo Lyons’ infamous mele (song), “Hawai‘i Aloha” or “Ku‘u One Hānau,” is often sung at the conclusion of gatherings and special occasions. It only seems fitting to end a moment such as this with the final line of the hui (chorus): “Mau ke aloha, no Hawai‘i; Love always for Hawai‘i.”<sup>80</sup>

Ua pau. It is done.

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1: “Hawai‘i Pono‘ī” na Mō‘ī David Kalākaua (1874)

Hawai‘i pono‘ī	Hawai‘i’s own true sons
Nānā i kou mō‘ī	Be loyal to your chief
Ka lani ali‘i,	Your country’s liege and lord
Ke ali‘i	The chief
Hui:	Chorus:
Makua lani ē,	Royal father,
Kamehameha ē,	Kamehameha,
Na kaua e pale,	Shall defend in war
Me ka ihe	With spears
Hawai‘i pono‘ī	Hawai‘i’s own true sons
Nānā i nā ali‘i	Look to your chief
Nā pua muli kou	Those chiefs of younger birth
Nā pōki‘i	Younger descent
Hawai‘i pono‘ī	Hawai‘i’s own true sons
E ka lāhui e	People of loyal heart
‘O kāu hana nui	The only duty lies
E u‘iē	List and abide

This mele was the national anthem of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i from 1876 until the overthrow of the government in 1893. It was composed by David Kalākaua in 1874 to the tune of “God Save the King” as a tribute to Kamehameha I. The arrangement was composed by Henry Berger, bandmaster for the Royal Hawaiian Band, shortly thereafter.

It was first sung by the Kawaiha‘o Choir for Kalākaua’s birthday on November 16, 1874 and became the national anthem two years later. In 1967, the Hawai‘i State Legislature passed an act proclaiming it as the state song.

It is also played as part of the opening ceremonies at political, cultural, and sporting events. Contemporary Hawaiian nationalists often refer to “Hawai‘i Pono‘ī” simply as “the national anthem” and accord it the respect thus due.<sup>81</sup>

## Appendix 2: “Mele o Kaho‘olawe” na Harry Kunihi Mitchell

Aloha ku‘u moku o Kaho‘olawe	I love you my island of Kaho‘olawe
Mai kinohi kou inoa o Kanaloa	Your original name was Kanaloa
Kohe-mālamalama	You are the southern beacon
Lau kanaka ‘ole	Barren and without a population
Hiki mai nā pua	Until you were invaded by nine young men
E ho‘omalū mai	Who granted you peace
Alu like kākou Lāhui Hawai‘i	Let us band together the Hawaiian Kingdom
Mai ka lā hiki mai i ka lā kau a‘e	From sun up to sun down
Kū pa‘a a hahai ho‘ikaika nā kānaka	Stand together and follow, be strong young people
Kau li‘i mākou nui	We are but a few in numbers
Ke aloha no ka ‘āina	But our love for the land is unlimited
Hanohano nā pua o Hawai‘i nei	Popular are the young people of Hawai‘i nei
No ke kaua kauholo me ka aupuni	For the civil strife they cause against the government
Pa‘a pū ka mana‘o o no ka pono o ka ‘āina	Together in one thought to bring prosperity to the land
Imua nā pua	Forward young people and bring
Lanakila Kaho‘olawe	Salvation to Kaho‘olawe

Kaho‘olawe means the “Carrying Away by Currents.” The ancient name of this island is Kohe-mālamalama-o-Kanaloa, or the “Shining Vagina of Kanaloa,” the god of the sea. “Kohe,” in this instance, means “a place that receives and nourishes,” and “mālamalama” means “to take exceptionally good care of.” Therefore, the Hawaiians recognized Kaho‘olawe as a sacred place.<sup>82</sup>

**Appendix 3: “Kaulana Nā Pua” na Eleanor Keho‘ohiwaokalani Wright Prendergast  
(1893)<sup>83</sup>**

Kaulana nā pua a‘o Hawai‘i Kūpa‘a ma hope o ka ‘āina Hiki mai ka ‘elele o ka loko ‘ino Palapala ‘ānunu me ka pākaha	Famous are the children of Hawai‘i Ever loyal to the land When the evil-hearted messenger comes With his greedy document of extortion
--	--

Pane mai Hawai‘i moku o Keawe Kōkua nā Hono a‘o Pi‘ilani Kāko‘o mai Kaua‘i o Mano Pa‘apū me ke one Kākuhihewa	Hawai‘i, land of Keawe answers Pi‘ilani’s bays help Mano’s Kaua‘i lends support And so do the sands of Kākuhihewa
--	--

‘A‘ole a‘e kau i ka pūlima Ma luna o ka pepa o ka ‘ēnemi Ho‘ohui ‘āina kū‘ai hewa I ka pono sivila a‘o ke kanaka	No one will fix a signature To the paper of the enemy With its sin of annexation And sale of native civil rights
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‘A‘ole mākou a‘e minamina I ka pu‘u kālā o ke aupuni Ua lawa mākou i ka pōhaku I ka ‘ai kamaha‘o o ka ‘āina	We do not value The government’s sums of money We are satisfied with the stones Astonishing food of the land
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Ma hope mākou o Lili‘ulani A loa‘a ē ka pono o ka ‘āina *(A kau hou ‘ia e ke kalaunu) Ha‘ina ‘ia mai ana ka puana Ka po‘e i aloha i ka ‘āina	We back Lili‘ulani Who has won the rights of the land *(She will be crowned again) Tell the story Of the people who love their land
--	---

\*Alternate Stanza

\*Alternate Stanza

Written January 1893, published in 1895, this hīmeni (hymn) opposed the annexation of Hawai‘i to the United States. The original title was “Mele ‘Ai Pōhaku,” or “The Stone-Eating Song,” and was also known as “Mele Aloha ‘Āina,” or “The Patriot’s Song.” This song was composed as Ellen Wright Prendergast was sitting in the garden of her father’s house in Kapālama. Members of the Royal Hawaiian Band visited her and voiced their unhappiness at the takeover of the Hawaiian Kingdom. They begged her to put their feelings of rebellion to music<sup>84</sup>.

**Appendix 4: “Hawai‘i ‘78” na Israel “Bruddah Iz” Kamakawiwo‘ole (1993)<sup>85</sup>**

Ua mau ke ea o ka ‘āina, i ka pono, o Hawai‘i  
Ua mau ke ea o ka ‘āina, i ka pono, o Hawai‘i

If just for a day our king and queen  
Would visit all these islands and saw everything  
How would they feel about the changes of our land

Could you just imagine if they were around  
And saw highways on their sacred ground  
How would they feel about this modern city life

Tears would come from each other’s eyes  
As they would start to realize  
That our people are in great, great danger now  
How, would they feel, would their smiles be content, then cry

Chorus:

Cry for the gods, cry for the people  
Cry for the land that was taken away  
And then yet you’ll find, Hawai‘i

Could you just imagine if they came back  
And saw traffic lights and railroad tracks  
How would they feel about this modern city life

Tears would come from each other’s eyes  
As they would stop to realize  
That our land is in great, great danger now

All the fighting that the king had done  
To conquer all these islands now there’s condominiums  
How would he feel if he saw Hawai‘i nei  
How, would he feel, would his smile be content, then cry

[Chorus]

Ua mau ke ea o ka ‘āina, i ka pono, o Hawai‘i  
Ua mau ke ea o ka ‘āina, i ka pono, o Hawai‘i

These are the lyrics for Bruddah Iz’s rendition of “Hawai‘i ’78.” The original mele, written by Kāwika Crowley, differs in its lyrics.



**Appendix 5: “‘Ōiwi E” na John Keolamaka‘inānānakalāhuihuiokalanikamehameha‘ekolu Lake<sup>86</sup>**

‘Ōiwi e	Natives
‘Ōiwi e kāhea ana iwi e	Natives the bones (ancestors) are calling
Ua ‘ike mai nei	I know
Ua ‘ike mai nei ku‘u one hānau e	I know my home land
Eia mai la	Behold
Eia mai la nā kupa ‘āina o Hawai‘i nei	Behold the natives of Hawai‘i
Kāko‘o mai nei	Support
Kāko‘o mai nei kūpa‘a lōkahi e	Support and be loyal faithfully
Kīkilo e nā iwi	Look to the distant future
Kīkilo e nā iwi e nā mamo e	Look to the distant future, oh descendants
Nā kini makamaka e	The multitudes of friends
Kūpa‘a ke kanaka	Humanity stands firm
Kūpa‘a ke kanaka hanohano ha‘aheo e	Humanity stands firm and proud
Kū ke kanaka	Humanity stands
Kūpa‘a ke kanaka hanohano ha‘aheo e	Humanity stands firm and proud

From Huapala: When Kumu Hula John Keola Lake travelled to Aotearoa (New Zealand), he was inspired by the Māori (natives) there, so he wrote a mele (song) based on the Māori song, “Nga Iwi E.” “‘Ōiwi E” is not a translation of “Nga Iwi E,” but the sentiments are similar. “‘Ōiwi E” is about the natives standing proud together and looking towards their ancestors for guidance and direction.

## Glossary of Terms

Although I do provide the reader with a glossary of terms used throughout this paper, I encourage them to ‘imi na‘auao, to seek knowledge, and consult the Hawaiian-English dictionary or wehewehe.org in the future.

**ahupua‘a:** n. Land division usually extending from the uplands to the sea, so called because the boundary was marked by a heap (ahu) of stones surmounted by an image of a pig (pua‘a), or because a pig or other tribute was laid on the altar as a tax to the chief.

**ali‘i:** nvs. Chief, chiefess, officer, ruler, monarch.

**alualu:** vi. To follow, pursue, chase.

**hālau:** n. Long house, as for canoes or hula instruction; meeting house.

**haole:** nvs. White person, American, Englishman, Caucasian; formerly, any foreigner; foreign.

**hapa haole:** nvs. Part-white person; of part-white blood; part white and part Hawaiian, as an individual or phenomenon.

**ho‘i i ka piko:** “Return to the source.”

**ho‘okele wa‘a:** v. Wayfinding; also “to wayfind.”

**ho‘olohe:** vt. To hear, mind, obey, listen.

**huaka‘i:** nvi. Trip, voyage, journey; to travel.

**hula:** nvt. The hula.

**hula ‘auana:** n. Informal hula without ceremony or offering, contrasted with the hula kuahu; modern hula.

**hula kahiko:** nvs. Ancient form of hula.

**kanaka:** nvs. Human being, person, individual, population; plural “kānaka.”

**kanaka maoli:** vs. Hawaiian native; pure Hawaiian.

**kanaka ‘ōiwi:** nvs. Native person.

**kāne:** n. Male, man.

**kaona:** n. Hidden meaning, as in Hawaiian poetry; concealed reference, as to a person, thing, or place

**kapu:** nvs. Taboo; prohibited, forbidden.

**kuhina nui:** n. Premier, regent; highest officer next to the king.

**kūkū (tūtū) kāne/wahine:** n. Grandfather, grandmother.

**lāhui:** nvs. Nation, race, people, nationality.

**laina:** n. Verse.

**lapa‘au:** nvt. Medical practice; to treat with medicine.

**kahuna lapa‘au:** nvt. Medical priest or practitioner.

**lā‘au lapa‘au:** nvt. Medicine.

**malihini:** nvs. Stranger, foreigner, tourist; one unfamiliar with a place or custom.

**mana:** nvs. Supernatural or divine power.

**mele:** nvt. Song, anthem, or chant of any kind.

**mele Hawai‘i:** nvt. Hawaiian music.

**mō‘ī:** n. King, sovereign, monarch, majesty, ruler, queen.

**moku:** n. District.

**‘ōlelo:** nvt. Language; to speak, state, talk, converse.

**‘ōlelo haole:** nvs. European language, especially English.

**‘ōlelo Hawai‘i:** nvt. Hawaiian language.

**‘ōlelo no‘eau:** vs. Wise or entertaining proverb, saying.

**pa‘a:** nvs. Firm, solid.

**wahine:** nvs. Woman, lady.

## **Albina in the Era of Urban Renewal: Displacement of Portland's Black Community**

**By: Emma Hunter**

Progress, industry, and cleanliness: these were the promises of urban renewal in the United States. The second half of the twentieth century witnessed a nation-wide campaign for urban renewal, where the federal government doled out money to state and city alleviate the “urban blight” that plagued many inner cities. In reality, urban renewal was much more sinister than a simple cleanup initiative as bulldozers entered the picture, tearing and ripping apart the homes and neighborhoods of disempowered people who were unable to stop this steady march toward urban progress. Such was the case in Portland’s Albina district, which housed a majority of the city’s African American population. Although urban renewal offered the promise of progress and a cleaner Portland, the projects failed to account for human impact and were detrimental to the Black community in Albina because they destroyed homes and neighborhoods and the government failed to compensate for the Albina residents’ loss, but they also brought about greater community involvement as a reaction to that loss.

The Housing Act of 1949 jumpstarted the era of urban renewal, allotting billions of federal dollars toward city slum clearance and housing projects. Portland took advantage of these funds and initiated development of different areas deemed urban blights. A 1971 Portland City Club Bulletin detailed the different types of urban renewal and how the programs applied to Portland from the 1950s and on. Conventional urban renewal provided federal funding and assistance for local governments to acquire and develop blighted areas containing the most run-down and deteriorated structures. Code Enforcement required funds be spent on the cost of maintaining structures to meet housing code requirements. The Neighborhood Development Program allocated federal assistance to maintain the existing neighborhoods, and finally the

Community Renewal Program provided grants for “long-range” planning for community redevelopment.<sup>87</sup> Portland engaged in various urban renewal activities, but the clearance-focused urban renewal programs devastated the Black community in Albina.

An October 16, 1955 article of *The Oregonian* introduced the concept of urban renewal to Portland as the city faced a decision to approve of the federal program, which offered funding for an ongoing project in the South Auditorium area near downtown by the west waterfront. Plans were still in the works, but the city determined any decision would be of a rehabilitative nature, rather than clearance.<sup>88</sup> However, the South Auditorium project demolished the homes of a multitude of minority residents’ homes and set the tone for future urban renewal efforts. A 1961 article in *The Oregonian* provided an update on the project, which resulted in the city acquiring the buildings within the 55-block radius around the auditorium area, including apartment buildings with renting tenants, and subsequently clearing them. John Kenward, in charge of the urban renewal commission, reported difficulty in finding housing for the relocation of displaced tenants.<sup>89</sup> While this particular project had no physical impact on Albina, the relocation difficulties demonstrated the city’s inadequate planning of this first project and the projects throughout sixties and seventies in Albina were characterized by a similar lack of organization.

Portland was scheduled to build an exposition center in the South Auditorium Project, but original plans fell through and the city relocated the exposition center (now Memorial Coliseum) to Albina, on the east side of the Willamette. An April 14, 1957 City Club Report on African Americans in Portland described the dire housing circumstances of the population, half of which were concentrated in a two mile long and one mile wide radius within the Elliot neighborhood of Albina.<sup>90</sup> The exposition center demolition plan encompassed this central Albina area, and about 400 homes were planned for clearance with over half occupied by Black residents, so relocation was a dire necessity for the displaced people. Relocation efforts involved a combination of moving people into already available housing and building new apartments. An *Oregonian* article from September 1957 revealed the city’s decision to seek federal funding for housing project construction for low-income displaced people, the majority of which were Black.<sup>91</sup> Segregation posed a major problem regarding housing project relocation, and the article explained that an integrated housing project for the displaced people from the Coliseum area would be the best solution to preventing further housing segregation.

Thus, the city undertook urban renewal efforts to clear out blighted areas and decided the area between the Broadway and Steel bridges met the qualifications of blight, but clearance and subsequent relocation merely pushed the Black residents into housing projects in a different area, effectively creating another ghetto, although groups such as the Urban League pushed for integrated housing.<sup>92</sup> It is impossible to separate urban renewal and housing because they are so integrated. Whites often refused to sell their homes to Blacks, so renting homes or living in apartments was the only option for many, which perpetuated segregation. When investment made its way into those areas largely inhabited by Black residents, housing prices rose too high for low-income minorities to remain because they were often renting tenants, and therefore displaced from the neighborhoods into a more northeastern part of Albina. Neighborhood disinvestment and the city finding those neighborhoods dispensable due to their racial makeup and therefore primed for bulldozing represented urban renewal's integration of economic and racially biased factors.

Moving on to another project, the highway expansions in the late 50s through the 60s constituted another blow to the Albina community. The federal government financed a majority of the freeway cost, with cities shouldering only a small percentage. Portland took advantage of the federal program and began construction of a freeway system to connect with the interstate, and the East-Bank (I-5) freeway in particular disrupted the Black community in Albina. Completed and opened around 1963, the freeway dislocated 300 people, most of whom were Black, and the city lacked the organization and funding to relocate those displaced.<sup>93</sup> In a 1959 Oregonian article, mayor Terry Schrunk condemned the failure of the federal government to provide relocation funds for the freeway projects, a small amount having been allotted to other urban renewal projects, although even that was insufficient compensation.<sup>94</sup>

Portland's early urban renewal projects all began around the same time, and while freeway construction and the razing of the area between the Broadway and Steel Bridges commenced, other areas underwent studies to determine the extent of blight within. This was the goal of mayor Terry Schrunk, elected in 1956, who ran off a platform of strong support for urban renewal practices. He formed the Portland Development Commission (PDC) in 1958 to provide better leadership and organization of the projects, as well as scope out locations that might benefit from urban renewal.<sup>95</sup> While studying the elected officials usually provides insight to the

overall political atmosphere of a city, during this time of voter discrimination the only people who really had a political voice were white citizens. The election of mayor Terry Schrunk demonstrated that whites were excited for urban renewal, but those most detrimentally impacted were of color and therefore lacked the voice and votes to oppose this election and urban renewal.

The Central Albina Plan was one such project promoted by the mayor's new committee, the PDC, and was proposed in 1962. This project threatened to relocate 7,000 people, 70 percent of them Black and in entirety, one third of the entire Black population in Portland.<sup>96</sup> The area encompassed Russell and Williams Avenue, which was a major center for Black businesses and surrounding homes. The standing structures, mostly houses, faced possible clearance to make way for new industrial-commercial areas, leaving no room for the tenants to remain in the area.<sup>97</sup> Such a massive relocation posed the problem of pushing the displaced persons into another part of the city thereby relocating the "ghetto." Thus, groups such as the NAACP fought against the implementation of such a large renewal project and managed to stall the plans, although much of the area was still demolished in the later sixties and seventies, although not under the guise of a single renewal project.<sup>98</sup>

While these few projects exemplify destructive urban renewal projects, renewal of a rehabilitating nature occurred as well, the best example being the Albina Neighborhood Improvement Project. The project was green-lighted in 1959 and moved forward in the early 1960s, zoned in an area bounded by Mississippi, Williams, Fremont, and Prescott, which was roughly a thirty-block zone. Starting in 1961, the PDC sponsored the plan and rehabilitation of an area containing over about 755 structures, about 500 of which were residential, and finished around 1972.<sup>99</sup> The effort managed to clean up the most run-down neighborhoods in central Albina through the city sponsorship and residents' own hard work to rehabilitate rather than bulldoze. A project like ANIP proposed a different path for urban renewal in Portland but failed to set the tone for the hospital project planned in the late sixties and seventies, which still favored demolition.

The Emanuel Hospital expansion project best exemplifies a return to destructive urban renewal practices. Originally planned during the Central Albina study, the PDC maintained the blueprints for expansion and began clearance in 1972, which affected 188 properties in total.<sup>100</sup> Political tension characterized this particular project, as the city sought funding through the

federal Model Cities program, which in turn required broader citizenship participation. The Model Cities program, however, listened to the voices of those who faced displacement and sided with a rehabilitation program rather than clearance. The PDC took the project away from Model Cities, fearful their long-planned project would be scrapped entirely and the expansion continued.<sup>101</sup> While homeowners were compensated and able to move into other locations around the city, displaced Black renters faced a much more difficult process of finding new homes when so few areas were open to housing people of color.

An Oregonian article from January 23, 1972 discussed compensation for renters and homeowners within the Emanuel project area, but it failed to account for the businesses that were also lost in the project. The heart of central Albina, the corner of N. Williams and N. Russell Avenue was torn down, along with business lining the streets, thus destroying the livelihood of Black business owners in the area. While the article focused on the fact that at least some people were compensated for their move, this positive picture of the project covered up real loss. In a tragic conclusion, the hospital expansion was never even completed, and residents and business owners gave up their property and homes only to have the cleared swaths of land remain vacant to this day as a reminder of what they lost.

Citizen involvement was a more positive outcome of urban renewal in the 1970s, as the Model Cities program urged for community input. For this reason, the PDC proposed removing the Emanuel project from Model Cities funding, fearing citizen input would destroy the long planned project. Community groups gathered together, such as the Emanuel Displaced Persons Association, which pushed for updates and details on the expansion while it was underway.<sup>102</sup> Neighborhood activism flourished in the later seventies as a reaction to the hospital project, and rehabilitation similar to ANIP set the tone for later renewal projects. A January 20, 1972 Oregonian article describes launching of the Albina program focused on beautification and housing rehabilitation in the area, rather than clearance and redevelopment.<sup>103</sup>

While destructive urban renewal practices plagued Albina in the early stages of renewal, citizens eventually found their voice in the later phases as community neighborhood programs took charge of rehabilitating the Albina neighborhoods, rather than subjecting them to the bulldozer. However, this does not erase the loss endured by the Albina community, which encountered freeway expansion, clearance for an exposition center, and the tragic outcome of the



Emanuel Hospital expansion project. The city failed to compensate the displaced, many of whom were Black renters and thus subject to racist real estate practices, which pushed them further north and east into Albina and simply relocated the “ghetto” city officials were attempting to eradicate. Urban renewal was controversial across the US because this tended to happen wherever it was implemented, and the projects failed to really fix the problem of slums, which were caused by disinvestment in areas with a larger Black population and simply clearing out the land failed to fix this larger social problem. Portland’s issues of gentrification today are rooted in this difficult experience with urban renewal and recognizing how these bustling and busy streets were built on devastation experienced by the Black minority is important when walking the city streets.

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## **Beer Goggles: Looking at Colorado’s Cultural, Economic, and Social Developments in the Late Twentieth Century through the Lens of its Brewing Industry**

**By: Mary Sullivan**

A rush of both refreshment and relaxation follow the sip of a freshly poured beer. But the essence of beer transcends these simple sensations. The differences in a beer’s production, ingredients, and origin, in many ways defines, not only the taste of the beverage, but also those responsible for brewing it and those who drink it. The sentiment, “You are what you eat or drink,” echoes the idea that what one consumes reflects the values, beliefs, and habits that person holds. Indeed, one can learn a lot about a person by looking at the beer that she or he drinks. One of the places renowned for the brewing and consuming of beer in the United States is Colorado.

In Colorado, beer production now commands a position as one of the highest job growth sectors in the state. How this industry rose to such prominence as well as how beer became important both as an economic stimulator for the state and as a cultural marker presents a fascinating point of inquiry. Although Coors initially comes to mind when discussing Colorado beer, citizens of the Rocky Mountain state continually assert the importance of craft brewing as part of the state’s identity. Through the study of Colorado’s beer industry, one can see the change from blue-collar saloon, to hippy basement, to yuppie bar, finally culminating into an established part of Colorado’s cultural and economic landscape. These changes reflect the broader social and economic transformations of Colorado between 1978 and 2000. The history of beer serves as a lens to better understand the cultural, economic, and social changes that took place in Colorado during the second half of the twentieth century.

Before Prohibition banned the sale of alcohol in 1920, both Colorado and the United States had numerous artisanal and local breweries. During the 13 years of Prohibition, breweries

that used their manufacturing plants for other goods or expended grains for things besides alcohol, such as ceramics and malted milk products withstood Prohibition. When they could legally produce beer again in 1933, these breweries, such as Anheuser-Busch, Miller, and Coors, swiftly became the giants of the modern beer industry. Increasing competition for market share pushed these companies into expensive advertising and sponsorship campaigns. These campaigns primarily targeted sports such as baseball, football, and stock car racing to create a romantic image that drinking beer manifested a true American activity. Yet while the big beer companies have persisted to fight for economic growth and market domination, their substitution of cheaper ingredients lowered the quality of their products.<sup>104</sup>

In the 1960s, popular counter-cultural movements such as “Back to the Land” inspired consumers to question big beer’s monopolization. In response, more people began to make beer in their homes and imitate the complex styles of European beers. Homebrewing became part of the counter-cultural movement and continued to flourish throughout the 1970s. In 1978, the U.S. Congress legalized homebrewing for personal use. The change in the law enabled the establishment of homebrewing clubs, associations, and magazines discussing ingredients, techniques, and philosophies. The community empowered homebrewers to expand their talents commercially into their own craft breweries. In California during 1969, Fritz Maytag bought and revitalized the Anchor Brewing Company. The brewery opened in 1896 and had served as a local community favorite in San Francisco, yet was declining in profitability with threat of closure until Maytag’s purchase.<sup>105</sup> Years later in 1978, with Maytag’s philosophy for local beer as inspiration, Jack McAuliffe founded the nation’s first microbrewery since Prohibition, New Albion, in Sonoma California.<sup>106</sup> In Colorado, a state with a strong presence of homebrewers, the growth of both the population and economic opportunities throughout the 1970s and 1980s created a beneficial environment for these new craft breweries to thrive. The rapid rise of craft breweries rose nationally from Anchor Brewing and New Albion as the only two in 1978 to 1,509 across the United States in 2000.<sup>107</sup> By the early 2000s during an American economic decline, so many brewers had flooded the market and increased competition that more breweries closed and merged than opened since the first years of Prohibition. Although the massive number of breweries in 2000 pressured some breweries to merge or close, the surge of craft breweries returned so that by 2016 there were 5,234 breweries in the United States.<sup>108</sup> Colorado grew from

one craft brewery in 1979 to 334 in 2016. It currently ranks second only to California for number of craft breweries in the country.

In order to study craft beer, it is important to define key segments of the industry, such as craft beer, microbrewery, brewpubs, regional craft breweries, and large breweries. According to the Brewer's Association, "a craft brewer is small, independent, and traditional."<sup>109</sup> The characteristic "small" requires that breweries produce no more than six million barrels (about 186 million gallons) of beer or less per year, whereas a "large brewery" produces more than six million barrels of beer annually.<sup>110</sup> To qualify as a craft brewery, breweries must be independent, meaning no other industry member owns more than 25 percent of the brewery and traditional, which the Brewers Association defines as, "a brewery that has a majority of its total beverage alcohol volume in beers whose flavor derives from traditional or innovative brewing ingredients and their fermentation."<sup>111</sup> In addition to the craft beer requirements, a microbrewery must produce less than 15,000 barrels of beer annually. Beyond breweries, brewpubs operate both as restaurants and breweries. Although they can sell 25 percent of their beer from the brewpub, they must brew most of their beer for the purposes of the restaurant. Finally, a regional craft brewery is independent and makes 15,000 to 6,000,000 barrels of "innovative" or "traditional" beer.<sup>112</sup> Colorado is home to each of the industry market segments including examples like Our Mutual Friend Brewing, a microbrewery, Wynkoop Brewing, a brewpub, New Belgium, a regional craft brewery, and Coors Brewing, a large brewery.

Colorado's early beer history reflects the frontier environment of the Colorado Territory. In the mid-nineteenth century, beer provided a safer option than the regularly polluted drinking water. Two years following its original settlement in 1859, pioneers had opened six breweries in Colorado. Twenty years later, there were 32 in Denver.<sup>113</sup> Because the late nineteenth century lacked adequate roads or railroads, transporting fresh beer across long distances was illogical. These smaller breweries in Colorado, similar to breweries across the United States, served their local population which compares to the local philosophy craft breweries maintain today.<sup>114</sup> Colorado's most famous brewery, Coors Brewing Company, opened in 1873 with German immigrants, Adolph Coors and Jacob Schueler as its founders. The partners marketed their superior use of fresh Rocky Mountain spring water, and soon Coors became so popular that early Coloradans called it, "Miner's Banquet."<sup>115</sup> Saloons sold both Coors amongst other Colorado

beers. In 1890, while Denver, Colorado's largest city, had 81 churches and 46 schools, 319 saloons covered the city.<sup>116</sup> Both the rise of saloons and popularity of Coors shows the immense presence of beer in Colorado's early frontier history.

Despite its popularity, citizens throughout Colorado pushed for the prohibited sale of alcohol in their individual towns until the entire state entered Prohibition in 1916, three years before federal Prohibition. While Fort Collins, a town about 65 miles north of Denver, had 13 saloons and five brothels in 1880, the clients of these businesses increasingly caused issues for the town. Courts convicted some customers of arson, adultery, and theft while wives protested how much of their paychecks their husbands spent at the saloons. The negative connotation surrounding the effects of alcohol took hold, and The Women's Christian Temperance Union and Carrie Nation's Anti-Saloon League organized in Fort Collins and throughout Colorado.<sup>117</sup> When Fort Collins and the rest of the state granted women the right to vote in 1893, citizens quickly legislated prohibition 24 years before the federal Eighteenth Amendment. Fort Collins's ban on alcohol lasted from 1895 to 1969.<sup>118</sup> The push to outlaw alcohol spread throughout Colorado until legislation passed prohibition law in 1916. Unable to operate legally, prohibition ultimately closed saloons, breweries, and decimated Colorado's early microbrewing scene.

In these intermediate years, the brewing landscape of Colorado changed dramatically. The barren and illegal market of Prohibition-era forced small but previously thriving breweries to close. Coors Brewing Company became the only Colorado brewery to withstand Prohibition because their facilities continued production but sold ceramics and malted milk products instead of beer.<sup>119</sup> To withstand Prohibition, Adolph Coors both lobbied to counter the movement and diversified into real estate, cement, and pottery made from the clay near his brewery.<sup>120</sup>

When the federal government lifted prohibition in 1933, Coors Brewing Company quickly restarted beer production. By 1938, Coors tested interstate shipping to Arizona, California, Nevada, Wyoming, New Mexico, Kansas, and Oklahoma.<sup>121</sup> They soon dominated the western United States market and sold their beer in cans for better freshness.<sup>122</sup> In subsequent years, Coors, smaller than their large competitors, marketed themselves as more selective and prestigious than Anheuser-Busch and Miller. Adolphus Coors Jr. insisted on the use of rice instead of corn, a cheap ingredient A-B and Miller used, because of the better flavor it provided. In developing a new beer, both Adolphus Coors Jr. and his son, Bill, created a beer that was less

fattening than their competitor's, and in 1941 they released Coors Light Beer to the market. They grew to keep up with popular demand and continued with innovation. In 1950, they started cultivating their own strand of barley near the brewery, and in 1959, Bill Coors designed the world's first mass produced aluminum beverage can.<sup>123</sup> Coors Brewing Company set the standard for both light beer and canned beer earning their way to the top of the nation's beer sales.

Following years of Coors' dominance in the West, economic advances in Colorado and the post-Vietnam counterculture encouraged a change in the beer industry. The 1970s were an economically prosperous decade for Colorado. While the increasing price of oil from the 1973 Arab oil embargo stressed pieces of the national economy, it afforded Colorado with the unique opportunity to market their oil reserves. Colorado saw a huge increase in oil, gas, and energy companies, which invested in the oil shale ventures of western Colorado and built skyscrapers in Denver to be their headquarters.<sup>124</sup> The investments from these companies multiplied both income and consumer spending throughout Colorado, thus building up the economic strength of the state.

In addition to the economic growth in Colorado, the post-Vietnam hippie culture of the United States manifested itself within Colorado's borders. Nationally, the "Back to the Land Movement" gained popularity in the 1970s as a counteraction to American industrial farming and the monoculture and disconnection with nature it perpetuates. People escaped back to the land in the form of moving away from cities to a life of farming, ultimately trying to live a simple life away from what they viewed as an oppressive government and society.<sup>125</sup> In this period, people became more aware of where their food came from, what was in it, and who was making it. Although many saw the movement as extreme, similar ideas spread throughout the United States. After pro-environmental literature like the New York Times bestseller, *Silent Spring*, by Rachel Carson in 1962, student protests, and public outcry following a huge oil spill in Santa Barbara, changes took shape in the creation of Earth Day in 1970, the Environmental Protection Agency in 1970, and the Consumer Product Safety Commission in 1972.<sup>126</sup> Both Earth Day and these agencies worked to inform consumers about products and their effects on the environment and public health.<sup>127</sup> While the "Back to the Land Movement" represented a drastic choice for people to counter culture by physically moving out of an urban environment, their ideas sparked a national cultural change throughout the 1970s affording more people a chance to participate.



Consequently, as the developing awareness of conscious consumerism filtered through the United States, it funneled into Colorado. As more of Colorado's urban populations transitioned into the progressive cultural era, Boulder, Colorado, began to embody this lifestyle. Boulder changed tremendously in the 1970s as a result of lifestyle politics, micropolitan urbanism, and hip-capitalism. According to historian, Amy Scott, the lifestyle liberals, which she defines as, "a coalition of college students, hippies, and urban environmentalists," redefined Boulder with their embrace of "local participatory democracy, human-scale institutions, culturally authentic experiences, and recognition of environmental limits."<sup>128</sup> She argues that a majority of Boulder consumers developed a "consciousness commerce" where they grew to believe their product choices affected the environment, health, and social conditions.<sup>129</sup> Consciousness commerce inspired companies such as Boulder Brands, and Horizon Organic to offer customers ethical products. Increasingly, the change in products and consumerism emulated how Colorado began to participate in the larger post-Vietnam counter culturalism.

Despite its dominating presence in Colorado, Coloradans and those who followed Coors Brewing publicly protested some of the companies and owners' practices. Since its less prosperous days during Prohibition, Coors Brewing had strongly suppressed the strikes and formation of unions by their workers.<sup>130</sup> Heavy opposition to this policy began when David Sickler, a business agent for Local 366, and the AFL-CIO, both who had worked in California on strikes run by Cesar Chavez, began a strike of Coors. Despite their efforts, Bill and Joe Coors outmaneuvered their strike in 1976 and maintain the policy today. As a result, Sickler and his colleagues spread word of Coors' refusal to allow unions, its discriminatory practices against hiring homosexuals, Hispanics, and African Americans, and mounting support of conservative politicians and organizations. The AFL-CIO's actions fueled a previous boycott which had started in 1966.<sup>131</sup> A pamphlet describing the boycott asked readers, "Why Boycott Coors?" It proceeded to explain, "If you support civil liberties," "If you oppose discrimination," and "If you support the right of workers to organize" then you should boycott Coors. The publishers pushed readers to spread the word, not to buy Coors beer, to send letters to Joseph Coors, and to purchase "I DON'T DRINK COORS BEER" t-shirts.<sup>132</sup> Those who boycotted Coors did not only boycott their discriminatory practices, but also their political affiliations. Dan Baum, a reporter for the *New Yorker*, writes in his monograph, *Citizen Coors*,

The Coors brothers, with Joe in the forefront, were dedicating millions to undoing the social, racial, environmental, and sexual revolutions of the late twentieth century. Joe had created the Heritage Foundation and a right-wing TV network, and he was one of Ronald Reagan's first big backers. Moreover, Joe was strikingly public about his politics and philanthropy. He had made himself the poster boy of the conservative movement, and now his company was replacing grapes and lettuce as America's most prominent boycott target. Segments of the left that had either ignored or disparaged each other in the 1960s and 1970s – blacks and feminists, union and gays, greens and migrant workers – were coming together to bash Coors. Through its dedication to the politics of the Right, Coors was ironically becoming the Left's best organizing tool since the Vietnam War.<sup>133</sup>

The political practices of Coors' owners severely collided with many of those who practiced social and political activism in Colorado. In 1987, the congressional committee called Joe Coors in to testify during their investigation on the Iran-Contra affair. Growing awareness of their support to Nicaraguan contras had led to more public denouncement, seen in an advertisement stating, "When you buy Coors products, do you help them turn back civil rights, censure high school textbooks, weaken labor laws and environmental protections, promote homophobia, and meddle in foreign affairs? Why did Joe Coors himself for example, buy an aircraft for the Nicaraguan contras?"<sup>134</sup> The official boycott lasted until 1987 when the AFL-CIO<sup>135</sup> and Coors settled their disagreements regarding the screening of homosexuals during the hiring process. Despite this reconciliation, the more than ten years of strikes had an enormous impact on both Coors' reputation and Colorado beer. Coors' share in California's state beer market decreased from 40 percent in 1977 to 14 percent in 1984.<sup>136</sup> As the cultural movements of the 1970s affected how people chose what to consume, the demand for Coors decreased. Other options for beer were Anheuser-Busch, Miller, Schlitz, Pabst, 36 smaller German-styled breweries, expensive imports, or to make it oneself.<sup>137</sup> The Coors boycott signals the rising awareness across the United States of who crafted products and whether they held up with the culture's tightening standards.

Consequently, homebrewing emerged as a reflection of the cultural atmosphere of Colorado in the 1970s. Homebrewing simply existed as a smaller and cheaper "do it yourself" hobby enabling producers to know the ingredients they put into their own beer. However, even into the 1970s in accordance with Prohibition era law, it was not legal until October 14th, 1978, when President Jimmy Carter signed HR 1337 into law. The legislation enabled homebrewing

fanatics, Charlie Papazian and Charlie Matzen, to establish a legitimate organization concerned with specialty beer. They created both the American Homebrewers Association and *Zymurgy* Magazine in Boulder, Colorado.<sup>138</sup> The partners had met through their common interest in homebrewing and decided to make an organization that helped others navigate the tedious hobby. Homebrewing existed as the only domestic option for beer that was not similar to beer from Coors, Bud, or Miller. Although stores imported European beers, they were both incredibly expensive and not as fresh as something brewed at home. Papazian and Matzen found a dedicated audience in Colorado of about 1,000 homebrewers.<sup>139</sup> Through *Zymurgy*, the pair reported news of new techniques, new recipes, and ultimately stimulated the knowledge and progression of the growing microbrewing rebirth.<sup>140</sup> The magazine, homebrewing clubs, and homebrew-centered events, enabled the hobby to mature and reflect Colorado's hippie culture.

*Zymurgy* and Beer and Steer parties echoed the hippie and homebrewing culture. *Zymurgy* not only offered recipes and instructions for homebrewers, but also came with editorials. In their second volume during the summer of 1979, Papazian and Matzen wrote, "Traveling with Homebrew." They argued that taking homebrew on adventures was practical and refreshing. The pair connect craft beer with the outdoorsy and adventurous characteristics of both Colorado and hippie active and outdoorsy lifestyle. While they negate the myth that only commercial beers' cans can go on road trips and outdoor adventures, they affirm that home brewing could appeal to the active person too.<sup>141</sup>

They put their theories into action during outdoor festivals like the "Beer and Steer." In the foothills of Boulder, the event would host both homebrewers and beer enthusiasts while providing homebrewed beer. The festival grew and became an event where people could share techniques and recipes. In the back to nature spirit, participants roasted meat on an open fire and kept beers cold with snow transported from the mountains. In an interview with Charlie Papazian and Colorado Public Radio, Papazian stated, "It was an event that brought a community together, and that community didn't exist until then."<sup>142</sup>

As the number of attendees exceeded the capacity of Beer and Steer, Papazian and Matzen saw how essential an event-driven community was to the development of homebrewing, and they subsequently decided to take their events nationally. In 1979 they created the First Annual National Homebrew Competition.<sup>143</sup> Both the competition's tremendous popularity and

the rising microbrewing trend inspired Papazian to start the Great American Beer Festival in 1982, which still occurs each fall in Colorado. The GABF enabled brewers and beer fanatics to share recipes, stories, and ideas. Speaking to the culture of homebrewing at the second annual Great American Beer Festival, Steve Harrison from Sierra Nevada Brewing said, “Basically, the whole idea of homebrewing and microbrewing is a reaction against the Budweiserization of America. There’s nothing wrong with Budweiser Beer. There’s nothing wrong with McDonalds’s hamburgers or Holiday Inns, either. It’s just that every beer today tastes exactly like Bud and every hotel looks exactly like a Holiday Inn.”<sup>144</sup> Through magazines like *Zymurgy* and events like the National Homebrew Competition, conferences, and the GABF, the culture of craft brewing and homebrewing in Colorado matured.

Papazian’s events provided an atmosphere where homebrewers could both meet and become aspiring commercial brewers. Two members of the American Homebrewer’s Association started Colorado’s first craft brewery since Prohibition, The Boulder Brewing Company. The two homebrewers, Randolph “Stick” Ware and David Hummer decided to start a brewery based off their increasing homebrew talent. They moved from homebrewing in their basements to their friend, Al Nelson’s, goat shed near Boulder. With handmade six-pack cartons, bottles, some simple labels, and their first three beers, (porter, bitter, and stout) they created Boulder Brewing.<sup>145</sup> Although Stick and David were novices to craft beer, the limited number of experts set out to help them. The famous English beer writer, Michael Jackson, helped with recipes, Jack McAuliffe, the founder of New Albion in California offered advice on starting in the brewery business, and Jeff Coors offered his old bottling line, lab equipment, and some ingredients. In an interview with Tess McFadden, she stated, “Coors did not want to squash it, they really just wanted to help.”<sup>146</sup> Not only did Coors want to help a new brewery, but Jeff Coors supported the brewery because he thought having two breweries in Colorado could benefit their legislative lobbying purposes.<sup>147</sup> After settling in and entering the first American Homebrewers Association national competition, Boulder Brewing won a blue ribbon for their stout. In 1982, they joined 23 other breweries and attended the first GABF in Boulder. With their blooming success, Boulder Brewing built a new brewery and, in 1985 they moved from the goat shed to their current location on Wilderness Place in Boulder.<sup>148</sup>

Boulder Brewing Company’s origins reflect the importance of homebrewing within the

craft beer revolution. Papazian discussed,

It's remarkable that so many homebrewers have discovered their calling as professional brewers or have found careers in the beer industry through homebrewing. I've met hundreds if not thousands of beer distributors, bar owners, waiters, brewers, brewing engineers and marketing people who contributed to their knowledge and expertise through homebrewing. I've met professionals who work in some of the smallest and largest breweries in the world who began their career path through homebrewing.<sup>149</sup>

Papazian strongly believed in this craft beer culture that in 1981, he held a brewing conference where panelists from Boulder Brewing and Cartwright Brewing from Portland, Oregon, spoke in a session called, "The Small Commercial Micro-Brewery in America—It's Revival." The brewers spoke about their experience opening a brewery. More importantly, the audience was eager to listen and learn how they could participate in this craft brewing renaissance.<sup>150</sup>

The second half of the 1980s saw a stifling recession which changed the landscape of Colorado's economy. The same oil and gas boom that built the skyscrapers of downtown Denver and spilled wealth across the state came to a halt. As oil prices fell, oil companies decreased employment by one half and subsequently vacated office buildings around Colorado. When they increasingly lost these customers, the hospitality and service industries which catered to the oil workers, faced bankruptcy and foreclosure. Other industries soon followed.<sup>151</sup> Airlines like Frontier, headquartered in Colorado met financial challenges and failures.<sup>152</sup> Manufacturing businesses including iron, steel, leather, and rubber relocated away from Denver. In the agricultural sector, farmers and ranchers struggled with high land, energy, and interest costs, and the sugar beet industry collapsed.<sup>153</sup> Not only did this downward trend have drastic effects on companies and industries in Colorado, but it also saw about 30,000 Coloradans lose their jobs between 1984 and 1986. The unemployment rate of Colorado rose to 8.5 percent, and the state GDP per capita fell drastically.<sup>154</sup> The 1980s recession had a crippling effect on Colorado's economy, saw the extinction of many Colorado industries, and challenged its citizens.

