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# **HISTORY IN THE MAKING**

California State University,  
San Bernardino  
Journal of History

Volume Eight  
2015



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

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

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

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## Introduction

The History Department of California State University, San Bernardino welcomes you to the eighth edition of our annual journal, *History in the Making*. In the eight years of its publication, students from this university have proudly managed the journal and have edited pieces exclusively written by current and recent undergraduate and graduate students. Our mission is to produce a journal that contains informative and interesting articles that will engage readers and keep them thinking long after reading the journal. This year's journal features seven full-length articles, a "Notes from the Archive" piece on the Patton State Hospital Museum in San Bernardino, two "In Memoriam" pieces, two travel pieces from students who have travelled to distant places, and three reviews.

In our first article "Nationalism and Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes*," Tristan Murray delves into the topic of nationalism by analyzing and comparing three popular theories of nationalism from the modernist perspective and Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes*. In doing this, the paper attempts to analyze a time when French intellectuals began to analyze and discuss the idea of nationalism and its parallels with self-identity.

Our second article, "Kurdish Female Guerilla Fighters" by Meagan Muschara, takes us to Turkey and analyzes the female guerilla fighters of the PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party). Her focus is primarily on the female fighters, but gives the reader a thorough background of the conflict within Turkey and the significance that female fighters have had in the resistance movement to gain equal rights and representation for Kurds in Turkey. She not only looks at the significance that they have had on the overall movement, but also looks at the roles of women in the group and the relationship they have with the men with whom they are fighting alongside.

The third article, "Manchus: A Horse of a Different Color" by Hannah Knight, focuses on Manchu ethnic identity. The Manchus in China have maintained their identity and culture

### *History in the Making*

despite the obstacles that they had faced living alongside the Han Chinese. This paper not only looks at their history in China and the relationship they had with Han Chinese, but also focuses on their resilience to protect and continue practicing Manchu culture and customs.

The fourth article, “Riverside’s Chinatown” by Miranda Olivas, takes the reader to Riverside, California and focuses on our local history. This paper highlights the significance that Chinese workers had in the expansion and growing wealth of the city of Riverside by bringing their skills and expertise of citrus farming to the Inland Empire. Unfortunately, the history of Chinese workers has been overshadowed by many factors, but this paper is a great contribution to recognizing the history of Chinese workers in Riverside and shedding light on their hard work and contributions to one of the greatest cities of the Inland Empire.

The fifth article, “Glocalized Apartheid: Global Apartheid, the Global Implications of Local South African Resistance Movements, and the Creation of Counter Globalization” by Alexis Butts, seeks to explore numerous local cases of resistance in South Africa and their connection to global social inequality. The paper demonstrates how similar struggles are ongoing all over the “developing” world. The article examines how sentiments of social justice are creating a “counter globalization” movement tied to the struggle against global apartheid. This paper also speculates on the overall effectiveness of the notion of global apartheid and its associated movements, and the complications associated with using this term.

The sixth article, “Roses and Votes: Immigrant Jewish Women and the New York Woman Suffrage Movement, 1894-1917” by Katelyn Johnson, explores the role that Jewish immigrant women had in the Women’s Suffrage Movement. The paper examines Jewish cultural influences that helped propel these women forward and be a strong force in the fight for Labor Rights and Women’s Suffrage Movements. Not only were they involved with the suffrage movement, but also without the large support of working class Jewish women, the New York Women Suffrage

Movement may have not experienced the ultimate success that it did.

Our final full-length article, “Here and There, Now and Then: Portrayals of the Third Crusade in Film and How their Inaccuracies Encompass Contemporary Movements” by Steven Anthony, examines the relationship between films dealing with historical events and what they tell us about events of the time the film was made. This work uses two film representations of the Third Crusade, from 1187–1192; the first is Youssef Chahines’ 1963 film *Al Nasser Salah Ad-Din* and the second is Ridley Scott’s 2005 film *Kingdom of Heaven*. Between the films’ narrations of events and the actual history, parallels are created between past and present, dealing with ideas such as tolerance and peaceful dialogue, as well as movements such as national, ethnic, or religious unity and inclusiveness.