Despite their increasing recognition, Boulder Brewing Company was not immune to the consequences of the economic breakdown of the mid 1980s in Colorado. Within this economic fall, Boulder Brewing Company lost \$15,000 in revenue. In a 2009 interview with the local newspaper, Boulder Daily Camera, Ware reflected and said, "We were trying to make beer, we

weren't thinking about business or profits. We just wanted to make good beer."<sup>155</sup> Both founders, Stick and David, sold their shares of the company to investors who kept the company private and believed in its future.

Although Colorado's recession in the late 1980s deeply affected the economy and population, the economy eventually started to improve in the early 1990s and ignited the entrepreneurial spirit of Coloradans. The unemployed workforce, low housing prices, and low commercial real estate prices decreased the costs of starting a business in Colorado. The combination of the economic climate, landscape, and lifestyle enticed companies to move to and do business in Colorado.<sup>156</sup> In an effort to rejuvenate the economy, the building of the Denver International Airport from 1989 to 1995 became the state's largest construction project. With a budget of five billion dollars, it served to attract new businesses and people.<sup>157</sup> The Denver Chamber of Commerce emerged as a group committed to the improvement of Colorado's economy. In the 1993 Denver Post article, "Fortune 500 Spread Touts Joys of Denver," Jeffrey Leib exuberantly states:

"The most interesting aspect of Fortune magazine's best-read issue is not the handful of Colorado-based companies in the list, but the \$400,000 nine-page advertising supplement touting the economic wonders of metro Denver to readers around the world. Last year, Greater Denver Chamber of Commerce officials decided to use the annual Fortune issue to promote Denver International Airport and the recovery of the metro Denver economy to the international business community."<sup>158</sup>

The Denver Chamber of Commerce drastically pushed to advertise the state as an appealing and emerging community to start or relocate a company both for the prices and the active lifestyle Colorado offered. This period of economic revival welcomed new businesses and invited the immense progress of the technology industry. IBM, Hewlett-Packard, Comcast, Quest, and Lockheed Martin represented the growing number of television, computer software, and biotechnology businesses that moved to Colorado.<sup>159</sup> An extreme transition in Colorado jobs occurred in the 1980s as extraction occupations decreased while technology and high skilled jobs increased.

As the number of Coloradans employed in technology jobs doubled between January 1990 and January 2000, so did their incomes.<sup>160</sup> With the economic boom of the 1990s,

Coloradans saw a rise in personal wealth, and it became the highest ranked state in the United States for personal income growth.<sup>161</sup> Money from real estate developments, technology, telecommunications, cable, and banking financed new affluent Denver and Boulder neighborhoods. The effect of the economic boom in Colorado included both an increase in tourists and people who moved to Colorado. The developing ski resorts of Vail, Aspen, Breckenridge, and Telluride attracted people from all around the globe, and increased knowledge of Colorado's attractions. The recognition spread the word about Colorado's low cost of living and outdoorsy lifestyle.<sup>162</sup> From April 1990 to 2000, Colorado's population grew by 30.6 percent from 3,294,394 to 4,301,261.<sup>163</sup> Through the 1990s, Colorado experienced a transformative economic boom which bore new business ventures and increased both the wealth and number of its citizens.

The revitalization of the brewing industry reflected the economic upsurge in Colorado and its increased opportunity for new businesses. Although the breweries operated locally in Colorado, the expansion of craft beer in Colorado mirrored the waves of craft brewing across the country. The reinvigoration of Anchor Brewing in California in the 1970s stood alone in the first wave, while the second wave included breweries which opened in the late 1970s and early 1980s. In 1983, the Brewer's Association (stemmed from the American Homebrewer's Association) created the magazine, *The New Brewer*, to aid commercial start up breweries.<sup>164</sup> Although many second wave breweries, like Boulder Brewing, had to sell, close, or readapt their businesses in the middle of the 1980s, the late 1980s and early 1990s saw an increase of investment and a massive growth of craft breweries constructing the third wave.<sup>165</sup>

From 1984 to 1996, the craft breweries across the nation grew at a rate of more than 16 percent.<sup>166</sup> Colorado's advancement was slow prior to 1988 because Colorado prohibited breweries to distribute directly from their location.<sup>167</sup> The breweries could not sell their products because they had to follow the three tier system of distribution, a system developed post-Prohibition to limit the influence of illegal alcohol producers.<sup>168</sup> The three tiers include the producer (the brewery), the distributor (the warehouse and truck level), and the retailer (the liquor store). Three tier prohibited breweries from acting as retailer and producer. Following a change in three tier law in 1988, it became easier to operate and sustain a brewery because they could sell both directly on site and to a liquor store themselves.

Following the change in legislation in 1988 and the increasing support of Colorado entrepreneurs, the third wave of Colorado craft brewing began with Wynkoop Brewing and the brewpub revolution. Four friends, John Hickenlooper, Russ Schehrer, Jerry Williams, and Mark Schiffler started the iconic Wynkoop Brewing Company in Lower Downtown Denver. Victims of the bust of the oil and gas boom, John Hickenlooper and Jerry Williams, both geologists, had to sell their failed oil company. Russ Schehrer, an avid homebrewer, came from his position as a computer programmer, and Mark Schiffler previously worked as a chef for a different restaurant.<sup>169</sup> The group designated Schiffler as the head chef of the restaurant portion and Schehrer as brewmaster. Schehrer had recently won “Homebrewer of the Year” from the Annual National Homebrews Conference in Denver beating 700 competitors. Despite Schehrer’s experience in homebrewing beer, Hickenlooper conceived the idea of starting a brewpub after his trip to Berkeley, California. He toured Triple Rock and noticed that the beers from the pub contained less fizz and more flavor than the macro beers. After he convinced his friends to join in, they combined their finances. Hickenlooper used money from his failed oil company and a \$125,000 loan from the city of Denver. Although becoming the first brewpub in Colorado created a sense of excitement, the brewers still had difficulty in convincing banks to finance them in Denver’s economic state. Russ’s wife, Barbara Schehrer in an interview with The Colorado Springs Gazette stated, “It was hard to sell the idea. You tell the bankers that you’re doing a restaurant in Denver and they show you the door.”<sup>170</sup> Even Hickenlooper’s mother refused to finance his idea. Finally, the Women’s Bank, an institution that was willing to take a higher risk than other banks to fund entrepreneurial ideas, agreed to invest in the brewpub.<sup>171</sup> Hickenlooper continued to convince 33 investors to join.<sup>172</sup> In 1988, after the legalization of brewpubs, the Wynkoop Brewing Company successfully established itself as the first brewpub in Colorado.

Following its creation, Wynkoop became a massive success and a model for the subsequent craft breweries in Colorado that could afford to open because of the maturing strength of the Colorado economy. Patrons flocked to the brewpub and within only two months of opening, it turned a profit. Sixteen months later, the brewers had returned a third of their \$500,000 debt. In an interview with the Rocky Mountain News in 1990, Hickenlooper called his success a “novelty.”<sup>173</sup> They increased notoriety especially in 1993 when Pope John Paul II visited Denver. During his visit, Wynkoop brewed Pontiff Porter, Basilica Bitter, Papal Pale Ale



and Ale Mary, each an allusion to the Pope's visit.<sup>174</sup>

Shocked with their success, other Colorado entrepreneurs and beer fanatics followed Wynkoop's lead. On the other side of the Rocky Mountains in Durango, Carver Brewing Company opened in 1988. An hour away from Denver in Fort Collins, both CooperSmith's Pub and Brewing and the Old Colorado Brewing Company opened in 1989. The trend continued in the mountains as Breckenridge Brewing and Pub and Vail Brewing Company opened. The founders of Vail Brewing Company spoke to The Denver Post about the expanding popularity of specialty beers and brewpubs. They felt that the act of pouring fresh, custom-made beers right in front of customers stimulated the popularity of the flourishing trend. The founders planned to make their brewery the resort's most popular tourist attraction aside from the ski slopes. They relied on the developing tourism of Vail where tourists could pay more for their desire to taste local beers.<sup>175</sup> The brewpub business expanded across Colorado and the United States as the economy flourished. From 1988 to 1993, 55 microbreweries in the United States opened while brewpubs represented two-thirds of that growth. Colorado stood second to California in number of brewpubs.<sup>176</sup>

Some Colorado entrepreneurs not only opened brewpubs, but also saw a unique opportunity in the spreading popularity of craft beer. Frank Day owned Concept Restaurants and founded the restaurants Old Chicago, Rock Bottom, and the Walnut Brewery. Although he ran Rock Bottom and Walnut as brewpubs, which brewed their own beer, Old Chicago featured the existing craft beer in Colorado. Old Chicago gradually provided more opportunities for consumers to try craft beer than in other restaurants. Day aimed to have both a wide variety beer and food menus in his restaurant.<sup>177</sup> In 1990, Frank Day and his wife, Gina Day, purchased Boulder Brewing Company. As Gina ensured Boulder Brewing stayed independent of Concept Restaurants, she helped add a full-service restaurant to the brewery and renamed it Rockies Brewing Company after the baseball team, Colorado Rockies. Her team changed the business model and began to sell out of state.<sup>178</sup> Instead of increasing competition, the brewpub trend appealed to more people and drew them in to drink craft beer. In both Denver and Fort Collins, they generated more awareness of craft beer and, subsequently, more customers.<sup>179</sup> Although the brewpub revolution started out small, rising numbers of entrepreneurs saw the success of both Wynkoop Brewing Company and the Days' innovation, thus aiming to emulate their success in

their own attempt at brewing craft beer.

Growing simultaneously with brewpubs, microbreweries opened in Colorado and developed the European, gourmet, and connoisseur characteristics of beer. The increasing number of people writing on the craft beer revolution classified microbreweries as “America’s incarceration of the European tradition.”<sup>180</sup> The combination of the improved economy of the United States and the deregulation of the airline industry enabled more people to travel abroad. Increasing amounts of Americans could fly to European countries. While on their travels abroad, many people discussed their experiences in European pubs or breweries tasting the best existing beers in the world.<sup>181</sup> Returning from their journeys, these travelers longed to have access to that beer again. Increasingly, the preference for craft beer grew into a preference for the taste, and the European influence. This concept manifested into two of the biggest craft breweries in Colorado, Odell Brewing Company and New Belgium Brewing Company.

Gathering inspiration from the United Kingdom, Odell Brewing Company became the first non-brewpub microbrewery in Fort Collins. In 1978, Doug Odell, found himself in San Francisco working for Anchor Brewing Company. He eventually left Anchor, finished school, and moved to Seattle where he met his wife, Wynne. After bonding over their affection for craft breweries in the area, they honeymooned to the United Kingdom in 1986. As they tried the diverse selection of beers in England, Scotland, and Ireland, they developed a deep passion for the English style of beer. The English style was typically an ale, a darker colored beer with more flavor than the lagers from Coors, Bud, or Miller. Their honeymoon inspired them to start a brewery, but they felt that the craft brewing market in Seattle was too saturated. Considering where to open a brewery, they contemplated Fort Collins, Colorado, because Doug’s sister lived there, the economy was improving, the water quality exceeded expectations, and the presence of Colorado State University provided a populated consumer base for their brewery.<sup>182</sup> After moving, Wynne applied to Hewlett-Packard while Doug started the brewery full time. They held a grand opening celebration at Old Chicago in Fort Collins in 1989 and by 1994, they had enough success that they could build a larger and brand new facility.<sup>183</sup> The establishment of Odell Brewing Company shows how craft brewers found inspiration from European styles of beer and how Colorado’s amenities and economy attracted entrepreneurs.

Only two years later, the founders of New Belgium also experienced a European

revelation. While working in Europe, Jeff Lebesch traveled to Belgium where he toured the country by bicycle. Quickly, the beer culture of Belgium captivated him, and he began to understand how deeply Belgian culture both cherished and celebrated beer. Returning from Europe, Jeff grew frustrated that he no longer had access to the Belgian-style beer. To remedy his frustration, he began homebrewing. He joined the Liquid Poets, a Fort Collins homebrewing society, alongside Doug Odell and other homebrewers. He grew to perfect his homebrews and entered the American Homebrewing National Competition winning both first and second place.<sup>184</sup> In 1991, both Jeff and his wife, Kim Jordan, founded the New Belgium Brewing Company in their basement. Following Odell's draft-only and CooperSmith's on premise-only approach, New Belgium made themselves unique by only selling bottles and focusing on Belgian style ales. Not only was this style unique to Fort Collins, it was unique to the United States. When New Belgium entered the Great American Beer Festival in 1993, there was no category that could include their style of beer. Scrambling, the Great American Beer Festival committee created a "Mixed, Specialty" category, and New Belgium's Abbey beer earned the brewery its first GABF gold medal.<sup>185</sup> By 1994, New Belgium ascended from the designation of "microbrewery" to the term "regional brewery" as they started brewing 28,000 barrels of beer annually.<sup>186</sup>

The increasing success and popularity of craft beer inspired more and more breweries to open, but as more microbreweries opened with European inspiration, it limited the options of which new style to bring to the United States. In a 1993 Denver Post article, Jeffrey Lieb wrote, "Microbreweries and brewpubs that produce fine European-style ales are no longer novel in Colorado."<sup>187</sup> In response to this circumstance, Jeff Mendel, Eric Warner, Mark Lupa, and George Barela decided to open Tabernash Brewing Company, Colorado's first microbrewery with a German theme. Although lagers, the beers which Coors, Budweiser, and Miller brewed, were not revolutionary to the United States in the same way as Odell's or New Belgium's ales, critics claimed the macro beers lacked both taste and color. Tabernash Brewing Company desired to make a lager more tasteful and dynamic than the macro lagers.<sup>188</sup> They expanded into all Bavarian style beers, including lagers and Weiss beers, and claimed success at their first Great American Beer Festival.<sup>189</sup> Tabernash's establishment illustrates the transition from opening up breweries to bring European style to American to opening up breweries to complement the

expanding desire for a gourmet and more complex taste in beer.

By the middle of the 1990s, the continuously improving economy of Colorado and the massive growth of craft breweries created prosperous pockets of microbreweries. In 1996, 71 breweries operated in Colorado qualifying Colorado as the state with the most breweries per capita. It contributed about one million dollars in excise taxes and added 3,000 jobs to Colorado from 1993 to 1996.<sup>190</sup> Breweries became destinations for both tourists and locals. Specifically, in Denver, Wynkoop Brewing Company brought more people to Lower Downtown. Nothing else at the time drew them to that section of the city because it contained abandoned steel, iron, and grain buildings. The addition of brewpubs such as Rock Bottom and The Chophouse transformed the area into a popular bar scene creating the construction, “LoDo” from Lower Downtown. Furthermore, Coors Brewing agreed to sponsor the Colorado Rockies’ new downtown baseball stadium, Coors Field, in LoDo. The areas around Coors Field erupted with breweries so that in 1995, when Coors Field opened, Sandlot Brewing, Broadway Brewing Company, Champions, Denver Chophouse, Great Divide, Mercury Café, Rock Bottom, Tabernash, Wynkoop, and Breckenridge Brewery’s new Denver location all surrounded the stadium.<sup>191</sup> The development of a brewing cluster benefitted this area in Denver as it brought consumers to an area previously subjected to disinvestment and deindustrialization. The presence of these breweries reflected Denver’s burgeoning investment and entrepreneurship.

Similarly, in Fort Collins, the brewery count continued to increase. In 1995, the population of 95,000 people had six breweries. Five craft breweries stood in the shadow of the Anheuser-Busch’s warehouse that could cover 17 football fields. Although the Anheuser-Busch plant produced 510 kegs of beer an hour when craft breweries might produce one, the two coexisted peacefully. The craft brewers solicited both technological and business advice from Anheuser-Busch. The relationship was symbiotic because Anheuser-Busch pushed consistency and quality, while the Fort Collins craft breweries pushed experimentation and complex taste. The difference attracted different consumers depending on their desire for either consistency or experimentation. From chili beer, chestnut beer, Belgium sours, and English Ales, the Fort Collins craft breweries excited their consumers and grew in popularity.<sup>192</sup>

Following this prosperity, in 1995, several Colorado brewers collectively established the Colorado Brewer’s Guild and cemented the communal nature of the craft brewers of Colorado.

Tara Dunn from Great Divide and Jeff Mendel from Tabernash Brewing wanted the guild to build recognition of Colorado craft beer both within and outside of the state.<sup>193</sup> The creation of the Colorado Brewer's Guild signified the emergence of Colorado craft brewing as an industry with more credibility than a handful of new microbreweries. Although the increasing advancement of Colorado's economy and popularity of beer connoisseurship allowed for this recognition, a different and vital piece of the industry consequently grew in importance, the consumer.

As both the supply and demand of Colorado craft beer flourished in the 1990s, the change echoed an economic and cultural shift in the people of Colorado. As previously discussed, the average income and wealth of Coloradans increased in the decade between 1990 and 2000. More wealth afforded further Coloradans with the economic opportunities to pick and choose their products, sometimes demanding higher quality. In discussing Wynkoop's success, Hickenlooper explained that with the expansion of Colorado's middle class, consumers could afford to pay 20 percent more for a beer that "they perceived to be a high-quality product."<sup>194</sup> An expanding economy and personal wealth allowed consumers to buy craft products in Colorado.

Although the presence of disposable income enabled people to buy craft beer, the existence of social capital pushed people, often upwardly mobile young urban professionals, to buy craft beer because of the cultural shift in the perception of drinking beer. Social capital is the sharing of norms and values which contribute to understanding and greater bonding with others. It can contribute to people's perception that their peers are cool or innovative.<sup>195</sup> As more people participate in a trendy activity, the cultural opinion of the activity changes. The prolific craft beer supporter, Charlie Papazian, commented on the growing trend of drinking craft beer. He discussed the changing public perception and connotations of beer following the second and third waves of brewers. Papazian explained that beer did not represent "a workingman's drink—take a six-pack to the ballgame, or sit and drink in front of the TV."<sup>196</sup> There was a development of beer as something to study or slowly taste. Comparatively, Mike Cassidy of *The Mercury News* in San Jose, California, wrote of the cultural shift:

See, these beers, lovingly created at small breweries and pubs that make no more than 60,000 barrels a year, are not brewskis, cold ones or suds. They do not travel down your throat on the direct path well-worn by years of Coors, Miller and Bud. They bounce

around your mouth, hitting spots that no beer has hit before. You do not chug them, shotgun them or otherwise defile them. You don't even drink them, really. You taste them. Sometimes with "beer cuisine," which in no way involves peanuts or pretzels.<sup>197</sup>

Cassidy described the dramatic shift in purpose and etiquette of beer from macro to micro. Craft brewing elevated the status of drinking beer as it became a craft or artistic expression from brewing to consuming. The brewers took the time and creativity to brew while the consumers tasted and savored their creations. Consumers could gradually become both connoisseurs and experts as they participated in this classy trend. The connoisseur culture pushed against those who drank Bud, Miller, and Coors, those who followed old fashioned traditions of beer. Many labeled these young urban professionals as “yuppies,” and rolled their eyes at their overpriced interests.<sup>198</sup>

In the 1990s, participating in neolocalism served as a form of gaining social capital. Neolocalism is a movement which drives people to reconnect with local, personal, and unique products and organizations in order to sustain an attachment to place.<sup>199</sup> Similar to homebrewing, local products and organizations competed against national chains. The rise of farmer’s markets, “buy local” campaigns, and the establishment of farm to table organizations like Slow Foods reflected this shift.<sup>200</sup> Buying local not only stimulated the local economy, but it contributed to one’s social capital. The social capital authorized consumers to seem more connected and dedicated to their community than someone who did not buy local. Microbreweries exemplified both local products and local organizations. Breweries could seem more local through both the names of their beers and marketing imagery. Steven Schnell and Joseph Reese write, “these names tend to reflect the places where they are brewed, and are derived from a wide array of sources: historical figures or events, local legends, landmarks, wildlife, or even climatic events.”<sup>201</sup> Examples include Boulder Beer’s use of the Boulder Flatirons (a rock formation) on their labels and Great Divide’s allusion to the Continental Divide located in Colorado. Beside names and images, Colorado craft breweries often include maps, photos, and drawings of the state’s hiking trails, mountains, activities, and cities. Attending craft breweries became a tangible way to participate in both neolocalism and build social capital.

Despite the strong local consumer base in Colorado, non-locals could obtain Colorado’s beer by visiting or buying it in their own local liquor stores. While tourists visited the ski slopes

or other attractions, they could easily stop by one of Colorado's dozens of new breweries. The craft breweries in LoDo, Fort Collins, and Boulder along with Anheuser-Busch and Coors opened their doors for tours. One California newspaper named this the "trail to ale." Visitors toured breweries throughout Colorado, seeing the Clydesdale horses, drinking complementary beer at the end of some tours, and learning more about the brewing process.<sup>202</sup> Supplemental to beer tourism, the out of state market for Colorado craft breweries increased. In 1994, Stanley Holmes of the Rocky Mountain News wrote, "The booming success of Colorado's nascent microbrewery industry is old news. But what's different is that the thirst for Colorado beer has spread."<sup>203</sup> The founders of Lonetree Brewing, Jim Dallarosa and Ken Piel, told Rocky Mountain News, "Our first out-of-state customer was Minnesota. They came and sought us out." Both out of state marketing and out of state request reflects the nation's emerging desire for Colorado craft beer.

Throughout the end of the 1980s as the percentage of sales growth of craft beer increased more than big beer, the macro companies developed new strategies to engage in the change of taste. Before the third wave, big beer viewed craft beer as a fad, capable of fading away.<sup>204</sup> In 1982, two companies, Anheuser-Busch and Miller, dominated 56 percent of the market for beer (A-B dominating 32 percent).<sup>205</sup> But a decade later in 1992, the specialty beer sale growth from regional and microbreweries surmounted the growth percentage of major breweries. In response, major breweries studied and analyzed both the market and consumer preference. They found that their big company name recognition dissuaded consumers who positioned themselves against mass production and wanted the craft product.<sup>206</sup> They also found that with the changing public opinion of alcohol in the 1980s after the increased research by the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, people chose to enjoy one rich and tasteful beer, likely a microbrew, over binging on big beer brands.<sup>207</sup>

As a result, macro breweries utilized several techniques. Large breweries brewed specialty beers and eventually opened their own subsidiary breweries with names resembling the idyllic style of microbreweries' names. Distancing from the lager style, they developed wheat beers, ales, and Oktoberfest beers. Furthermore, Anheuser-Busch named their faux microbreweries Elk Mountain and Red Wolf while Miller named theirs Icehouse and Plank Road Brewery.<sup>208</sup> In 1994, Coors opened Blue Moon Brewing Company in Denver. With its

distributive power, in two years, Coors quickly distributed Blue Moon to all 50 states, something craft breweries could almost never hope to do with limited distributive access. In an attempt to distance themselves from their macro image, “Coors” never appeared on the Blue Moon labels.<sup>209</sup> Maureen Ogle wrote, ““They will not say Coors,” announced a Coors official. “We want them to be disassociated from the Coors family. If people see a major brewer’s name on a micro, it loses some of the cachet that makes the beer interesting to begin with.”<sup>210</sup> When breweries felt that they needed to go further, they started buying out smaller breweries who could use the partnership to increase productivity and expand distribution with the big breweries resources and technology. In 1994, Anheuser-Busch bought Redhook, a brewery in Washington which wanted to amplify their distribution.<sup>211</sup> Although the specialty beers from big companies were more complex and had more flavor than their lagers, the true competition lied in the fact that the opening of breweries aimed to blur the line between big beer and craft beer, thus confusing consumers who desired the craft image and taste.

These strategies angered some craft brewers as they called the big beer’s attempts, “phantom micros” or “phantom crafts.”<sup>212</sup> Jim Koch, the iconic founder of Boston Beer Company in 1984 which grew tremendously and became one of the first “regional breweries” in the United States, called AB’s purchase of Redhook a “declaration of war” marking the end of “the cozy, fraternal days of the microbrewing business.”<sup>213</sup> Despite Koch’s resistance, more microbreweries, such as Widmer Brothers Brewing in Portland, Oregon in 1997, sold part of their shares to companies like A-B in order to grow. Ultimately once they responded to the craft brewing renaissance, the big beer companies’ establishment of phantom crafts served to amplify the competition between craft beer and big beer.

Although faced with new competition, craft breweries continued to thrive. From 1995 to 2000, the craft brewery count in the United States increased from 794 to 1,509.<sup>214</sup> In *The New Brewer*, a magazine published by the Brewer’s Association, Charlie Papazian wrote, the brewers, “educated the consumer about their product and company. One by one. Each microbrewery took the responsibility to educate their customers and the beer-drinking public. That’s one of the reasons why they succeeded.”<sup>215</sup> While Papazian argues that the trust and relationship between brewers and consumers maintained craft beer’s vitality, Joe Martino, a senior executive of the large brewery, G. Heileman, argued that microbreweries were “a strong indicator of a far more



encompassing national trend: the consumer's willingness to spend more—lots more—to leave their traditional brands for wholesomeness, variety and novelty."<sup>216</sup> He added, "people are bored with mainstream beers...with a micro, they're not drinking a brand at all, but an idea."<sup>217</sup>

Through these comments about craft breweries' resilience to big beer's entrance into craft brewing, it shows how consumers which still bought from craft breweries valued supporting the local brewing businesses over their taste preferences.

Entering the late 1990s and into 2000, the craft beer market in Colorado hiccuped. The rapid expansion of craft beer led to a saturation of the market. Although many in the industry predicted it, the saturation still decreased the number of craft breweries nationally by 10 percent from 1998 to 2000. In a 1994 article in Rocky Mountain News, craft brewers such as Tom Odell of Odell Brewing Company and Brian Callahan of New Belgium Brewing Company discussed the quick development across the state. Odell lamented,

"Five years ago, startups were home brewers who scraped the money together, borrowed from friends," Odell said. "It was a collection of people who believed in this idea. Now, I'm seeing the money is coming from established sources, the banks, investment people just because of the success of the industry in the past decade. Now, it's more of a business, more of a marketing and sales business. Ten years ago, the motivation was to make good beer."<sup>218</sup>

Odell criticized the financially driven brewers for not having the correct intentions in opening their breweries. Too many people opened breweries for the financial success instead of the beer's success. In 1994, Brian Callahan simply stated, "I would suspect in another five years there will be a shakeout, and competition will be real stiff. Only the strongest will survive."<sup>219</sup> As Brian predicted, the craft brewing industry in Colorado consolidated in the late 1990s. The annual growth in the domestic specialty beer industry dropped from 51 percent in 1995 to five percent in 1997.<sup>220</sup>

Although many breweries in Colorado closed around 2000, some merged and others adapted to survive. Tabernash Brewing Company, the maker of German-style beers merged with Left Hand Brewing in Longmont, Colorado.<sup>221</sup> Rockies Brewing changed its name to Boulder Beer Company and revamped the marketing imagery of their beers through their "Looking Glass" series with their flagship, Dazed and Confused.<sup>222</sup> Odell and New Belgium pushed to

create more beers and appeal to the consumer's desire for innovation and new flavors. Despite these changes, Colorado's craft beer revitalization remained stagnant until around 2004.

In the past 17 years, Colorado craft beer continued to reflect the changes in the state of Colorado. From 2000 to 2016, Colorado's population grew from 4.327 million to 5.541 million people.<sup>223</sup> This increase brought new talent, tastes, and cultures. The nine major industry clusters that drive Colorado's economy in 2017 include aerospace, aviation, beverage production, bioscience, broadcasting and telecommunications, energy, financial services, healthcare and wellness, and information technology software.<sup>224</sup> The educated population, quality of life, effective transportation, and diverse industries draw these companies to the state, and the breweries have had to keep up with these shifts. What was once the unique hippie trend of homebrewing has blossomed into a billion-dollar industry. The overall beer market nationally in 2016 was \$107.6 billion while craft beer increased from 2015 to 10% of this market at \$23.5 billion. Craft breweries in Colorado contribute \$3,037 million to Colorado's economy.<sup>225</sup>

In the modern craft beer age however, with an increase of customers who have grown up with craft beer, breweries must stay innovative. "I don't think the younger drinker is loyal to one brewery, there is never the same beer in the fridge," said Boulder Beer's marketing director, Tess McFadden.<sup>226</sup> Through cutting edge brewing technology, events at the breweries, new beers, catchy names, collaborations with other breweries, and festivals appearances, Colorado craft breweries fight to stay culturally and socially relative while appeasing to the changing tastes of consumers. To compete, Anheuser-Busch InBev and big brewers continue to buy other craft breweries, most notably Goose Island in Illinois and Breckenridge Brewery in Colorado. In addition, Coors acquired the Canadian beer company, Molson, in 2006, and in 2016 they merged with SABMiller to create the world's third largest brewer which is headquartered in Colorado.<sup>227</sup> The wine, spirits, and marijuana industries have also recently grown as competition to beer in Colorado.<sup>228</sup>

Although the potential for industry saturation and subsequent shakeout like the one in 2000 continues to be a popular topic surrounding the breweries, some who have studied the business believe that the local philosophy and innovative nature of modern craft brewing ensures the absence of both a limit on breweries and a consolidation.<sup>229</sup> In an interview with Brian Callahan of New Belgium, he expressed his hope that conscious consumerism would continue,

he stated, “I like to think the consumer cares about who is making their beers.”<sup>230</sup> Mr. Callahan’s thoughts describe the correlation between consumer care and craft beer history which surpasses Colorado’s borders and into the United States. This relationship reflects how while Coors and Anheuser-Busch still dominate football, baseball, and stock car racing events, more stadiums today than in the 1970s serve craft beer from small, independent, and traditional breweries throughout the country. This echoes the culture’s shift towards something more than a desire for refreshment and relaxation, but a change in taste and a craving for something holistic, complex, and delicious, something craft.

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# **Historical Preservation in Portland and the Effects on the Growth of a Burgeoning City**

**By: John Herrmann**

## **I. Introduction**

Historical preservation in the United States has been an active movement since the mid-nineteenth century, and as of 2017, there are over 90,000 monuments registered by the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) nationwide, including 2,031 in Oregon, which is the sixteenth most in any state, and the most in the Pacific Northwest. Historic preservation is seen in many cities as a largely positive movement, as it allows them to allocate specific resources and enforce regulations that help retain the area's unique culture. Within the modern world of increasingly more accessible travel and constant migration, maintaining a grasp on history can become difficult as more people flood into notable cities for tourism or new opportunities, thus overextending the bounds of the number of people that city can handle. Cities around the world are often faced with the decision of whether to preserve their existing history and become a tourist center, or to forge ahead into new industries, with cultural heritage falling by the wayside. This dilemma is a hard choice for many local governments, and the city of Portland is no exception, as issues surrounding the preservation of the city's brief yet vibrant history have been at the forefront for many residents.

Many residents in neighborhoods around Portland have applied for National Historic District status and other designations, but they have experienced significant pushback from fellow residents. These objections are due to the allegedly cumbersome amount of regulations placed on private property, in addition to the lack of realized return on investment that



supposedly accompanies historic designation. This discussion is ongoing and contentious, and with the ever-growing populace of the Portland metro area posing a greater need for affordable housing. Another issue under discussion is how the city should be approach choosing what history it presents to the world. Like nearly every society, Portland has parts of its history that are shameful, and if one wishes to tell the whole story of a culture, the not-so-glorious history must be given the same platform as the rest. Although historical preservation is important for retaining cultural identity and building a heritage tourism industry, its harmful effects outweigh these benefits in regards to its restrictions on urban population growth and in its manipulation of the historic narrative. Portland is a particularly interesting case study for this issue because it is still early on in the process of developing its historical preservation efforts, and any conclusions made in the coming years could set an important precedent both locally and nationally.

## **II. Historiography**

Scholarly discussion about historical preservation in Portland specifically is limited, so it was necessary to explore settings outside of the city to see how the implementation of historic districting and conservation efforts have affected communities globally. For this, the book *World Heritage, Tourism and Identity* was an excellent resource for finding studies on the effect of heritage tourism on communities around the world. The chapter authored by Takamitsu Jimura, “The Relationship Between World Heritage Designation and Local Identity,” was particularly useful in examining how sites of preservation are started and how the designation changes how locals view the sites.<sup>231</sup> This piece first defines the mission of United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) World Heritage sites, stating that they are attempting to both preserve historically significant sites and give the sites a practically significant function within the communities, and Jimura specifically assesses the effect of World Heritage designation on three different sites in Japan. In his argument, he states that designating a place historically significant for cultural heritage has no effect on the local identification of a site as important, since the local culture already understands the significance of the site because they are the ones pushing for the protective designation. He goes on to discuss that the only way for a historic designation to make a tangible impact on local identity is for it to bring outside recognition of tourists and encompass the places locals actually occupy, otherwise it is merely

just a title given to their landmark. In reference to Portland, this notion of landmarks being deemed important externally is crucial because there must be an identifiable cultural ethos around them that local identity can be constructed.

Another chapter within World Heritage is authored by Yixiao Xiang and Geoffrey Wall discusses the contrasting benefits and takeaways from World Heritage designations in China with special focus on displaced peoples. It states how the designation increased tourism revenue at Mount Huangshan by over \$30 million USD in a span of ten years, but at the same time displaced many generational inhabitants of the designated areas.<sup>232</sup> After conducting a survey to understand the local perceptions of the heritage preservation, many of those villagers interviewed were disillusioned, doubting whether their opinions would be heard, and believed that their quality of life had not improved because of tourism, although many were open to tourism and even had favorable opinions on tourists. Despite overwhelming support for conservation, many villagers were reluctant and outraged at the government's ability to force them from their ancestral homes. This seemingly paradoxical support is important to keep in mind for smaller, comparatively less historic places like Portland, where the support for preservation exists, but does not necessarily extend to all of the other bureaucratic aspects appended to it. Further research needs to be done to understand the importance of tourism to Portland's historic side.

More applicable to Portland, Leichenko, Coulson, and Listokin's study "Historic Preservation and Property Values" analyzes Texas cities that implemented pro-preservation policies and the effects those policies had on residential property values.<sup>233</sup> Although this study was published in 2001, the conclusions on the economic cost of preservation remain true. It states that preservationist policies in place had positive impacts on the selling values in the nine Texas cities. While the same can be said about Portland selling values as housing prices continue to rise, it is unclear whether conservation efforts have raised the true property values. However, the authors acknowledge that their study did not account for displacement of lower income individuals, an issue which will be discussed later in this paper.

Another historiographical source evaluated is "Substitutability and Complementarity of Urban Amenities: External Effects of Built Heritage in Berlin" by Ahlfeldt and Maennig, a study of the exploitation of heritage tourism to increase local property values, focusing on Berlin.<sup>234</sup> Although an older city with arguably greater historic significance, Berlin can be seen as a model

for Portland's impending growth, as Berlin is also in the midst of a steady period of population growth of around 2 percent growth every year after a large population influx during the 1990s.<sup>235</sup> In their discussion surrounding historic landmarks as amenities, they pose the idea of certain historic buildings being "dis-amenities," since some buildings fall into disrepair despite their historic value because the nature of heritage preservation law prevents certain maintenance that changes the historic character of the buildings.<sup>236</sup> Using GIS tools, Ahlfeldt and Maennig were able to conclude that although heritage designations in Berlin had price-depreciating effects on values, many residents were appreciative of the historic variance of the neighborhoods. This is an important conclusion to consider when talking about the future of Portland's heritage preservation, as public opinion on the cultural value of historic neighborhoods remains one of the more divisive issues.

### **III. Argument**

Shifting the focus on to Portland itself, it is key to take into account the points of conflict within the historiographical sources. In a many of the sources examined surrounding historical preservation, issues of relocation/gentrification and bureaucratic restrictions on modifications were major concerns of people who inhabited the zones designated as historic conservation areas. Less apparent to the passive observer, however, is the alteration of the historic narrative that underlies the designation of historic buildings and neighborhoods.

Historic preservation in Portland is typically done through specific designations of individual buildings through a process of petitioning the city with an application located on the City of Portland's website, and any resident is allowed to apply. The City of Portland states that historic individual landmarks are significant for at least 2 of the following factors:

The importance of its designer, previous owners, or builder in local, state, or national history; The quality of its architecture or landscaping; The fact that it is one of a few remaining examples of a building type that is of significance; In local, state, or national history; Association with a significant cultural or ethnic group; or the role it has played in shaping local, state, or national history.<sup>237</sup>

These factors determine whether or not a building is eligible to be designated as protected, and as of 2017, there are over 1,900 designated buildings. For reference, Seattle, a city

of similar age, size, and a higher growth rate, has only around 400 designated buildings, despite having similar criteria. The cause for this disparity has not been studied, but one can infer that there is a culture present in Portland surrounding the promotion of preservation that is absent elsewhere. While it might be seen as a local pride in the city's history, the consequences of designation are exclusionary in their implementation. The regulations that result from designation include a rigorous application process for modifications and demolitions, making it increasingly difficult to build in areas profuse with designated historic buildings.

The creation of historic neighborhoods in Portland has become popular for several decades, with Portland's locally or nationally designated historic districts standing at eighteen, in addition to the six conservation districts. These areas are typically created when a large concentration of buildings do not meet the criteria for individual designation, but the city determines that the neighborhood as a whole deserves protection. The Portland Historic Landmarks Commission (PHLC) characterizes historic districts as "unique collections of historic buildings that, as a whole, tell the story of a particular time and place important to Portland's history. They are critical to Portland's unique identity and livability."The<sup>238</sup> distinction between a "historic district" and "conservation district" is the legal precedent for the protection of those areas, as "historic districts" are registered in the NRHS, whereas "conservation districts" are areas claimed under the 1992 Albina Community Plan. The historic districts are concentrated primarily in Southeast (6 districts), Southwest (5 districts), and Northwest (3 districts) sections of the city (with the Old Town/Skidmore Fountain area laying in both Northwest and Southwest).<sup>239</sup> The distribution of these districts appears to be biased against the traditionally non-white sections of the city, as the more racially diverse North area has only the Kenton (historic) and Russell (conservation) districts and 28 designated structures, despite encompassing the long-standing St. Johns neighborhood. Without historic preservation laws, these neighborhoods with rich histories for marginalized groups are at uneven risk of redevelopment compared to majority white neighborhoods, continuing the cycle of marginalization, redevelopment, and relocation that has persisted throughout Portland's history.

The locations of these districts are also crucial because the barriers to demolition prevent the areas from being redeveloped for the construction of affordable housing, and the central locations of much of the historically protected housing would be prime locale for a growing

metropolitan area. One drawback of the widely-praised urban growth boundary is, due to the curbing of urban sprawl east towards Gresham and beyond the West Hills, density within the center of city is required to increase as the population continues to increase. Although the PHLC has expressed interest to convert many of the single-home residences to multi-family residences, many of the current residents would likely be resistant to increasing population density without serious incentivizing. The arduous process of applying for demolition and modification in a historic district to make way for new housing is costly and has become a method for warding off developers who seek to build more affordable housing. Cases of neighborhoods using historic designations being used to prevent urban infill has become more numerous, like in Laurelhurst, Peacock Lane, and Eastmoreland.

The Eastmoreland neighborhood is an area where historic preservation is being hotly contested as the neighborhood board went ahead with a campaign for historic district designation without the consent and support of many residents. According to the anti-designation group, “Keep Eastmoreland Free” (KEF), the process has been incredibly undemocratic because any individual who does not openly oppose it is counted as a “yes” vote.<sup>240</sup> In a poll conducted in March 2017 by KEF, residents voted 50.6% in opposition to 48% in support of the designation, as well as over 1,040 residents presenting notarized objections, which is the formalized step to stopping the process. In July 2017, Eastmoreland resident Patty Brandt testified at a Congressional House Committee on Natural Resources’ Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations hearing on “Examining Impacts of Federal Natural Resources Laws Gone Astray.” Brandt argued that the neighborhood association began their pursuit as a “land use tool to fend off new development, block density, and preserve the single-family character of existing and future homes,” going on to cite direct quotes from pro-designation leaders who have explicitly stated their intent to stop urban infill.<sup>241</sup> However, despite the direct and legal appeals against the appointing, the Oregon State Historic Preservation Office has submitted the application to the National Parks Service amidst the controversy and awaits their decision.

Proponents of the designation have stated that their primary concern is that of perceived increase in demolitions, despite only 16 houses out of 1,674 being demolished between 2003 and 2015. However, the City of Portland has proposed legislation which is backed by anti-historic district groups that would limit the building height of any new homes in single-family

neighborhoods. This would deter contractors from demolishing to build larger residences, rather remodeling for multi-family use, maintaining the same aesthetic quality of the neighborhood. Such remodels would be much more costly and difficult under historic designation regulation, making it more difficult to repurpose larger lots for necessary density adjustments. It would also hinder sustainability upgrades, which under current law restrict any modifications that changes the façade of the house, including efficient windows, solar panels, ecoroofs, or skylights. The experience of Irvington residents has served as the precedent for anti-designation advocates, as similar concerns over property rights has lead a group of homeowners in a 27-block section of the district to petition for removal from the Irvington Historic Neighborhood.<sup>242</sup>

Another preservationist effort that has caused some controversy is the state of the Veteran's Memorial Coliseum, the "Glass Palace" that hosted the Portland Trailblazers from 1970 to 1995 and a multitude of other Portland sports franchises. As of 2017, the only tenants of the Coliseum are the Portland Winterhawks, the minor league hockey team, who have been the sole tenants since the single-season indoor football team, the Portland Prowlers, vacated in 2000. The relevance of the Coliseum is overshadowed by the Moda Center, which is over twice the capacity and 35 years newer. The Coliseum was registered to the NRHS in 2009 as a significant monument of the International Style of architecture, but recent discussion in the public forum has brought up the issue of the building serving as surplus for the city's needs. The Winterhawks, as the only tenants of the Coliseum, would likely not protest heavily if the arena was demolished, as they already have a deal in place at the Moda Center. The financial cost of demolishing the arena is thought to be around \$14 million dollars, whereas the latest proposals for redevelopment by private investors have tallied up to a possible cost of \$100 millions of taxpayer assistance.<sup>243</sup> The central location of the arena in the Albina district also arouses the question of the pressing need for affordable housing. The issue of irresponsible land use in the city has become a topic of debate, especially considering the legacy of the Coliseum as a major part in the systematic displacement of minority groups in Portland.

At the core of historic preservation is the goal of the community to collectively tell a story about themselves and their history, and as is the problem with any type of storytelling, there is often an inherent bias that intends to portray the storyteller in the best light possible. Control of the historic narrative by the incorporated city is a dangerous precedent, the declaration of certain

buildings as “historically significant” is prone to leaving aspects of Portland’s darker past out of the public purview. Ahlfeldt and Maennig’s exploration of historically significant structures being “dis-amenities” and detractive to value occurring more commonly in East Berlin highlights the issue of revising local history. Considering East Berlin was the communist half of Berlin, the post-Cold-War decline of the buildings there makes the Soviet history less desirable, and thus making it more possible to demolish and erase the physical remnants of the city’s past. This same alteration of Portland’s history is occurring has been occurring for decades, erasing less desirable parts of the city’s past from the physical map.

The marginalization of minority groups has been prevalent since the earliest days of Oregon, starting with a constitutional clause preventing African Americans from owning property in the state, and spanning all the way to the redlining of African American neighborhoods and the redevelopment projects of the Albina district 1992.<sup>244</sup> This historical reality contradicts the positive popular view of Portland’s history, and only recently have there been attempts to rectify and acknowledge past wrongdoing. However, the acceptance of the minority experience in Portland has still been marginalized, as gentrification of historically African American neighborhoods in Albina are converted to conservation districts. These conservation districts have increased selling value of housing in these areas, pricing out many long-time African American residents to further outlying areas like Parkrose and other Northeastern areas. Recognition of previous marginalizing actions and gentrification has not stopped the continuing effects of the Albina Community Plan from marginalizing minorities.

Shameful displays of racism, such as the reaction to the flooding of Vanport in 1948, in which thousands of African American citizens were denied housing in Portland proper, are still being ignored and have largely gone without recognition. After the destruction of the most prosperous of black-majority community in Oregon’s history, much of the old Vanport land was converted into Delta Park, and now houses the Portland International Raceway. Other than a few trail markers in the Delta Park area, the history of Vanport has been neglected in preservationist efforts up to this point. Although arguments can be made that there are no standing structures to preserve, the creation of a golf course and recreational area seems ignorant of the site’s history.

The proposed changes to the Coliseum also serve to manipulate the historic narrative. As a major construction project during the systematic dismantling of the Albina neighborhood, a

renovation or repurposing of the venue further buries the legacy of the land, hiding the discriminatory practices that carved the land out from under African Americans. Wasteful land use is prevalent within the neighborhoods of Albina, such as the demolition of a large swath of African American run businesses and homes for the Legacy-Emanuel Hospital expansion in 1972, which subsequently fell through and now stands vacant. As the Coliseum is now appears to be obsolete, the preservation of a building with such short relevance is intuitively frivolous, especially as the area around it develops into the Rose Quarter. The “Glass Palace” has lost its allure, and the context that justified it as a sign of growth and prosperity has been usurped by the Moda Center.

Context is important to consider in the preservation of certain landmarks, as some efforts have arguably gone too far to preserve somewhat less historically significant parts of the city. A recent example is the Morris Marks House, originally built in 1880, that was under threat of being demolished. The house itself is not registered on the NRHP and sat vacant for a number of years, but certain advocacy groups argued heavily for its preservation. The resultant decision was to spend nearly half a million dollars to relocate the house to a vacant lot near the I-405, nearly 15 blocks from its original site.<sup>245</sup> The move is seen as excessive considering that the architectural style is already preserved elsewhere in the city and the house itself holds no major significance other than its age. Also, the concept of moving a structure to another place defeats the notion of capturing a specific time period in the city’s history, disrupting the context by moving the house to an area of the city that was not yet developed.

Another example of historic manipulation is the bolstered importance of the Lewis and Clark Expedition which has had little acclaim until the 1905 World’s Fair that took place in Portland. The attachment to Lewis and Clark grew even after the fair had concluded, and now the exact number of monuments along their expeditionary trail is difficult to place due to the multitude that have been placed. Despite the relative insignificance of the expedition to the city of Portland, Lewis and Clark have cemented their place in American and Oregonian history, drawing in tourism based on their expeditions. This indicates that the heritages communities latch onto usually are often the ones that play up their significance and portray their existence in a more positive light.



## IV. Conclusion

Though well-intentioned, historical preservation can have potentially dangerous consequences when taken to a degree beyond reasonability and can harm the sustainable growth of a city. Portland's historical preservation efforts thus far have been detrimental to the future of the city, preventing the most efficient use of space possible, creating issues for homeowners and prospective developers, and further marginalizing disenfranchised groups. Somewhat in line with historic truth, historical preservation efforts in Portland have also been guilty of exclusionary practices and intentional manipulation the historic narrative. By attempting to erase the legacy of discriminatory housing practices, it allows for those practices to continue to shape the city in a way that would discourage diversity and harm sustainable living. Portland can be vulnerable to economic and social difficulties wrought by the inability to adapt to a growing and changing population if preservationist movements continue unchecked.

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## Section II: Women's History



# **Capturing Prejudice: Representations and Misrepresentations of Native American Women in Captivity Narratives**

**By: Ana Hurley**

## **Introduction**

History has often overlooked the role of Native American women. Aside from historical figures such as Pocahontas and Sacagawea, society has long ignored the voices of Native women, leaving their stories untold. Often white society misunderstood the roles Native American women, leading to unfair stereotypes and portrayals in various medias. While the experiences of American Indian women vary based on tribe, location and time period, prominent Native American historian Theda Perdue has cited the role of Native American women throughout history as “giving and sustaining life.”<sup>246</sup> Whether this contribution was child rearing, providing an economic contribution to society, or as tribal leaders, Native American women have continuously been active agents in their communities.<sup>247</sup> This contribution is sometimes difficult to recognize in the tumultuous history of the relationship between the United States and Native Americans but cannot be ignored in its significance.

The U.S. policy towards Native Americans has changed significantly throughout history, shifting from assimilation to annihilation at various times. Native societies prior to European contact were incredibly diverse with different languages and traditions. Researchers have estimated that anywhere from 15 to 20 million Native Americans lived in North America before the arrival of Christopher Columbus.<sup>248</sup> Contact with the Europeans proved to be deadly for many tribes as epidemics annihilated Native American populations. Upon colonization of the Americas, Europeans quickly began claiming land, a foreign concept to many tribes who often did not practice land-ownership.<sup>249</sup> This fundamental difference quickly led to problems between Native Americans and European colonists, who wanted to economize the resources offered in the

Americas. While Natives had complex and sophisticated societies, Euro-Americans typically refused to recognize them and asserted their military power over the tribes. Prior to the formation of the United States, King Phillip's War, the French and Indian War, and the Revolutionary War, further exasperated the tension between Euro-American settlers and the Native Americans. While Native tribes struggled to coexist with the colonists, wars typically led to the Native Americans losing more land and pitted Natives against white colonists.

Early U.S. government policy focused on civilizing Native American tribes.<sup>250</sup> In 1830 however, Congress decided the best solution was to move Native Americans west to reserved lands. This led to the forced removal of over 80,000 Native Americans between 1828 to 1877.<sup>251</sup> The forced removal weakened several tribes and led to even more population loss. The United States continued to annex states during this time, ignoring Native protests. Events such as the Mexican-American War, which lasted from 1846 to 1848, witnessed the United States annex a large new western territory, without the permission of the thousands of Native and Mexican peoples who were suddenly under the control of the United States.<sup>252</sup> Indian societies struggled to maintain their cultural identities as the military shut down protests and the U.S. government assassinated chiefs served as a prime example of this. The Dakota, a branch of the greater Sioux nation, fought back against the government after the U.S. violated treaties and subjected them to poor living conditions. After their defeat, the United States punished the dissenters in the mass execution of 38 Dakota men.<sup>253</sup> With limited land, population, and resources the Native Americans had few options but to obey the federal government's instructions.

The U.S. Government tried to figure out the best solution to the Native American "problem," as settlers expanded west. Meanwhile, Native Americans struggled to come to grips with the seizure of their land. Tribes reacted in several different ways. Some tribes made treaties, most of which the government eventually broke. Other tribes submitted and allowed for some amount of assimilation into white society to take place while others fought back. Tribes that engaged in battle and interacted with settlers sometimes took white captives. Historians estimate that the number of captives taken by Indians is in the tens of thousands.<sup>254</sup> Captive taking was a common practice prior to Euro-Americans colonization of the Americas. Natives often took captives from neighboring tribes during times of war. The taking of captives occurred for several reasons, but the primary reason was revenge.<sup>255</sup> The practice differed by tribe and not all Native

Americans participated in captive taking, but those that did had different attitudes about it ranging from torture, to trading captives, to trying to assimilate them into their tribes.

The kidnappings of white settlers led to a new literary phenomenon, most commonly referred to as Indian Captivity Narratives. The seventeenth through the early twentieth century, saw the publication of many fictional stories of Indians kidnapping white people. Additionally, chronicles of actual accounts of white people taken captive by Native Americans circulated throughout the United States. Captivity narratives allowed for white society to further the propaganda against Native Americans by claiming to be genuine accounts of what life among Native Americans was like. Very popular during their time, these narratives reflected Americans' assumptions and policy during the time of their publication. Whether autobiographies or biographies, both types of narratives presented the opportunity for biases.<sup>256</sup> Unsurprisingly captivity narrative authors typically portrayed their Indian captors negatively, disparaging the whole of the Indian race based on their experiences. As many captivity narrative readers would never meet a Native American person in their lifetimes, these interpretations would have likely had a big impact on how they viewed Native Americans.

Historians have written about various aspects of captivity narratives. Topics range from white female captives, to the portrayal of Indian men and to using specific narratives to explain conflicts such as the Dakota Wars.<sup>257</sup> However, depictions of Native American women have been looked over in this field of study. Many captivity narratives do not mention Native American women. Disregarded by white society, narratives, especially those penned by men, often referenced Native American women only in passing or when talking about food preparation. While captivity narratives did not give Native American women a voice, they reflected the United States' biased and typically incorrect views of Indian women. Within white captivity narrative's, authors depicted Native American women in ways which propagated Euro-American cultural assumptions. In defining the "otherness" of Native American women, the chronicles sought to determine what white women were not. In looking at the historical context of seventeenth through late nineteenth century in regards to Native American women, it is evident that these ethnocentric representations stemmed from and promoted long-lasting stereotypes of Native American women.

### **Stereotypes of Native American Women Within Captivity Narratives**

Captivity narrative authors often propagated popular clichés in their writings about Native American women. One of these images was that of the Indian Princess which had its roots in the romanticized story of Pocahontas and John Smith. Taken captive in Virginia in 1608 by Chief Powhatan, the English explorer John Smith, depicted a scene where the ten-to-twelve-year-old Pocahontas saved his life. The incident was not in his original recount of his captivity, and instead Smith told the story eight years later in a letter to the Queen.<sup>258</sup> Pocahontas was an especially idolized figure because she eventually assimilated into white society, became a Christian, married white colonist John Rolfe, and moved to England. While English settlers took Pocahontas captive in 1609 and soon after moving to England she died of disease, throughout history she became one of the most well known Native American women. A model for all Native Americans to follow, she represented an idealized Indian woman.<sup>259</sup> This specific image of Native American woman became problematic when white society set certain expectations and standards for all Native women, comparing them to Pocahontas, when it was not realistic or reasonable for most Native women to achieve this ideal.

This image of Indian women coming to the rescue of white captives became a popular and romanticized story which was retold time and time again in captivity narratives. These saviors often manifested as benevolent elderly women or young Pocahontas-like women.<sup>260</sup> Captive Josiah Mooso presented almost a retelling of the Pocahontas story in his 1888 narrative, in which an unidentified Columbia River tribe captured him. Mooso, a member of the American Fur Company, had been on a fur trapping expedition when the Native Americans took him and five other trappers captive. Three days into the captivity, the Natives killed the five other trappers but Mooso's life was spared by a "young Indian girl about sixteen years of age," named Poma after he was almost burned at the stake.<sup>261</sup> Mooso later escaped after tricking Poma and he wrote his memoir several decades after his capture. Mooso's story clearly mirrored that of Pocahontas and John Smith, in which a young Indian woman came to the rescue of a captive. In describing the "young girl in all her native grace,"<sup>262</sup> he continued the stereotype of captives giving certain Native women positive traits because they saved the captives' life. In most captivity narratives, this type of praise was only allotted to one or two women, as the authors categorized them as exceptions to the rule.<sup>263</sup>

Several captivity narratives followed this pattern of praising only a few Native women, and pitting them against the other uncivilized women who continued in their seemingly savage ways. Mary Schwandt-Schmidt, chronicled this idea in her narrative of her captivity during the Dakota Conflict. Born in Berlin Germany, she and her family moved to Minnesota when she was a child. When the outbreak occurred she attempted to escape but the Dakota captured the teenage Schwandt-Schmidt. Her parents and all but one of her siblings was killed in the outbreak. The Dakota released her six weeks later after an Indian woman named Maggie helped to protect her, hiding Schwandt-Schmidt in her tipi. She praised Maggie explaining that she “was one of the handsomest Indian women I ever saw, and one of the best. She had been educated and was a Christian. Often and often she preserved me from danger, and sometimes, I think she saved my life.”<sup>264</sup> While an atypical positive depiction of Native American woman, Maggie’s characterization as an educated Christian, similar to Pocahontas, made Schwandt-Schmidt’s praise acceptable to white society. Schwandt-Schmidt writing about Maggie being the most beautiful Native women she met, further differentiated Maggie from the uncivilized women of her tribe. While she was clearly thankful to Maggie, she disparaged the other Native Americans referring to them as “vile and bloody wretches.”<sup>265</sup> She later testified against the Dakota tribe and was especially concerned with the money which she and family lost during the conflict. The descriptions of Maggie versus the other Dakota people clearly illustrated that Schwandt-Schmidt believed that Maggie was distinct from the rest of her tribe and that her Christian upbringing made her more civilized compared to the others in her tribe.

It is clear from some of the captivity narratives that the authors had read the idealized stories of Pocahontas which led to certain expectations of the Native American race. Fanny Kelly, who the Oglala Lakota, a branch of the greater Sioux Nation, took captive in Wyoming in 1864, spoke about this topic in her narrative. Originally from Canada, she and her husband were traveling as a part of a wagon train heading west when the Oglala Lakota met them and attacked without warning. The Oglala Lakota warriors killed most of the wagon train, but Kelly’s husband managed to escape. Meanwhile, Kelly, her niece Mary, Mary Hurley, Sarah Larimer and Larimer’s son were taken captive. Mary Hurley was scalped after trying to escape, while the Larimer’s escaped within days of their capture. Kelly attempted to help her niece escape but the young girl was never recovered. Kelly spent five months among the Oglala Lakota and slowly



learned a little of their language and customs. She tried to escape a few times but was unsuccessful. Throughout her captivity, the Oglala Lakota were fighting against the Union Army who the U.S. government dispatched to help with the Dakota Conflict of 1862.<sup>266</sup> General Alfred Sully organized Kelly's release with the help of another branch of the Sioux who assured her rescue. Kelly was reunited with her husband and later moved to Kansas. After her captivity, Sarah Larimer later went on to publish a narrative, which she published before Kelly's, stealing many aspects of Kelly's account. Kelly sued the Larimer's and won the case and published her book around ten years after her initial capture.<sup>267</sup> Reflecting upon her captivity, Kelly explained her disappointment upon meeting her captors:

I had read of the dusky maidens of romance; I thought of all the characters of romance and history, wherein the nature of the red man is enshrined in poetic beauty... The stately Logan, the fearless Philip, the bold Black Hawk, the gentle Pocahontas: how unlike the greedy, cunning and cruel savages who had so ruthlessly torn me from my friends!... They amuse and beguile the hours they invest with their interest; but the true red man, as I saw him, does not exist between the pages of many volumes.<sup>268</sup>

For Kelly, the popularized stories of Native Americans that she read prior to her captivity, created unrealistic and idealized versions of Native Americans. Despite most Americans' refusal to view Native Americans as equals, the United States population had a continued fascination with Indians and continuously romanticized them.<sup>269</sup> Kelly did not see the "gentle Pocahontas" during her captivity and instead saw her captives as cruel women who did not intend to rescue or protect her. White society glorified the Indians to the point where real figures such as Pocahontas became simplified characters which did not reflect the realities of Native American women across the Americas.

On the other hand, one of the most common negative stereotypes of Native American women in captivity narratives prevailed in the depiction of the "squaw drudge." A popular term in referring to Native American women, many authors used the word squaw to in their captivity narratives. While the term had its roots in an Algonquin word for woman, it was broadly applied to women from all tribes prevailing as a widely-used label from the seventeenth through twentieth century.<sup>270</sup> Over time the word became increasingly derogatory in usage. Captive Minnie Buce Carrigan's narrative showed the negative connotation of the word "squaw." A

German immigrant, Carrigan's family lived in Minnesota and had positive relationships towards the Dakota before the 1862 uprising. Only about seven years old at the time of her capture, she and her siblings spent around six weeks among the Dakota until the U.S. army stepped in. As she was a child during the uprising, she published her narrative around forty years after the Dakota Conflict. During her captivity two kind elderly Native women took her and her siblings in and cared for them after their parents were killed. Speaking about their kindness she wrote, "It seemed wrong to me to call these two Indian women squaws, for they were as lady-like as any white women and I shall never forget them."<sup>271</sup> From Carrigan's point of view, the word "squaw" was an offensive term meant for uncivilized and unladylike women. Carrigan represented the greater white societies' views of classifying "squaws" as bad. Following along with the idea of the idealized Indian princess, Carrigan called out the two Native women who protected her as the exceptions to the otherwise savage "squaw" women.

The idea of the squaw drudge remained a popular image for Native American women in the American imagination. In his 1785, "Notes on the State of Virginia," future president Thomas Jefferson talked about this stereotype:

The [Indian] women are submitted to unjust drudgery. This I believe is the case with every barbarous people. With such, force is law. The stronger sex imposes on the weaker. It is civilization alone which replaces women in the enjoyment of their natural equality... Were we in equal barbarism, our females would be equal drudges.<sup>272</sup>

As someone who promoted westward expansion, Thomas Jefferson clearly aimed to characterize the Native American race as less sophisticated than the Euro-Americans to justify expansion. While encouraging the idea of Native Americans being barbaric, Jefferson used the example of mistreating women as an abuse only carried out by barbarous people. Jefferson's ideas clearly emphasized that the United States viewed Native Americans as intrinsically lesser than white society because of their treatment of women. Similarly, over a century later, President Teddy Roosevelt shared this view, and when characterizing his judgements about Native American gender roles, he stated, "the squaws were the drudges who did all the work."<sup>273</sup> The stereotype of the squaw drudge fully infiltrated white Americans' views of Native American women, including the very powerful spheres of the United States presidencies and continued for several centuries. Ultimately, both Jefferson and Roosevelt sought to undermine the work ethic of Native

American men by attacking the gender role of Native societies. With self-interest of expansion and land in mind, the two presidents presented a distorted picture of Native people as intrinsically barbaric in nature. Due to the men's alleged lack of work ethics and their treatment of women, the two leaders sought to show that Native men were not correctly utilizing the land.<sup>274</sup> In comparing the gender roles of Native societies to white society, Jefferson and Roosevelt justified the supremacy of white leadership in America by disparaging the perceived structure of Native American gender roles.

Many of the captivity narrative writers furthered the stereotype of the "squaw drudge." Taken captive by the Comanche in Texas in 1836, Rachel Plummer's narrative sought to advocate for Texas statehood by illustrating the savageness of the Native Americans. Originally from Illinois, Plummer's family, the Parkers, migrated to Texas as part of an anti-missionary Baptist movement which her uncle Daniel Parker started. Along with several members of her family, Plummer moved to Texas where the Parkers established a private fort.<sup>275</sup> In May of 1836, the Comanche raided Fort Parker where her family was either murdered or taken captive. While two of her cousins, Cynthia Ann Parker and John Richard Parker, assimilated to the Comanche, the seventeen-year-old Plummer struggled throughout her captivity. Giving birth six months into her captivity, she claimed that the Comanche violently murdered her newborn baby because they believed it was slowing down her ability to perform the slave-like labor they forced her to do.<sup>276</sup> In captivity for over a year, Plummer was eventually ransomed by Mexican traders. She was freed in 1837 and died one year after her return to white society.<sup>277</sup> In her heavily anti-Indian memoir, Plummer explained her perception of the labor disparity between Indian men and women saying, "The women do all the work except killing the meat - herd the horses, saddle and pack them, build the houses, dress the skins, meat... the men dance every night and women wait on them with water."<sup>278</sup> Plummer's description of the roles of men and women emphasized Native women's subservient roles of waiting on men with water and performing strenuous physical labor. In explaining the type of work that the Comanche women carried out, Plummer clearly disparaged what she perceived as severe work.

Fanny Kelly's narrative depicted a similar picture. Kelly's account of her captivity continued the idea of the "Squaw Drudge," as she wrote:

After reaching the spot selected, the ponies are unloaded by the squaws, and turned loose to graze. The tents, or 'tipis,' are put up, and wood and water brought for cooking purposes. All drudgery of this kind is performed by the squaws, an Indian brave scorning as degrading all kinds of labor not incident to the chase or the war path.<sup>279</sup>

Kelly presented the idea that men forced Native women to do demeaning labor, viewing it as degrading. She further highlighted this idea, writing, "The men and boys are not so unsightly in their appearance, being mounted upon good horses and the best Indian ponies, riding in groups, leaving the women and children to trudge along with the burdened horses and dogs."<sup>280</sup> Further pointing out the dishonorable status of Indian women, Kelly reported that not only were the women overworked but they also had to "trudge along," after the men who rode on horses. While she saw a skewed gender dynamic, Kelly did not try to gain an understanding of why men rode horses while the women walked along with them and instead simply scorned it as the mistreatment of women. While the reason for this custom was not explained, Kelly did not seek an explanation and instead used language to classify this treatment as wrong.

Another example of the "squaw drudge" can be seen in Theresa Gowanlock's narrative of her two months amongst the Cree tribe after the attack of Fort Pitt in Saskatchewan. She was educated and lived a comfortable life prior to her captivity. Taken captive by the Cree in 1885 after her husband was killed, she and another woman, Theresa Delaney, were eventually rescued by a Canadian general. Unlike Fanny Kelly, Gowanlock critiqued the Native women for riding on the horses like the men, illustrating that most captives sought to portray their captors in negative ways whether they viewed the women as equal to the men or not.<sup>281</sup> Gowanlock continued the stereotype of the "squaw drudge" saying "The squaws perform all manual labor while the big, lazy, good-for-nothing Indian lolls about in idleness."<sup>282</sup> Characterizing the Indian men as idle continued the identification of Indian men as uncivilized by portraying them as too lazy to perform manual labor and skirting their responsibilities onto the women. Gowanlock suggested that the Native men did not aid the women in any way, and used negative descriptions to mark the men. While she did not represent the women as negatively, she depicted them as trapped by the overpowering men in their societies and therefore unable to break free of their roles. Gowanlock's narrative also included an illustration in which she depicted, "The way the Indians get their wood, they send their squaws to the bush to cut the wood..." The image

depicted a figure struggling with a large load of sticks, captioned “Beasts of Burden.”<sup>283</sup> This caption compared Native American women to animals in the type of labor they performed. In doing this she dehumanized Native women and categorized their labor as equivalent to that of “beasts.”

While Rachel Plummer, Fanny Kelly, and Teresa Gowanlock’s narratives took place over the course of forty years and concerned three different tribes—the Comanche, the Oglala Lakota, and the Cree—the almost identical language in their accounts signifying that the “squaw drudge” stereotype became ingrained in the American public’s imagination. The authors highlighted the laziness of the Indian men and the seemingly humiliating status of the women. However in reality, Indian women have had many different roles which varied based on geographical location and tribe. Most captivity narrative writers interpreted these roles to be negative, employing their Euro-American ideals for women.

Captivity narrative writers typically did not make any sort of distinction between tribes which was necessary for fully understanding and appreciating the responsibilities of Indian women. In tribes east of the Mississippi, women typically did the agricultural field work and in the northwest women were dynamic traders. Native women of the plains were often tasked with packing and carrying tipis. Throughout all tribes, it was common for women to help carry water or wood.<sup>284</sup> While these were the norms for Native women, this type of labor was not typical for white women during the eighteenth and nineteenth century. This difference led to misunderstandings for captive women who saw this type of work as not socially acceptable for women to do. Prior to the Industrial Revolution, white women played a very active role in the economy of the Americas, working alongside their fathers and husbands in business.<sup>285</sup> After the industrial revolution, this shifted significantly, creating separate spheres for men and women. Relegated to the home to be domestics, it was preferable for women to be idle. While this idleness was only really achieved for upper-class women, the existing ideals for society were that a woman’s place should be in the home.<sup>286</sup> For captives, witnessing the prescribed labor of Native women was proof of the uncivilized manner in which Indian women lived as they did not occupy the same roles as their white counterparts.

Native societies often did not fit into the white mold of separate gender spheres where men worked outside the home and women stayed home as domestics. While women did much of

the work to maintain the community, in many cases Indian men's roles led them away from home as they were hunting or occupied by war. Similar to white women, Native women often could not partake in certain occupations which involved extreme physical exertion and mobility due to menstruation, pregnancy, and lactation, which led women to take on other specific gender roles.<sup>287</sup> As captives typically remained at the homes of their captors it is likely that they saw a skewed picture where women performed a vast majority of the labor.<sup>288</sup> Captives may have interpreted the type of work Native American women did to be "men's work," but their limited interpretations represented comparisons to their own experiences. The image of Native American women as abused and forced to work did not accurately or fairly portray the realities of all Native American women.

The stereotype of the "squaw drudge" falls in direct contrast with captive Mary Jemison's explanation of labor. Taken captive at age 12 during the French and Indian War, a group of Shawnee Indians and Frenchmen killed her family. Adopted by women in the Seneca tribe, Jemison fully assimilated into the Native American way of life. She learned the language, accepted the Indian culture, married a man from the Delaware tribe and had several children. In her account, she recorded, "Our labor was not severe... without that endless variety that is to be observed in the common labor of the white people... [Indian Women's] task is probably not harder than that of white women, who have those articles provided for them."<sup>289</sup> The labor differences between Native American women and white women might not have been as different as some captives portrayed it. It is possible that white women misinterpreted the type of work that these women performed. As Mary Jamison assimilated and had a significantly more well-rounded experience than captives like Rachel Plummer, Fanny Kelly, and Teresa Gowanlock who completely rejected the Native American way of life, her view was a more of a reasonable view of Native society. She pointed out that white women have "those articles provided from them," meaning that even though much of the work that Native women carried out was without certain technologies, their tasks were similar and not much more laborious than white women's jobs. Certainly, differences existed depending on the tribe but the idea that all Native American women did more intense labor than white women was not true.

### **Contrasting White and Native American Women in Captivity Narratives**

While Native Americans often killed male prisoners, they typically treated women more as prisoners of war, leading to more captivity narratives by or about women.<sup>290</sup> Scholars such as Kathryn Zabelle Derounian-Stoodla and Christopher Castiglia have highlighted the new agency some captive women found during their captivity. While female captives often expressed their new found freedom from men in these narratives, they continued the pattern of vilifying Native Americans. The descriptions of Native American women in white women's captivity narratives are especially telling, as white women detailed their seemingly savage and disgraceful status.

Authors commonly depicted Native American women as violent aggressors and several captivity narratives described Native women attacking or abusing white women. Typically in these narratives, Native women actually lashed out and physically attacked the captive women while Native men provided more of a looming threat of murder. Captives typically described these accounts in a very one-sided manner and it is was typically described that Native women attacked because they enjoyed violence. An example of this was in Mary Rowlandson's very early and popular account of her captivity during the 1675 King Phillip's War, in which the Narragansett, Wampanoag and Nashaway Indians attacked Lancaster, Massachusetts. Coming from a wealthy and religious background, Rowlandson was an important political prisoner due to her husband's role in the community. She was the first captive taken during the King Phillip's War to be ransomed and released.<sup>291</sup> Rowlandson's husband was absent during the attack of Lancaster and her daughter died soon after she was taken captive. Her narrative was the first ethnography about Native American life written by a woman and it became an example for many captivity narrative authors to follow.<sup>292</sup> One of the most popular narratives, it was a best seller during its time, selling over a thousand copies in its first year of publication and it has since been republished several times.<sup>293</sup> Setting the precedent of talking about the violence of Native American women that she experienced, Rowlandson wrote, "I removed a stick that kept the heat from me, a Squaw moved it down again, at which I lookt up and she threw a handful of ashes in my eyes; I thought I should have been quite blinded and have never seen more..."<sup>294</sup> While she did not end up blind, the only information about Mary Rowlandson's attack was that she moved a stick from the fire and then a Native woman threw ashes at her. This portrayal of the situation made the Native American women appear unreasonably cruel. The one-sided explanation of the

situation was dangerous in how it portrayed Native American women. It represented bias of Rowlandson as a victim and made the Native American woman the villain.

Mary Rowlandson further documented how her religion and faith affected her captivity, contrasting Christianity with the savage ways of the Native women. A staunch Puritan, Rowlandson described a scene of her “mistress” after coming back from a funeral writing, “she found me sitting and reading in my Bible: she snatched it hastily out of my hand and threw it out the doors; I ran out, and catcht it up, put it into my pocket, and never let her see it afterward.”<sup>295</sup> Not only did this passage decry the Native woman for disrespecting the Bible but it stressed Mary Rowlandson’s role as a good Christian woman, which Anglo-American society valued and exalted. In showing that Native women did not respect the Bible, Rowlandson immediately polarized Native American women as being against the main beliefs of white society.

Comparing themselves to Native American women, the authors rarely failed to depict themselves in a positive light, focusing on their roles as the moral centers of white society, while rendering Native American women as an “other” in every possible way. In her 1795 captivity narrative which documented her time amongst the Shawnee after her kidnap in Virginia, Mary Kinnan compared the two while also demonizing Native American women. Kinnan’s memoir, which followed the Revolutionary War, included anti-British propaganda which denounced the British for their support of the Native Americans as separate nations from the United States.<sup>296</sup> Leading up to the War of 1812, tensions between England and the United States escalated and Native Americans became caught in the middle and forced to choose sides. Portraying Native Americans as uncivilized to solidify the United States’ authority, Kinnan wrote:

One of the principal objects of my attention, whilst I lived amongst the Indians, was the humiliating condition of their women. Here the female sex, instead of polishing and improving the rough manners of the men, are equally ferocious, cruel, and obdurate. Instead of the benevolent disposition and warm sensibility to the sufferings of the others, which marks their characters in more civilized climes, they quaff with ecstatic pleasure the blood of the innocent prisoner, writing with agony under the inhuman torments inflicted upon him—whilst his convulsive groans speak music to their souls.<sup>297</sup>

In this comparison, not only did Mary Kinnan define white women’s roles, but she defined why Native American women were savage in comparison. She cited improving the lives of men as the



primary role of white women, using common eighteenth-century ideals to support this claim. Meanwhile, she criticized Native American women for sharing certain characteristics that she deemed to be masculine, portraying these as extremely negative traits for women to have. She emphasized the Native women's lack of sympathy that women in "more civilized climes" had and also stressed their love of violence. This type of comparison not only vilified the Native American women allowing white society to characterize them as lesser than white women, but also clearly characterized the societal expectations preferred for white women. By representing Native women as the opposite of white women, Kinnan demonstrated how important it was for captives to differentiate themselves from Native women. While she described Native women as more equal to Native men in behavior than white women were to white men, the traits she prescribed were all negative. Clearly drawing attention the different roles for men and women in white society, Kinnan clearly did not believe that men and women should share the same traits. In vilifying the women for lacking feminine attributes, she denigrated Native American women by portraying them as fundamentally different from their white counterparts.

Mirroring some of the ideas presented in her predecessors narratives, Rachel Plummer described a scenario where she refused to retrieve a tool to dig roots with for her "mistress." The two women then got into a physical fight and Plummer described the scene saying that she engaged in the fight because, "Having lived as long, and indeed longer than life was desirable, I determined to aggravate them to kill me."<sup>298</sup> In doing this she justified her violence as an attempt to get the Native Americans to kill her. She reasoned that otherwise she would not have engaged in such violence and explained that she intended to "make a cripple" out of her attacker.<sup>299</sup> Plummer was not punished for this as the Comanche's respected her right to fight back when attacked. Later she again defended herself when a woman tried to set her on fire. Plummer responded by pushing the woman into the fire. The idea of white women fighting back against Native women and winning was a common theme in other narratives. The Native women were always portrayed as the aggressors in the situation while the white women fought back and usually prevailed victorious. Not only did this characterize Indian women as brutal and barbarous but as the captives typically fought back and won, it exemplified the alleged superiority of white women over Indian women.

Rachel Plummer continued her negative portrayal of the Native women in comparison to

white women when explaining the Comanche rituals after acquiring prisoners:

They cut them up, broiled and boiled and ate them. My young mistress got a foot, roasted it, and offered me part of it. They appear to be very fond of human flesh. The hand or foot, they say, is the most delicious. These inhuman cannibals will eat the flesh of a human being and talk of their bravery or abuse their cowardice with as much unconcern as if they were mere beasts.<sup>300</sup>

This accusation of the Comanche being cannibals went further in condemning the Native American race for being barbaric. There is no evidence to confirm the Comanche's ever partook in cannibalistic rituals. In fact, there is more evidence that the Comanche tribe greatly disapproved of cannibalism as they denounced a neighboring tribe, the Tonkawa, who actually did occasionally engage in cannibalism.<sup>301</sup> This could suggest that Rachel Plummer fabricated the story of cannibalism to further characterize her captors as barbaric and uncivilized as she claimed that cannibalism was common among the Comanche. Similar to Mary Rowlandson calling out her "mistress," Rachel Plummer specifically singled out her "young mistress" as being a cannibal before further defining that all Native Americans were inhuman. While the implication was that all Native Americans participated in cannibalistic traditions, Rachel Plummer directly contrasted herself to her "young mistress" and further stereotyped Native women as savage and opposite from white women.

White male captives were especially critical of Native women's physical appearances criticizing them as being ugly in comparison to white women. During his 1790 captivity, lawyer Charles Johnston spent five weeks among the Shawnee. Breaking the mold of many captivity narratives, the Shawnee killed the women that Johnston was traveling with while taking him prisoner. He was later ransomed by a Canadian trader and wrote about his time amongst the Shawnee.<sup>302</sup> During his captivity, he shared that he was at one point betrothed to a Native woman that he never met while in captivity. At first horrified at the idea of "leading to the altar of Hymen an Indian squaw,"<sup>303</sup> Johnston prescribed to Euro-American beliefs of a woman's virtuousness. Johnston did not see the Shawnee woman as virtuous and did not want to marry her. After escaping the Indians, he wondered about, "whether she was old or young, ugly or handsome, deformed or beautiful."<sup>304</sup> Upon seeing her later though, he explained that he, "could not help chuckling at my escape from the fate which had been intended for me. She was old,

ugly, and disgusting.”<sup>305</sup> While Johnston did not meet her or exchange any words with her, her physical appearance alone was enough to disgust Johnston who prioritized her beauty over anything else. From this description it is clear that Johnston did not see her as a suitable bride because of her appearance.

Meanwhile, captive Josiah Mooso’s critiques of Naive American women went beyond just physical appearance. While the native girl, Poma, saved his life, he later revealed that she wanted to marry him. Not reciprocating her feelings, he explained his situation writing, “My conscience, even now, smites me to think of the deception I practiced upon this woman, to whom I owe my life, but as an excuse I will plead that being a white man and she an Indian was sufficient grounds for not wishing to take her as my wife...”<sup>306</sup> From Mooso’s point of view, the fact that Poma was Native American was enough to explain why he did not want to marry her. While he felt guilty for tricking her, the idea of marrying an Indian woman was not acceptable to Mooso. Mooso’s view was not unique and reflected the views of most of U.S. society, where states created various miscegenation laws to stop people of different races from mixing. However, for Mooso it is clear that Poma’s race was an immediate indicator of unsuitability which he could not look past.

Captivity narrative authors often ascribed Native women traits such as being incredibly jealous and spiteful, while the white women highlighted their own piety. Dakota Conflict captive, Sarah F. Wakefield described the women that she lived with in this vein. Married to John Wakefield, a doctor for the Upper Sioux Agency, the Wakefield’s lived a fairly luxurious life for frontier people.<sup>307</sup> During the outbreak of the Dakota Conflict, a man named Chaska, whom she had known for several years and she claimed was civilized, took Wakefield under his protection. While Wakefield would later testify on behalf of Chaska after her release, she had nothing nice to say about Winona, Chaska’s wife.<sup>308</sup> Describing Winona, Wakefield wrote, “All little articles, such as miniatures, etc., she would destroy before me, and would laugh when she saw I felt sad. I would like to be her judge, if she is ever brought within my reach.”<sup>309</sup> Portraying Winona as cruel and uncaring, Wakefield separated herself from her captor, clearly defining herself as the victim. The reader was clearly supposed to sympathize with Wakefield and view Winona as the antagonist. While Wakefield specifically talked about one Indian woman, the implication of Winona’s savagery and hatefulness furthered the narrative that until white society took action,

Native Americans would act cruelly and senselessly towards white people. In this characterization of Winona, she clarified that it was not just Indian men who deserved judgment but also Indian women. By stating that she would like to be Winona's judge, Wakefield also put the responsibility on white society to be the judges of Native Americans.

After looking forward to meeting the Native American women and hoping to find solace with her own gender, Fanny Kelly expressed her first impression of the Native women as she recounted the presentation of the items stolen from her wagon train to the chiefs many wives:

It was spread out before them, the women gathered admiringly round it, and proved their peculiarities of taste... Eagerly they watched every new article displayed, grunting their approval, until their senior companion seized a piece of cloth, declaring that she meant to retain it all for herself. This occasioned dissatisfaction, which soon ripened to rebellion among them, and they contended for a just distribution of the goods... I had so hoped to find sympathy and pity among these artless women of the forest, but instead, cowed and trembling, I sat, scarcely daring to breathe.<sup>310</sup>

According to expectations in white society during this era, women were supposed to be pious and pure and characterized as true women.<sup>311</sup> Traits such as "jealousy and hatred" were in direct contrast to these ideals. Fanny Kelly interpreted the reaction of the Indian women to be unsympathetic, labeling them as "artless" and unable to connect with her on an emotional level. Grouping the women together, she generalized them all negatively. She did not allow any of them positive descriptions and made it seem as though malicious behavior was simply part of Native American women's character. Kelly further described her point of view of one of the Oglala Lakota ceremonies saying, "I first saw the scalp dance... The women, too, took part in the dance, and I was forced to mingle in the fearful festivity..."<sup>312</sup> Here, Kelly reported that she was required to participate in the scalp dance with obvious disapproval, specifically highlighting how the Native women took part in the scalp dance alongside the men. In clearly calling out the women in this passage, Kelly reassured the reader that Native American women were just as savage and uncivilized as Indian men and that they too engaged in barbaric heathen ceremonies.

### **The Assimilation of Native American Women in Captivity Narratives**

Captives appeared to have mixed feelings about the assimilation of Native Americans as

their comments differed significantly from narrative to narrative. While some narratives praised the assimilated women for being more civilized, other captives scorned that Native Americans would never be able to assimilate into white society by portraying them as inferior. Early narratives typically did not even entertain the idea of Native Americans assimilating to white society. However Native women became especially ingrained in white society, by marrying and bearing children by white men, the question of if Native Americans could assimilate became increasingly more important.

Over time, as Native American policy began to change, captivity narratives began to focus on the assimilation of Native Americans. Later narratives put a strong emphasis on the effects of assimilation on the Indians. Captive Mary Jemison, who assimilated into the Seneca tribe, was very opposed to the assimilation of Native Americans into white society as she wrote:

I have seen, in a number of instances the effects of education upon some of our Indians, who were taken when young, from their families, and placed at school before they had an opportunity to contract many Indian habits, and there kept till they arrived to manhood, but I have never seen one of those but what was an Indian in every respect after he returned. Indians must and will be Indians, in spite of all the means that can be used for their cultivation in the sciences and arts.<sup>313</sup>

Although Jemison defended Native American culture and reasoned against assimilation, her comments asserted that she believed fundamental differences existed between white Americans and Native Americans. She believed that Native Americans would never be able to fully assimilate no matter what type of education they received. From the point of view of a Seneca woman, Jemison did not approve of educating Native American's in Euro-American ways. While not stating that Native Americans were less than white people, Jemison wanted them to remain separate from white society. Published in 1824, Jemison's account occurred roughly fifty years before the Native American boarding school movement which swept the United States in the 1870's. Such early disapproval of education of Native Americans shows that assimilation tactics had already had negative reception based on earlier educational attempts.

The Dakota Conflict in 1862 was one of the major events that spurred the question of assimilation. The captives of the Dakota Conflict typically had negative reactions to the assimilation of Native Americans. Many of them grew up with friendly relations towards the

Indians and saw their uprising and protest as betrayal. In Minnie Buce Carrigan's account, she described how she not only grew up as friends with the neighboring Indians but also "learned a little of the Sioux language."<sup>314</sup> However after a while when the Native's began to reject the encroachment of white people on their land, Carrigan explained:

They became disagreeable and ill-natured. They seldom visited us and when they met us, passed by coldly and sullenly and often without speaking. On one occasion some of them camped in my father's woods and began cutting down all the young timber and leaving it on the ground... a squaw caught up a large butcher knife and chased him away...<sup>315</sup>

The Carrigan's viewed the woods as belonging to them, however, the Native's did not agree with this seizure of their land and were prepared to fight back. This shift in attitudes was surprising to the Carrigan family, who had seen the neighboring Dakota as friends. The Carrigan's took the hostility personally. While the Carrigan's originally viewed the Dakota as friends, they saw that the Native Americans would remain loyal to their tribe and that white people should not trust even seemingly friendly Indians. In her eyes, the Native Americans were unassimilable. Specifically calling out a "squaw" for chasing her father, Carrigan clearly wanted the reader to side with her family over the Natives as she viewed the land as being owned by her family instead of recognizing who it originally belonged to. While it was the Natives whose land was being taken away, by portraying the "squaw" woman as violent and angry it justified the reasoning for taking the land away from them, making the Carrigan family the victims.