This year the journal also features a fascinating “Notes from the Archive” piece that delves into the history of the Patton State Hospital in Highland, California using archive research study. “Exhibiting Mental Health History in the Patton State Hospital Museum” by Shannon Long, Amanda Castro, and Sarah Hansen not only sheds light on its history, but takes the reader on a journey inside hospital walls by promoting and discussing their exhibit that displays rare artifacts from a project they have been working so diligently on. This paper demonstrates one of the many ways CSU, San Bernardino students are proactive within the community and make efforts to promote and protect local history.

The study of history also allows us to remember the impact that people have made in the world in which we live today. Our “In Memoriam” pieces, one on “Benjamin Bradlee” by Marlyn Rodriguez and the other on “Pete Seeger” by Jason Brown, briefly discuss the lives of people whose talents touched the lives of millions of people and will not be forgotten. Their legacies will live on through the stories they told or songs they sang.

Next, two students share their experiences studying history abroad. Blanca Garcia-Barron takes us to South Africa as she discusses not only the significances of the places she saw, but

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shares her personal journey and the lessons she learned along the way. Tristan Murray does the same in his journey through southern France. These two students have experienced what many dream of doing, studying history not just by reading books, but by walking the streets and absorbing history in the moment. These “Travels Through History” pieces are inspiring, and demonstrate that the study of history can take many forms.

Rounding out this year’s journal is our review section which contains one book, museum, and film review. *The Untold History of Ramen: How Political Crisis in Japan Spawned a Global Food Craze* written by George Solt has been reviewed by Daniel Stolp. The Apartheid and District Six Museums have been reviewed by Blanca Garcia-Barron and lastly, the film *Selma* has been reviewed by Moriah Schnose, Blanca Garcia-Barron, and Casey Lee.

We hope that you find these articles as interesting and informative as we do, and sincerely thank you for reading the 2015 edition of *History in the Making*.

**Claudia Aros  
Chief Editor**

## **Acknowledgements**

Without the hard work and dedication of many hearts and minds, this journal would not have been possible. Behind the cover and through the pages of this journal, staff, faculty, and students have spent many hours and have worked hard in its development and completion. From the “call for papers” to the final steps in the editing and formatting process, every step, no matter how minor one would think, has played an important role in this journal. All of their efforts and time has not been shared without gratitude.

I would like to take this time to give thanks to everyone involved. I would like to extend a special thank you to Dr. Tiffany Jones, Dr. Cherstin Lyon, and Dr. Jeremy Murray. These three faculty advisors have used their talents and expertise to help guide students through the completion of this journal. They strive to help students succeed and bring out the very best in those with whom they work. Their patience, knowledge, guidance, and professionalism are qualities that students appreciate from their mentors, and for that, we thank you for all that you do. Further I would like to recognize the editorial staff and all the work that they put into the journal. Through all obstacles, the staff remained focused and professional, and furthermore did a fantastic job putting this journal together. Their input and knowledge of topics of discussion were impressive and are being recognized here. If I had not said it enough before, I will say it again, a big thank you to the editorial staff for your time and efforts.

Thank you to all the students, especially those who submitted their papers for review. Thank you to the authors who did an amazing job and I am proud to have your articles published in this journal’s eighth edition. Finally I would like to recognize the entire faculty, staff, and student body of the California State University, San Bernardino History Department for your continued support of *History in the Making*.

Thank you.

*History in the Making*

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# Articles

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## **Nationalism and Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes***

by Tristan Murray

*Abstract: Nationalism as a subject has a long and convoluted history. Many historians and scholars of other fields have tried to explore and understand the arrival and evolution of nationalism. While the subject of how it arrived is under heavy debate, the clarity of its implications remains clear. Nationalism is a long standing and strong force in the modern world. This paper attempts to capture a specific moment in time when nationalism would be beginning its powerful ascent into the world. Through one of France's most prominent intellectuals, Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de La Brède et de Montesquieu, this paper analyzes three popular theories of nationalism deriving from the modernist perspective. Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes* is analyzed with these three theories. Within the framework of the modernist's perspective of nationalism, this paper attempts to analyze a period when the idea of the nation-state was growing in the minds of French intellectuals. When considering self-identity of the nation, it becomes critical to acknowledge the evolution of the "self" when paralleled against the "Other." Edward Said's work in "Orientalism" will be key in developing a further understanding of this self-identification. Lastly, this work will cover the strengths and weaknesses of all the varying theories when observed through Montesquieu's work.*