In addition, captive Sarah F. Wakefield shared a similar account. Due to Wakefield's husband's occupation as a doctor for the Sioux, before the uprising she had positive relations with the Native Americans.<sup>316</sup> She talked about her favorable views writing, "I will state in the beginning I found them very kind, good people. The women have sewed for me, and I have employed them in various ways around the house, and began to love and respect them as well as if they were whites."<sup>317</sup> Speaking of the Native American women that worked for her, Wakefield viewed them as assimilated from Native ways due to their positive attributes. Clarifying that this belief was "in the beginning," Wakefield clearly had a change of heart after the Native Americans, who she had once loved and respected, remained loyal to their tribes. This comment suggests that Wakefield questioned the loyalty of Native Americans as she had seen them gradually shift from seemingly assimilated to aggressive in the uprising.

Sharing a different point of view, Nancy McClure Huggans story furthered the narrative of fundamental differences between Native American women and white women. Huggans's mother was Dakota Sioux and her father was a United States general. Despite the fact that her father abandoned her family when she was young, Huggans romanticized her father as a heroic General and demonized her Dakota relatives. Educated in a Christian missionary school, Huggans remained critical of the Dakota and attempted to distance herself from them to assert her citizenship throughout her narrative. Explaining the situation of half-Native people during the Dakota Conflict she wrote, “They were cursing the half-breeds... You know that only a very few half-breeds took part in the outbreak. The Indians have always bitterly hated the half-breeds for their conduct in favor of the whites in that and other wars and they hate them still.”<sup>318</sup> In defending herself and other “half-breeds” in the Dakota Conflict, Huggans endeavored to dissociate herself from the Dakota. By pitting Indians against half-breeds, Huggans tried to shed her Native American ancestry. Despite having lived with her Native American grandmother and mother for most of her life, Huggans saw herself as more connected to her white heritage. Her education in missionary schools and the negative connotations of the Dakota which she experienced deeply affected her point of view and led her to reject her Indian ethnicity.

Later in the narrative, Huggans became involved in a physical altercation with a Dakota woman where she furthered the narrative of Native American’s hating half-breeds:

An Indian woman near me began abusing us. She said: ‘When we talk of killing these half-breeds they drop their heads and sneak around like a bird-dog.’ Her taunting speech stung me to the heart and I flew at that woman and routed her so completely that she bore the marks for some time and I am sure she remembered the lessons a great deal longer! Perhaps it was not a very ladylike thing to do but I was dreadful provoked. Most of my companions were greatly pleased, and the Indians did not interfere.<sup>319</sup>

Huggans defeat of the Indian woman not only continued the theme of white women physically defeating Native women, as seen in other narratives, but also served as an example of Huggans proving her allegiance to white society. In physically attacking a Native American woman, Huggans showed that she had no loyalty to the Dakota. Citing the Indian woman as threatening half-breeds, Huggans severed the tie between “half-breeds” and Native Americans, portraying herself as a victim of discrimination. Perceiving herself to be far more enlightened and evolved

compared to the rest of the Dakota women, Huggans' denouncement of the Native woman showed that she believed that assimilation was possible.

Two years after the Dakota Conflict, Fanny Kelly's account also delved into the topic of "half-breeds" and marriage between Native American women and white men. After meeting a Native woman who had a child with a white military man but had to return to her tribe after the man's white wife from the east arrived, she lamented:

The little boy... was a very bright, attractive child of about four years. It was a very sad thought for me to realize that a parent could part with such a child, committing it forever to live in barbarous ignorance, and rove the woods among savages with the impress of his own superior race, so strongly mingled with his Indian origin. I saw many other fair-faced little children, and heard the sad story from their mothers, and was deeply pained to see their pale, pinched features, as they cried for food when there was none to be had.<sup>320</sup>

While in this passage Kelly criticized the military man for abandoning his child, ultimately she viewed the mother's race as inferior and pitied the child for growing up amongst the "savage" and "ignorance" of the Indians. While she interpreted the mothers of mixed-race children as being deeply attached to their children, she also implied that the children would be better suited living with their white relatives. Kelly published her account in 1871, around the same time as the Native American boarding school movement in the United States. Although she never directly accused the Native American women of being bad mothers, her critiques suggested that the mothers were unable to take care of their children due to their lifestyles. She clearly stated her belief that the children of white men deserved to be among the "superior race." Kelly's views reflected the general opinions of assimilation during the 1870's of attempting to assimilate Indian children regardless of the wishes of their mothers and fathers.

While Kelly showed sympathy for the Native American children and did not admonish their mothers, she did suggest not to trust Native American women. Talking to another Indian woman who married a white man before returning to the Oglala Lakota tribe she recalled:

They were esteemed friendly, and had often received supplies from the fort, although at heart they were always the enemy of the white man. 'But will they not suspect you?' asked I. 'They may discover your deceit and punish you some day.' She laughed derisively. 'Our prisoners don't escape to tell tales,' she replied. 'Dead people don't talk. We claim friendship, and they can not prove that we don't feel it. Besides, all white



soldiers are cowards.<sup>321</sup>

Using the general term of “they,” Kelly generalized that all Native American women believed they were enemies of the white man. As marriages between white men and Native women became more and more common over time, Kelly warned that white people should be wary and careful about trusting these women, as they could be tricking the white men for the benefit of supplies. Portraying the woman that she talked to as devious and deceitful, she informed her white readers not to rely on Native women. Claiming that they would always be the opponents of white society, Kelly did not see these types of women as ever being able to assimilate to white society as they would, in the end, remain loyal to their tribes. Instead by portraying Native American women as savage and deceitful it suggested to the reader that it was imperative that future generations sever ties with their tribes, Kelly insisted that as long as the Native American tribes existed, Native Americans would continue to pretend to be friendly towards white people, while really harboring ulterior motives

## **Conclusion**

While captivity narratives are only one example of negative representations of Native Americans, they epitomized greater U.S. societal ideas. Many of the ideas about Native American women as seen in captivity narratives, such as the Indian Princess and the Squaw drudge, have persisted throughout various other medias including literature, illustrations, and film. Historians have continued to untangle the myths that surround the images of Native American women. Captivity narratives present an especially difficult source as the authors advertised their accounts as accurate depictions of what Native Americans were like. However, captive authors obviously brought ethnocentric beliefs to their narratives which affected how they portrayed Native American women. As many narratives were incredibly popular and widely spread during the time of their publication, the narratives and stereotypes influenced readers, leading to more misrepresentations and misunderstandings about Indian women.

After the final push of the United States to take Native lands and relegate Native Americans to reservations, in the 1880’s, Indian captivity narratives slowly began to fade away as tribes no longer had the power or ability to take captives. Their legacies lived on however and

the ideas introduced in captivity narratives helped to foster harmful and dangerous ideas about Native American women. The Native American boarding school movement which began in the 1870's ripped Native families apart as white society viewed Native American culture as subordinate to white society. While the goal was to assimilate Natives into the "civilized" white society, the psychological effects of trying to destroy Native American culture had detrimental effects on both boarding school students and their families. This not only greatly affected Native mothers, who had their children taken from them, but also influenced a new generation of Native women who white society taught that their cultures were inferior and pushed them to assimilate. The twentieth century saw Native American women's involuntary sterilizations with the rise of the eugenics movement. The movement aimed to eliminate traits that white society viewed as undesirable by white society such as poverty, and criminal behavior. Since white society associated violence, poverty and other negative traits to Native American women, they were especially targeted in forced sterilization. Reportedly around 25 percent of the Native American female population between the ages of fifteen and forty-four underwent sterilization through the 1970's.<sup>322</sup> Negative opinions that Native women were intrinsically inferior to white women because of their race were clearly influenced by the beliefs laid out in captivity narratives.

Looking back, it would be easy to blame the biases on the authors of the captivity narratives. It is important to look at the narratives through a wider historical lens and realize how society influenced the author's beliefs. Narratives aimed to provide justification and defense of white supremacy and westward expansion. The portrayals of Native American women continued Euro-American assumptions, defining them as inherently different and in some cases, unassimilable. Often forgotten by history, it is crucial that Native American women are no longer generalized and defined by white societies views and are instead represented correctly, accurately, and in their own words.

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## **“Be My Baby:” Feminine Desire and Social Constructs in 1960s Culture**

**By: Emily Nelson**

Arguably the most emblematic song of the girl-group era of the early 1960s, “Be My Baby” was the single that launched Harlem girl-group the Ronettes into stardom and cemented producer Phil Spector’s “wall of sound” technique in the annals of music history. The song’s iconic drumbeat has been copied by everyone from Frank Sinatra to The Clash; Bruce Springsteen, the Ramones, and the Beach Boys have all cited the Ronettes as a major inspiration. But music influence aside, the song itself and the group performing it encapsulate a contradictory era in American women’s history; the girl groups’ emphasis on heterosexual romantic relationships at the apex of most of their music and the amplification of youth and femininity through dresses, wigs, and makeup were relics of a 50’s ideology of femininity. On the other hand, groups like the Ronettes pushed the boundaries of what was acceptable for young girls, wearing tight skirts and performing sexual dance moves; and, in the case of “Be My Baby,” using music to assert attraction and pursuing a relationship through the lyrics, rather than waiting for the boy to make the first move. The assertiveness and sexual confidence evident in the Ronettes’ music signaled a new avenue for young women to identify and explore sexuality in the early 1960s; however, such provocation was not without criticism, backlash, and racism that sought to keep femininity anchored in 1950s norms. The Ronettes’ “Be My Baby” straddles the line between 50’s domestic values upheld by middle-class white America in its notions of traditional femininity, but pushes the boundaries of respectability in its explicit assertion of feminine romantic desire and the Ronettes’ non-traditional and sexual personae, culminating in a piece that is utterly emblematic of the shifts and contradictions at work in the early 1960s.

“Be My Baby” was released in August 1963, a year that also saw the publication and

success of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*, a key text in launching Second-Wave feminism by outlining the anxiety and repression rife in middle-class 1950s America. Friedan paints a grim portrait of 50s femininity: the housewife, the "dream image of the young American woman,"<sup>323</sup> plagued by frustration, apathy, and neuroses stemming from a lack of meaningful work and an unfulfilling home life. While Friedan's portrait of the American female experience was and is reductive in its scope, limited mainly to white middle-class American women with expendable wealth and time, the image is nonetheless enduring in personifying the 1950s in American women's history. Such an image is important in teenage culture as well; alarmingly, Friedan presents the evidence from a study that "49 per cent of the new brides were teenagers, and more girls marry at the age of 18 than at any other age."<sup>324</sup> Furthermore, she explores the reality of marriage and the social conditioning that infiltrated marriage in the 1950s: "The modern bride seeks as a conscious goal [...] to belong to a man, to have a home and children of her own, to choose among all possible careers the career of wife-mother-homemaker."<sup>325</sup> The landscape of the 1950s appeared to leave few options for the average middle-class American girl, and the majority of pop music from the era continued to emphasize this theme of waiting and belonging; it was into this landscape that "Be My Baby," as well as the Ronettes as a group, entered.

From the outset, "Be My Baby" appears to be a typical pop song of the era, rife with the tropes familiar to the girl group genre: "The night we met I knew I needed you so/And if I had the chance I'd never let you go."<sup>326</sup> At the time of its popularization, groups like the Shirelles and the Crystals were making hits with similar-minded material. But while other girl group songs of the period emphasized demure assertions of longing, "Be My Baby" took a different approach to asserting desire that made it notable in the shifting landscape of early 60's female culture. Notably, it is the language of the lyrics – "Be My Baby," as opposed to *Be Your Baby* – that presents an example of explicit feminine desire, with the female singer asking to own rather than to be owned. As Jacqueline Warwick writes:

"What fans responded to was the novel representation of a girl who seemed utterly self-assured in her desirability, acting with a great deal of aggression and using all the weapons in her sexual arsenal to conquer the boy she has chosen. Ronnie Spector's throaty vocal quality; the sinuous, chromatic melody; the deep pounding of the bass

drum; the high drama of the orchestration and production effects; and the predictability of the harmonic language combine to create a sense of inexorable will.”<sup>327</sup>

Furthermore, the language of the lyrics clearly places the female singer in control of the relationship: “For every kiss you give me/I’ll give you three.”<sup>328</sup> The female point of view is given more power in this pursuant relationship, and she even goes so far to name her (presumably male) object of affection “my little baby”<sup>329</sup> (emphasis added), flipping the gendered adjectives and giving the male subject the title usually reserved for female subjects in other pop music of the time. The concept of owning rather than belonging is especially important in the understanding of the song’s impact, particularly in light of Friedan’s 1950s research into the female ideal of “belonging to” a man by entering into a marriage. The sexually unsatisfied women of Friedan’s 50s and the early 60s could use “Be My Baby” and songs like it to make sense of their own desire; emerging from an era that emphasized putting personal desire on the backburner for the pleasure of one’s husband and/or children, the “feminine dialect”<sup>330</sup> of girl group music “permitted girl singers and listeners to articulate and explore their desires with impunity, preserving their sexual innocence and respectability.”<sup>331</sup> Far from hiding its intentions, “Be My Baby” provides a girl-safe arena for self-determination, flying in the face of the repressive sensibilities of the previous era.

Songs do not exist in a vacuum; their content as well as their production and performance both reflect and are reflective of the social mores of their era, whether they challenge them or merely repeat them. Therefore, it is important to also understand the novelty of the Ronettes’ performance of the song itself, which promised a girl-driven sexuality heretofore hidden from feminine pop. Emerging from a period that stressed docility, domestic ambitions, and sexual purity, the Ronettes were an antithesis to their “good girl” counterparts in other female music groups. “Those impossibly bad girls from Harlem,” as Warwick deems them, upset middle-class White American respectabilities with their “ambiguous ethnicities, towering hairstyles, inch-thick eyeliner, and dangerously high stiletto heels”<sup>332</sup> and voices that hinted at something other than a completely chaste romance. The importance of these vocal and aesthetic factors cannot be understated when understanding “Be My Baby’s” place in the cultural landscape of 1960s America; the influential power of a hit pop song could have lasting influence on the social and aesthetic trends of its listeners. In this case, the Ronettes’ novel sexuality and self-contained

confidence exposed in the lyrics of “Be My Baby” presented new options for their female listeners, displaying a kind of confidence that could “naturally be empowering for young girls experimenting with different kinds of adult personae,” threatening the respectability politics and morality conventions that were inevitably placed on the women and girls of the late 50s and early 60s. As Warwick writes, “middle-class, ‘respectable’ girls who ‘tried on’ the attitudes of the Ronettes may not have been instantly transformed in stiletto-heeled sexpots simply by listening to ‘Be My Baby,’ but neither could they entirely return to the demure and prim stances of Patti Page or Doris Day.”<sup>333</sup> The emergence of “Be My Baby” and pop musicians like the Ronettes gave visibility to new ways of being a girl and practicing femininity, seemingly turning away from the expectations of docility raised in the postwar era.

This is not to say, however, that the Ronettes and their music were without criticism in the emerging landscape that would become the American 1960s. Their ethnic ambiguity and working-class urban backgrounds posed a threat to middle-class white respectability, and as such the girls themselves were often reviled and fetishized by the music industry. In 1968, Richard Farrar wrote a scathing profile of the Ronettes in *Rolling Stone* magazine, emphasizing these proclivities for fetishization and sexism:

[The Ronettes were] tough whorish females of the lower class, female Hell’s Angels who had about them the aura of brazen sex. The Ronettes were Negro Puerto Rican hooker types with long black hair and skin tight dresses revealing their well-shaped but not quite Tina Turner behinds. . . . Ronettes records should have been sold under the counter with girly magazines and condoms.”<sup>334</sup>

Clearly, the belief that the Ronette’s confident sexuality was a social victory was not shared by everyone, and even by 1968 the class, race, and sexuality of the three members of the Ronettes was used against them. This is to argue, of course, that while “Be My Baby” came to be reflective of an era that was beginning to accept and encourage young women to try out different notions of girlhood and sexuality, such experimentation was rarely met with approval. The Ronettes, by singing about men in a possessive and assertive manner, were deemed “whorish;” their nonwhite ethnicity only exacerbated these traits in the eyes of many white critics. While the existence of provocative female pop singers presented new role models for young women, it also presented a myriad of complications and new rules that needed to be navigated.



Unfortunately, these attitudes and the song's inherent romantic themes are reflective of a society that still by and large viewed a woman's main purpose as romantic and sexual, albeit under the guise of self-determination. Helen Gurley Brown's *Sex and the Single Girl*, published in 1962, presents itself as a carefree guide to cultivating casual sex on one's own terms, heralding the opportunity to "promote attraction, bask in the sensation, drink it like wine, and pour it over her like blossoms, with never a guilty twinge."<sup>335</sup> This certainly sounds like a unique and freeing opportunity for women to be fully self-determining and free of the expectations of the previous era, but Brown's promised freedom comes with stipulations; first, "your figure can't harbor an ounce of baby fat. It never looked good on anybody but babies."<sup>336</sup> Furthermore, the "successful" single woman "must cook well"<sup>337</sup> and "must have a job that interests you, at which you work hard."<sup>338</sup> In other words, the life of the carefree single girl has its own list of rules and expectations, rules that are eerily similar to the domestic and feminine expectations of the 1950s. These expectations are echoed in the sexual and romantic expectations of the Ronettes; while "Be My Baby" may certainly mark a shift in feminine assertiveness, it is nevertheless focused on the pursuing of a (presumably) heterosexual relationship and the joys of finding love. Furthermore, the racial aspects of the Ronettes' identities cannot be overlooked; in the 1960s, racism and cultural traditions still dictated much of what was acceptable for young women. These elements of feminine culture are reflected in the writings of Marissa Navarro, who recalls her experience as a Mexican-American woman growing up in a patriarchal community that stressed a "classic Madonna/whore tightrope" for<sup>339</sup> young women, one "that demanded we be attractive yet pure [and] ...have long hair and wear clothes that showed off our womanliness. Yet, we had to carry this off in a way that let men know we were unavailable for sex."<sup>340</sup> This double-sided Madonna/whore complex is rampant in studies of 1960s culture; Farrar's demonization of the Ronettes in 1968 is one such example of the expectation of gendered docility and sexual attractiveness paired with purity. While the music of the Ronettes pushed the boundaries of acceptable performance avenues for women and the norms of female sexuality, much of the reality of the 1960s condemned such expression and experimentation, adding to the complications of the era and its politics.

"Be My Baby" is in itself a mass of contradictions, but these contradictions echo the changing mores and mindsets of the period itself. Girl group music of the early 1960s gave

female listeners a unique avenue to try to make sense of and identify with the sexual landscape, as well as their unique place in it. The Ronettes' deceptively innocent pop lyrics hid a trio of multiethnic, sexually confident young performers, emblematic of the many contradictions and cultural shifts taking place in the pop culture landscape of the 1960s. While the singers themselves were still subject to many of the restrictive, racist, and overtly sexist values of the emerging era, the song "Be My Baby" presents an indelible example of a female-driven exploration of sexuality and the promotion of assertive femininity and self-determination.

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## **Sapphic Cinema: An Exploration of Films about Gay Women and their Relationship to American Society in the Reagan Era and Beyond**

**By: Melinda Roddy**

Heterosexuality has always been privileged within the United States, which has resulted in, among other things, a lack of representation of LGBTQ+ people film, especially women. Sapphic women and all things Sapphic have largely been marginalized in society. Sapphic, coming from the name of the Greek poet Sappho, means women, or things related to women, who are attracted to other women. While men who are attracted to men are discriminated against and marginalized by the homophobia of American society Sapphic women are affected by both homophobia and sexism. The intersection of these two forms of oppression is lesbophobia, discrimination against women who are attracted to women. The education that most Americans receive on the history of LGBTQ+ people in the United States is woefully limited and the majority of it focuses on men or the LGBTQ+ community in general while neglecting Sapphic women. In 2016, California became the first state to include LGBTQ+ history in its required school curriculum.<sup>341</sup> While learning the history of homosexual men is certainly important, the history of gay women is equally important and frequently overlooked.

Films can illustrate the views of cultures as well as the societal values of the time and place where they were made. Studying Sapphic films expands the understanding of Sapphic women during the late twentieth and early twenty first centuries including their lives, values, art, culture, experiences, and more. During the mid-twentieth century, morality codes in Hollywood began to loosen allowing for much greater leeway for people to make films about Queer women. Due to the efforts of LGBTQ+ activists and the increasing trend towards a more progressive and accepting culture there was a greater freedom for artists to create more films about non-

heterosexual women. Films about gay women made for straight audiences have told distinctly different stories from those made by Sapphic creators. Overall, while many films about Sapphic characters have included negative stereotypes they have become less overtly homophobic, more common, and more honest as a result of the work of activists and the advancements of political and cultural efforts to achieve equality for Sapphic women. To understand the development of films about Sapphic women it is important to know some crucial aspects of American film history.

Throughout most of the twentieth century film regulations limited the ways that filmmakers could create movies with gay characters. The early days of the film industry were less strictly regulated. Some early films discussed sex, violence, and life in a controversial way which led to protests from groups that were concerned about immorality. Catholic groups began to protest films which led to the Motion Picture Production Code, also known as the Hays Production Code of 1930.<sup>342</sup> This limited the kinds of stories that could be told in films for a large section of the twentieth century including bans of homosexuality and interracial relationships. The code began to lose importance following World War II and by 1968 its function was replaced by the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA) film rating so that the film industry could be more self-regulating.<sup>343</sup> After the code ended, there was a greater freedom for filmmakers to make the kinds of movies that they wanted to make. However, there were still unofficial limits as American Cold War culture was concerned about anything it viewed as explicit or pornographic and viewed it as a weakening of morality against the onslaught of communism.<sup>344</sup> People felt compelled to self-regulate as a result of this and the lasting effects of the Hays Production Code of 1930. The film industry was under official or unofficial censorship for nearly half a century and this restricted the movies that could be made, especially films about LGBTQ+ characters. People made films about gay characters before the MPAA but there were far fewer and the stories were limited. However, during the late 1970s and 1980s people established several companies that distributed films about LGBTQ+ characters.

Several companies helped to produce and distribute LGBTQ+ films, two of the most notable being First Run Features and Wolfe Video. First Run Features was established in New York City in 1979 to distribute independent films and it gained a reputation for producing controversial movies. It has been one of the longest surviving independent film companies and it

has frequently produced foreign films and films about minority groups including LGBTQ+ people.<sup>345</sup> Wolfe Video was established in 1985 and it is the largest independent distributor of exclusively LGBTQ+ films. It was founded in California by a woman named Kathy Wolfe, who began distributing films to interested LGBTQ+ people and from there the business grew.<sup>346</sup> These companies, especially Wolfe Video, arose at a time of change and catered to a population that had previously not seen themselves reflected in most media. The companies helped to facilitate the production of independent films by Sapphic creators; otherwise, many films about Sapphic women would not have been produced. However, it took many cultural and political shifts in LGBTQ+ history in the United States before companies like this could begin to produce films with Sapphic characters.

During the nineteenth century the idea of being a lesbian had not entered the mainstream American consciousness. While there were women who would be considered lesbians in the twenty-first century, their relationships were not viewed in that sense. “Romantic friendships” and “Boston Marriages” were accepted institutions where women had strong relationships and possibly cohabitated and combined finances. These relationships were accepted as women were viewed as incapable of being sexual outside of relationships with men.<sup>347</sup> As long as these relationships did not cause women to dismiss male suitors they were acceptable. However, this was a privilege largely only available to wealthy women. Some working class women were arrested and trial records show that at least some of these relationships definitely had a sexual aspect.<sup>348</sup> In 1890, “lesbian” first appeared in a medical dictionary to describe lesbian sex and it increased in usage within society which was instrumental in creating the modern conception of lesbianism.<sup>349</sup> Sexologists claimed that lesbians were abnormal, sick, and men trapped in women’s bodies. Author Lillian Faderman argued that the timing of this changing terminology was suspicious as it came at a time when there were greater economic and educational opportunities for women allowing them more ability to support themselves.<sup>350</sup> At a time when women were increasingly able to live alone or with other women society began to label those women who chose to be with other women abnormal. The origin of the word lesbian and the implications that it brought with it ended the era of “romantic friendships” and brought the history of LBPG+, lesbian, bisexual, pansexual, and queer women into the modern era.

During the 1940s, more young people worked in the city or joined the military allowing

them to live away from their families and instead with people of their age and gender which created an environment where being gay was more possible but also more dangerous. This allowed gay people to develop community and subcultures. Articles, books, and music appeared about gay subjects. However, increasing visibility may have been more of a double-edged sword. Suspicion of gay people grew in the 1950's. Some believed that communism was caused by LGBTQ+ people, or that gay people in government was just as dangerous. President Eisenhower passed an executive order shortly after his inauguration in 1953 which including a new provision for evaluating government employees, "sexual perversion." This effectively banned homosexuals from holding government jobs.<sup>351</sup> This was difficult for LGBTQ+ people particularly lesbians as sexism already restricted women's economic options.<sup>352</sup> Discrimination and oppression continued to be problems for Sapphic women in many areas of their lives.

After World War II, gay culture began to grow and more gay and lesbian, mostly gay, bars were established.<sup>353</sup> Gay and lesbian bars were often raided, especially near elections, when politicians were attempting to gain public favor. These raids could be devastating for people, sometimes large groups of women were arrested and their names were published in the newspaper. This could lead to them losing their jobs and place in society. The intent of these bar raids was to terrorize and humiliate lesbians. Police officers could show up at any time to jeer, manhandle, molest, and arrest anyone at a gay or lesbian bar.<sup>354</sup> Despite the risk, these bars were essential for some lesbians as they offered just about the only space they could be themselves.

Working class and young lesbians frequented lesbian bars and within this community butch and femme subculture began to develop. Butch and femme were identities that meant different things to different people but mostly they referred to a style of dress, behavior, and dating customs. Butch lesbians tended to dress and act in a more masculine way while femmes tended to perform a more traditionally feminine ideal of gender expression. Both styles were gender non-conforming as they were not about appealing to men or societally constructed expectations of womanhood. Butch and femme were essential to lesbian life, and they were almost required within the bars. Women who did not conform to either style were called kikis and they were often distrusted by other lesbians. There were various reasons for this. Lesbians feared undercover police officers which led them to distrust anyone who did not seem to fit into the community.<sup>355</sup> For some their butch or femme identity was essential to who they were but for

others these styles were fluid and important only as a part of being in the community. Either way butch and femme identity was a large part of the lives of working class and young lesbians.

Following World War II, during the 1950s and 60s, different oppressed groups such as women and Black people began to build social movements to gain respect and rights within American society. Gradually, LGBTQ+ people created organizations to support their community such as the Daughters of Bilitis, the first lesbian civil rights organization in the United States. These sorts of organizations held meetings, disseminated information, and led efforts to change legal and medical views that discriminated against LGBTQ+ people. There was a growing gay rights movement but it still had yet to reach the full potential that it achieved.<sup>356</sup>

In the early morning hours on June 28, 1969, at the Stonewall Inn, a LGBTQ+ bar in New York City, police raided the bar. Four officers entered and began the usual harassment and arrests. However, instead of running the bar's patrons stood their ground. They began to fight the police, throwing bricks and garbage, fires were started, property was destroyed, and people painted graffiti with gay and transgender messages.<sup>357</sup> The riots continued for multiple days and became a rallying cry for the new gay rights movement. It led more people to get involved and be more active in fighting for their rights. Stonewall marked the beginnings of Pride parades and while the gay rights movement had been growing it was this event, more than any other, that led it to its take off.

The 1970s saw a rise of progressive views and expressions of sexuality as well as a backlash. During this time birth control was more widely available, people talked more about premarital sex, and people openly discussed gaining pleasure from sex. However this sexual revolution wasn't completely triumphant and the New Right, a new conservative movement, rose to prominence in the late 1970's. The Republican Party took up the platform of devotion to personal and Christian morality and repression of this new expression of sexuality. They stood for what they saw as traditional family values. Some Christians began to see the nation as having moved too far into an immoral state that no longer preserved the values that they held dear.<sup>358</sup> This faction believed themselves to be disenfranchised and they joined other conservatives and helped to elect Ronald Reagan as president in 1980.

Reagan's election was in part a reaction against campaigns in the United States by minority groups such as the Civil Rights movement, feminism, and the gay rights movement.

The religious fundamentalist crusade had many followers including Anita Bryant. Bryant was a Southern Baptist and former Miss Oklahoma. She was a signer and worked in several advertising campaigns; she became a wholesome model of white, heterosexual America.<sup>359</sup> In the late 1970s she was part of a campaign to repeal a Florida law that prohibited discrimination based on sexual orientation.<sup>360</sup> She was elected president of a newly formed conservative Christian organization called Save Our Children, which argued that children needed to be protected from gay people. Her status as America's darling was used to run a highly successful campaign and the law was repealed.<sup>361</sup> Bryant's story is indicative of the power of American homophobia at the time.

Bryant was not the only crisis facing the gay community. In the early 1980s, scientists began to observe a new disease killing people in the United States later referred to as HIV/AIDS. From the beginning the medical community was aware the disease was not isolated to homosexual men but the media dubbed it GRID, gay-related immune deficiency, in 1982.<sup>362</sup> The disease spread within the gay male community in part due to coincidence, the tight-knit nature of gay social circles, and the unprotected, non-monogamous sex.<sup>363</sup> As AIDS began to spread gay men took steps to prevent this by encouraging monogamy and educating people on the importance of using condoms. Prior to the AIDS crisis, gay men and lesbians had not been very closely affiliated.<sup>364</sup> While they shared some social circles and common enemies, plenty of lesbians had very little interaction with gay men or had made efforts to eradicate men from their lives entirely. The disease brought them together. While some lesbians did not want to help because they blamed gay men, felt that they wouldn't help lesbians if they were in trouble, or felt that men's concerns were constantly overshadowing women's. Despite this many lesbians felt strongly compelled to take up the cause and do what they could to help gay men. Women gathered together and organized blood drives, fundraisers, and other volunteer opportunities to help gay men with AIDS. The AIDS crisis among other things helped to unite the LGBTQ+ community during the 1980s into one powerful force. Lesbian efforts to help gay men came from a place of compassion and proved extremely helpful during this dangerous time.<sup>365</sup>

The government and the rest of the American public was less helpful. Ronald Reagan made almost no effort to assist in efforts to curb the spread of AIDS. He refused to acknowledge it for years and AIDS research remained chronically underfunded despite the fact that tens of thousands of people were dying.<sup>366</sup> Historian Lucas Richert has argued that Reagan greatly



mismanaged the AIDS crisis and his lack of proactive action exacerbated the disaster.<sup>367</sup> Other politicians advocated for the reinstatement of anti-sodomy laws and many people thought that AIDS was a punishment for the immoral behavior of homosexual men. AIDS had a devastating impact on the LGBTQ+ community. One gay judge from New York City, Richard Failla, said, “The psychological impact of AIDS on the gay community is tremendous. It has done more to undermine the feelings of self-esteem than anything Anita Bryant could have ever done. Some people are saying ‘Maybe we are wrong- maybe this is a punishment.’”<sup>368</sup>

While Sapphic women struggled with danger and discrimination during the 1980s they did begin to make more films about LBPQ+ women. While some films came out before then it was not until the 1980s that a large number began to be released. There were not many Sapphic films made in the 1980s especially not by gay creators. One of the most impactful lesbian films of the decade was *Desert Hearts*. *Desert Hearts* was a film made in 1986 based upon a novel by Jane Rule and directed by Donna Deitch, both gay women. It was about a college professor named Vivian Bell who traveled to Nevada for the summer where she developed a relationship with Cay Rivers, a local confident lesbian.<sup>369</sup> It was a successful film, grossing nearly twice its budget.<sup>370</sup> The film was one of the earliest movies made by LBPQ+ creators to portray a lesbian relationship in a positive and supportive way. The love story of the film would have been socially acceptable had it not been between two women. While it does not push far in terms of content that would be viewed as controversial it was kind and respectful of its Sapphic characters.

*The Color Purple* was a 1985 film directed and adapted by men based upon the book by Alice Walker. It was about a woman named Celie and it followed her throughout her long and difficult life. During the story, she fell in love and had a relationship with a singer named Shug Avery.<sup>371</sup> The film was directed by Stephen Spielberg and starred famous actors such as Whoopi Goldberg, Danny Glover, and Oprah Winfrey. It was very successful, well-reviewed, and became a very high-grossing film.<sup>372</sup> The film heavily downplayed the relationship between Celie and Shug to the point that it could almost be overlooked. However, it did preserve many themes of the original story such as the focus on Black women, the strength of women even in the face of the struggles of racism, misogyny, and poverty and the importance of relationships between women. While the film limited its lesbian themes it was still an important movie about women.

*She Must Be Seeing Things* was made in 1987 and it was different from *Desert Hearts* and

The Color Purple as it showed a less positive and more controversial illustration of a Sapphic relationship. It was a film about two women, Agatha, a lawyer, and Jo, a filmmaker.<sup>373</sup> When Agatha found a journal about Jo's past relationships with men she became suspicious that Jo was cheating on her with a man. Her jealousy seemed to be portrayed as mostly unfounded though the film was somewhat ambiguous. In the end the two were able to connect and repair their relationship from the strain that had occurred.<sup>374</sup> *She Must Be Seeing Things* was directed by Shelia McLaughlin, a lesbian, feminist filmmaker. The film's expression of sexuality is somewhat darker and less positive than other films from around the same period which led to some criticism from viewers. As Alison Darren notes in her book, *Lesbian Film Guide*, many lesbians were unhappy with the film as they believed that it had negative, stereotypical portrayals of Sapphic women and catered to heterosexuals.<sup>375</sup>

*Desert Hearts*, *The Color Purple*, and *She Must Be Seeing Things* displayed the ways that Sapphic creators sought to tell their stories and how the politics and culture during the time period affected LBPQ+ women. *Desert Hearts* was a film that showed an authentic and positive depiction of a lesbian relationship. The director, Dietch, committed completely to making this film because she believed that it was a story that had not yet been told. Dietch stated that all other films seemed to be tragic or catering towards heterosexual audiences.<sup>376</sup> Dietch devoted herself to fundraising, and she was so dedicated to the project that she campaigned for years and eventually sold her own house to help cover the costs.<sup>377</sup> Since *Desert Hearts* was made by Sapphic women, it had a more authentic and honest portrayal that didn't rely on popular narratives about the struggles of being gay and the perceived inherent tragedy of living as a lesbian. While *The Color Purple* was written by Alice Walker, a Sapphic woman, it was only adapted from her work so her influence was limited. The lesbian relationship within the film was mostly subtext because it was a mainstream film in a homophobic society that was already pushing boundaries by focusing on Black women. *She Must Be Seeing Things* was an attempt by a lesbian filmmaker to diversify representations of LBPQ+ women, but it was not supported by many lesbians because it contained negative stereotypes. Lesbians may have reacted more strongly to this because of the homophobia within society. Lesbians felt pressured to support only positive representations of themselves as negative misinformation would reinforce the negative opinions of straight audiences towards LGBTQ+ people. There were undesirable

stereotypes within the movie such as the notion that women will always be attracted to men in some way. While stereotypes do represent the experiences of some people, many others feel compelled to distance themselves from “those kinds of people” who fit stereotypes considered negative by mainstream society. However, lesbian audiences may have been less concerned by this if homophobia was not a dangerous ever-present reality in their lives. Ultimately, it is clear within these films that they were made by Sapphic women and they are influenced by these women’s experiences in the 1980s.

Distinctly different from these movies were those made by men and heterosexual women during the same time period. The 1982 movie, *Personal Best* was a partially positive portrayal of Sapphic women, but it had a limited perspective emblematic of its heterosexual, male creators and the time period. *Personal Best* was about two women, both aspiring Olympic track athletes, named Chris Cahill and Tory Skinner who fell in love. Their relationship was pulled apart by their coach’s interference, and Chris fell in love with a male athlete but the two ended on good terms.<sup>378</sup> The movie was unsuccessful and did not come close to making back its budget.<sup>379</sup> Audiences did not flock to see *Personal Best* as it alienated both straight and gay audiences. The film did show Sapphic women and Chris was happy. But Tory was ignored for most of the film and by the end there were not any people in Sapphic relationships which freed the creators of the film from fully saying that LBQP+ women can be in happy and fulfilling relationships.<sup>380</sup> There were several scenes containing nudity. Many of these nude scenes were non-sexual which could be viewed as a progressive idea of portraying the human body. However, despite the fact that this nudity was non-sexual it would still be sexualized by audiences. The filmmakers’ intentions became even clearer in their poster which featured the actress who played Chris in a wet t-shirt leaning backwards with her eyes closed and mouth open in the arms of the actress who played Tory. This image was paired with the tagline, “How do you compete with a body you’ve already surrendered to your opponent?”<sup>381</sup> The poster looked very voyeuristic and seemed clearly intended to intrigue its audience with taboo sexual imagery. *Personal Best* was a movie that showed being a gay woman as a struggle with no happy and successful gay relationship. While it had some positive aspects, it was also voyeuristic and included stereotypes.

The 1980 film, *Windows*, was more negative in its portrayal of a lesbian. It was about a woman, Emily, who was sexually assaulted by a strange man. This man was hired by her lesbian

neighbor, Andrea, who was in love with her and wanted a recording of her moaning. Andrea also murdered Emily's cat and neighbor, spied on Emily, and took her prisoner in an effort to get closer to her.<sup>382</sup> This film was protested by gay rights activists for its dreadful stereotypes of lesbians.<sup>383</sup> *Windows* perpetuates the notion of the dangerous predatory lesbian who preys on innocent straight women which was a common stereotype that inspired fear of lesbians.<sup>384</sup> It was a fairly unsuccessful film that was generally disliked by critics. Overall, it was a film that featured an insulting and dangerous portrayal of a lesbian.

The 1980s were a very difficult time for LGBTQ+ people. There was a rise of a new tide of conservatism and homophobia and the impacts of AIDS served to feed into homophobic notions while taking the lives of thousands of people. The gay community grew stronger and more unified and there were efforts by activists to further the cause of gay rights. Films made by gay women generally sought to portray Sapphic relationships in a more authentic way than had previously been shown. Most of the films made by Sapphic and non-Sapphic people were on the surface positive but many of them still perpetuated negative stereotypes such as crazy lesbians and lesbians that were secretly straight. Overall the films from this period commonly portrayed romantic relationships that would have been generally non-threatening if they had not been between two women. The 1990s were a distinctly different time characterized by a changing of the tides of history and more unique, diverse films that were unlike those made during the 1980s.

Following Ronald Reagan's terms in office, George H.W. Bush, another Republican, was elected president. However, due to a recession caused by financial practices during the Reagan administration, Bush lost public favor. In the next election, the American people voted for a Democrat, Bill Clinton. Clinton instituted several new progressive policies and appointed several minorities and liberal people to government positions.<sup>385</sup> But, as the recession continued into 1994, Clinton began to lose popularity.<sup>386</sup> This led to rise of conservatism led by Representative Newt Gingrich who created what he called the "Contract with America." It sought to limit the size of government, end environmental regulations, reduce the welfare system, and end affirmative action. However, the American people did not support this, and Gingrich lost popularity when Congress was unable to agree upon a budget. Despite the fact that the United States experienced an economic boom and recovered from the recession, wealth inequality began to grow as the poor and middle class began to fall further below the wealthy. Clinton's

presidency ended in controversy when he was tried for carrying on affair with Monica Lewinsky, a White House intern and committing perjury during his testimony. However, he was acquitted of this charge.<sup>387</sup> Before the end of the Clinton administration significant legislation passed which greatly affected LGBTQ+ people.

From its inception in 1994 to its ending in 2011, Don't Ask Don't Tell (DADT) was a policy that drew controversy from all sides. For decades, gay people had been banned from or discriminated against within the military. DADT stated that LGBTQ+ people were allowed to serve in the military if they did not discuss their sexuality or romantic life. Other members of the military were not allowed to discriminate or harass any people that were gay or suspected of being gay.<sup>388</sup> This was a compromise that allowed gay people to be relatively protected in the military while not fully alienating homophobic military and political figures. Conservatives disapproved because they viewed LGBTQ+ people as, among other things, predatory, promiscuous, and immoral. DADT had very real consequences for LGBTQ+ people. Thousands of people were discharged from the military in between 1994 and 2011 for being gay or suspected of being gay. A disproportionate number of these people were women.<sup>389</sup> Ultimately it was a damaging policy that, while it did offer some protections to gay people, it restricted people's freedoms, caused over ten thousand people to lose their jobs, and still resulted in insecurity for gay people.

During the 1990s there was some progress towards marriage equality as the case of *Baehr v. Lewin* traveled through the Hawaiian court system. After three same gender couples applied for marriage licenses the case started and it debated whether or not the state could constitutionally deny homosexual couples the right to get married. There was a commission created within the Hawaiian government that suggested that there should be a domestic partnership system that extended benefits similar to those from marriage to same-sex couples.<sup>390</sup> Ultimately, very little significant legal impact was made from this case and gay marriage was not legalized in Hawaii until 2013. However, the case did worry many people who were opposed to marriage equality but it represented one of the first significant victories towards the legalization of same-sex marriage. In 1996, there was a Republican majority in Congress that feared some states would begin to legalize same-sex marriage so Representative Bob Barr proposed the Defense of Marriage Act also known as DOMA. This bill said that states did not have to

recognize marriages between people of the same gender even if they were legal in other states. Furthermore it defined marriage on a federal level as between a man and a woman and denied gay and lesbian couples any of the benefits or privileges that were extended to heterosexual married couples. Ultimately, the law passed in 1996.<sup>391</sup> DOMA slowed efforts for marriage equality and domestic partnership laws.

Despite the danger and tragedy that existed in the world for LGBTQ+ people filmmakers continued to develop their art. During the 1990s there were an increasing number of films made by Sapphic creators that authentically and positively portrayed romantic relationships between LBPQ+ women. *Late Bloomers* was a 1996 movie that showed a positive romantic relationship and it addressed the movement for legal same-gender marriage. It was about a married school secretary named Carly who began a relationship with the basketball coach, Dinah, at her school when they began to play basketball together. The two women grew stronger as their relationship developed but when word got out about their relationship they were humiliated harassed and fired. Despite all of this Carly and Dinah decided to stay together and at the end of the film they got symbolically married.<sup>392</sup> This film sought to address some of the issues that were facing LBPQ+ women at the time. It portrayed the kind of workplace discrimination that greatly inhibited the economic opportunities of lesbians. In addition to this the film featured a lesbian wedding at a time when gay marriage was beginning to gain traction but the backlash against it was also developing. The movie showed sympathetic characters in a healthy and relatable romance. It showed that they should not have experienced the kinds of struggles that they did.

Far more dangerous crises faced the LGBTQ+ community than the fight for marriage equality. Reparative or Conversion Therapy was a pseudo-scientific practice designed to change people's gender or sexuality to make them cisgender, someone who is the gender they were assigned at birth, and or heterosexual. This practice experienced a resurgence in the 1990's with prominently placed add campaigns and supportive new stories.<sup>393</sup> Many organizations that practiced conversion therapy did so for religious beliefs but there were also secular organizations designed to change people. These organizations use a variety of different practices because conversion therapy is not accepted by mainstream medical organizations so it has no common guidelines or procedures. Different individuals and organizations offer inpatient and outpatient services. Some techniques that have been used in conversion therapy during the twentieth and

twenty-first century included aversion therapy, talk therapy, and in some cases electroconvulsive therapy.<sup>394</sup> Many programs have used tactics designed to humiliate patients and destroy their self-image which has been shown to be very damaging. The American Psychological Association (APA) has denounced conversion therapy as homosexuality is not a disease and efforts to alter sexuality have not been proved effective. The APA has shown that those who experience conversion therapy are 8.9 times more likely to attempt suicide.<sup>395</sup> As of September 2017, nine states as well as several counties and cities within the United States have banned conversion therapy for minors. Despite changing attitudes in the 2010s, conversion therapy has created a legacy that has affected public perceptions and personal lives of LGBTQ+.

But I'm a Cheerleader was a 1999 film about a cheerleader named Megan who was sent to a gay conversion camp after her family and friends all concluded that she was a lesbian. While she was utterly convinced that she was straight after she arrived she met a group of gay and lesbian teens and engaged in a variety of activities intended to make the young people straight. All of this was unsuccessful, and Megan began a relationship with Graham, another lesbian at the camp, and together they embraced their sexualities and fell in love.<sup>396</sup> The film was a zany comedy starring RuPaul, a famous gay celebrity, as one of the camp administrators. But I'm a Cheerleader took a truly terrible situation that resulted in death and serious harm to many LGBTQ+ young people and turned it into a comedy that satirized this practice. It systematically showed that trying to make someone straight was ridiculous and cruel. But I'm a Cheerleader and Late Bloomers portrayed a positive example of a romance between lesbians. These movies helped to normalize lesbian life for Sapphic women as well as for all audiences. The desire to normalize gay life was common among Sapphic women for decades which resulted in many films like these, but other filmmakers were not concerned with appearing normal.

In the 1990s, increasing numbers of LGBTQ+ filmmakers created movies unlike those of the past decades and they were known as part of a movement called New Queer Cinema. New Queer Cinema did not consider it important to have happy endings or respectable characters; they sought to create more complex and diverse examinations of sexuality.<sup>397</sup> Conservative audiences viewed them as pornographic and some gay audiences viewed them as confusing, overly negative, or sexist and racist. New Queer Cinema drew its roots from the AIDS crisis, the renewed activism that came after it, and the activist movies made about AIDS. These activists,

hardened from the AIDS crisis used these films to explore their world. New Queer Cinema was characterized by its defiance against societal norms and its audacious style of storytelling. It mixed different genres and narrative formats to cause audiences to question and examine the nature of storytelling.<sup>398</sup> New Queer Cinema's rebellious style was a reaction against homophobic society and against respectable, upper class gay society.<sup>399</sup> New Queer Cinema was a significant and defiant movement that produced many notable films during the 1990s.

In 1997, Cheryl Dunye wrote and directed a notable film from the New Queer Cinema movement entitled *The Watermelon Woman*. This made her the first Black lesbian who was public about her sexuality to direct a film that was distributed in the United States.<sup>400</sup> This movie was partially shot in a documentary style. It was about a woman named Cheryl who worked at a video store to support her documentary about Fae Richards, a forgotten Black actress from the 1940s.<sup>401</sup> This movie has a unique exploration of identity. It was outwardly about a Black woman making a film to explore the life of a woman that she strongly identified with; both of them were Black lesbians in the film industry who were unappreciated. Cheryl felt a kinship with Fae and became almost obsessively invested in telling her story. The character of Cheryl seems, at best, a loosely fictional persona based heavily on Dunye's own feelings and experiences. Through this film she was able to make a statement about her own sense of identity as a Black, lesbian, feminist filmmaker.

During the 1990s several films were made that featured not just one Sapphic woman or a couple but circles of friends who were all or basically all Sapphic women. These films were all made by Sapphic women and they appealed uniquely to lesbian audiences because they featured large groups of gay women and had a distinctly gay voice that spoke to humor and culture that blossomed in communities of LBPQ+ women. *Go Fish* was a movie from 1994 that was loosely based upon the experiences of the creators living in the Chicago lesbian community. It was about a lesbian named Max who was set up on a date with a woman named Ely who she initially did not find attractive but together they worked through their issues with one another and began a relationship. This story was only a portion of the film which featured a large number of Sapphic characters and, through a series of meta-theatrical conventions that frequently broke the fourth wall, it expressed experiences and problems of lesbians at the time. It included one scene where a group of gay women gathered in a classroom to discuss lesbians from history.<sup>402</sup> This scene



addressed the paucity of lesbian figures in history and present society due to the dismissal and erasure of lesbian women. These women felt the desire to be represented and to see themselves reflected in their society. They wished to claim their own roots with the history of humanity. It includes many jokes specific to the Sapphic community about love, sex, and dating. While it has also appealed to straight audiences its main draw has been with LBPQ+ women because of its clear and distinct understanding of their experiences.<sup>403</sup>

As Alison Darren noted the director of a film called *Bar Girls*, Marita Giovanni, intended her movie to be not a “coming out” but a “being out” film.<sup>404</sup> In many ways this is precisely the reason for the appeal of films like this. Rather than showing one or two women trying to come to terms with their sexuality they show a whole group of women who already know who they are. This made the film free to tell other types of stories about other problems that may or may not be specific to lesbians. Creating a “being out” movie allowed the creator to tell stories about gay women that may or may not be about their sexuality, it opened the film up to a greater range of stories but despite this, “being out” films were not very common. They also appealed to Sapphic audiences because they usually included many queer characters as well as jokes and political topics that were specific to LBPQ+ women. These films and others like them represented a distinctly different tone that clearly showed the impact of their Sapphic creators.

The 1990s also saw an increase in films about Sapphic women that were not made by Sapphic creators. While some of these films were positive representations of lesbians many of them played upon stereotypes of gay women and tropes of the genre. Among these movies were several that featured incredibly tragic stories. While films like *Gia* and *Set It Off* often portrayed gay women as sympathetic characters their lives were always extraordinarily sad. *Gia* was a 1998 film that dramatized the life and career of Gia Caragni, often considered to be one of the first super models. The film illustrated her difficult relationships with her family, her rapid rise to fame, her bisexuality, her drug abuse, and her eventual death as a result of AIDS related complications that she contracted from her drug use.<sup>405</sup> This film was a TV movie made through HBO; it was quite successful as it won two Golden Globes and one Emmy for acting. The film’s portrayal of Gia’s relationship with her girlfriend was not very positive and showed Gia as an aggressive and unpleasant partner. While this and the excessively tragic story could be justified by the fact that it is based upon a true story the creators still bear some blame for this. The

filmmakers chose to tell this story rather than one about someone else and they also edited some details of her life story for dramatic effect including in ways that were not flattering to her memory. *Set It Off* was a movie from 1996 about four black women Stony, Cleo, Frankie, and T.T., who were in desperate need of money due to a series of unfortunate circumstances that, for the most part, stem from the fact that they were impoverished, Black, women. The four women robbed a bank, but discord spread in the group, the crimes became more violent, and a detective caught them. This eventually led to the deaths of three of them.<sup>406</sup> In the film, Queen Latifah played a lesbian named Cleo. Cleo was very butch and quite stereotypically so. She was portrayed as quick tempered, violent, controlling, and disrespectful towards women. Then, at the end of the film, she died. While in some ways these films showed queer characters as sympathetic people in tragic situations, their problems could be blamed upon their own actions. At the end of their films, Gia and Cleo died, which was a tactic used in many early films about LGBTQ+ characters as a means of avoiding controversy. Movies included gay characters but their stories were tragic and usually ended in their own death or the death of their love as a way to punish the character for being gay and to show that the movie did not support homosexuality.<sup>407</sup> Repetitive imagery like this was very demoralizing for gay women to watch, especially young gay women, because it reinforced the idea that their life would be terrible and heartbreaking because of their sexuality which they had been taught was wrong. Positive validation of their love was important for lesbian youth.<sup>408</sup> At this time there were many competing narratives about Sapphic women that had a strong influence on society.

While lesbians had been viewed as mentally ill or a threat to male privilege with their sexuality that excluded men, that all changed; to some people lesbians became fashionable. United States society began to sexualize lesbians. A certain type of lesbian became sexy: one who was beautiful, femme, white, and upper class. She was exceptionally attractive and as gender conforming and “straight” as possible.<sup>409</sup> While the butch lesbian was the popular stereotype of lesbians, the media was almost completely devoid of butch lesbians and instead filled with attractive femme lesbians. Lesbian chic symbolically began in 1993 when k.d. lang appeared on the cover of *Newsweek* and even more infamously when she appeared that year on the cover of *Vanity Fair* with Cindy Crawford dressed in a bathing suit shaving her face.<sup>410</sup> It was during this time that there was a rise in more palatable representations of lesbians. When Ellen

DeGeneres came out, was publically honest about her sexuality, in 1997, she appeared on the cover of Time magazine with more makeup and jewelry than usual. This made her appear more feminine and not like a threatening lesbian. Ann Ciasullo argued in her article, “Making Her (In)Visible: Cultural Representations of Lesbianism and the Lesbian Body in the 1990s” that this was emblematic of the trend at the time to use femininity to make lesbians appear acceptable and to purify the concept of lesbianism. Ciasullo argued that there was a large movement in the 1990s to make the lesbian appear more beautiful, more feminine, whiter, and less political than the man-hating butch that had been society’s image of a lesbian for decades. Lesbians may be hyper sexualized for a variety of reasons. Possibly it is that women are attractive so two women is twice as attractive. It may also be that a lesbian who is acceptably feminine and attractive to men may be considered someone that they could win over. She may say that she is a lesbian but maybe there is some way for that man to convince her to choose him, an exciting challenge.<sup>411</sup> During the 1990s, a new image of lesbians entered the public conscious and lesbians became fashionable and desirable.

In the films *Basic Instinct* from 1992 and *Chasing Amy* from 1997, both written and directed by men, women’s same-sex attraction is ignored and used as a voyeuristic gimmick. In *Basic Instinct* a detective named Nick was investigating a woman named Catherine. He was attracted to her but convinced that she murdered her boyfriend. She was also involved with a woman named Roxy. Both of the women were conventionally attractive and the romantic aspect of their relationship seemed nonexistent.<sup>412</sup> The relationship added little if any to the film or the character it seems as though the relationship was merely used for titillation of the audience and Nick through the hypersexualized and taboo idea of two women together. This illustrates the ways that Sapphic women, and in this case bisexual women, were sexualized and used as ploy.

*Chasing Amy* was the story of a comic book artist named Holden who met another comic book artist named Alyssa who he was attracted to, however she was a lesbian but he continued to pursue her anyway. However, Holden succeeded in “getting the girl” in the end.<sup>413</sup> The character of Alyssa is every stereotype of the “cool lesbian;” she can hang out with the guys, joke about having sex with women, and drink beer while still being a beautiful girl. She is shown to have very little identity out of being Holden’s cool lesbian crush. Her career, her interests, and her girlfriend, are all but completely ignored. She lived out the lesbophobic idea of a lesbian who

just needed the right man to make her straight. Holden was only offended by the possibility that she might have slept with men before him, he didn't take any of her relationships with women seriously. He considered her a "virgin," and believed he would be the first man to sleep with her. The movie claims to be an example of sexual fluidity but Alyssa's preferences are poorly expressed and unestablished early in the film so it fails to properly portray a woman attracted to more than one gender. Not only was it lesbophobic it was also homophobic. The one gay man in the film, Hooper, was a flamboyant stereotype of a gay man. In addition to this Holden's friend and fellow comic book artist, Banky, was upset with Holden for ignoring him to pursue Alyssa. This and the fact that Banky was homophobic was considered evidence that Banky was secretly gay. The idea that homophobic people are secretly gay is negative because it implies that homophobia is a problem that is only within the gay community and it absolves straight people of responsibility for this bigoted and oppressive system. Holden's solution to losing his best friend and girlfriend was to have a three-way with both of them so that Banky could begin being gay and Holden would be as sexually experienced as Alyssa and he wouldn't be threatened by her. In these three cases the film showed a clear disrespect for gay people by portraying them only as negative stereotypes. Near the end of the movie a man told Holden the story of his ex-girlfriend Amy and the moral of the story and the movie as a whole was to tell men that if they just keep trying women will love them.<sup>414</sup> *Chasing Amy* includes a woman that fits into the phenomenon of the "consumable lesbian" that was observed by Ciasullo in her article.<sup>415</sup> Alyssa was beautiful, white, feminine, and her sexuality was non-threatening to men. She offered the possibility that she could become straight at any time and in turn perpetuated the notion that this could be true of any real life lesbian.

Not all of the films made by non-Sapphic creators during this time were negative. In the 1995 film *Boys on the Side*, Whoopi Goldberg starred as a lesbian singer named Jane. Jane went on a road trip with two other women, Holly and Robin. Eventually the three of them moved into a home together in Arizona, and Jane fell in love with Robin. Robin was dying of AIDS, and Jane's love for her never materialized into a large plot within the film.<sup>416</sup> Overall, Goldberg was presented as totally desexualized, and her love for Robin was severely toned down. However it featured a strong emphasis on female friendships and the strength of women. It also included a cameo by the Indigo Girls, a notable lesbian musical group. *Boys on the Side* depicted Jane in a

positive way, but it did show her sexuality in the most invisible and nonthreatening way that it could. While there were some good films made by non-Sapphic filmmakers during the 1990s many films about LBQP+ women were negative, stereotypical, and discriminatory. Sapphic creators made films that positively and authentically represented their identity and complex films that examined and dissected lesbian identity. The 2000s led to a change of politics and change of films that represented a complex diversifying of the kinds of LBQP+ media that was produced.

The 2000s ushered in a new era of activism and politics. The main narrative about LGBTQ+ politics became focused on the movement for gay marriage. Before the 1990s many gay people fought for the end of laws like anti-sodomy policies that restricted gay peoples' ability to live in peace. During the 1990s and 2000s LGBTQ+ people fought to be able to participate in society and in many institutions that they had been previously excluded from.<sup>417</sup> Following the passage of the Defense of Marriage Act several states passed laws that created domestic partnerships, non-marital unions that extended some of the benefits of marriage to gay couples, but several other states passed their own laws that defined marriage as between a man and a woman. Conservative backlash began to grow when Massachusetts became the first state to legalize same-sex marriage in 2003. During the next four years the majority of states changed their constitutions and created laws that impeded the path towards marriage equality. Most Americans were opposed to gay marriage and President George W. Bush supported a constitutional amendment to define marriage as between only a man and a woman.<sup>418</sup> It took a great deal of effort from LGBTQ+ activists to change public perception of gay marriage and eventually cause legalization in individual states and finally across the nation. In June 2015 in the case of *Obergefell v. Hodges* the Supreme Court ruled that the Constitution guarantees the right for all citizens to marry regardless of gender. But it took the work of many dedicated activists who came before to lead to nation-wide marriage equality.

Laurel Hester was one these activists who advanced efforts for marriage equality. She was a police detective in New Jersey. During her time at Stockton State College she helped to found the school's first gay student organization. She did so under a false name until she was inadvertently exposed. She continued to participate in the organization but it did result in her losing her internship with the local police department. In 1982 she began her career with the Ocean County police department. While her bosses were aware she was a lesbian she was

required to remain closeted to keep her job. Hester had wanted to be a police officer since she was a child and she worked with the department for decades.<sup>419</sup> In 1999, she met Stacie Andree and the two of them fell in love, purchased a home, and became domestic partners in 2004. That year, Hester was diagnosed with lung cancer. As her condition worsened she became concerned that Andree would not be able to afford their home after her death. In New Jersey at the time it was up to the discretion of local governments to extend pension benefits to domestic partners. The government of Ocean County had elected not to do this and they ignored repeated pleas from Hester and the police union. Even when she appeared before the governing board, The Board of Chosen Freeholders, in person the entirely male and Republican group voted to deny her. One freeholder clearly showed that his opposition was due to the fact that they were a lesbian couple.<sup>420</sup> Her case gained media and support from various gay rights groups. After all of this pressure was placed upon the Freeholders, they finally capitulated just a few weeks before her death in 2006 at the age of 49.<sup>421</sup> She had wanted to counsel LGBTQ+ youth after her time on the police force, but she died before she could so a scholarship was set up in her honor after her death.<sup>422</sup> Her work and the work of other gay activists who helped her gained a lot of media attention and heralded an important victory in the fight for gay rights, domestic partnerships, and marriage equality. Her legacy had an incredible impact on the politics and the gay rights movement during the time.

The early twenty-first century saw the rise of a variety of new and types of films. The period of New Queer Cinema had ended. There were increasing numbers of films about queer women, made by both Sapphic and non-Sapphic creators. There were many positive romantic films during this period. The 2004 film *Saving Face* was a romantic comedy about a young surgeon in New York named Wil. She came from a traditional Chinese-American family. At a gathering organized by the Chinese community within New York she met a dancer named Vivian and they fell in love but their relationship fell apart because Wil feared publically expressing their love.<sup>423</sup> Wil's mother, Gao, was disowned by the family because she became pregnant with a new child despite being an unmarried widow. Gao accepted a proposal from a man that had loved her even though she did not love him but thanks to Wil she ran away from the wedding and united with the father of her baby who she truly loved. At another gathering like the one that they met at Wil publically danced with Vivian and they began their relationship again.<sup>424</sup> The story of

Wil and her mother parallel one another as both of them found love in way that was controversial and rejected within their community. Both of them found their strength to believe that love was more important than living up to others expectations. In addition to that the mother and daughter strengthened their relationship and embraced the importance of honesty, love, and acceptance. The movie was a very personal story for its writer and director Alice Wu. The story was very similar to her own experiences coming out to her mother. Throughout the process of making the film she was pressured by others to make the film whiter and straighter but she remained committed to telling her story her way and authentically representing her experiences as a Chinese-American lesbian, this was her passion project.<sup>425</sup> The film was distributed through Sony which showed a growing acceptance from mainstream studios to produce films starring LGBTQ+ characters.

The film *Carol* based on the book *The Price of Salt*, also known as *Carol*, by Patricia Highsmith premiered in 2015. The movie was set in the 1950s and it was about a department store clerk named Therese who fell in love with a housewife in the process of getting divorced named Carol. The two of them went a road trip together and when their relationship became sexual they were exposed and Carol's husband used it evidence against her for their divorce. Carol broke off her relationship with Therese and returned home to sort through her divorce. Carol lost custody of her daughter, she was alone, and her life had fallen apart. Therese ended her relationship with her boyfriend and took time to grow on her own and then Carol sought her out and the two reconnected their relationship.<sup>426</sup> The movie starred Cate Blanchett and Rooney Mara, two famous actresses at the time, and it was quite successful with a budget of just under twelve million and gross of over forty million within six months.<sup>427</sup> The film treated the main characters realistically and sympathetically as complex and fully formed characters. It preserved most of Highsmith's original story and characterization. Overall it was an adaption that sought to authentically portray how a lesbian had viewed her world during the 1950s. *Saving Face* and *Carol* were both romantic films that positively portrayed lesbians and showed the unique insight that Sapphic creators had in the creation of films about LBPQ+ women.

During the 2000s and early 2010s, increasing numbers of men and straight women created films about Sapphic women. Some of these were positive but as they had done in previous decades many of them perpetuated stereotypes and tropes about gay women. *Kissing*

Jessica Stein was a movie from 2001 about a woman named Jessica Stein who was unlucky in her relationships with men so she decided to have a relationship with a woman. She met a lady named Heather Cooper and their relationship developed well but it was mostly nonsexual and it was implied that Jessica had little to no attraction to other women. As the movie progressed their relationship dissolved, they broke up, and in the final scene Jessica met up with Heather in a café to chat excitedly about successfully flirting with a man she was interested in.<sup>428</sup> The movie was ostensibly about bisexual women but there was no evidence that before or after the events of the film Jessica had any interest in dating women. It seems as though she chose to date a woman to try it out not because she was really interested in women. At the end of the movie she returned to dating women and had a good friendship with her ex-girlfriend. Ultimately, her romantic relationship with Heather is shown to be basically a friendship. According to *Kissing Jessica Stein* a woman can choose to be bisexual and then choose not to be. It reinforces the idea that all women will eventually be attracted to men and any love for women is only a phase.

In 2015, the movie *Freeheld* premiered. It was an adaptation of the life of Laurel Hester. It told the story of her relationship with Stacie Andree, her illness and fight to be granted equal rights, and her eventual death.<sup>429</sup> *Freeheld*, like *Gia* before it, was a very tragic film based upon the story of a real LBPQ+ woman who died. *Freeheld* unlike *Gia* included many positive moments from Hester's life but in some ways it did merely show another tragic film about the struggles of being gay. But the film did make an effort to illustrate a happy and successful lesbian romance. It showed the progression of Laurel and Stacie's romance and featured heart-warming scenes showing them buying a home, getting a dog, and registering their domestic partnership together. The film featured famous actresses, Julianne Moore and Ellen Page, who created a believable relationship. The inclusion of Page in the project was especially notable as in the previous year she had come out as a lesbian and begun using her position as a celebrity to appeal for gay rights. The film hired two skilled and famous actresses to portray Hester and Andree's relationship is an uplifting and supportive way. While the first half of the film illustrated this side of the story the second half was ostensibly about Hester's fight for equal rights and her death but it instead focused on her partner at the police department Dane Wells and his support of the couple. For the majority of the remainder of the film Dane, a straight man, and his efforts to help Laurel became the center of the movie. *Freeheld* was a movie that should have



honored the legacy of a lesbian who advanced the cause for gay rights and marriage equality but instead it became a movie about how helpful and important a straight man was in the movement for equality. It seemed clear that the movie had straight not gay audiences in mind as it decided to spend so much time praising a man for his role as an ally rather than telling the courageous story of the brave women who devoted so much of their time and energy to winning the rights that they deserved. Freeheld did have a positive lesbian romance that was a major focus of the plot but it also devoted a lot of time to placating its straight audience with a hero for them to identify with.

The films made by both Sapphic and non-Sapphic creators showed a significant change during this period from those made during the 1980s and 90s. Films made by gay women about gay women increased in number and they featured increasing racial diversity in films such as *Saving Face* though the majority of films continued to feature white women. Many of the films featured some of the political storylines from the 1990s and some of the positivity of the 1980s but the main difference was the sheer number of films that were made. This trend was also noticeable in the films made by non-Sapphic creators. As LBPQ+ women gained more acceptance in society there were more films that featured lesbian characters. There were more movies made by men and straight women that were supportive of LBPQ+ women but many films still contained lesbophobic and misogynistic plot lines and techniques but they were subtler as evidenced by *Kissing Jessica Stein* and *Freeheld*. While creators may have had good or bad intentions they still created lesbophobic films. People grew more tolerant of lesbians and overtly homophobic stances became less socially acceptable and people's homophobia became quieter and better hidden.

From 1980 to 2017 the United States underwent great political and social change. Conservative forces rose to power and life was especially difficult for LGBTQ+ but gay and lesbian activists united in solidarity to help one another. As the 1990s began gay rights advocates fought for gay people to have the right to participate openly in society and have rights equal to their heterosexual counterparts. Among these rights that people wished to have was the right to marry who they chose to. This gained significant attention and momentum over the years, and in 2015, the Supreme Court ruled that people had the constitutional right to marry anyone regardless of their gender. During this time, LGBTQ+ people experienced great tragedy and

persistent homophobia which has continued into 2017 and which has impeded their ability to find happiness and equality but it also helped to strengthen and unite gay people into a strong political force. LGBTQ+ people in particular women experienced struggles and misfortunes around the turn of the century in the United States and this has shaped the public's perception of LBPQ+ women and the way that LBPQ+ women view themselves and this has been reflected in the progression of media created about Sapphic women.

1980 through 2017 saw many films about Sapphic women. As film critic Alison Darren said in summary of typical depictions of lesbians,

“To put it mildly, lesbian have been inadequately served by the cinema. Misrepresented and misunderstood, the images we have seen – when they have existed at all – have presented a sad gallery of interesting losers, victims, killers, neurotics, drug addicts, prostitutes and so on... Our fate has included humiliation, rape, miraculous conversion to heterosexuality or, if not, death.”<sup>430</sup>

Those made by Sapphic women tended to tell authentic stories that represented their experiences as gay women. Movies from the 1980s normalized lesbian life. 1990s films showed more controversial stories that pushed boundaries to truthfully show the lives of gay women. During the 2000s and 2010s it became easier and more accessible for people to make stories about queer women. As a result there were more films and they told a larger variety of stories about Sapphic life including ones that were, political, romantic, dramatic, about family relationships, and focused on friendship. Films from non-Sapphic creators were distinctively different. Some of them sought to portray lesbians in a way that non-Sapphic people viewed as honest and positive. Others were, intentionally or not, lesbophobic and misogynistic. Overall from 1980 to 2017 while the majority of films about Sapphic characters have included many negative stereotypes they have become less overtly homophobic, more common, and more honest as a result of the work of activists and the advancements of political and cultural efforts to achieve equality for Sapphic women.

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## **Section III: Global History**





## **Reels of Israel: Cinematic Portrayals of the Relationship between Arabs, Americans, and Jews**

**By: Zoe Haengi Wattenberg**

One-hundred years of war, thousands of deaths, and no sensible diplomatic solution, the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians is summarized by the words of a Palestinian agent in the film *Munich*, “home is everything.”<sup>431</sup> This simple concept rests at the heart of the conflict as both the Israeli Jews and the Palestinians want a nation to call their home, and the only reasonable space for both of them is the land surrounding the holy city of Jerusalem. Divided between the Palestinian populated East and the Israeli populated West, Jerusalem remains at the focus of the conflict as the spiritual epicenter of Jewish, Christian, and Muslim biblical tradition. In their efforts to establish, define, and defend their home, both the Israelis and the Palestinians are locked in an ongoing conflict fueled by sentiment and the idea of nationhood.

Israel’s significance to the United States and the Western world evolved throughout the twentieth century, culminating in its position as a strategic partner placed squarely in the center of ongoing political debate in the Middle East. The philosophy of containment during the Cold War and Israel’s position as a buffer for the West from Soviet expansion heightened American interests in the region.<sup>432</sup> Further, The Holocaust served as a catalyst for support to create a Jewish State in Palestine.<sup>433</sup> While at first the creation of a Jewish State was mostly a Zionist cause, the images of concentration camps and Jewish refugees in Newsreels and documentaries after WWII propelled support for a Jewish State into the mainstream. There was no single Hollywood narrative when it came to Israel, but there were reoccurring motifs throughout the films, such as Israel as a refuge for the suffering and an ally against terrorism. However, other films challenged these notions by introducing the conflicting image of Israel as a powerful force of persecution against Palestinians. Depending on someone’s perception, Israel was either the salvation for Jewish refugees fleeing Europe or the conquering nation that forced their way into

an already occupied country, creating just another refugee problem.

Hollywood films about Jews and Israel supported a narrative of American exceptionalism while bolstering support for a Jewish state abroad. After the Holocaust Israel became the fundamental solution to Jewish suffering. Filmmakers used the images of the Nazi death camps to express the need of a Jewish state. In the 1970s and 1980s, the dynamics of Israel in world politics shifted as the Israel-Palestine conflict accelerated. The depiction of Palestinians as terrorists in films continued the narrative of a continued threat to Jewish life and furthered apparent necessity of a stable home in Israel. The role of American characters in films depicting the Holocaust and the Israel-Palestine conflict supported a narrative of the United States as savior and “world’s policeman.” Hollywood’s portrayal of the Jews focused on an understanding of American ideals to appeal to a general audience, while also shaping perception of founding Israel as an American phenomenon, both in its war efforts and in the ongoing peace negotiations.

In the years after WWII, Jewish identity in film formed in relation to the horror of the Holocaust and the political narrative of Israel in the United States. American film depicted the Holocaust as the cause of Jewish suffering, which included both physical and mental pain. As author Julian Levinson discusses in his article “The Maimed Body and the Tortured Soul: Holocaust Survivors in American Film,” the physical pain refers to the depiction of Jews inside concentration camps, and the mental pain is the internal suffering of survivors struggling to assimilate to society.<sup>434</sup> In his article, Levinson establishes a key timeline for understanding films portraying the Holocaust. He notes that in the 1940s and 1950s, American films considered themes of the Holocaust within the broader plot and setting of WWII or the foundation of Israel. While in the 1960s, specifically after the trial of Adolf Eichmann in 1961, the films began to aim at raising awareness of the individual atrocities of the Holocaust.<sup>435</sup> The development of Jewish identity and the role of Israel in film coincided with the shifting image of Jewish suffering.

Academics have debated the purpose of depicting the Holocaust in American film and how that image of the Holocaust reflects the historical event. Many historians and academics criticize filmmakers for trivializing the events of the Holocaust. One of the most adamant voices in these criticisms is Ilan Avisar, who argues that the Holocaust was such a uniquely abhorrent evil that reproducing its images for entertainment undermines its severity.<sup>436</sup> Others, such as Judith E. Doneson and Lawrence Baron, argue that film plays a key role in allowing the mass

public to remember the Holocaust by supporting education and discussion.<sup>437</sup> However, Tim Cole writes about the equation of the Holocaust and the produced image in films in the minds of Americans. He warns that film “attempts to draw simple lessons from this complicated past.”<sup>438</sup> As time progressed, the representation of the Holocaust transitioned from the stories and memories of survivors to the reconstruction of the events in academic studies and popular culture.

Zionists attempted to cultivate the idea that Jewish identity was synonymous with the Jewish state through the use of universalism. Universalism refers to the likeness of all Jews to one another as well as the similarities of Jews to other Westerners. Films used both definitions simultaneously as images of Jews as a unique people victimized by antisemitism coincided with themes reaffirming the idea that Jews were no different than other Western citizens.<sup>439</sup> Using the concept of universalism, supporters of Israel argued that American Jews should care as personally about the Holocaust and Israel as the suffering refugees leaving Europe. However, the question of dual loyalty troubled many American Jews because of their identity as loyal citizens.<sup>440</sup> Dual loyalty, originally an antisemitic term, was the concept that Jews had split loyalty between the Jewish culture and their home country.<sup>441</sup> To dispel the myth of the unpatriotic Jew, films in the 1940s and 1950s portrayed the assimilation of Jews into society as a priority over individual characters in the Holocaust.<sup>442</sup> Looking at how films depicted the Holocaust, the foundation of the State of Israel, and Jewish assimilation into American culture, it is evident that Hollywood contributed to the narrative of Jewish identity and the characterization of the foundation of Israel in Palestine.

### **Portrayals of Jews in Israel and the United States**

The Holocaust served to foster support for the necessity of a Jewish State, which brought the discussion of Zionism and the increasing Israel-Palestine conflict to the forefront after the end of WWII. Overall, Israel’s representation in film was only a simplified version of the historical events of the establishment of the Jewish State and the resulting series of wars between Israel and Palestine. Both Zionists and the Palestinians claimed the land of Israel, located on the southeastern coast of the Mediterranean, bordering Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Egypt, and the Red Sea. Zionism was the political movement for the establishment of a Jewish State founded in 1897

and reached its height between the years of 1942 and 1947.<sup>443</sup> Zionism, like all political ideologies, has developed and changed throughout its existence. In 1917 the British signed the Balfour Declaration, which promised the Zionists a national home in Palestine, but it did not directly specify its borders.<sup>444</sup> The Balfour Declaration charged Jews to move to Palestine, but power still rested with the British in Palestine until the British Mandate ended when the United Nations voted on the Partition of Palestine in 1947, which won by a vote of 33 to 13.<sup>445</sup> As a result, conflict in the area accelerated into a war between the Zionists and the Palestinians.

In 1948, the United States recognized the State of Israel, reaffirming their position in the Middle East as a Western ally. The 1948 war ended without real resolution, as many other major wars followed throughout the twentieth century. Both the Zionists and the Palestinians claimed the land on the premise that they were there first. The Zionists date their presence in the land on the biblical story of Abraham's settlement of Canaan. The Palestinians claimed the land based on their continued residency in the area for thousands of years.<sup>446</sup> Ultimately, the increased persecution of Jews during the twentieth century leading to the events of the Holocaust motivated the Western world's support for the creation of Israel on humanitarian need for a Jewish refuge.<sup>447</sup> The creation of Israel forced around 770,000 Palestinians away from their homes as they fled warzones. Most expected to go back after the violence ended, but Israel's government did not allow them to return, creating a massive refugee problem in the surrounding nations.<sup>448</sup> Israel and Palestine have not yet found peace, and debates over the organization of the land continue today.

Reflecting the narrative of Israel as a home for Jews after increased persecution in Europe, films made in the United States, especially in the 1940s through the 1960s largely supported Jewish migration to Israel and the establishment of the Jewish State. One way that filmmakers attempted to foster support for Israel after its foundation was the idea that all Jews shared in their experience of persecution and the right to a home in Zion. Since the discovery of the horrific operations within the concentration camps during WWII, the Holocaust in the American mind prevailed as the prime example of persecution, hatred, and antisemitism directed squarely at the Jewish people. The majority of films about the Holocaust focused on the plight of the Jews. Films such as *The Juggler*, *Singing in the Dark*, *Gentleman's Agreement*, *Schindler's List*, and others, depicted the Holocaust as a solely Jewish phenomenon. Jewish identity was

eternally linked to the events of the Holocaust, as Jews appeared in film as connected to one another through an understanding of persecution and personal threat. As Michelle Mart poetically writes, “all victims of the Nazis were not Jews, but all Jews were victims.”<sup>449</sup> The universality of the Jews established within films made in the twenty years following the Holocaust shaped the way Jews related to Israel and continued to justify the need for a Jewish State.

As films pushed for a universal understanding of Jewish experience, the Holocaust emerged as a uniting factor between Jews all over the world. In the 1956 film, *Singing in the Dark*, a Jewish Holocaust survivor lives in the United States with amnesia concerning his experience in Europe.<sup>450</sup> He does not remember his name or what happened to him. Throughout the film the characters discuss the importance of memory, urging American Jews to empathize with the Jewish refugees and victims of the Nazis. The film’s emphasis on light and dark throughout the film, representing ignorance and knowledge, suggested that people could not stay blissfully ignorant to painful events, for not having knowledge was a pain in itself. The film encouraged American audiences to be aware of the Holocaust and its lasting effect. As the Holocaust targeted Jews without regard of their origin, the film also suggested that American Jews should personally identify with the victims of the Holocaust even though they did not experience the Holocaust directly. The film mandated that Jews from around the world and from different backgrounds take the genocide as personally as the victims of concentration camps.

The few films that include non-Jewish characters within the concentration camps, including Karel from *The Search* and Sophie from *Sophie’s Choice*, acknowledged Jews as the Nazis primary targets furthering the idea of increased need for a Jewish refuge in Israel. Made in 1948, *The Search*, incorporated the narrative of the universal Jew as the Jewish children in the UNRA camps represented Jewish suffering as a whole and intended to evoke pity from the viewer. American officials send Karel to a UNRRA camp, where the other lost children are primarily Jewish and in the process of emigrating to Palestine. Karel escapes, fearful that this camp might be like the concentration camps where the Nazis initially separated him from his mother. As the son of a politically prominent father, the Nazis imprisoned Karel along with his mother and sister. Similarly, in *Sophie’s Choice*, made in 1982, Sophie was a political objector and therefore considered a threat to the regime. Neither Karel or Sophie are Jewish, yet the Nazis

target them along with the Jews and imprison them in concentration camps.<sup>451</sup> In *Sophie's Choice*, the Nazis forced Sophie to choose which of her two children was to die, leaving Sophie in a deteriorating mental state. In one harrowing scene, Sophie's boyfriend antagonizes her because she survived and so many Jews died. Though *The Search* and *Sophie's Choice* premiered nearly forty years apart, they both depicted prisoners who the Nazis considered political threats, while still highlighting Jews as the prevailing victims of the Holocaust.

With the narrative that the Holocaust targeted Jews above any other people established in American popular culture, Steven Spielberg's popular film, *Schindler's List*, uses the established collective identity and universalism to make a statement for the support of Israel in the 1990s. By the 1990s Israel was a fully established state, allowing filmmakers to look back at the Holocaust's connection to Israel. Spielberg linked Israel to the liberation of concentration camps, reminding viewers in the 1990s of the refugee roots of Israel. In the film's conclusion, a Soviet officer rides into the factory, and exclaims to all the workers laying on the ground outside that they are liberated. He is unprepared for the sight of Schindler's Jews, who are relatively better kept than the other camps. The following dialogue highlights the narrative of Israel in the film:

Jewish man:	Where should we go?
Soviet Officer:	Don't go East, that's for sure, they hate you there. I wouldn't go west either if I were you.
Jewish man:	We could use some food.
Soviet Officer:	Isn't that a town over there? <sup>452</sup>

The subsequent scene pictures Schindler's Jews moving across barren land towards a nearby town. The imagery parallels the biblical forty-year migration of the Jewish people to the promised land. This clear reference to Israel, neither East or West, suggests that Israel is a home for the lost and the abandoned. The happy ending serves a purpose more than simply appealing to a larger audience. It reinforces the idea that Israel is the savior of hope, and while Europe struggled to provide adequate support for dislocated Jews, Israel provides a home that no other country could.

The juxtaposition between the films set in Israel and those set in the United States highlights the way films impacted the perception of Israel as the singular home for Jews after the

Holocaust. Films that depicted refugees in America focused on incurable emotional trauma while those set in Israel, such as *The Sword in the Desert*, *The Juggler*, *Exodus*, *Judith*, and *Cast a Giant Shadow* focused on hope for a better future. *The Juggler* established Israel as a peaceful land and a place of recovery. The film's main character, Hans Müller, struggles with psychological trauma from the experience in the concentration camps similar to the emotional trauma depicted in the films set in the United States. In the beginning of the film, while Hans is entering the camp for the first time, he thinks he sees his dead wife standing outside waiting for him. He approaches her hesitantly, but he is soon in tears begging her to recognize him. When a police officer approaches and taps him, Hans immediately backs away in fear, clinching his fists and states "you're Israel, full of policemen."<sup>453</sup> His aversion to the police officer stems from an association to the SS officers in Germany, not a negative image of Israeli police. Instead, the presence of the police in the film shows the viewer the established order and development of Israel as a nation. In the scene, the woman was not mad or scared, instead she felt sorry for him as she also experienced the war and was tolerant of his improper behavior because of their shared experience. Later in the film, after an altercation with a man that results in the man going to the hospital. Hans meets Ya'El, who helps him realize his trauma as she pleads, "darling this is your home. Think what you are doing. You haven't locked us out, you have locked yourself in."<sup>454</sup> He exits the room, symbolizing his reentering of society, and the narrative of the Kibbutz and Israel as refuge for scarred Jews comes to fruition. Jews in Israel were able to find solace in the Kibbutz and in the State of Israel which was full of like-minded and law-abiding citizens.

While the films set in Israel focused on perpetuating a narrative of capable and hopeful Jews, the films set in the United States, such as *Sophie's Choice* and *The Pawnbroker* highlight the struggle to assimilate into society after experiencing a concentration camp. 1964's *The Pawnbroker* was the first American film to construct fictional sets to depict flashback Holocaust scenes instead of relying on Newsreel footage.<sup>455</sup> This allowed for detailed flashbacks to the concentration camps, highlighting the emotional scars left on individual survivors rather than the physical pain of all Jews. In *The Pawnbroker*, Sol Nazerman runs a pawn shop in East Harlem. He is emotionally distant from those around him, evident in his lack of sympathy for the variety of characters that come into his shop. Nazerman struggles to walk down the street while leaving his shop, as images from his times in the camps bombard his conscience. The scene flashes

between Nazerman in the United States trying to get into his car as a group attacks someone behind a fence and a memory of someone screaming trying to escape a concentration camp. As the scene rapidly switches between past and present, the insistent dog barking in the background gets louder and the scene finally ends as Nazerman almost hits someone while driving away.<sup>456</sup> As both Sophie and Nazerman have trouble adapting to American society, their continued suffering in the film suggested that the war did not end with the liberation of the concentration camps. Instead, their traumatic experience enabled them to adapt to a society that was largely ignorant to their suffering. While these films do not mention Israel, they present a landscape of despair in American society, countering the hope filled narrative in the films set in Israel.

Though Israel appeared as the single home for the Holocaust survivor, American Jewish identity in film diversified throughout the twentieth century. Unlike previous films which promoted universalism, *The Chosen*, highlighted the differences between Jews in America. The film depicted two Jewish sects, Orthodox and Reform, coming together to look at the question of Jewish national identity in America. Made in 1981, *The Chosen* challenged earlier notions of the universal Jew with the discussion of Jewish support for the creation of the Jewish state in the United States in the 1940s. The plot chronicles the friendship between two Jewish boys, Reuven and Danny, in New York City during and immediately after WWII. Reuven is the son of an adamant Zionist author and Danny is the son of a Hasidic Rabbi. After footage of the concentration camp reached the United States, the contrasting reaction from both fathers highlights the complication of Jewish Identity. Reuven's Zionist father, depicting the familiar universal image of the Jew to support Israel, exclaims "We are the Survivors. It's up to us to keep our people alive. We cannot wait for God." However, Danny explains that, as a Hasidic Rabbi, his father is not convinced, "to my father the idea of a Jewish state that is not religious is a violation of everything he believes."<sup>457</sup> To the Rabbi, only the Messiah can establish a new Jewish State. This dichotomy of Jewish identity directly contradicts the idea of a singular Jewish opinion on Israel. While Reuven's father believed he had a role to play in Israel as an American Jew, Danny's father openly protested the foundation of the State of Israel because of his Jewish identity and beliefs. The differences between Reuven's Zionist father and Danny's religious father highlighted that Jews differed in their position of Israel and reflected the Jewish religious diversity in the United States.



In the 1980s, *The Chosen* introduced complex Jewish characters in the United States who differed on their position in the development of Israel, but the discussion of opinions among Israeli Jews was not discussed. In 2005 the film *Munich* depicted undercover Israeli agents hunting Palestinians involved with the 1972 Munich Massacre at the Olympic Games. As the film progressed, the Israeli assassins questioned the morality of their actions. Though he was trained to defuse bombs, Robert made the explosives that the team used to target the accused Palestinian terrorists. In a discussion with the team leader, he states his reluctance to continue with the operation:

Robert:	We're Jews, Avner. Jews don't do wrong because our enemies do wrong.
Avner:	We can't afford to be that decent anymore.
Robert:	I don't know that we ever were that decent. Suffering thousands of years of hatred doesn't make you decent. But we're supposed to be righteous. That's a beautiful thing. That's Jewish. That's what I knew, that's what I was taught. And now I'm losing it, and I lose that, that's- That's- That's everything. That's my soul. <sup>458</sup>

While in previous films the concept of antisemitism and the Holocaust served as enough reason to support Israel, *Munich* stipulated that it was the Jews' moral superiority over the Palestinians that warranted support for Israel. The discussion of Jewish identity highlighted the position of Israel as an Western nation and affirmed the ethical nature the Israelis. Although their actions were regrettable, their moral character was not questioned in the film. In the film, the Palestinians killed without question of stopping, but the Israelis considered their position, returned to their families with remorse, and inevitably suffered because of their actions. *Munich* represented the culmination of Jewish identity in film as Israeli agents defend their nation in retaliation of targeted persecution, proving to viewers both their strength and their humanity.

### **Antisemitism in the United States and Americans in Israel**

As the perception of Israelis shifted from victims, to vigilantes, to international spies, the depiction of the United States adapted from rescuer to ally and peace negotiator. The United

States' role in the debate over the creation of the Jewish State highlighted the perception of the United States as the ultimate authority dealing with the aftermath of the Holocaust. While still facing antisemitism at home, the United States' recognition of Israel along with the United Nations in 1948 definitively placed the United States on the side of the Israelis. In 1978, the United States successfully negotiated a peace agreement between Egypt and Israel. Many Palestinians found that the agreement was strongly swayed in Israel's favor, and they raised \$3.5 billion dollars for the fight against Israel.<sup>459</sup> Still, western nations praised the agreement and the possibility of peace in the Middle East. In American film, the Camp David Accords cemented the United States' role as the mediator between Israel and Palestine.

The portrayal of the United States and U.S. citizens in films that discuss the foundation of Israel support a narrative of American exceptionalism and grandeur. Though it is understandable that American's would play the protagonist in American made movies; these films perpetuate a narrative of the United States as the decisive hero, which clouds the perception of Jews having autonomy over their own lives both in the United States and in Israel. While Jews represented the persecuted and the British and Arabs represented the persecutors, Americans interjected as moral champions and intermediaries. The films *Gentleman's Agreement*, *Sword in the Desert*, *The Ambassador*, *Deadline*, and *Judgement at Nuremberg* appealed to American patriotism and ideas of freedom and liberty.

Before support for a Jewish state spread in the United States, filmmakers addressed the issue of antisemitism at home. Films such as *Gentleman's Agreement* in 1947 and *The Young Lions* in 1958, discussed the eradication of antisemitism and the growing support for Jews in American society. Both films use a patriotic appeal to stop antisemitism in America. For example, in *Gentleman's Agreement*, Phil Green goes undercover as a Jew in order to expose antisemitism in American society. Green's experience telling people he was Jewish highlighted the presence of antisemitism in all aspects of life and from all people, including people who claimed to attest antisemitism. However, the film's premise, of a journalist being able to experience being a Jew simply by stating that he was one implied that antisemitism defined Jewish identity.<sup>460</sup> In addition, it supported the idea that it required a gentile American in order to help the Jewish people. This perpetuated the idea of the Jewish victim outside of the events of the Holocaust and suggested a universal Jewish experience. Green learns that a resort he wants to

stay at is “restricted” meaning they do not allow Jews to stay there. He decides to go and confront them saying to his hesitant girlfriend, “They're persistent little traitors to everything this country stands for and stands on and you have to fight them not just for the ‘poor, poor Jews,’ as Dave says but for everything this country stands for.”<sup>461</sup> Beyond a moral responsibility and having sympathy for the Jews, the film suggested that it was simply unamerican to be antisemitic. Though most films include Jewish characters in the fight against antisemitism, it is ultimately the Gentile Americans that appear as the hero or have the agency in the decision making.

In 1949, *Sword in the Desert* premiered as the first American film set in the newly established Jewish State. The protagonist of the film was an American ship captain, Mike, who the Zionists hired to smuggle refugees into British Mandated Palestine. The plot focuses on his evolution of support for the Zionist organization as the British follow and eventually capture the valiant freedom fighters. The overarching intended message of the movie is summarized in Mike’s character development. In the beginning of the film, Mike has no intention of putting himself or his crew in danger for the refugees, as he states “If I hadn’t missed a load of fertilizer I wouldn’t have even listened to your deal... They mean \$125 bucks a head plus the bonus. They also mean I’m carrying hot cargo, illegal immigrants without papers. Okay, I took that chance and I got you here, but what happens to you from here on doesn’t mean a thing to me.”<sup>462</sup> Mike, as an American, feels separated from the Zionist cause to establish Israel as a Jewish State. His lack of empathy in the beginning of the film and his apathetic attitude to the wellbeing of the refugees reflected an idea that the United States had no active role to play in the establishment of Israel. However, by the end of the film Mike supports the Zionists after fleeing from the British with them and learning about their movement. In the end, he decided to put his own security at jeopardy to protect the Zionist cause from the British interrogators. His loyalty to their movement and his pivotal role in protecting the Zionists highlighted America’s image as defenders of freedom for the Jewish people in Palestine. Through Mike’s change in attitude about the Zionist cause resulting in his unwavering support for Israel, the movie called for action over inaction and reinforced the idea that the United States had an important role to play in the establishment of Israel and in future Israeli politics.

To appeal to a Christian audience in the United States, many films adhered to Christian

symbolism and motifs throughout the imagery and the staging of pivotal scenes. Following WWII, the concept of universalism encouraged ecumenical discussions among Christians, highlighting service to a global community. The emphasis on Christianity and religion in the Cold War differentiated Western values from the altruism of Communist countries and highlighted the moral superiority of the West, capitalism, democracy, and freedom in the minds of Americans.<sup>463</sup> Though people viewed the Cold War as primarily a diplomatic and political conflict, Western propaganda often focused on morality and religion as a key way to differentiate between the West and the East.<sup>464</sup> Films also used religion to appeal to a Western audience, depicting American protagonists as righteous Christians supporting their Jewish brethren.

In *Sword in the Desert* and *Cast a Giant Shadow*, Christmas provided a setting for answering questions of moral obligation. In *Sword in the Desert*, the British captured Mike, an American, along with a group of Zionists and ask him to identify their leader in exchange for his release and safe passage back to the United States. As he walks towards the lineup intending to betray the Zionists, Christmas music sounds dramatically in the background. The short conversation between Major Sorrell and Mike about the Christmas tree marks the moment Mike changes his mind.

Maj. Sorrell:	How do you like our Christmas tree Captain?
Mike:	So that's what it is.
Maj. Sorrell:	It's the only thing we could find in this desolate part of Palestine. They call it the Judas Tree.
Mike:	The What?
Maj. Sorrell:	According to the Bible, Judas hanged himself on a tree after the betrayal. The legend says it was a tree like this? <sup>465</sup>

He continues to walk slowly past each member in the lineup, deciding to keep the leader's identity a secret. Mike's character development and support for Israel comes to fruition in his decision to help the Zionists instead of himself. The Christian motivation to his character transformation highlighted his moral reasoning for helping the Zionists over logical understanding of the conflict. In both *Sword in the Desert* and *Cast a Giant Shadow*, the ultimate

heroes are American and make their pivotal decision to help the Israeli's in a Christmas setting. The connection between Christianity and Judaism made in these films suggested an overarching appeal to Christian U.S. citizens to support Israel and their position in the Middle East.

Films served an important function in helping to define the United States' role in the world after the Holocaust. Filmmakers gave the moral imperative to the U.S. citizens in films discussing the Holocaust, highlighting the United States as the world's principled police and judge. *Judgement at Nuremberg* features a respectable U.S. Judge who values justice and reason.<sup>466</sup> Throughout the film, Judge Haywood seeks the inglorious truth about the events of the Holocaust, asking everyone he meets questions about their position on the war and their relationship to Nazism. He does so without contempt, his only motive is to understand in order to make the fairest judgement possible on the indictment of a doctor who operated within the Nazi party. Cementing the United States' purpose to balance the world's problems, Judge Haywood stands out as the authority on right and wrong, differentiating between good and bad German, and forgiving those who could not do more. The discussion of the United States' role in Israel coincided with filmmakers' definition of the United States as the authoritative opinion in the aftermath of the Holocaust. Films such as *Sword in the Desert*, *The Search*, and *Cast a Giant Shadow* feature Americans as the primary decision makers in Israel. They do not only serve alongside the Zionists, but lead them or protect them using the simple privilege of being U.S. citizens.

Cold War politics in the 1950s and 1960s contributed to a shift in the relationship between Israel and the United States. The fear of Soviet backed Arab nationalism in the Middle East in the 1950s and 1960s prompted the United States into providing military aid to Israel, which resulted in Israel's victory in the Six Day War in 1967.<sup>467</sup> Though President Kennedy sought to limit Israel's nuclear program, during the Johnson Administration the United States turned a blind eye to Israel's nuclear program in order to maintain Israel as a Cold War ally as tensions in the Middle East accelerated.<sup>468</sup> While other nations signed the 1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty in regard to the handling of nuclear weapons, Israel did not. After<sup>469</sup> Israel's victory in the Six Day War, the Jewish State's position in world politics and its connection to the United States strengthened. U.S aid to Israel before the Six Day War was mostly for food and housing development which averaged around \$63 million. After the Six Day War, U.S. aid rapidly

increased reaching \$102 million by 1970, \$634.5 million in 1971, and \$2.3 billion in 1976, making Israel the largest annual beneficiary of U.S. foreign aid.<sup>470</sup> Most of the money went to the Israeli military. The narrative of the Jew as victim shifted as escalating Cold War tensions created a need for a U.S. ally in the Middle East. The new narrative highlighted Israeli Jews as a self-contained community and it strengthened the concept the universal Jew. In films such as *Sword in the Desert*, *Exodus*, *Cast a Giant Shadow*, and *Judith the Zionists* appeared as underdog heroes, oppressed by imperial dictators and threatened by Arab militants. However, films from the 1980s about Israel and Jewish identity in America exhibited the close alliance between the strengthened Israeli State and the United States.

As conflict between Israel and the Middle East heightened and Americans became wary of an everlasting war in the Middle East, U.S. heroism switched from a valiant soldier fighting alongside Zionists, to an ethical representative of peace and freedom. The 1980s action films, including *The Little Drummer Girl*, *The Ambassador*, and *Deadline* depict U.S. citizens stuck between two sides of the war. While both the Zionists and PLO are unwilling to negotiate, the U.S. Ambassador to Israel, Peter Hacker, fights for peace in a war-torn region, risking his own life.<sup>471</sup> While both Arabs and Zionists reject notions that the other side may have rights to the land, Hacker considers both perspectives. He discusses peace with the diplomatic, intellectual, and street-level members of the Zionist and Palestinian parties. Against the advice of the U.S. Government, he attempts to broker a peace negotiation. It is an American journalist, in *Deadline*, who enters into PLO camps, talks to the Israeli government, and attempts to force a discussion about the Palestinian crisis in Lebanon.<sup>472</sup> In these films, the average American citizen upholds the moral imperative over the Government. The United States and Israeli Governments are likened together in these films. Though none of the characters are successful in brokering peace, these films highlight the individual over both the military and the government suggesting that the peace process must start with personal communication on a local level.

In *Deadline*, the Zionist Israeli Government enact a vengeful retaliation on innocent Palestinians refugees in Lebanon. As Don Stevens, a journalist, hides in a locked building, gunshots and screams blare from outside. When he finally leaves, the bodies of dead Palestinian men, women, and children line the streets.<sup>473</sup> Though Stevens warned the Palestinians that the attack was coming, they decided to stay as they had nowhere to go. While the Arabs in the film

were not necessarily innocent, they were defenseless in this attack. This scene is the culmination of the shifted image of Israel as a powerful westernized nation and United States as the level-headed negotiator between two unrelenting forces.

The film, *The Ambassador*, portrayed a dynamic Middle East with opposing ideologies within both the PLO and Israel. Before anyone appeared, words scrolling down the screen served as an introduction to the Israel-Palestine conflict:

The Middle East is a powder keg, ready to explode. A melting pot of conflicting religious and political factions. Israel, with a population of 4 million, is surrounded by 8 Arab countries with a population of 80 million. A group known as the P.L.O. (Palestinian Liberation Organization) has vowed never to recognize Israel's right to exist and to fight until Palestinian homeland is realized. Lately, there are signs that the P.L.O. is willing to talk peace with Israelis. A Syrian based splinter group of the P.L.O., the SAIKA, the most extreme of all existing terrorist groups in the area, spreads terror on both the Israelis and the Arabs to sop any possibility of peace negotiations. Within Israel there are two major conflicting points of view: the moderates, who are ready to sit at the table with the P.L.O. and the right wing extremists who refuse to accept a Palestinian State in the region. The MOSSAD is the intelligence Agency of the State of Israel and protects official Israeli Government position. Into the middle of this burning conflict comes an American... THE AMBASSADOR.<sup>474</sup>

It is evident within the introduction to the film that the filmmakers intended to portray the Arab-Israeli conflict in order to highlight the importance of American involvement in peace negotiations. This introduction described Israel as a small nation surrounded by enemy forces, continuing the narrative of Israel as the underdog. While the introduction listed factions with differing ideas of negotiating terms in both sides, the violence and lack of negotiations remained the Palestinian's fault. In order to progress the possibility of an American negotiated peace, Arabs are pictured throughout the film attempting to start peace talks with the Ambassador. However, in the film, these meetings were never successful as other factions of the PLO disrupted or attacked the participants of the negotiations. In the end, it was Arabs who slaughtered everyone as both Palestinians and Israelis met to talk about the possibility of dialogue, perpetuating the idea that Arabs were at fault for the conflict and the failed peace progress.

## **Depictions of the Enemy from Nazis to Arabs**

Through the depiction of Arabs as terrorists, particularly in the films illustrating the conflict between Israel and Palestine, the image of the stereotypical terrorist cemented in U.S. popular culture. The history of the relationship between Israel and Palestine centers on the dispute over the same land and the idea of nationhood. Both the Jews in Europe and the Palestinians under the Ottoman Empire developed nationalistic tendencies at the same time as the rest of the world in the nineteenth century.<sup>475</sup> The claims to the land of Palestine adhered to the idea of creating a national home. After officially gaining nationhood in 1947 through the UN Partition Plan, the dispute over the location of the capital permeated as one of the largest points of contention. Though the Partition Plan established Jerusalem under an international agency, the city was divided into East and West after the 1948 war. Israel seized East Jerusalem after the 1967 war and immediately began inhabiting the region.<sup>476</sup> While the depiction of Palestinians as persistent terrorists in a foreign land persists in popular culture, in reality the conflict resulted from two nations fighting over the same land.

These films often portrayed the conflict as a war between two ethnicities rather than two nations. According to Middle Eastern Historian and political analyst Lina Khatib, phrasing it as an ethnic conflict legitimized people's claims based on moral or ethical understanding of history and they could then disregard many of the Palestinian's claims to the land based on proximity.<sup>477</sup> Arabs represented an aggressive looming force against the righteous Zionists, and there was little discussion of the Palestinians' actual claims to the land. Judith pictured numerous Arab attacks on a kibbutz bordering Syria.<sup>478</sup> The Arabs were not attacking from within Palestine, but rather from a neighboring nation suggesting their presence but not their residence in Palestine. The position of Arabs within films depicting the conflict was important as they perpetuated the myth of an unoccupied Palestine.

After the Holocaust, American films discussing Israel predominantly displayed Jews as either victims or ideal protagonists, while Nazis represented the ultimate villain in American cinema. Since filmmakers depicted Jews as a universal people with an automatic connection to Israel, audiences could assume that the enemy of an Israeli Jew was also the enemy of an American Jew. Historian Jack G. Shaheen's extensive list of films portraying Arabs includes *Exodus*, *Cast a Giant Shadow*, and *Delta Force* in the "Worst List" which comprises the films



that portray Arabs in the most negative ways compared to all other Hollywood films.<sup>479</sup> The depiction of Arabs as the enemy formed as Israel became the focus of Jewish identity, shifting Nazism to a more symbolic role with Palestinians as the ultimate antagonists.

The portrayal of Nazis in film was significant to the foundation of the State of Israel, because filmmakers characterized Nazis as cruel, inhumane, and calculated, which increased sympathy for their victims. The villainization of Nazis appeared throughout films depicting concentration camps and battles. Thomas Doherty, a historian of Hollywood and cinema, discusses how in the early years of WWII, filmmakers were willing to portray Nazis more humorously, such as in the comedy films *The Great Dictator* and *To Be or Not To Be*.<sup>480</sup> However, Doherty describes how the image of Nazis in American film became more somber once people realized the full extent of the concentration camps. Hollywood's unofficial conclusion that the war should be depicted seriously coincided with their realization that "the enemy is deadly not dumb."<sup>481</sup> Script writers and directors adjusted their narrative to fit this image. Depicting Nazis as intelligent villains was the standard after the war, such as in *The Young Lions* when screams echoed from the basement of the Gestapo building, serving as a reminder of the organized brutality that the Nazis implemented in their war strategies.<sup>482</sup> The Nazis' actions were not accidents or miscalculations, but coordinated efforts to eradicate all but their image of an ideal people based on bigotry and antirentism.

Though Nazis were universally villainized during and after World War II, U.S. cinema distinguished between ethical Germans caught in the Nazi party and true Nazis who adhered to the ideology. The antagonist in *The Young Lions*, Captain Hardenberg, never hesitated to kill in the name of the war and he demanded the same from his soldiers.<sup>483</sup> However, Lieutenant Christian Diestl struggled with the actions of his fellow soldiers. His moral dilemma was pivotal to his development throughout the film, eventually resulting in his mental deterioration and death. After talking to an SS commandant in charge of liquidating a concentration camp, Diestl's obvious disgust leads him to wander aimlessly into the woods and destroy his weapon in frustration. Two American soldiers spot him and shoot him despite his defenseless state, something that seemed unlikely in the beginning of the film as Diestl represented a highly skilled and intuitive soldier. The audience sympathized with Diestl, a "good German" who found out too late that he was on the wrong side of history. The distinction between Hardenberg and Diestl is

exaggerated in the film compared to the original book. In the novel, Diestl had none of the same ethical distinctions as in the film.<sup>484</sup> For the film, the distinction was important to reinforce the image of the Nazi in cinematic culture as an exemplary evil beyond the mistakes of the average person. The juxtaposition between Hardenberg's calculated war style and Diestl's struggle with ethics highlighted the negative Nazi image in American film as separate from the patriotic German. While German characters enveloped an array of character types, the depiction or mention of Nazis elicited a specific negative response from viewers. Films depicting Nazis as the ultimate villain established a narrative of an aggressor against the Jewish people, which filmmakers used as a motif to construct an image of the establishment of the Jewish State.

Nazis were the villains in films depicting the Holocaust, but as Jewish identity developed in connection to Israel's foundation, the antagonist to the Jew shifted towards Palestinians and Arabs. The presentation of Schiller in *Judith* exemplified this transition. The plot of *Judith* centered around a woman in search for her husband, Schiller, in Palestine who betrayed her during the war. Schiller was an active member of the Nazi party during the war; however, the Israeli intelligence officer declared, "we are not after Schiller the Nazi war criminal, we are after Schiller the Arab tank expert."<sup>485</sup> It was not Schiller's participation as a Nazi that caused the Israelis to hunt him down, but his contribution to the Arab forces. Set under British mandate and the 1948 war, the focus turned to Arabs as the most imminent threat to the Jews and were the more prominent antagonists. Films often portray Arabs or Palestinians killing innocent civilians on screen, but the same cannot be said for Israelis represented killing innocent Palestinians.<sup>486</sup> With Arabs as the unrelenting villain to the Zionist cause, films created complex plots as the Palestinians felt they were personally justified in their actions because they lived on the land before the foundation of Israel. While Nazis appeared as calculated and intelligent soldiers fueled by nonsensical hatred for the Jewish people, films portrayed Arabs as violent and radical terrorists who had a personal agenda with the Jewish people.

Even after the foundation of Israel, filmmakers connected the Arab villain to the Nazi party in order to further establish the Arab as the new enemy of the Jewish people. Films such as *Judith* and *Delta Force* provide examples of the depicted connection between Arabs and Nazis. In the 1986 film *Delta Force* starring Chuck Norris, two PLO terrorists hijacked a plane full of United States tourists. Upon learning that there were Jews aboard the flight, the PLO members

collected everyone's passports and asked the flight attendant to sort out all the Jewish names. The flight attendant is horrified at the idea and explains that as a German she cannot do it stating, "the selections. The Nazis! The death camps! Don't you see I can't do what you want me to do." Still they insist and the following dialogue highlights how film producers aimed to associate the PLO with the image of the Nazis:

Flight Attendant:	You claim you belong to a revolutionary organization.
Hijacker One:	That is correct. We are freedom fighters. We are fighting for our brothers.
Flight Attendant:	You don't want to be associated with Nazis, who killed six million Jews.
Hijacker Two:	Not enough lady, not enough. The Jews stole Palestine. They took our lands. <sup>487</sup>

While the flight attendant offered the PLO terrorists a chance to disassociate from the Nazis, the hijackers refused to listen, and even claimed that the Nazis did not kill enough Jews. Their outward antisemitism and hatred for Israel fueled their actions, linking them to Nazis throughout the film. Understanding that films previously established Nazis as the enemy of the Jewish people, Delta Force associated the PLO to the Nazi party and death camp selections to emphasize Arabs as the new antagonist to Jewish suffering.

Paradoxical similarities existed between the depictions of the Zionists fighting for a home in Palestine and the Palestinians who became terrorists after the influx of Jews dislocated them from their homeland. Comparing the Zionists groups depicted in *Exodus* to the portrayals of the PLO in other films set in Israel highlights how these similarities were constructed differently to fit a narrative to support Israel. First, the Zionists and the PLO in these films had similar rhetoric, yet the former were considered heroes and the latter villains. In *Exodus* Ari Ben Canaan, a leader in the Haganah faction of Zionist groups, exclaims that of the Jewish people are determined to find their homeland as, "they are all soldiers, and the only weapon they have is their willingness to die."<sup>488</sup> In films depicting the early stages of Israel's foundation and development such as *Cast a Giant Shadow* and *Judith* the terrorists are clear that they are willing to die for their cause. Their rhetoric is similar, their passion equal, but the situation is different. While the Zionists

were depicted as either freedom fighters or defenders of their land, the Palestinians were portrayed as extremist terrorists attacking the Jews, their motive never clearly explained.

Similarities even existed between the extremist actions of the Zionist in *Exodus* and the PLO in other films. Both groups were ultimately willing to sacrifice the lives of innocent civilians to further their cause. In *Exodus*, Dov Landau, a refugee from a concentration camp, joined a paramilitary Zionist group known as Irgun, and carried out a terrorist attack on the King David Hotel. The radio in the background professed 91 people dead.<sup>489</sup> This scene was based on the bombing of the King David Hotel on September 22, 1946 as a retaliation against the British involvement in Palestine.<sup>490</sup> Despite the violent characteristics of Irgun, the filmmakers of *Exodus* portray them as vigilante Jews who are willing to do all that it takes to make a home for their people. While there is honor in Dov Landau's terrorism according to the film, similar practices by PLO in other films are depicted as nonsensical and heinous. In *Cast a Giant Shadow*, *Delta Force*, and numerous other films, terrorists put many civilians in danger, but many more Palestinians die in these films than westerners. Still, their actions are depicted as unforgivable.

Irgun was a violent Zionist terrorist organization, yet they appear as underground defenders of their freedom, contrasting the depiction of Palestinians in films such as *Cast a Giant Shadow*. Set in British Mandated Palestine, the film pictured aggressive Arabs unwilling to negotiate with the Zionists. One scene in particular highlighted the negative bias against the Arabs compared to similar depiction of Zionists in other films. After Palestinians attacked their bus moving through a town, Colonel David Marcus, or Mickey, urged the Zionist officer to fight back or "at least die standing up." However, as he said this they pass by another bus on fire. A dead woman is tied to the side of the bus with a Star of David scraped on her back. The officer responds, "sometimes we do."<sup>491</sup> The Palestinians had bombed a bus and tortured a woman, seemingly without remorse or purpose. The Star of David on her back served as a reminder that the Palestinian population were antisemitic and that their attacks were about more than just land. Though not depicted in films, in reality it was Irgun that first used the now popular PLO tactic of putting bombs on buses and in large crowds.<sup>492</sup> While many films portrayed Arab terrorists killing innocent civilians, few showed Zionists or Israel attacking Palestinians in the same way. Considering Hollywood's role in perpetuating stereotypes about Arabs in the Cold War, portraying Arabs as an immoral villain cemented Israel as an ally against invaders of non-

Western philosophy. In addition, in the few films that do show Zionists playing the aggressor, they are seen as underdog vigilantes or western allies.

As the conflict between Israel and Arab nations accelerated, the United States took the role as the intermediary between the two groups resulting in a more complicated characterization of the villain in American films. Most of the films portraying Palestinians appeared in the 1980s and 1990s, with the far majority of those appearing in the 1980s.<sup>493</sup> This suggests that Palestine and their presence in the Middle East captured filmmakers' attention and the attention of the American audience. The narrative of the antagonist in the films changed along with the United States becoming the negotiator. Though the Arabs in the films remained the villain in the end, two films, *The Ambassador* and *The Little Drummer Girl*, both produced in 1984, weaved a counternarrative of Palestinian justice throughout the plot. Therefore, these two films attempted to create complex villain characters and dynamic plots by bringing the Palestinian perspective into the films.

As the relationship between Israel and the United States strengthened during the Cold War, the Zionist image developed from the underdog activists to the empowered ally to the United States. In the 1986 action film *Delta Force*, terrorists associate Zionists with Capitalism and the United States. The film depicted Palestinian revolutionaries hijacking a plane full of American passengers. One hijacker speaks over the intercom, "My name is Abdul Raffi. I am a member of the New World Revolutionary Organization, and we have declared war against the American imperialists, Zionists, terrorists, and all other antisocialist atrocities."<sup>494</sup> The politics of the Cold War influenced the characterization of both the Arab terrorists and Israel as either against or allied to the United States.

In the *Little Drummer Girl*, the main character, Charlie, believed the Palestinians had a right to fight and defend themselves against the Zionists. Instead of referring to them as terrorists, she used the term revolutionaries. In other films, such as *Rosebud*, *The Ambassador*, and *Delta Force*, only the Arabs would refer to themselves as revolutionaries or freedom fighters; however, Charlie, a white American girl, believes in their movement and even attempted to join.<sup>495</sup> She soon learned that the man she believed was a Palestinian was actually a Zionist, and that he wanted to recruit her for a mission against a PLO terrorist. The overall message of this film was not necessarily anti-Arab or pro-Zionist, as both sides were depicted as imperfect.

Instead, the film served as a representation of the complexity of the situation and the damage the unending war could cause on people involved. Even with the protagonist's supportive rhetoric, the film ultimately displayed Zionists as western heroes and Arabs as villains. The culmination of the plot occurred when the Arab terrorists attempted to assassinate an Israeli professor who had been outspoken in his argument for peace. His character highlighted the narrative that Israelis were able to negotiate for peace while Arabs resorted to violence. Similar to *The Ambassador*, it was the PLO that were unwilling to accept peaceful diplomacy over a violent war. While the prospect of successful peace negotiations was unquestionably difficult and maybe impossible, the film fortified the idea that the Arab terrorists wanted to stop even the possibility of compromise. Within American film, it is this devotion to violence that designated the Palestinians as the perpetual villain while the United States defined themselves as an advocate for peace.

Historically, both the Zionist paramilitary groups and the PLO were minority groups fighting against the dominant nationality in Israel-Palestine. As Israel grew economically, militarily, and politically in the world, the depiction of Israel shifted from an oppressed people standing up for themselves to western leaders, coinciding with a shift in the portrayal of Arabs to radical revolutionaries. The image of Israel became the righteous capitalists while Palestinians became the socialist militants against western ideals. The connection of Arabs to Nazis reinforced the narrative of antisemitism among the Palestinians. The portrayal of Israel and Zionists as allies to the United States and the West, and Arabs portrayal as disorderly and violent revolutionaries confirmed Arabs as the villain in the American mind.

### **The Problem of Stereotypes**

The relationship between Jews, Americans, and Arabs in U.S. films stimulated support for Israel while provoking stereotypical and racist perceptions of Arabs. Jewish identity became both unique and universal as films portrayed Jews as victims of persecution, vigilante defenders of their right for a home, and allies to the United States against the Arab terrorism. Americans played the ultimate heroes in an unrelenting war-torn region. Their moral aptitude and heroic demeanor never wavered as they risked their lives for the Jews in Israel. Nazis transcended through film as an image of unrelenting evil allowing films to apply their negative image to

Arabs as the conflict between Israel and Palestine prevailed in world politics. Israel's position in the Middle East encouraged the United States to advance a narrative of Israeli dependency on the United States. Hollywood films largely inspired support for Zionists and contempt for Arabs within their plots, instructing American popular opinion in favor of a Western Israel.

The image of Arabs as terrorists is problematic as heightened Islamophobia in the twenty-first century permeates throughout political dialogue. In order to understand the current political circumstances in Israel and America's role as peace negotiator, people must look back at how these roles filtered into the standard American's perception of the conflict and world politics. Though film did not create these perceptions and stereotypes alone, the depiction of Jews, Americans, and Arabs in films after the Holocaust and the foundation of Israel reflected political movements and cemented the image of the United States as a key player in the Middle East. Israel and Palestine have been at war for over a hundred years, but looking past the politics, the violence, and the stereotypes, the conflict boils down to one simple concept: both people want a place to call their home.

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## **The Chinese Cultural Revolution's Creation of a Culture of Distrust and Separation**

**By: Athena Hills**

Many modern nations across the globe have undergone massive changes within the twentieth century, such as Germany's development from a nation decimated by war to the economic powerhouse of Europe, and Russia's change from an autocratic nation ruled by Tsars to the nation that would ultimately be the place of birth for widespread communist theories and become a massive nuclear power. Following this trend, China too underwent an enormous shift in culture and world status, most noticeably during the Chinese Cultural Revolution in the 1960s and 1970s. To say that the Cultural Revolution merely changed China is an understatement; rather, it completely reshaped China from the traditionalist, agricultural society it had been at the start of the twentieth century into the communist, modern, industrial power that we know it to be today.

This seems to overall be a positive feat, as today China enjoys the status of being one of the world's most productive nations and is as powerful, if not more so, than most western nations. However, these swift changes came at a severe cost to the Chinese people, in particular to their relationships to one another. As communist enthusiasm reached its peak under Mao Zedong during the Cultural Revolution, people were relocated, families were torn apart, and many were beaten or killed due to a desire to purge the nation of capitalism, traditionalism, and opposition to the Communist Party. Based on oral histories of those who lived in China during the 1960s and early 1970s, this shift fundamentally changed the relationships between Chinese people, as the Cultural Revolution fostered a society that tore apart families and greatly valued relationships built on party loyalty and communist heritage, instead of a culture similar to that of traditional China in which relationships were built on family ties, hard work, or expertise.

One of the most important goals of the Communist Party, both before and after the Cultural Revolution, was the desire to totally modernize and industrialize China. Millions were employed in factories, in the production of steel, and in other activities meant to push China's production to match that of western nations such as Great Britain. As a result, massive relocation of workers was required, and agricultural labor to feed the massive population of China was a difficult issue. In a more efficient society, the government might use the most skilled workers in each area to ensure the work is done correctly. This was not the case in the Cultural Revolution, as labor was assigned by party loyalty and status. Students were utilized to meet China's agricultural needs, sent from across the nation to the countryside to learn 'true work' through agricultural labor. Those in workplaces who were deemed a threat to communist ideas were also sent to the countryside as a form of punishment and way to separate them from potentially inciting widespread rebellion in the more populous city regions of China. These uses of pseudo-exilement and student labor in the Cultural Revolution fundamentally changed both the relationship between families whose children had left, and the workplace relationships between bosses and workers, as all in the workplace became deathly afraid of being sent to hard labor in the western countryside.

Those who were sent as children to work in the countryside initially described a feeling of pride, as the action of going and learning 'true work' was a key tenant of Maoist thought. One man who was a teenager during the Cultural Revolution described the departure of these children to the country not as sad, but rather as having "the natural feelings when family members parted... everybody was chummy... it made us feel even more strongly that this was the only road for educated youth to take".<sup>496</sup> However, these feeling faded, and eventually the action of going to the countryside became not only a way in which families were tragically separated, but also a means for those who were seen as disloyal to be banished within their own nation. One man described how he once was a "senior intellectual, an associate professional...[with] practical experience in construction and management".<sup>497</sup> Following a great deal of strife in which he was wrongly labeled a 'Rightist' who was disloyal to the party, this same man in the countryside found himself "totally cut off from [his] profession... collecting night soil," even having to do menial daily work such as "washing dishes, cleaning vegetables, sweeping floors, dumping burnt coal, all sorts of things,"<sup>498</sup> despite his previous intellectual status.

The lives of millions of Chinese families were fundamentally changed by this use of student labor that separated parents from their children. The labor was harsh for these students, and many felt isolated from their families, and returned to their families exhausted after the difficult menial labor, forever changed, which would ultimately haunt parents. One man described how after returning home from grueling work, his legs were covered in cuts, which caused his mother great distress, as she “felt so bad she cried.”<sup>499</sup> Families were racked with guilt and as the journey of Chinese youth became more and more mandatory, the strain it placed on Chinese families became greater. China had once cultivated extraordinarily close familial relationships in which generations of family members would live under the same roof; now the Communist Party was causing these relationships to dissolve by separation.

In the workplace, separation also happened to those sent away to work in the countryside, creating a culture that those who were within the cities and factories were loyal and good, whereas those which worked in the countryside must be there as a result of banishment and disloyalty. Fear of this banishment to the country ravaged the workplaces of China and fostered a relationship between bosses and workers based almost entirely on fear. In the daily life at work for many Chinese the primary focus was no longer the job itself, but the avoidance of saying or doing anything that could be seen as dissenting or counter to the goals of the Communist Party. One man describes how in his workplace alone the factory was “split into two main factions... I had to be extremely careful not to get involved in any trouble...” as angering either could mean the defamation of his character or of those working around him, even if he had done nothing wrong.<sup>500</sup> This rampant fear of defamation and banishment made the workplace a terrifying space in which any wrong statement could result in disaster for an individual. This slander of one’s character could even occur merely on the basis that an individual in one’s workplace disliked another and could thus lie to the party cadres (leaders chosen for their loyalty to the communist party), also resulting in potential punishment, beatings, or death, even if there was no basis for such action. This formed a work culture filled with distrust, as the man whose factory split into factions describes how “people were no longer as trusting and sincere as they had been... political movements had taught people to be cleverer, more cautious, and more deceitful.”<sup>501</sup> Thus, Chinese workers suffered changed relationships not only in the home, but in the workplace as well, where fear of dissention and disloyalty created relationships in which

every individual became distrusting of others, never knowing when they might be falsely labeled as an individual who might obstruct the goals of the Cultural Revolution.

Lastly, this distrust did not merely exist in the workplace; it spilled over into the family, where heritage and party loyalty split families apart and fostered a way of life in which one was often encouraged to distrust their own family. Children in China wanted desperately to join the ‘Red Guards’, a youth organization formed by Mao Zedong that encouraged party loyalty and worked to expose those guilty of activities or thoughts counter to the Cultural Revolution and Maoist thought. Those who could not join were often barred due to family heritage, such as having as one man describes, a “bad family background.”<sup>502</sup> This could mean anything from a father who had spoken out against any Maoist policy, to a grandfather who had been a nationalist soldier or capitalist. These youths were ostracized by their peers, unable to join the Red Guards and often completely isolated from others. The man with the “bad family background” describes how other Chinese youth would “avoid [him]...not like mice running away at the sight of cats, but like people fleeing from the plague” as a result of the distrust of those with supposedly disloyal backgrounds.<sup>503</sup> This distrust ultimately caused this man to have to cut ties not only with his peers but with his family, as their heritage caused him and his younger brother to suffer under harsh persecution. He describes how he “didn’t dare have anything to do with my family... I simply didn’t know what to do... my only concern was to look out for my brother and myself.”<sup>504</sup> Thus, heritage and party loyalty became the most important factors in Chinese family relationships, replacing the traditional importance of filial piety and obedience to elders. If one’s family was deemed disloyal, the only choice one had to survive in the Cultural Revolution was to prevent any and all contact, as this one man did to protect himself and his brother.

On all social levels, from the public to the private, the Chinese Cultural Revolution of the 1960s and early 1970s completely reshaped relationships between individual people. No longer was expertise and knowledge the key to success with others as it had been in Confucian China; now party loyalty was of the highest importance. Multigenerational families were torn apart, by the sending of their children to agricultural labor and by the Red Guards forcing families to separate from those believed to be counterrevolutionary. Heritage and loyalty became the primary means by which Chinese people interacted in the 1960s and 1970s, causing widespread fear and distrust of others out of a deep-seated fear of banishment, corporal punishment, and not

uncommonly, capital punishment. Millions of Chinese individuals who survived are now without family, either due to separation, having cut them off out of fear, or because they were killed by those who believed them to be a threat. The Cultural Revolution thus not only changed China physically into an industrial, modern nation, but also into a nation in which citizens had to learn to trust others and value relationships based not on Communist fervor.

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# Testing the Limits: The Inquisition as a Destabilizing Force in Colonial Latin America

By McKenna Vorderstrasse

## Introduction

The Spanish Inquisition was probably the most well-known (and generally feared) establishment in the Early Modern period. The formation of the inquisitorial body was the direct result of the desire to create a completely Catholic kingdom in Spain. This ideology was termed *limpieza de sangre* (blood purity) which entailed eliminating people who identified as non-Catholic from Spain. When the Inquisition was formed in Spain in 1478, it was a purely judicial system with the primary goal of persecuting *judaizantes* (Catholics who were thought to still practice Judaism in secret) who were oftentimes the victims of forced Catholic baptism.<sup>505</sup> The Inquisition, in fact, had no sanctioned jurisdiction to try anyone who was not a baptized Catholic.

There was fear among the inquisitors, however, that the presence of Jews who had not converted was destroying the faith of the newly converted population. In response to this problem, King Ferdinand II and Queen Isabella of Spain issued an ultimatum to the Jews in 1492: convert or get out.<sup>506</sup> In the wake of the Jewish expulsion, as well as their military triumph over the last Muslim Kingdom of Granada, it finally seemed as if a purely Catholic Spain was not only a possibility, but rather an inevitability.<sup>507</sup> However, the acquisition of territory (after conquering the Aztec Empire) in the New World shortly thereafter, left Spain with a new area spanning from the Southwestern and Pacific region of what is now the United States in the north all the way to the southern tip of South America (excluding Brazil), along with the Caribbean Islands off the coast of the continent. Spain now needed to convert all of this territory to Catholicism and decided the Inquisition would be the stabilizing force to establish this control.

The Inquisition became the Spanish Crown's enforcer of Catholicism and criminal justice in the Colonies. Through the study of Inquisition documents, we see that the Spanish contrived

to use Catholicism as law enforcement as well as a judicial body in an attempt to stronghold their empire through the Colonial period. The Inquisition did not, however, produce loyal Spaniards. They, instead, created a culture fundamentally rooted in division, insecurity, and mistrust. The Inquisition was continuously overreaching the boundaries of what could be reasonably and rightly achieved by a religious institution and, in doing so, contributed to class and racial conflict, abused monetary penalties, and strictly condemned outside influence. These actions made the Holy Office a body which was ultimately antithetical to its original goals of establishing a unified Spanish Catholic identity in the New World and, contrarily, promoted a sense of instability which contributed to the desire for colonial independence.

Inquisitions began in Spain's Latin American Colonies as early as the 1510's and were concerned mainly with the control of indigenous "superstitions" and idolatry, which monastic leaders and bishops encountered upon first arriving in the New World. At this time, Spain had not yet set up an office in the Americas, but had given some inquisitorial jurisdiction to these first friars and bishops that arrived. The Tribunal of the Holy Office was not actually established formally until 1569.<sup>508</sup> With the Inquisition formalized in the Colonies, the trial of the indigenous peoples for their religion (since they were not baptized Catholics) was no longer allowed by the Spanish government after 1571.<sup>509</sup>

The colonial inquisitors were now under the management of the Inquisitor General who presided over the Suprema<sup>510</sup> (the Supreme Council) in Madrid and was nominated by the crown and confirmed by the pope. Additionally, there were three offices of the Inquisition that were established in the Colonies: one in Mexico City (Viceroyalty of New Spain), one in Lima (Viceroyalty of Peru), and one in Cartagena (Viceroyalty of New Grenada). Each of these offices had at least three inquisitors (appointed by the Inquisitor General), although the minimum requirement of inquisitors per tribunal was just two. Each office required at least one inquisitor who was a theologian, and one who was either a jurist or a lawyer. These inquisitors then enjoyed the power (with guidelines from the Inquisitor General) to prudently appoint the lesser local officials to serve under them.<sup>511</sup> These lower officials were called commissaries of the inquisitors and served in smaller offices, one office in each commissariat (division of the viceroyalty).

The offices of the Inquisition in the Colonies however, naturally enjoyed a greater



amount of freedom and a different preoccupation than the offices in Spain. The Colonies and the peninsula were separated by the Atlantic Ocean and, thus, communication between tribunals in the New World and the Inquisitor General were slow (two months one-way, or more depending on wind and current conditions) and costly. This meant that, although colonial inquisitors had to document all of their trials, they only needed to seek guidance from the powers in Spain concerning the most important trials. Furthermore, the Inquisition gained jurisdiction over crimes in the Colonies that were always handled by civil authorities in Spain.<sup>512</sup> The Inquisition in the Colonies also had, comparably, very few trials for formal heresy (27.5% as opposed to 42% in Spain) and many more for sexual crimes.<sup>513</sup> This statistic is partially accounted for by the fact that the Latin American Colonies had (at least initially) a large population of people who were not baptized Catholics and, thus, could not be formally charged with heresy. It also speaks to the variety of different sexual norms within the native population (and accompanying fear of the corruption of the sexually correct Spanish) that required attention and policing in the New World. While the Inquisition in Spain focused heavily on religious crime regardless of severity, the Inquisition in the Colonies focused on issues such as sexual crimes and solicitation.<sup>514</sup> The concerns of the Latin American Inquisition, upon its foundation, were already decidedly distinct from those in Spain and, in the Colonies, both religious and civil authorities yielded to the inquisitorial process.

### **Race and Class Conflict in the Colonies**

Arguably, the most obvious obstacle that the colonial inquisitorial body faced (which the peninsular one did not) is the vast diversity which existed in the New World. Although there were increasing amounts of Spaniards who wanted to settle in the Colonies, there were also indigenous populations that already lived in the Americas, as well as a large slave population of African heritage, both of which boasted varied culture. The Inquisition was bent on uniting this enormous territory populated by people of different races, customs, religions, and languages under the umbrella of Spanish Catholicism. The impossibility of this feat is immediately apparent, especially since colonial society was deeply divided by a caste system<sup>515</sup> which placed peninsular-born white Spanish above American born people of Spanish descent (who were still above indigenous peoples and blacks, either slaves or free). Yet by the 18th century, the Spanish,

as far as they were concerned, had succeeded in their task. In the king's law code for the Colonies which was published in 1774, they exult over their successes in spreading Catholicism throughout the territory. The first page reads, "We have happily brought the innumerable Peoples and Nations which inhabit the West Indies, the islands and mainland, and other parts subject to our dominion, into the fold of the Holy Roman Catholic Church. And they all enjoy, universally, the remarkable blessing of redemption by the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ."<sup>516</sup> This shows no lack of confidence on the part of the Spanish as to their success, however, this embellished statement should not be mistaken as one of absolute truth. Historians continue to debate the effects of the Inquisition's approach to converting the Colonies, especially with regard to their impact on non-white races.

The common conception of the Inquisition revolves around fire and brimstone and burning people at the stake. Indeed, this was the reality for the indigenous populations in the early days of the Inquisition, before the colonial inquisitorial process was regulated and confined to baptized Catholics. During the Inquisitions which occurred before the formal establishment of the Holy Office, called the Monastic Inquisitions (1522-1562), Natives were tried for the practice of idolatry and sacrifices and punished by brutal torture.<sup>517</sup> These native ritualistic practices were actually harnessed by the Inquisition in later attempts at converting the indigenous populations. Historical anthropologist J. Jorge Klor de Alva argues that even after Natives were excluded from the Inquisition's jurisdiction, they managed to introduce Christian sacraments in a way that made them cohesive with everyday life and ritualistic experiences that were specialized to pertain to certain groups.<sup>518</sup> In doing so, he argues that the Inquisition succeeded in creating an acceptance of Catholicism amongst the natives which allowed them to become self-disciplined in the Christian doctrine. Eventually, when the Inquisitorial penal code was applied, it was readily accepted as just and logical punishment by the Natives and could be called "general and uniform" punishment across all races, regardless of their cultural differences.<sup>519</sup> Serge Gruzinski, a historian, argues that those Natives who did practice Catholicism through the act of going to Confession displayed an marked misconception about what the main tenants of Catholicism even were, which led to Confessors treating them badly and using, "pejorative, if not to say racist expressions, not tempered by any hope of betterment."<sup>520</sup>

Other historians focus more on a division that the Inquisition created with regard to race

rather than a uniform treatment. Noemi Quezada used the example of curanderos (healers) to show a racial dichotomy that was created by the Inquisition. Quezada argues that though there were both white Spanish as well as non-white curanderos, the way that they approached healing was fundamentally different. Catholic curanderos used methods such as healing by incantation, through revelations, or with the use of relics and all was done, “through the grace of God.”<sup>521</sup> On the other hand, Natives, blacks, mulatos, and mestizos used more of a traditional approach of healing with herbs and rituals. These practices were not connected with Catholicism, but rather originated from their varied cultural and religious backgrounds.<sup>522</sup>

After the Inquisition was firmly established in the New World, the Inquisitorial Office of New Spain issued several laws called “Edicts of Faith” which attempted to correct the most pertinent violations to the Church’s vision of a Catholic society. One of these laws published in 1620 was directed particularly toward the use of peyote (a psychoactive cactus native to northern Central America), but was later used to encompass many other hallucinogenic plants. The Inquisition had encountered Natives using herbs for their medicinal properties as well as components of certain rituals and, according to the edict, “this crime has been so frequent and used so commonly as is known,” so it was viewed as a plague of sorts in the Colony.<sup>523</sup> The Inquisition viewed herbs (whether used as medicine or hallucinogens) as one of the many faults of the Native condition which promoted their, “natural inclination toward idolatry.” While the Inquisition had no legal jurisdiction to punish Natives, they stated that under the penalty of fiscal or corporal punishment, “no person of any status or condition whatsoever can use, grow, or make use of the said herb of peyote...or any other herb for the same effects.” Their justification for this was that these herbs would, “trick the simple minds of these Indians” and “deceive many other persons who are little fearful of God,” and that any effects they produced were “out of suggestion and with the assistance of the devil.”<sup>524</sup>

These herbs were incredibly threatening to the Inquisition because they were very clearly associated with Native culture (religious and medicinal practice). The threat of Native culture running over into the mainstream Spanish Catholic culture endangered the conformity that the Inquisition saw as crucial to maintaining their control in the Colonies. The herbs, even when they were used medicinally, were confused with the practice of using herbs for witchcraft, which the Inquisition had experienced previously in Spain. Moreover, Catholics (even priests) had

been using native herbs with the claim that they could induce divine prophesy. The Inquisition quickly condemned this practice writing, “it is impossible that the said herb and any other herb can have the virtue or natural property that they ascribe to it.”<sup>525</sup> These herbs could not be used to bring one closer to the Catholic God because they had been used by the heathen Natives as part of their idolatrous religion and, for all they knew, devil worship.

Had the use of peyote or other herbs only been an issue amongst the Native population, it likely would not have been a concern to the Inquisition. The fact that Spanish were seeking herbs from Native healers, though, meant that they would have been more apt to being corrupted by their other cultural practices as well. While it was fine for indigenous people to adopt the Spanish way of life, the reverse was unacceptable. The wording of the edict against herbs would give any Inquisition-fearing Catholic leave to turn in any other Catholic that possessed these herbs (and who was, by association, participating in Native culture) to the Inquisition, which they frequently did. Although the Inquisition was unable to formally prosecute Natives for possessing herbs, they still tried to limit the use of herbs to some extent.

There are several documents that pertain to an inquisitorial record from October 1698, which show how the Spanish asserted dominion over the Natives’ use of these herbs. This record contains the testimony from seven friars regarding the confiscation of a particular hallucinogenic herb from some Natives who were growing it in the Mexican valley. The herbs had been torn from the ground by civil constables (ordered by the magistrate of the city) and the Inquisition was getting involved in the issue, although they were aware that they did not likely have jurisdiction over this matter.<sup>526</sup> One of these testimonies reveals that it was Fr. Pedro Sánchez who saw, “a great number of Indians who appeared to be drunk or inebriated,” and then told his superior at the convent who got the Spanish constables involved. They also found that the constables had extorted money from the Natives, which the friars ultimately deemed unfair, but they did not do anything to rectify this injustice. Instead, the friars continued to testify that the herbs make the Natives, “see vile and evil things,” and, “speak with demons,”. The Inquisition took over the jurisdiction of this case, but ultimately decided to drop their investigation because the Natives apparently had not done any harm to anyone except themselves and, “Indians are not to be trusted to maintain and keep the secret necessary for the oath of the Holy Office.”<sup>527</sup> People involved in Inquisition trials were not allowed to speak of them in order to maintain

anonymity and secrecy and, apparently, indigenous people were not up to this task. As such, the Natives were completely at the mercy of the Spanish constables and friars who accused them. Out of fear that the punishment of these Natives would be deemed an illegal procedure by the Suprema, the officials of the Holy Office warned the secular constables that they should not openly punish the Natives by formally fining them in cash.<sup>528</sup>

In another example, a mulata (African and Spanish mixed race) woman named María who was a midwife and healer had an encounter with the Inquisition over a bag that had some herbs as well as a child's umbilical cord inside (which was related to multiple Mesoamerican birthing rituals).<sup>529</sup> According to the report, she had planned on using one of the herbs to help heal ant bites.<sup>530</sup> She left the bag in a Spanish merchant's shop accidentally and the merchant's wife (a Spanish woman named Doña Petrona de Herrea) turned the mulata woman over to the Inquisition. In María's testimony, she stated that she had intended no malice by the possession of the herbs, however, the Spanish woman apparently knew they were associated with witchcraft. Because she was Spanish, Doña Petrona de Herrea's word was taken over María's, yet María's case was left open by the Inquisition. She was denounced, which meant she was seen as guilty, although she did not receive any documented penalties. However, in the review of the case, the inquisitor stated that the local commissary should monitor María and "in the case that she attempts to flee, he should ensure that she should be arrested under some other pretext in the royal jail."<sup>531</sup> María would have been under the watchful eye of the Inquisition for the rest of her life and completely at their mercy, all because a Spanish woman felt it was her right (if not her duty) to expose her as a mulata witch. Non-white people were not allowed to comfortably express certain aspects of their culture under the Inquisition while white Spanish were completely secure.

Another example of the Inquisition's actions contributing to class and racial tensions was the acceptance of the many misdeeds of the clergy under their supervision. Complaints about local clerics abound in Inquisitorial documents and vary from accusations of sorcery to sexual abuse. Many of the plaintiffs were indigenous people, and most were women. Although there were instances when the Inquisition punished members of the clergy, they were generally more reluctant to do so than they would be with an average person. The Inquisition required more proof to make a judgment and we often find that cases are left open without a judgment or

acceptance of the denunciation. Members of the clergy were regarded as a different class of people by the Inquisition because they were, of course, ordained by God. Much of the public found frequent fault with their local clerics yet saw no resolution to the issue. This caused strain between the clergy as a class and the public (whether Catholic or not).

A trial in 1609, documented over more than 2,000 pages, graphically details one of the worst possible complaints against a parish priest.<sup>532</sup> In this case, the priest in a Mayan village in Yucatan sexually abused his male parishioners so violently that the Inquisition had to take action. The priest was removed from the parish and suffered severe penalties, although the document doesn't note what these penalties entailed. This was only after months of interviewing hundreds of Maya from several different villages.<sup>533</sup> While the priest did ultimately receive a punishment, there is a striking difference between the amount of evidence that was required to bring the priest to trial versus the amount of evidence which was brought against the mulata María. When a white Spaniard denounced a non-white person, the Inquisition only needed one witness to take the case seriously and make a judgment. When a non-white person accused a Catholic priest, it took the whole village and then some before the Inquisition took the complaint seriously. While this case was not typical in the Colonies, it was also not otherwise unheard of. In cases like this, it's difficult to see how trust in the clergy could prevail for non-Spanish people. Even though the Inquisition was able to provide some semblance of justice for the Mayan people who were abused by their priest, it is not the same sort of justice as would be provided for white Spanish people.

The Spanish also encountered problems with their parish priests and the Inquisition was much more determined to protect the white Spanish housewife than the Mayan villager. The Inquisition, in fact, issued an edict in response to the prevalence of accusations that priests were soliciting sexual favors in the confessionals from predominately female confessants.<sup>534</sup> This edict attempted to protect elite women by mandating that all confessionals be placed in conspicuous places with good lighting and never in private, and that no woman should confess after sundown. When a woman did confess, she should do so in a confessional with a closed door so that the priest could not touch her with his feet if he tried to. This edict had to be displayed in any and every place of religious affiliation and removing the notice was forbidden under penalty of excommunication.<sup>535</sup> It's clear that the Inquisition was taking complaints about

this issue very seriously and shows that even white Catholic Spaniards were not immune to conflicts with the clergy. As a religious institution, the Inquisition required that their lower clergymen be respected and aid them on a local level in their control over the public. However, in this edict, the Inquisition made it clear that they did not view clergymen as trustworthy enough to have private confessions and made a public declaration saying that the priests were not to be trusted in confessionals. It makes sense, then, that the public would feel an unpleasant separation between themselves and the clerical class and a distrust of the priests.

The Inquisition also functioned in a counter-intuitive way when it came to its policing of the slave/master relationships. Many historians have recognized that slaves frequently used blasphemy in particular as a form of rebellion against their masters. Ruth Magali Rosas Navarro notes that, often, if a slave was brought before the Inquisition upon being accused of blasphemy by his master, he would be able to either repent or give an explanation that was satisfactory enough to the tribunal to warrant a lesser punishment than he would have received from his master.<sup>536</sup> In many cases, the accused slave could sincerely repent or say that he blasphemed under the extreme duress of his master's whipping and receive either a much smaller number of lashings as a punishment than his master would have doled out, or be assigned the *abjuración de Levi* (abjuration of the Light). This was a minor punishment for a first-time offender and someone that was only slightly suspected of the crime he was accused of. The punishment was participation in the *auto-da-fé*<sup>537</sup> in which the accused would be issued a punishment, usually some sort of spiritual penitence, prayer, a small fine, or occasionally flogging.<sup>538</sup>

The Inquisition, in fact, recognized that corporal punishment was harmful to slaves because, as they noted, "All of these blacks claim in their confessions that they renounced [God] with the affliction and pain of lashing, with what they said being due to punishment, not due to bad sentiments regarding our Sacred Catholic Faith."<sup>539</sup> We see the Inquisition being sympathetic towards the slaves' plight, to the extent that it is impeding on their ability to be good Catholics. Often, the Inquisition overrode the masters' assignment of warranted punishment. In this instance, the Inquisition was actually being lenient towards the black slave to a degree, but it was more in an attempt to exert control over the elite Spanish master than it had anything to do with the slave. The Inquisition needed complete dominion over the elite Spanish in the colonies, and that included having control over their possessions as well.

In autos-da-fé in 1596, 1601, and 1605, dozens of black slaves were sentenced to punishment for the crime of blasphemy—words, actions, or attitudes that were expressed against the Catholic doctrine.<sup>540</sup> Black slaves were not protected from the Inquisition by Spanish law like indigenous people were. This was because full-blooded indigenous people were not considered wholly Catholic (even if they had converted), while black slaves were considered property of their master. Thus, if the master was Catholic, the slave was also Catholic. This led to legal sentencing of slaves by the Inquisition in certain cases, such as when the slave refused to repent adequately for blasphemy, or if the slave's account of the events leading up to an accusation did not match with what white witnesses recalled. Such was the case of one María Blanca y Gerónima. She, like many other slaves, admitted that she had renounced God twice under the duress of flogging. Her account of what happened differed from her mistress' and the witness' accounts. According to the other women (the mistress and witness), she received, “ten or twelve lashes that this witness gave her with a leather thong...she renounced the milk she suckled, the bread she ate, the water she drank, and God and all his saints.” After which she was whipped again, struck on the head with a shoe, and dripped with candle wax. María Blanca, on the other hand, stated that she had been whipped cruelly by four women by order of her master and it was so painful that she blasphemed. Although María Blanca said that her own blasphemy, “grieves her greatly because she is so very devoted to Our Lady,” she refused to change her story and was, thus, sentenced to public flogging and humiliation because it was assumed that she had been the one lying in the case.<sup>541</sup> Since the slave did not repent or cooperate properly, they received even harsher punishment by the Inquisition than they did by their master.

These drastically different treatments of cases of blasphemy by the Inquisition created greater racial tension on both ends. The Inquisition frequently acquitted slaves for blasphemy or gave them very lenient punishments, which undermined the master's control. Many other times, the slaves were further oppressed and punished by the Inquisition because their word was not taken as truthful or sincere. The fact that the Inquisition did not have a firm stance and, yet, was frequently involved in master/slave relationships, promoted more strife between the slave and master while simultaneously straining the relationship between the Inquisition and both other parties. Neither slave nor master could count on the Inquisition to back them definitely in a case, which led to an increased sense of mistrust in the system.



### **The Inquisition and Monetary Morality**

The Inquisition, from its founding in the Americas, had a complicated relationship with money, just as it did with race. When the three main tribunals were first established in the New World, they faced funding issues because the Spanish Crown could not afford their expenses and, thus, the salaried office positions were occasionally left unfilled.<sup>542</sup> In 1583 (shortly after the tribunals were established), Inquisitors were already petitioning the Crown for the abolition of some of the lesser offices due to a lack of funding and a concern over salaries.<sup>543</sup> However, by the 1650's, the Holy Office had accumulated considerable capital. So how did the Inquisition become self-sufficient in the Colonies? Part of it was from a portion of tithes<sup>544</sup> that it received from its different bishoprics, as well as from confiscated money and goods from prisoners (those who had been convicted or accused of heresy or some other moral crime). Even though the Inquisition had the means to be self-sufficient, everything from the upkeep of the grounds and palaces of the tribunals, to holding prisoners, to organizing celebrations and processions of autos-da-fé, cost the Inquisition more money.<sup>545</sup> This is why the Inquisition's acquisition of money and approach to monetary penalties has become a subject of interest for historians.

The Inquisition's main targets, as it has been noted by many historians, were wealthy conversos (Jews who had converted to Catholicism). These people, because they were new to the faith and were seen as more easily corruptible and susceptible to Judaizing. This made them easy targets for the Inquisition. As Henry Charles Lea points out in his *Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies*, the middle of the seventeenth century was a time of enormous confiscations from these rich New Christians. Eventually, the New World tribunals had amassed so much wealth that they were no longer deemed needy enough to receive the 10,000 pesos<sup>546</sup> per annum that the Spanish Crown had previously supplied them.<sup>547</sup> An auto-da-fé in 1646 earned them 38,732 pesos, in 1647, 148,562 pesos. In 1649, they had an auto that yielded 3 million pesos.<sup>548</sup> While this trend did not continue through the whole century, this snapshot of three years serves Lea's assertion that the Inquisition was targeting wealthy conversos, and more often once they saw the great profit that could be made from their persecutions. John Chuchiak, likewise, argues that the Inquisition probably tactfully extorted millions of pesos from the converso population.<sup>549</sup>

For the Inquisition, conversos or criptojudios (declared Catholics who truly did practice

Judaism in secret) were the most obvious targets when they needed fresh funds. Not only were they relatively plentiful in the New World (as many had fled there after being expelled from Spain and Portugal), but they were also frequently suspected of formal heresy just by nature of the fact that they had not been born and raised Catholic, or their parents had not been. Besides this, the converso and criptojudío population had the most money of all the marginalized groups in the new world. The converso population, for the most part, was able to blend into Spanish culture more readily than black or indigenous people, who were automatically identified as an out-group because of their race. If the heritage of a converso or criptojudío (no matter how distant the connection) was somehow discovered by or revealed to the Inquisition, then the person would be targeted as a heretic.

Probably the most famous case of the Inquisition targeting a criptojudío is that of Luis de Carvajal “el mozo.” The fame of this case is mostly due to the fact that Luis de Carvajal wrote extensive memoirs which survive, but the scandal of his heresy was the fact that el mozo’s uncle, don Luis de Carvajal y de la Cueva, was one of the most prestigious inquisitors of New Spain.<sup>550</sup> When el mozo was finally sentenced, he was given the death penalty by burning at the stake because his commitment to Judaism constituted him as a relapsed heretic. This practice was termed “relaxation to the Secular Arm” as a sort of circumlocution which transferred blame for the execution away from the Church and onto the secular branch while also being euphemistic. In his definitive sentencing, the Inquisition also states that this punishment should be combined with, “the confiscation and loss of all his goods from the time that he began to commit his crimes of heresy.”<sup>551</sup> This meant that any assets that he had accumulated from his conversion at age thirteen to his death at age thirty, were seized by the Inquisition for their profit. The trial of el mozo was not a singular occurrence. Entire families could be bankrupted just from suspected heresy because the charged person’s assets were sequestered and used to pay for their imprisonment. The cases in which prisoners were “relaxed” quickly were the most lucrative because the Inquisition could just absorb the money without having to fund a lengthy imprisonment.

While persecuting judaizantes gave the Inquisition the potential to acquire large sums of money at a time, they were not above petty fining of the average Catholic citizen. Fines were often attached to actions which the larger Catholic community deemed criminal (such as bigamy,

polygamy, and, sexual immorality broadly) and, thus, the Inquisition had little need to justify their assessment of fines.<sup>552</sup> These fines, while small sums in terms of the larger income of the Inquisition, could be devastating to the common colonist. The fact that the Inquisition attached monetary penalties to acts of immorality (rather than spiritual atonement) gave authority to the Inquisition that, according to their initial purpose as promoters of the Catholic Faith in the Spanish Colonies, need not have been there. The Inquisition, especially in cases of moral fining, created increased financial insecurity for the colonist rather than being a stabilizing or even policing force of religion.

Catholics were not ready targets of the Inquisition like judaizantes, but the fining of a crime such as bigamy<sup>553</sup> is a prime example of how the Inquisition used the built-in moral norms of Catholicism for its own monetary gain, rather than a concern about the proper practice of the faith. In the very early years of the Inquisition's move to Latin America, they acknowledged to the Suprema that the majority of the people in the Colonies who were practicing bigamy were actually doing so in an attempt to be better Christians by pursuing marriage rather than living in sin with their second spouse (after having to abandon the first one because of things like abuse or adultery).<sup>554</sup> Additionally, bigamy frequently occurred completely by accident. Couples were often separated for extended periods of time and there are many accounts of both men and women re-marrying because they either had been out of communication with their spouse for so long (most women reported their husband being absent for an average of fifteen years) that they believed them dead or had received false word that their spouse had died.<sup>555</sup>

While bigamy was still considered a crime, it was a minor one, and generally did not need as much correcting in the perpetrator as it did in the priests that performed marriages without proof of the spouse's death (which the Inquisition did go to great lengths to prevent).<sup>556</sup> We see from a variety of sources the great financial toll that this "minor" religious crime of bigamous marriage could have on a colonist. Men were more often accused of bigamy than women. Men were the most frequently accused of nearly all inquisitorial charges.<sup>557</sup> However, when women were brought before the Inquisitions for minor crimes, it was more often for bigamy than any other infraction. Most cases of bigamy, for women, involved either an attempt to escape an abusive husband, or a marriage after the previous husband was believed to be dead.<sup>558</sup> Women were not marrying with malicious intent or with the intention of being sinful,

but would still likely be punished harshly for the crime if caught.

In one case, a woman, María de Sotomayor, had re-married in New Spain allegedly because she had received word that her first husband (who she left in Toledo) had died. She had been living a polygamous life with her new husband in Mexico City for over a year before she was brought before the Inquisition. After various witnesses reported that her husband was still alive, María de Sotomayor was sentenced to return her husband in Spain. She was also publicly disgraced by, “being stripped naked before the congregation and forced to kneel and hear a penitential mass... and remain naked from the waist up and barefoot.” She was then, “paraded before the congregation... and forced to kneel before the images of saints and listen to a sermon concerning the holy bonds of matrimony.”<sup>559</sup> All of this ceremony was focused on the correction of moral sins and spiritual penance. This is how the Inquisition, as a policing force of the Catholic Church, should be correcting this crime against marriage. It is the part that follows which shows the Inquisition overstepping their bounds. The document reads, “We also condemn her to the confiscation and loss of half of all her belongings as a fine that is to be applied to the fiscal office of this Holy Inquisition.” It is only after they’ve extorted money from her that the Inquisition will allow a priest to absolve her of her sins, so long as she returns to her husband.<sup>560</sup>

María de Sotomayor, however, refused to go back to Spain. Six days after her sentencing, she petitioned an inquisitor to grant her one year’s time to send for her Spanish husband to come to live with her in Mexico instead. This petition was not granted. Two years later, María de Sotomayor was arrested for fleeing to Peru. After this arrest, she was forcibly placed on a ship to Spain and all of her possessions were sequestered. These possessions, once sold, fetched 1771/2 pesos according to Inquisition documentation.<sup>561</sup> Although this doesn’t match the thousands of pesos that the Inquisition could take from judaizantes, this was just the profit from one relatively poor woman, and without adding the profits from the goods that Inquisition took the first time she was arrested.

The case of María de Sotomayor represents a small monetary gain for the Inquisition, but there were many other cases like hers. Many of these relatively small fines, together, have the potential to generate quite a bit of revenue for the Holy Office. Cases of bigamy alone accounted for 18% of Inquisition trials between 1571 and 1700. A man could be fined 700 pesos (enough money to pay an Inquisition Jailer’s annual salary) for this charge, and that would be considered

a “lenient” sentence in the eyes of the Inquisition.<sup>562</sup> When the Inquisition paraded María de Sotomayor around naked and took half of her belongings, it was described as “benevolent” treatment by the Inquisition.<sup>563</sup> The Inquisition was able to disguise their malicious intent by presenting monetary penalties as being less harsh than physical punishments like flogging or incarceration or spiritual punishments such as excommunication. These penalties, however, could be disastrous for the average colonist who would be hard pressed to recover from a financial blow such as a 700 peso fine. The Inquisition could have more properly fulfilled its intended function as a religious institution through prescribing penitence for criminals. But that was not going to solve the Inquisition’s financial issues. No one was safe from these financial assaults besides the inquisitors themselves. People of the upper class or nobility, when convicted of being a reconciled heretic, received even harsher monetary punishments than the lower class and could be excluded from holding public or ecclesiastical office. They also were not allowed to be doctors, surgeons, or public clerks. These bans, unsurprisingly, could be lifted as long as the heretic was willing to pay the price. They were often allowed to pay a fee (*composición*) to escape these prohibitions.<sup>564</sup> In the pursuit of generating income, the Inquisition was nothing if not resourceful.

It was then a logical leap for the Inquisition to attempt to profit not just off of its own citizens, but off of visitors as well. It justified, based on religious prejudices that were universally held amongst the colonial inquisitors, the capture and imprisonment of foreign sailors or pirates that came to the Colonies, particularly in New Spain.<sup>565</sup> It was a combination of political and religious rivalry between King Philip II and the “heretic” Queen Elizabeth I of England that provoked the harsh treatment that the Protestant English sailors experienced upon capture.<sup>566</sup> There was reason to believe (at least in the opinion of those Englishmen) that the Inquisition was targeting them because they were aware that it would be a profitable endeavor.

Miles Philips, one of many English sailors who were detained in 1568 by the Inquisition (and held for six years), wrote an account of his experience. While his story is likely biased against his Spanish captors, it serves to show the intention of the Inquisition to extort money from the Englishmen. Philips writes, “they had perfect knowledge and intelligence that many of us were become very rich... and therefore we were a very good booty and pray to the inquisitors.”<sup>567</sup> The Inquisition could justify any targeting of Protestants by claiming that they

were attempting to re-direct them to the true faith. However, this source suggests that the Inquisition had a monetary motive for their actions. According to Philips, the Inquisition already knew that the Englishmen were “rich” and were determined to capture them and all of their property. In their pursuit of the Englishmen, the Inquisition made a proclamation that, “upon paine of loosing of goods and excommunication, that no man should hide or keepe secret any Englishmen or any part of their goods.”<sup>568</sup> While this source doesn’t show the Inquisition explicitly targeting its own citizens, the colonist that might harbor an English fugitive (and possibly be paid to do so, as evidenced by the mention of “goods”), would also be affected financially if caught. Besides the threat of the Inquisition seizing goods, the threat of excommunication would also have a major effect on the Catholic colonist’s ability to support himself.

Excommunication was not just a spiritual affair, but would mean exclusion from the larger colonial society, which was entirely Catholic. Excommunications were highly publicized events in order to ensure that the good Catholics of the Colony would not accidentally associate with the excommunicated person. This process barred the heretic (or in the case of the English sailors, the person harboring a heretic) from infecting Catholics with their impious ideas. The Inquisition applied excommunication as a tool of isolation to establish a more potent punishment for these people who may not have feared God sufficiently to consider the spiritual ramifications as punishment enough.<sup>569</sup> This social isolation would have had a major effect on the earning potential of the colonist (because no one would do business with someone who was excommunicated) as well as hindered his abilities to get any goods or services from local merchants or tradesmen.

François Raymond Joseph de Pons gives us an outsider’s perspective of a similar issue from his book entitled, *Travels in South America* (published in English in 1807). This particular section comes from the censorship attempts of the Inquisition, which he witnessed in Peru. While his description may have been colored by prejudice against the Spanish<sup>570</sup> due to their religious and political conflicts with England, his account doesn’t diverge much from other documents (even inquisitorial records) which describe print censorship. The Spanish had an extensive list of prohibited books which they banned on the basis of scientific or humanist content, religious heresies, or foreign language.<sup>571</sup> De Pons describes the catalogs that book

vendors were required to keep and report of their inventories, books they intended to buy or sell, or books that were being brought into the Colonies by ship. De Pons writes that, “the omission or imperfect execution of this declaration occasions a confiscation of the books, and a cost of two hundred ducats<sup>572</sup> for the expenses of the Holy Office.” He also writes that anyone who sells or buys a prohibited book will receive a punishment, “for the first offense of interdiction from all commerce in books for two years; banishment, during the same term... and a fine of two hundred ducats to the profit of the Inquisition.”<sup>573</sup> The punishment is significantly harsh for a first-time offense. This is both because of the monetary penalty, but also because banishment from the vendor’s place of establishment would seriously impact his earning potential until he could re-establish himself in the new place.

De Pons’ writing allows us to see the Inquisition’s actions through a secular lens which the Inquisition documents do not provide. While the Inquisition was confiscating books for religious motives, they were not using a punishment that fit the crime. The people who were found in possession of prohibited books could have been sentenced to do spiritual penance (an attempt at improved instruction in the Catholic Doctrine), but their punishments of fines and banishment seem more like those that would be associated with the violation of a trade law. De Pons writes this whole account with no mention of religion, which shows that while there was undoubtedly a religious element to the confiscation of prohibited books, the powers that the Inquisition was taking on in the punishment of this crime appeared more secular.

For the Inquisition, religious malpractice could always be policed through a monetary penalty. This was problematic for their legitimacy. Namely, it made the Inquisition untrustworthy. They were not, as they presented themselves, acting as the arm of the Church or because of the will of God, since it is not logical that moral misdeeds should have a fine attached to them. The Inquisition was acting as an organization which was bent on making a profit. This motive also naturally lent itself to the fostering of corruption within the Inquisition. The amounts of confiscated pesos that were recorded did not account for the vast amounts of sequestered goods that could have been omitted from the record because they were embezzled by an inquisitor.<sup>574</sup> The colonists could not trust an institution that could mean financial ruin for them. Even people who were suspected of heresy or blasphemy could be fined without significant proof of their guilt. The Inquisition, in its greed, overstepped religious authority and,

in the process, perpetuated insecurity in the Spanish Colonies.

### **The Inquisition Against Outsiders**

While instituting fines was a useful tool for the Inquisition to assert control in the colonies, it was still necessary to prevent outside influences on the colonial psyche. The fear of the outsider was prevalent from the founding of the Tribunal to its dissolution. In fact, the first four decades of inquisitorial proceedings in New Spain saw many “foreigners and outsiders” tried for heresy and very few other groups by comparison.<sup>575</sup> In this process, the Inquisition hoped to promote Spanish patriotism as well as Catholic loyalty. Outside ideas, particularly from Protestant nations, could be carried to the Colonies either through books or through people. This threat was identified by the Inquisition and so the Colonies experienced heavy censorship and restriction of immigration. It is in this practice that we see the oppressive force of the Inquisition at its height.

The censorship of books, in particular, proved difficult to enforce in the Spanish Colonies. As historian Lu Ann Homza notes in her book *The Spanish Inquisition 1478-1614*, the index of prohibited books in Spain was constantly changing from year to year and the prohibitions were not consistent across all of Spain, let alone across all of the Spanish dependencies. Homza claims that, in regards to the index of prohibited books, “mandates could be open to interpretation and prohibitions could be nearly impossible to enforce.”<sup>576</sup> If this was the case in the peninsula, it would be much more difficult to enforce a set list of printed prohibitions in the expansive Colonies. Although the Inquisition thought it necessary to maintain Spanish rule, the control of the circulation of prohibited books was not very successful in Latin America. The practice was, by far, more effective in the larger urban areas, where the inquisitorial presence was strongest. In the more rural areas, the Inquisition simply did not have the manpower to enforce these prohibitions, as is evidenced by countless complaints by local authorities.<sup>577</sup> Still, The Inquisition laid out in its index that it intended to, “not only tend to the conservation and purity of Our Catholic Faith, destroying all errors against it, but also help and give all favor to those who defend it, declare it, and are illuminated by it and who write against the heretics.”<sup>578</sup>

No matter the difficulty of their task, the Inquisition took their policing of prohibited



texts very seriously. The Inquisition in the Colonies had the ability to investigate and persecute anyone who possessed, read, or sold prohibited books. Punishments for this crime included fines and the confiscation of the prohibited texts.<sup>579</sup> While historians Lee Penyak and Walter Petry argue that this, “control over the reading materials... was simply a logical extension of the Office’s jurisdiction over the individual’s adherence to orthodox Catholic doctrine,” the Inquisition’s actions in regard to books were not solely religiously based.<sup>580</sup> It was yet another play for power. There were instances in which the inquisitors in the Colonies overstepped the allowances made to them by the Suprema in their ruthless pursuit of banned books, and were reprimanded by the powers in Spain for their insubordination. Only the Inquisitor General had the power to grant licenses or deny petitions to read prohibited books, but inquisitors in New Spain took on that responsibility many times.<sup>581</sup> While this withholding of outside information may have worked for a time to quell religious revolution in the Colonies, it was not a long-term solution for the Inquisition’s problems because they overreached their authority and impeded on people’s intellectual pursuits and freedoms.

The Inquisition occasionally granted petitions to read banned books but, more often than not, they denied these requests, no matter how well justified they were. This was the case when one young doctor, Don Anacleto Rodríguez, petitioned the Inquisition to read books on Natural Science, which he hoped would be helpful to him in his position as a professor of medicine at the naval hospital in the port of Veracruz, Mexico. In his petition to his local tribunal, he stated that he was, “desirous to contribute to the defense of the Faith and the propagation of the Catholic Religion.”<sup>582</sup> He then asked to be made a Familiar<sup>583</sup> and subsequently asked to have permission “read and have in my power the prohibited books in all languages, especially in French, which deal with my profession.”<sup>584</sup> As was the common practice, his petition was forwarded to Spain for review. Rodríguez’s local commissary wrote a letter which accompanied his petition and which validated his character. The commissary wrote that Rodríguez was, “of good conduct and known virtue... who wishes to excel in his profession, not out of vanity but to improve his talents to help humbly and with charity all those who have need of his services.”<sup>585</sup> Skilled doctors were not plentiful in the Spanish Colonies. Much of the rural population still depended on the folk healing of curanderos (which the Inquisition also condemned) because they did not have access to modern medicine. For Rodríguez, a teacher who would have imparted his

knowledge on many trainees at the hospital, access to new reading material could have been invaluable. Certainly, allowing him to read prohibited books pertaining to his profession could have positive effects in his community as a whole. It is not logical to argue that improved healthcare is a dangerous thing, but new knowledge was a threat to the Inquisition.

However, whether it was because of fear that books about the Natural Sciences (most of which were banned) would somehow challenge the Catholic doctrine, or because the French language was associated with French Protestant Reformation leader John Calvin, Anacleto Rodríguez's petition was denied. At this rejection, the Veracruz commissary wrote to the inquisitor that, "Don Anacleto Rodríguez has become frustrated as he remembers the French Encyclopedia and the Natural History... that he studied in his college, and he has insinuated that he will suspend any further petition."<sup>586</sup> This young doctor's pursuit of knowledge was crushed under the heel of the Inquisition and he realized that it was not worth the struggle of going through the process to apply for permission again because he had already been denied once. The likelihood of a second petition being granted was negligible. Don Anacleto Rodríguez's case shows a typical outcome for petitions of this sort. Even if the petitioner had the best intentions, permission to read banned books was hardly ever granted by the Inquisitor General. The sheer number of books that were banned on the grounds that they were harmful to the Faith, Catholic morality, or Spanish patriotism (even if the actual threat that these books posed was unclear), severely limited the amount of reading material that was available to the educated colonist. If permission to read banned books was granted, it was only allowed for a very specific category of books pertaining to a specific subject. A person would never be given free reign to read all banned books by the Inquisition.<sup>587</sup> Don Anacleto Rodríguez made a wise decision, though, by relenting in his pursuit of French knowledge because if a person were caught in the possession of prohibited books without permission, the punishment would be damaging to both the finances and the reputation of the criminal.

Books were not the only objects that posed a threat to the Inquisition's authority. Sometimes the dangers of subversion and heresy were hidden in other common objects. The Inquisition in Mexico was always on the guard for the possibility that religious motifs could be used disrespectfully. The Inquisition confiscated things such as furniture, bedding, and even eating utensils from colonists in order to erase images of crosses, the Virgin Mary, or Saints that

were commonly depicted on such objects. These confiscations were meant to redirect piety away from objects and towards more formal manifestations of holiness which could be provided from local church officials. Men with tattooed crosses were ordered to deface them within fifteen days if they were reported to the Inquisition. Even if the colonist's daily life was not severely affected by the censorship of books, this extreme version of censorship was much more likely to interfere with everyday life in the Colonies. This is especially true since, "Spanish piety had luxuriated in the use of such emblems whenever possible."<sup>588</sup> Colonists who had previously been encouraged to show their piety through these trinkets were now confused as the Inquisition went about confiscating and defacing their thimbles, cross-shaped branding irons, or towels. The colonists were not told why these confiscations were happening besides the fact that they were not showing correct reverence. The Inquisition now insisted that only the holiest objects were allowed to bear the sign of the cross. While many of these (now prohibited) images were manufactured in the Colonies, the growing threat of Protestantism created a constant fear that the Catholic faith of the people was somehow being compromised. The Inquisition targeted the colonist's individual displays of faith in an attempt to impose stricter control over the way that Catholicism was practiced. Salvation through correct Catholicism was now only offered through officially sanctioned activities such as attending Mass or Confession.

The extent to which the Inquisition was willing to investigate and eliminate outside influence in the Colonies is demonstrated by a source which details the discovery of five foreign handkerchiefs. These handkerchiefs were confiscated by a secular constable in Veracruz. Upon seeing that they depicted religious images and were also printed with the English language, the constable was inclined to turn them over to the Inquisition, as they had jurisdiction over things of religious import. The very same day that the Inquisition received the handkerchiefs from the constable, the inquisitors forwarded the parcel to Dr. Don Joseph Garcia Bravo (who was competent in English) and ordered him to translate the writing on the fabric, "with exactitude and brevity."<sup>589</sup> Thirteen days later, the doctor sent a detailed report to the Inquisition explaining what each scene on the handkerchief depicted and what the accompanying writing said. Altogether, the translator determined that "the object or idea is to make known the parable in the Gospels of the Two Servants,<sup>590</sup> and this is done by using the images, the texts, and the Holy Scriptures all placed in English, and taken out of the Bible."<sup>591</sup> The Inquisition then deliberated

whether or not the handkerchiefs were considered to be against the prohibitions of the Index, and they finally decided that they were, “parodies of sacred figures... that could cause irreverence.” They mandated that the cloths should be erased of their printing for this error, besides the fact that “the sixteenth rule [of the Expurgatorio]<sup>592</sup> is even more explicit in this individual case because it says that all words in foreign languages should be purged.”<sup>593</sup> This case went on for another month with the inquisitors attempting to track down the origin of these handkerchiefs and everyone who may have bought one from the man who was known to have sold them. Fortunately for the people who possessed the handkerchiefs, they were not seriously punished. All the Inquisition cared about was that the English writing and the image of an angel (which appeared in the center) were erased from the cloth. As the image was permanent and the owners could not find any way of erasing the writing, they were forced to burn the handkerchiefs.

The Inquisition, in these cases, was punishing people for attempting to show their piety because of their intense fear of a Protestant invasion. Even though the English language expert said that there was nothing to suggest a Protestant motive in the handkerchiefs, they destroyed them anyway. The widespread purging of religious paraphernalia was confusing to the colonists because they had previously used such objects as a show of their Catholic devotion. The Inquisition did not fulfill its duty in providing Catholic guidance, in this instance, because it could not make its ideals of piety clear to the public. The Inquisition’s censorship of Protestant influence was not limited to print and images. They also sought to preemptively censor people through highly restricted immigration management.

When the Inquisition inspected ships arriving in colonial ports, they were not just looking for heresies in the form of objects, but also for heresies personified. The Holy Office expected their commissaries to conduct interviews with all of the people who were on board the ship. The captain of the ship was questioned in regards to the presence of heretical persons on the ship and had to take the oath of the Master which testified to the Inquisition’s commissary that, “what is written is his word under oath... and that he does not state his testimony out of hatred for the said person, but for the discharge of his conscience.” The Inquisition also mandated that, “[the Commissary] should make all of the other merchants and passengers on board of the ship take the oath [of the Master], and they should be questioned about the particulars concerning if they know of or have seen or understood that onboard the ship some person had done something or

said something against Our Holy Catholic Faith.”<sup>594</sup> These interviews were mostly directed at rooting out heretics or, at least, heretical ideas, in people who were moving from Spanish Iberia to Spanish America.

Since before the founding of the Colonial Inquisition, there had been laws in place that prevented heretics from immigrating to the Colonies. One of these was first posted in 1518 and stated, “That no reconciled heretic, child, nor grandchild of a burned sambenitado<sup>595</sup> nor heretic shall travel to the [West] Indies”.<sup>596</sup> This restriction shows concern by the Inquisition over the susceptibility of its Colonies to the influences of heresy from the motherland. The Inquisition, from the beginning, viewed Catholicism’s place as the dominant religion in the Colonies as insecure. They had to bar heretics (and potential heretics) from emigrating from Spain as best they could. They also made an effort to make sure that no religious figures except those who were very devout were allowed to travel to the Colonies. Another law states, “no cleric nor friar shall travel to the [West] Indies without license from the King.”<sup>597</sup> While these people (who were traveling from Spain) would not have been considered “foreigners” in the traditional sense, they still could not be allowed into the Colonies because they had the greater potential to spread Protestant heresies. Iberia was in close proximity to Protestant European nations and had also been historically plagued with Jewish and Muslim ideology. As such, the Inquisition had to ensure that the already precarious place of Catholicism was only strengthened by incoming Spanish Catholics.

Another immigration problem came from Spain’s Iberian neighbor: Portugal. Accounts from the early 17th century show that many judaizantes had traveled from Portugal to Brazil and then moved to Peru. This perceived problem was one that stemmed from Spain because Castile had been, during the time, the victim of an influx of Portuguese who had moved to Spain after the Portuguese succession crisis of 1580.<sup>598</sup> These Portuguese people were thought of by the Spanish as natural judaizantes because a vast amount of the Jewish population of Spain had fled to Portugal after the expulsion of 1492. This idea that Portuguese was synonymous with Judaizer also eventually translated to the Colonial Inquisition. In Peru, many of these Portuguese immigrants were tortured and relaxed because they would not admit heresy or relent to the Inquisition’s demands of conversion.<sup>599</sup> Later decades brought more immigration threats for the Inquisition to contend with as King Philip III succeeded his father. He signed a treaty with

England in 1603 which put a stop to the prosecution of English sailors and merchants in Spanish ports in the New World.<sup>600</sup> This eventually minimized the amount of foreigners that the Inquisition was relaxing in general. It did not, however, stop them from ensuring that these foreigners could not contaminate Colonial Catholicism.

The Inquisition was also tasked with enforcing a ban on immigration from many protestant nations including England, Holland, Germany, and parts of France. It was impossible to completely bar these people from the Colonies. Before the 1610's, the Inquisition did their best to punish the outsider heretics brutally, in hopes that it would both correct their religion and discourage their fellow countrymen from continuing to attempt immigration.<sup>601</sup> In later decades, though, they mostly relied on long imprisonments as their punishment of choice. These prisoners, as was the case with Swedish sailor, Jacob Fors, often opted to convert to Catholicism so that they could live "freely" in the Colonies. This choice came with a price because it required the heretic to renounce his religion and his homeland, and would also bring him under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. He would be closely monitored for the rest of his life, lest he relapse into Lutheran heresy (which would likely constitute relaxation).<sup>602</sup>

Although the Inquisition attempted to completely isolate its Colonies from any influences that were not Spanish Catholic, it was ultimately unsuccessful in this feat as well. Word of the revolutions happening in France, The United States, and Haiti spread through the Spanish Colonies and, with the news of their successes, new political leaders began to emerge. Enlightened men such as Miguel Hidalgo, a professor turned priest and Mexican revolutionary leader, began to speak out against Spanish oppression that the Inquisition enforced in the Colonies. The Inquisition, as was their way, attacked him under false (religiously based) pretenses. Hidalgo was advocating for political reforms that would benefit the poor and mixed-race Catholics of Mexico. The Inquisition, obviously, saw this as a threat to their power and, more broadly, to Spanish power. In an attempt to destroy Hidalgo's legitimacy, they painted him as a heretic. The Bishop of Michoacán (Hidalgo's former friend, Manuel Abad y Queipo) wrote against Hidalgo, condemning him for his rebellion and for committing two grave sacrileges, "insulting religion and Our Lady [of Guadalupe]," and excommunicating him.<sup>603</sup> The Inquisition went to great lengths to squash the followers of Hidalgo. They had even common, unemployed colonists self-denouncing under oath that they had supported the revolt, but they could not stop

it.<sup>604</sup> Throughout the 19th century, Spain lost its Colonies one by one.

## Conclusions

The Colonies presented more of a challenge to inquisitorial dominion than Spain had originally anticipated, and its biggest obstacle was not Catholicizing a land full of heathens. Spain had attempted, by use of the Inquisition, to unite its vast Colonies through religion. The problem with this plan was the fact that Spain had allowed the Inquisition to become self-sufficient and independent. The Inquisition had been more successful in Spain because it had been used as an instrument of Catholicism in conjunction with the secular ruling of the Crown. Besides those heretics who were relaxed by the Inquisition, the Spanish were able to forcefully remove heretics by expelling them and physically driving them out of the realm because they had an army. In the Colonies, there was an army of inquisitors who were, for all intents and purposes, allowed to act both as a secular and religious power. We see time and time again in the documents that the secular officers yield to the inquisitors, giving them information, consulting them about prisoners, and taking their advice about how to sneakily extort money from those who they caught in crimes against the religion.

Religion was supposed to be the factor that would make all of the colonists loyal to Spain. If they were Catholic, they were Spanish because Spain is Catholic. Or at least, that was the assumption. It is clear, however, that this was a logical fallacy. Spain had thought that Catholicism would be hard-won in the Colonies, but this was not the case. The majority of Latin America was, indeed, converted Catholicism and remains predominantly Catholic to this day. Whether or not this was the work of the Inquisition specifically is unclear. What is certain, though, is that the Inquisition did not make faithful Spaniards out of the colonists as they had intended. Even though they believed that it was morally correct to follow the Catholic doctrine, colonists did not naturally associate it with loyalty to Spain because the only representatives that they had of Spain were the secular and religious officials that were sanctioned in the Colonies. The colonists would have no reason to have allegiance to a king across the Atlantic, besides the fact that these officials told them that they should. These Spanish kings had not done anything tangible for them, but they had placed the Inquisition in their stead. The Inquisition was a representation of Spain, and the Inquisition had not brought good things to the Colonies beyond a

basis for their faith.

The Inquisition implemented their religion in a way that was ultimately destructive to the colonists. They increased class and racial tensions by targeting Native traditions, defending priests who abused their parishioners, and playing both sides in slave/master conflict. Their primary concern was to systematically extort money from heretics and bigamists and other religious wrongdoers and spiritual punishment became an afterthought. They tried to prevent foreign heresies from entering the Colonies, but it was the ideological invasion that was their undoing. The Inquisition was unwilling to support variances in cultural expression and, eventually, there was a major backlash against this oppression. The Colonies were not converted to Protestantism or Judaism as they had feared, but they were lost to the desire to be free from oppression in the form of persecutions, taxes, tithes, and class and racial strife. While the Inquisition did not create these issues, it perpetuated them. Colonists wanted the freedom to go about their lives and practice their Catholicism without worrying that their handkerchief could send the Inquisition knocking on their door. People were tired of being scared that their livelihood would be ruined by rumors of their sexual misconduct or medicinal practices. An institution that seeks to control every aspect of daily life will always be met with resistance. The Inquisition was given so much power and trusted to control the Colonies, but they were too busy harping on the heretics to realize that a socio-political revolution was right under their noses. The Inquisition overstepped the boundaries of what a religious institution should have been allowed to do and eventually lost its century-long vice grip on Latin American life.



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*Please note: Spanish language capitalization practices were used in bibliographical entries for those books published in Spanish.*

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- <sup>19</sup> Haunani-Kay Trask, "Kūpa‘a ‘Āina," in *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai‘i*, 2nd ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1999), 85.
- <sup>20</sup> Jon Osorio and Randy Borden, "Hawaiian Soul," in *Hawaiian Eyes*, Jon & Randy, 1993, accessed April 22, 2017, [http://www.huapala.org/Hawaii/Hawaiian\\_Soul.html](http://www.huapala.org/Hawaii/Hawaiian_Soul.html).
- <sup>21</sup> Richard C. Pratt, and Zachary A. Smith, "Constitutional Development," in *Hawai‘i Politics and Government: An American State in a Pacific World* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 98.
- <sup>22</sup> Samuel H. Elbert and Noelani Mahoe, comps., *Nā Mele O Hawai‘i Nei: 101 Hawaiian Songs* (Honolulu:

University of Hawai'i Press, 1970), 63.; for full lyrics, see Appendix 3.

<sup>23</sup> The rough translation, "The life of the land is perpetuated in righteousness," has been the subject of controversy and disagreement among Hawaiian scholars and nationalists. Different variations exist and therefore, I have decided to include the original text only.

<sup>24</sup> Elbert and Mahoe, *Nā Mele O Hawai'i Nei*, 108.

<sup>25</sup> Pierre Bowman, "Once Flickering Hawaiian Renaissance Now Ignited," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, February 20, 1979, Progress Section I: Past 20 Years sec.

<sup>26</sup> George S. Kanahele, "Haw'n Renaissance Grips, Changes Island History," *Ha'ilono Mele V* (July 1979): 2.

<sup>27</sup> In this instance, "hapa haole" refers to Hawaiian music with outside influence (i.e., American).

<sup>28</sup> Keith Haugen, "The Decline and Rise of Hawaiian Music on Radio," *Ha'ilono Mele IV* (March 1978): 1, accessed December 11, 2017, <http://ulukau.org/gsd12.80/collect/hailono/cgi-bin/hailono?a=pdf&d=DHMN004003.1.1&dl=1&sim=Screen2Image>.

<sup>29</sup> Hawaiian 105 KINE, advertisement, KINE-FM, March 2017.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Keith Haugen, "Ku'ū Morning Dew," *Ha'ilono Mele III* (April 1977): 4-5, accessed December 11, 2017, <http://ulukau.org/gsd12.80/collect/hailono/cgi-bin/hailono?a=pdf&d=DHMN003004.1.1&dl=1&sim=Screen2Image>.

<sup>32</sup> George S. Kanahele and John Berger, eds., *Ka Mele Hawai'i A Me Ka Po'e Mele, Hawaiian Music & Musicians: An Encyclopedic History* (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 2012), 770.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 83.

<sup>34</sup> Catherine Kekoa Enomoto, "Cazimero Brothers Mark 20 Years of Song and Celebration," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu), April 28, 1997, accessed September 29, 2017, <http://archives.starbulletin.com/97/04/28/features/story1.html>.

<sup>35</sup> The Peter Moon Band, *Tropical Storm*, Panini Records, 1979, vinyl recording.

<sup>36</sup> Israel Ka'ano'i Kamakawiwo'ole, "Hawai'i '78," by Kāwika Crowley, Mickey Ioane, Abe Keala, and Cleyton Kua, in *Facing Future*, Israel Kamakawiwo'ole, Mountain Apple Company, 1993, CD.; for full lyrics, see Appendix 4.

<sup>37</sup> Kanahele and Berger, *Ka Mele Hawai'i A Me Ka Po'e Mele*, 439.

<sup>38</sup> Ni'ihau is the westernmost island in the main Hawaiian archipelago. The moku (island) is privately-owned by the Robinson family, who have maintained ownership since 1864.

<sup>39</sup> Wilma Consul, writer, "Hawaiian Music Makes Its Grammy Debut," NPR, February 11, 2005, accessed December 11, 2017, <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=4492881>.

<sup>40</sup> Kanahele and Berger, *Ka Mele Hawai'i A Me Ka Po'e Mele*, 204.

<sup>41</sup> The Recording Academy, "The Recording Academy Continues Evolution of GRAMMY Awards Process," news release, April 6, 2011, Recording Academy, accessed October 1, 2017, <https://www.grammy.com/recording-academy/announcement/press-release>.

<sup>42</sup> Jerry Santos and Robert Beaumont, "Ku'ū Home O Kahalu'ū," by Jerry Santos, in *Like A Seabird In The Wind*, Olomana, Seabird Sound, 1976, vinyl recording.

<sup>43</sup> Kanahele and Berger, *Ka Mele Hawai'i A Me Ka Po'e Mele*, 317.

<sup>44</sup> Keola Beamer and Kaponu Beamer, *Honolulu City Lights*, by Keola Beamer, Keola and Kaponu Beamer, 1978, vinyl recording.

<sup>45</sup> Kanahele and Berger, *Ka Mele Hawai'i A Me Ka Po'e Mele*, 64.

<sup>46</sup> Trask, "'Lovely Hula Hands': Corporate Tourism and the Prostitution of Hawaiian Culture," in *From a Native Daughter*, 136.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 144.

<sup>48</sup> Kanaeholo, "Interview with Vincent K. Kanaeholo."

<sup>49</sup> Puhipau, "(Self-)Portrait," in *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life, Land, and Sovereignty*, ed. Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, Ikaika Hussey, and Erin Kahunawaika'ala Wright (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 132-3.

<sup>50</sup> Amy Ku'uleialoha Stillman, "Hawaiian Hula Competitions: Event, Repertoire, Performance, Tradition," *The Journal of American Folklore* 109, no. 434 (Autumn 1996): 358, accessed March 8, 2017, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/541181>.

<sup>51</sup> "History of the Merrie Monarch Festival," Merrie Monarch, accessed October 22, 2017, <http://www.merriemonarch.com/merrie-monarch-festival>.

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- <sup>58</sup> "A Timeline of Revitalization," ‘Aha Pūnana Leo.
- <sup>59</sup> Katrina-Ann R. Kapā‘anaokalāokeola Nākoa Oliveira, "E Ola Mau Ka ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i: The Hawaiian Language Revitalization Movement," in *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life, Land, and Sovereignty*, ed. Noelani Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua, Ikaika Hussey, and Erin Kahunawaika‘ala Wright. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 81.
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- <sup>61</sup> ‘Aha Pūnana Leo (Honolulu), accessed October 23, 2017, <http://www.ahapunanaleo.org/images/files/Pepelu.pdf>.
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- <sup>107</sup> "Historical U.S. Brewery Count," *Brewers Association*, Accessed September 19, 2017, <https://www.brewersassociation.org/statistics/number-of-breweries/>.
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<sup>114</sup> Maureen Ogle, *Ambitious Brew*, 16.

<sup>115</sup> “Industry Cluster Study Full Report Metro Denver Economic Corporation,” *Development Research Partners, Inc.*, (Denver, CO), January 26, 2017, 44.

<sup>116</sup> Kreck, “The Napa Valley of Beer,” 39.

<sup>117</sup> Dan Baum, *Citizen Coors: A Grand Family Saga of Business, Politics And Beer*, (New York: William Morrow & Company: 2000), 11.

<sup>118</sup> Brea Hoffman, *Fort Collins Beer: A History of Brewing on the Front Range* (Charleston: The History Press, 2017), 14-15.

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<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>122</sup> Carl Abbott, Stephen Leonard, Thomas Noel, *Colorado: A History of the Centennial State*, (Boulder: University of Colorado Press: 2013), 405.

<sup>123</sup> Baum, *Citizen Coors*, 149.

<sup>124</sup> Abbott, *Colorado: A History of the Centennial State*, 397.

<sup>125</sup> Eleanor Agnew, *Back from the Land: How Young Americans Went to Nature in the 1970s, and Why They Came Back*, (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee Publishing, 2004).

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<sup>127</sup> Acitelli, *The Audacity of Hops*, 35.

<sup>128</sup> Amy Scott, “Remaking Urban in the American West: Lifestyle Politics, Micropolitan Urbanism, and Hip Capitalism in Boulder, Colorado 1858-1978,” Dissertation (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico: 2007) ix.

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<sup>130</sup> Baum, *Citizen Coors*, 13.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 177.

<sup>132</sup> “Every Can Counts,” Pamphlet from the History Colorado Center Archives.

<sup>133</sup> Baum, *Citizen Coors*, xii.

<sup>134</sup> Joseph Gilbert, Catherine Legrand, and Ricardo Salvatore, *Close Encounters of Empire: Writing the Cultural History of U.S.-Latin American Relations*, (Durham, N.C.: Duke University, 1998), 548.

<sup>135</sup> The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

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<sup>138</sup> “Zymurgy” indicates the study of the biochemical process of yeast fermentation. Acitelli, *The Audacity of Hops*, 62.

<sup>139</sup> Amahl Scheppach, “30 years of the AHA and Zymurgy: Still a Grassroots Effort,” *Zymurgy* 31, no. 6 (2008): 35.

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<sup>143</sup> Acitelli, *The Audacity of Hops*, 83.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, 108.

<sup>145</sup> Tess McFadden (Director of Marketing at Boulder Beer) in discussion with the author, July 25, 2017.

<sup>146</sup> Tess McFadden (Director of Marketing at Boulder Beer) in discussion with the author, July 25, 2017.

<sup>147</sup> Acitelli, *The Audacity of Hops*, 77.

<sup>148</sup> Tess McFadden (Director of Marketing at Boulder Beer) in discussion with the author, July 25, 2017.

<sup>149</sup> Scheppach, “30 years of the AHA and Zymurgy,” 36.

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- <sup>178</sup> Tess McFadden (Director of Marketing at Boulder Beer) in discussion with the author, July 25, 2017.
- <sup>179</sup> Steve Raabe, "Brewpubs: Head-to-Head," *The Denver Post* (Denver, CO), November 10, 1991.
- <sup>180</sup> Ealy, "Getting Ahead Brewpub Biz."
- <sup>181</sup> Acitelli, *The Audacity of Hops*, 116.
- <sup>182</sup> Having soft water, meaning barely any minerals, is essential in the brewing process. Fort Collins has impeccable water because of its proximity to the Cache la Poudre River which flows down from the Rocky Mountains and has no industrial use before Fort Collins. Brea Hoffman (author of *Fort Collins Beer: A History of Brewing on the Front Range*) in discussion with the author, August 9, 2017.
- <sup>183</sup> Hoffman, *Fort Collins Beer: A History of Brewing on the Front Range*, 29.
- <sup>184</sup> Brian Callahan (first employee at New Belgium Brewing Co.) in discussion with the author, August 9, 2017.
- <sup>185</sup> Acitelli, *The Audacity of Hops*, 194.
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- <sup>187</sup> Jeffrey Leib, “Microbrewer Heady on Lager,” *The Denver Post* (Denver, CO), December 18, 1993.
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<sup>404</sup> Ibid.

<sup>405</sup> *Gia*, Directed by Michael Cristofer, By Jay McInerney, Performed by Angelina Jolie, Faye Dunaway, and Elizabeth Mitchell, United States: HBO, 1998, DVD.

<sup>406</sup> *Set it Off*, Directed by F. Gary Gray, By Takashi Bufford and Kate Lanier, Performed by Jada Pinkett Smith, Queen Latifah, Vivica A. Fox, and Kimberly Elise, United States, 1996, DVD.

<sup>407</sup> Alison Darren, *Lesbian Film Guide*, 3.

<sup>408</sup> John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America*, 291.

<sup>409</sup> Ann M. Ciasullo, "Making Her (In)Visible: Cultural Representations of Lesbianism and the Lesbian Body in the 1990s." *Feminist Studies* 27, no. 3 (2001): 577-608.

<sup>410</sup> Ibid.

<sup>411</sup> Ibid.

<sup>412</sup> *Basic Instinct*, Directed by Paul Verhoeven, By Joe Eszterhas, Performed by Michael Douglas and Sharon Stone, United States: TriStar, 1992, DVD.

<sup>413</sup> *Chasing Amy*, Directed by Kevin Smith, By Kevin Smith, Performed by Joey Lauren Adams, Ben Affleck, and Jason Lee, United States, 1997, DVD.

<sup>414</sup> Ibid.

<sup>415</sup> Ann M. Ciasullo, "Making Her (In)Visible: Cultural Representations of Lesbianism and the Lesbian Body in the 1990s."

<sup>416</sup> *Boys on the Side*, Directed by Herbert Ross, By Don Roos, Performed by Whoopi Goldberg, Mary-Louise Parker, and Drew Barrymore, United States: Warner Bros., 1995, DVD.

<sup>417</sup> John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America*, 373.

<sup>418</sup> Ibid., 366.

<sup>419</sup> "Laurel Hester Biography.com," Biography.com, September 11, 2015, Accessed October 21, 2017, <https://www.biography.com/people/laurel-hester-090915>.

<sup>420</sup> Ibid.

<sup>421</sup> Michael Wilson, "Lieutenant Who Won Pension Rights for Her Domestic Partner Dies at 49," *The New York Times*, February 20, 2006, Accessed October 21, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/02/20/obituaries/lieutenant-who-won-pension-rights-for-her-domestic-partner-dies.html>.

<sup>422</sup> "Laurel Hester Biography.com."

<sup>423</sup> *Saving Face*, Directed by Alice Wu, Performed by Michelle Krusiec, Joan Chen, and Lynn Chen, United States: Sony Pictures Classic, 2004, DVD.

<sup>424</sup> Ibid.

<sup>425</sup> G. Allen Johnson, "Alice Wu saved up her own doubts and struggles and turned them into the new comedy 'Saving Face'," SFGate, June 06, 2005, Accessed October 21, 2017, <http://www.sfgate.com/entertainment/article/Alice-Wu-saved-up-her-own-doubts-and-struggles-2629266.php>.

<sup>426</sup> *Carol*, Directed by Todd Haynes, Screenplay by Phyllis Nagy, Performed by Cate Blanchett and Rooney Mara, United States: The Weinstein Company, 2015, DVD.

<sup>427</sup> "Carol (2015)." IMDb. Accessed December 09, 2017. <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt2402927/>.

<sup>428</sup> *Kissing Jessica Stein*, Directed by Charles Herman-Wurmfeld, By Jennifer Westfeldt and Heather Juergensen, Performed by Jennifer Westfeldt and Heather Juergensen, United States: Fox Searchlight Pictures, 2001, DVD.

<sup>429</sup> *Freeheld*, Directed by Peter Sollett, By Ron Nyswaner, Performed by Julianne Moore and Ellen Page, United States: Lionsgate, 2015, DVD.

<sup>430</sup> Alison Darren, *Lesbian Film Guide*, 3.

<sup>431</sup> Steven Spielberg, dir. *Munich* (2005, United States: Universal Pictures), Digital.

- <sup>432</sup> Cheryl A. Rubenberg, *Israel and the American National Interest: a Critical Examination* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 2.
- <sup>433</sup> Michelle Mart, *Eye on Israel: How America Came to View the Jewish State as an Ally* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), 24.
- <sup>434</sup> Julian Levinson, "The Maimed Body and the Tortured Soul: Holocaust Survivors in American Film," *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 17, no. 1 (2004), 142.
- <sup>435</sup> *Ibid.*, 141.
- <sup>436</sup> Ilan Avisar, *Screening the Holocaust: Cinema's Images of the Unimaginable* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 3.
- <sup>437</sup> Lawrence Baron, *Projecting the Holocaust into the Present: The Changing Focus of Contemporary Holocaust Cinema* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), 4.
- <sup>438</sup> Tim Cole, *Selling the Holocaust: From Auschwitz to Schindler, How History Is Bought, Packaged, and Sold* (New York: Routledge, 2000), xi
- <sup>439</sup> Mart, *Eye on Israel*, 13.
- <sup>440</sup> *Ibid.*, 28-29.
- <sup>441</sup> John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007), 147: The term is still used today but instead of focusing on split loyalty it represents full loyalty to both Israel and their home county simultaneously.
- <sup>442</sup> Judith E. Doneson, *The Holocaust in American Film* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2002), 72.
- <sup>443</sup> Rubenberg, *Israel and the American National Interest*, 25-26.
- <sup>444</sup> Benny Morris, *Righteous victims: a history of the Zionist-Arab conflict, 1881-2001* (New York: Vintage Books, 1999), 75.
- <sup>445</sup> Rubenberg, *Israel and the American National Interest*, 34.
- <sup>446</sup> Frank H. Epp, *Whose Land Is Palestine?: The Middle East Problem in Historical Perspective* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1970), 27-28.
- <sup>447</sup> Mart, *Eye on Israel*, 23-24.
- <sup>448</sup> Rubenberg, *Israel and the American National Interest*, 45.
- <sup>449</sup> Mart, *Eye on Israel*, 19.
- <sup>450</sup> Max Nosseck, dir. *Singing in the Dark* (1956, New York: A.N.O. Productions Inc.) Digital.
- <sup>451</sup> Fred Zinnemann, dir. *The Search* (1948, United States and Switzerland: MGM, 2013) Digital., Alan J. Pakula, dir. *Sophie's Choice* (1982, United States: Universal Pictures), Digital.
- <sup>452</sup> Steven Spielberg, dir. *Schindler's List* (1993, United States: Universal Pictures), Digital.
- <sup>453</sup> Edward Dmytryk, dir. *The Juggler* (1953, United States: Columbia Pictures, 2011) DVD.
- <sup>454</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>455</sup> Levinson, "The Maimed Body and the Tortured Soul," 149.
- <sup>456</sup> Sidney Lumet, dir. *The Pawnbroker* (1965, United States: Allied Artists, 2015), Digital.
- <sup>457</sup> Jeremy Kagan, dir. *The Chosen* (1981, United States: 20<sup>th</sup> Century Fox, 2010), DVD.
- <sup>458</sup> Steven Spielberg, dir. *Munich* (2005, United States: Universal Pictures), Digital.
- <sup>459</sup> Morris, *Righteous victims*, 476.
- <sup>460</sup> Mart, *Eye on Israel*, 9.
- <sup>461</sup> Elia Kazan, dir. *Gentleman's Agreement* (1947, United States: Twentieth Century Fox). Digital.
- <sup>462</sup> George Sherman, dir. *Sword in the Desert* (1949, United States: Universal Pictures), Digital.
- <sup>463</sup> Mart, *Eye on Israel*, 87-88.
- <sup>464</sup> Tony Shaw, *Hollywood's Cold War* (Great Britain, Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 105.
- <sup>465</sup> George Sherman, dir. *Sword in the Desert* (1949, United States: Universal Pictures), Digital.
- <sup>466</sup> Stanley Kramer, dir. *Judgement at Nuremberg* (1961, United States: United Artists, 2015), DVD
- <sup>467</sup> Douglas Little, "The Making of a Special Relationship: The United States and Israel, 1957-68," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 25, no. 4 (1993): 563-564.
- <sup>468</sup> *Ibid.*, 567.
- <sup>469</sup> Mearsheimer and Walt, *The Israel Lobby*, 35-36; Little, "The Making of a Special Relationship," 569.
- <sup>470</sup> Mearsheimer and Walt, *The Israel Lobby*, 26; Jeremy Sharp, "U.S. Foreign Aid to Israel," *Congressional Research Service*, December 22, 2016.



- <sup>471</sup> J. Lee Thompson, dir. *The Ambassador* (1984, United States: Cannon Group, 2011), DVD.
- <sup>472</sup> Nathaniel Gutman, dir. *Witness in the War Zone*, original title: *Deadline* (1987, New York: Skouras Pictures, 2003) DVD.
- <sup>473</sup> Nathaniel Gutman, dir. *Witness in the War Zone*, original title: *Deadline* (1987, New York: Skouras Pictures, 2003) DVD.
- <sup>474</sup> J. Lee Thompson, dir. *The Ambassador* (1984, United States: Cannon Group, 2011), DVD.
- <sup>475</sup> Gelvin L. James, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict: One Hundred Years of War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 37-38.
- <sup>476</sup> *Ibid.*, 184.
- <sup>477</sup> Lina Khatib, *Filming the Modern Middle East Politics in the Cinemas of Hollywood and the Arab World* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2006), 106-107.
- <sup>478</sup> Daniel Mann, dir. *Judith* (1966, United States: Paramount Pictures), DVD.
- <sup>479</sup> Jack G. Shaheen, *Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People* (New York: Olive Branch Press, 2001), 141, 173, and 209.
- <sup>480</sup> Thomas Patrick Doherty, *Projections of War: Hollywood, American Culture, and World War II*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 126.
- <sup>481</sup> *Ibid.*, 133.
- <sup>482</sup> Edward Dmytryk, dir. *The Young Lions* (1958, United States: Twentieth Century Fox, 2015), Digital.
- <sup>483</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>484</sup> Lawrence Baron, "The First Wave of American 'Holocaust' Films, 1945-1959," *The American Historical Review* 115, no. 1 (February 2010): 105.
- <sup>485</sup> Daniel Mann, dir. *Judith* (1966, United States: Paramount Pictures), DVD.
- <sup>486</sup> Shaheen, *Reel Bad Arabs*, 296.
- <sup>487</sup> Menahem Golan, dir. *Delta Force* (1986, United States: Cannon Films), Digital.
- <sup>488</sup> Otto Preminger, dir. *Exodus* (1960, United States: United Artists), Digital.
- <sup>489</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>490</sup> T. G. Fraser, *The Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan Education, 2015), 33.
- <sup>491</sup> Melville Shavelson, dir. *Cast a Giant Shadow* (1966, United States: United Artists, 2002), DVD.
- <sup>492</sup> Mearsheimer and Walt, *The Israel Lobby*, 102.
- <sup>493</sup> Shaheen, *Reel Bad Arabs*, 32.
- <sup>494</sup> Menahem Golan, dir. *Delta Force* (1986, United States: Cannon Films), Digital.
- <sup>495</sup> Menahem Golan, dir. *Delta Force* (1986, United States: Cannon Films), Digital; George Roy Hill, dir. *The Little Drummer Girl* (1984, United States: Warner Brothers), Digital.
- <sup>496</sup> Anonymous, "They Who Have Suffered Greatly," in *Voices from the Whirlwind: An Oral History of the Chinese Cultural Revolution*, ed. Feng Jicai (New York: Pantheon Books, 1991), 8.
- <sup>497</sup> Anonymous, "These Thirty Years of Mine," in *Voices from the Whirlwind: An Oral History of the Chinese Cultural Revolution*, ed. Feng Jicai (New York: Pantheon Books, 1991), 129.
- <sup>498</sup> *Ibid.*, 131-132.
- <sup>499</sup> Anonymous, "They Who Have Suffered Greatly," 9.
- <sup>500</sup> Anonymous, "Commander Niu," in *Voices from the Whirlwind: An Oral History of the Chinese Cultural Revolution*, ed. Feng Jicai (New York: Pantheon Books, 1991), 150.
- <sup>501</sup> *Ibid.*, 151.
- <sup>502</sup> Anonymous, "A Modern Rouge Et Noir," in *Voices from the Whirlwind: An Oral History of the Chinese Cultural Revolution*, ed. Feng Jicai (New York: Pantheon Books, 1991), 157.
- <sup>503</sup> *Ibid.*, 158.
- <sup>504</sup> *Ibid.*, 160.
- <sup>505</sup> Lu Ann Homza, *The Spanish Inquisition: An Anthology of Sources 1478-1614* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2006), xv.
- <sup>506</sup> Juan de Coloma, "Provisión de los Reyes Católicos ordenando que los judíos slagan de sus reinos" in *Documentos acerca de la expulsión de los Judíos*, ed. Luis Suarez-Fernandez, trans. (Valladolid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas: 1964), 391-95.
- <sup>507</sup> John F. Chuchiak, *The Inquisition in New Spain, 1536-1820: a Documentary History* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2012), 4.

<sup>508</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>509</sup> J. Jorge Klor de Alva, "Colonizing Souls: The Failure of the Indian Inquisition and the Rise of the Penitential Discipline," in *Cultural Encounters*, ed. Mary Elizabeth Perry and Ann J. Cruz (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford: University of California Press, 1991), 4.

<sup>510</sup> The highest court of the Inquisition which decided verdicts in the most important court cases and established rules for the general conduct of Inquisitorial Offices through Spain and the Spanish Dependencies.

<sup>511</sup> Ibid., 14.

<sup>512</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>513</sup> Ibid., Table 2.

<sup>514</sup> Chuchiak, 7.

<sup>515</sup> A social process in which people were classified by their race and the ratio of white Spanish to Indigenous or African blood that they possessed.

<sup>516</sup> Andrés Ortega, *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las indias*, 3rd. ed., vol. 1, trans. (Madrid: la Corte del Rey Carlos II, 1774), 21. All translations, unless otherwise stated, are provided by the author.

<sup>517</sup> Chuchiak, 10.

<sup>518</sup> Klor de Alva, 18.

<sup>519</sup> Ibid.

<sup>520</sup> Serge Gruzinski, "Individualization and Acculturation: Confession among the Nahuas of Mexico from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century" in *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Asunción Lavrin, (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 106.

<sup>521</sup> Noemi Quezada, "The Inquisition's Repression of *Curanderos*," in *Cultural Encounters*, ed. Mary Elizabeth Perry and Ann J. Cruz (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford: University of California Press, 1991), 52.

<sup>522</sup> Ibid.

<sup>523</sup> "Edict of the Faith concerning the Illicit Use of Peyote" in Chuchiak, 114.

<sup>524</sup> Ibid.

<sup>525</sup> Ibid., 113.

<sup>526</sup> "Denunciation and the Inquisition Investigations and Documents concerning the Prohibited Herb and Hallucinogen Pipiltzintzintli., Which Was Discovered in the Village of Tepepan and Xochimilco, Valley of Mexico, 1698" in Chuchiak, 309.

<sup>527</sup> Ibid. 311-12.

<sup>528</sup> Ibid., 311.

<sup>529</sup> Patricia Gonzales, *Red Medicine: Traditional Indigenous Rites of Birthing and Healing*, (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2012), 120-122.

<sup>530</sup> "Inquisition Trial against a Mulatta Named Maria, for the use of the herb Pipiltzintzintli and Other Diverse Charges: Texcoco, 1704" in Chuchiak, 314.

<sup>531</sup> Ibid., 317.

<sup>532</sup> "Documents and Accusations Presented to the Commissariat of the Inquisition in the Province of Yucatan by the Maya Villagers of the Town of Hocaba against Their Parish Priest, Padre Cristobal de Valencia for the Crime of Solicitation, Fornication, and Other Nefarious Acts against Nature: Merida, Yucatan: 1609" in Chuchiak, 230.

<sup>533</sup> Ibid., 231.

<sup>534</sup> "Edict of Faith concerning the Extirpation of the Abuses Committed by the Priest Confessors against the Honesty and Purity of the Sacrament of Confession: Mexico City, 1783", 116.

<sup>535</sup> Ibid., 118.

<sup>536</sup> Ruth Magali Rosas Navarro, "El tribunal de la Santa Inquisición y los negros esclavos en América," *Hispana Sacra* 55, no.112 (2003) 558.

<sup>537</sup> "Act of Faith"; a public ceremony in which heretics would be sentenced and their punishments read. The execution of those punishments did not occur in the auto-da-fé.

<sup>538</sup> Ibid., 559.

<sup>539</sup> Ibid., trans.

<sup>540</sup> Kathryn Joy McKnight, "Blasphemy as Resistance," in *Women in the Inquisition: Spain and the New World*, (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 248.

<sup>541</sup> Ibid., 237-43.

- <sup>542</sup> Chuchiak, 13.
- <sup>543</sup> Ibid., 27.
- <sup>544</sup> A tax collected in support of the Church.
- <sup>545</sup> Ibid., 186-7.
- <sup>546</sup> Also called a “piece of eight”; a silver coin which was the most common Spanish colonial unit of currency.
- <sup>547</sup> Henry Charles Lea, *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies*, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922) 219.
- <sup>548</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>549</sup> Chuchiak, 236.
- <sup>550</sup> Lee Penyak and Walter Petry, *Latin America: a Documentary History*, ed. Lee Penyak and Walter Petry, (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2006) 132.
- <sup>551</sup> “Selected Autos and Proceedings of the Second Trial against Luis de Carvajal the Younger, Reconciled by This Holy Office as a Judaizer, a Relapsed Practitioner of Judaism, and a Formal Heretic: Mexico City, 1594-1596” in Chuchiak, 243.
- <sup>552</sup> Hans-Jürgen Prien, *Christianity in Latin America* trans. Stephen Buckwalter (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2007), 203.
- <sup>553</sup> The act of marrying one person while already being legally married to another.
- <sup>554</sup> Chuchiak, 218.
- <sup>555</sup> Allyson M. Poska, “When Bigamy is the Charge” in *Women in the Inquisition: Spain and the New World*, (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 189-93.
- <sup>556</sup> Chuchiak, 218.
- <sup>557</sup> Susan Migden Socolow, *The Women of Colonial Latin America*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 147.
- <sup>558</sup> Poska, 189-205.
- <sup>559</sup> “Inquisition Trial against María de Sotomayor, for the Crime of Polygamy: Mexico City, 1538-1540” in Chuchiak, 224.
- <sup>560</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>561</sup> Ibid., 227.
- <sup>562</sup> Chuchiak, 219, 29.
- <sup>563</sup> “Trial against María de Sotomayor” in Chuchiak, 226.
- <sup>564</sup> Chuchiak, 50.
- <sup>565</sup> Ibid., 257.
- <sup>566</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>567</sup> Miles Philips, “Harder, Harder on These Lutheran Heretics! Enemies of God!” in *Religion in Latin America: a Documentary History*, ed. Lee Penyak and Walter Petry (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2006), 136.
- <sup>568</sup> Ibid., 137.
- <sup>569</sup> Maria Tausiet “Excluded Souls: The Wayward and Excommunicated in Counter-Reformation Spain” *History* 88, no. 291 (2003): 440.
- <sup>570</sup> Since de Pons’ book was written in English, it can be assumed that it was written for an English-speaking audience, primarily in England.
- <sup>571</sup> Caterine Sánchez Ramírez, “El índice de libros prohibidos: la inquisición española: un acercamiento a la herejía y la censura en la lectura,” *Revista en Historia General*, no. 2 (2015), 78-94.
- <sup>572</sup> A ducat is a monetary unit. It is worth roughly  $1\frac{1}{3}$  of a silver peso (piece of eight): 200 pesos equal 145 ducats.
- <sup>573</sup> François Raymond Joseph de Pons, *Travels in South America* in *Religion in Latin America: a Documentary History*, ed. Penyak and Petry, 141.
- <sup>574</sup> Lea, 219.
- <sup>575</sup> Solange Alberro, *Inquisición y Sociedad en México 1571-1700* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1997), 174.
- <sup>576</sup> Homza, 213.
- <sup>577</sup> Chuchiak, 318.
- <sup>578</sup> “General Rules and Orders Taken From the New Index of Prohibited and Purged Books for the Spanish

Catholic Kingdoms of King Philip IV Written by Don Antonio Zapata, Inquisitor General: Seville, 1632” in Chuchiak 103.

<sup>579</sup> “Edict of Faith against Prohibited Books: Mexico City, 1621” in Chuchiak 114.

<sup>580</sup> Penyak and Petry, 139.

<sup>581</sup> Chuchiak, 319.

<sup>582</sup> “Documents Relating to the Petition of the Surgeon and Doctor Don Anacleto Rodríguez Requesting Permission to Read Prohibited Books: Veracruz, 1799” in Chuchiak, 333.

<sup>583</sup> A member of a set of laymen who acted as an inquisitorial militia of sorts.

<sup>584</sup> Ibid., 334.

<sup>585</sup> Ibid.

<sup>586</sup> Ibid., 335.

<sup>587</sup> Chuchiak, 336.

<sup>588</sup> Lea, 266.

<sup>589</sup> “Documents and Papers concerning Several Printed Cloths or Handkerchiefs Remitted to This Holy Office by the Chief Constable of the City of Veracruz Which Contain Inscriptions in the English Language: Veracruz, 1775) in Chuchiak, 327.

<sup>590</sup> Matthew 24:45-51

<sup>591</sup> Ibid., 329.

<sup>592</sup> The catalog of prohibited publications.

<sup>593</sup> Ibid.

<sup>594</sup> “Instructions and the Order That Should Be Maintained and Followed by Commissaries of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in New Spain: Madrid, 1667” in Chuchiak, 94-5.

<sup>595</sup> A person who was sentenced to wear a *sambenito*, which was a garment of shame that was forced upon those who were condemned by the Inquisition for heresy. This particular passage references to a heretic who was relaxed, as opposed to one who had committed a more minor crime and could outlive his/her period of shame and eventually remove the *sambenito*.

<sup>596</sup> “Libro 9, Título 26, Ley 10” in *Pasajeros a Indias: Catálogo Metodológico de las Informaciones y Licencias de los que allí pasaron, existentes en el Archivo General de Indias* ed. Luis Rubio y Moreno, trans. (Madrid: Ibero-American Publishing Company, 1930), 235.

<sup>597</sup> “Libro 9, Título 26, Ley 11” in Rubio y Moreno, trans., 237.

<sup>598</sup> After the King of Portugal died in battle (leaving no heirs), King Philip II of Spain was named rightful heir of the Portuguese crown. He united Spain and Portugal in a union for the following 60 years.

<sup>599</sup> Lea, 419-21.

<sup>600</sup> Chuchiak, 257.

<sup>601</sup> Ibid.

<sup>602</sup> “Documents Pertaining to the Reconciliation to Our Holy Catholic Faith of Jacob Fors, Native of Sweden and a Lutheran Heretic: Mexico City, 1720,” in Chuchiak, 267.

<sup>603</sup> Manuel Abad y Queipo, “Excommunication of a Former Friend,” in Penyak and Petry, 150-51.

<sup>604</sup> “Self Denunciation of Don José Ignacio Sánchez concerning His Support for the Miguel Hidalgo Revolt: Mexico City, 1811,” in Chuchiak, 337.

## Mission Statement

Understanding the past is vital for improving our future and in today's global society, understanding how various cultures have evolved is important to helping us become global citizens. Studying history helps us understand how people and societies are formed and interact. It contributes to our moral understanding and helps define personal and cultural identities. Studying the past is a fascinating window into the human experience.

The [History Major](#) is designed to provide students with a well-rounded understanding of history from different times and places around the world. In fact, several courses offer a more global examination of a particular topic, such as disease and medicine or modern cities. Beyond more lecture-based courses, history majors take two discussion-oriented seminars in which students are able to focus on more specific topics often in the field of a professor's expertise. Past seminars have examined, among other topics, the history of Portland, the history of the European family, women's health in post-World War II America, and issues in the French Revolution. In these seminars, students learn about challenges that historians face when interpreting past events, and students begin to research as historians themselves. Our capstone [senior thesis](#) course, required of all majors, is where students put to use the skills that they have acquired to write a paper based on their own original research. Recent topics have included the Chinese immigrant experience in late-19th-century Portland, a comparison of environmental policy in West and East Germany, and the exploration of the North Pole.

Our [faculty members](#) are talented, personable, and student-oriented. Beyond sharing their love for history with students, our faculty prepares students for a future in any profession by helping them to develop independent research capabilities, oral and written communication skills, critical thinking skills, and a deep intellectual curiosity. Our graduates have gone on to such various professions as lawyers, professors, teachers, archivists, librarians, and foreign service officers. Graduates who have chosen to pursue graduate school have been accepted at

institutions around the country and even abroad, including the London School of Economics, the University of Chicago, Arizona State University, Colorado State University, Villanova University, and Georgetown University.

Faculty members are also dedicated to giving students a taste of history outside of the classroom through leading students in activities such as presenting research at the regional conference of [Phi Alpha Theta](#), the national history honors society; publishing the department's student history journal, [Northwest Passages](#); or visiting a local museum. We also strongly encourage our students to supplement the knowledge gained through their coursework with first-hand experience in other cultures by [studying abroad](#). Often, the history faculty themselves teach courses abroad in the European summer programs. Courses offered abroad by members of the department include "Europe in the Age of Dictatorship," "World War I," "Modern Austria and Bavaria," and "Europe in the Cold War."

Through our courses, research projects, and extracurricular activities, both students and faculty members in the Department of History share our love of history and its relevance for today's world with each other and the greater campus community. We hope that you'll join us!

Sincerely,

Christin Hancock

Chair, History Department