## **Introduction**

The words “nation” and “nation state” bring many images to mind. Some imagine hefty battlefields, flags waving through heavy smoke while soldiers battle in the face of certain death. Others picture sporting events with a special moment dedicated to the singing of a national anthem. Still others compare their nation to other nations, steadfastly believing that their particular nation is better than any other nation. Nationalism, the belief that a group of people are bound together and identify with a modern nation state, is one of the most powerful forces of modernity. Millions have fought, died, and cried over the ideal of the nation.

Nationalism has had a large impact on the modern world, and many of the competing theories involving nationalism and its origins are still hotly debated within the academic community. With its varying theories, the scope of study involving nationalism is complex and often convoluted. Though there is a great amount of debate involving nationalism and theory, the solid foundation of its presence is clear in the modern world. Cookie-cutter national borders fixated on any contemporary map is evidence enough of the large scale effect that nationalism has had regardless of when and how it arrived. This paper is not an attempt to prove or disprove nationalism and its theories, nor does it try to clarify preexisting theories. Rather, this paper endeavors to capture a moment in time when the ideal of the nation-state was crystallized in the minds of Europeans. Academics such as Benedict Anderson, Elie Kedourie, and many others have added many competing and overlapping theories involving the self-identity of nations and the nation-state. The most popular theories of the modernist perspectives of nationalism will be identified and paralleled with Edward Said's *Orientalism* in an attempt to capture a specific moment in time when nationalistic sentiment was becoming much stronger. This work will be critical analysis of these theories of nationalism and Orientalism with Montesquieu's *Lettres Parisanes*.

What is the exact period to be analyzed and through what

means will it be dissected? In 1721, Charles de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu, would publish *Lettres Persanes*, a satire depicting two Persians traveling to Paris and the impression they both had traveling around France. This paper will attempt to analyze Montesquieu's utilization of "the Other" to identify French culture, or what it is to be French, through the lens of two Persians. With the identification of French culture, the inspection of competing theories of nationalism will be conducted. Of these theories, three of the most prominent will be utilized. Benedict Anderson's theory of the "Imagined Community," Emile Durkheim's view of "nationalism as the religion of the secular society," and Ellie Kedourie's view of a "traditional pulverized society."

Why is it important to analyze these competing theories of nationalism, and why particularly in contrast to early modern intellectuals such as Montesquieu? The crux for many of the leading theories of the modernist paradigm spawn from the theory that nationalism arises from the birth of modernity. Anthony D. Smith in his book *Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism* reiterates this point stating that "the paradigm of nationalism which was so widely accepted until recently is that of *Classical modernism*. This is the conception that nations and nationalism are intrinsic to the nature of the modern world and to the revolution of modernity."<sup>1</sup> While this view has since evolved into other forms of nationalism, it is still essential to investigate the period when the embryonic form of nationalism was developing. In continuing the investigation of the modernist perspective, it is writers and intellectuals such as Montesquieu who would accurately capture the sentiment of early nationalism.

### ***Theories of Nationalism***

While there is plenty of external subject material regarding the different theories of nationalism, it is necessary to briefly

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<sup>1</sup> Anthony Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism* (London: Routledge, 1998), 33.

summarize the different theories that will be discussed in this essay. The first general theory discussed will be Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*. Anderson's general theory was that of an "imagined community" of language. He contends that with the slow loss of church authority in Europe, and the steady rise of print capital, the standard language of Latin was becoming obsolete. With print capital, the vernacular language was becoming the most widely utilized language. The ever-increasing strength and development of the bourgeois helped push the increasing strength of vernacular languages and thus created a sense of community and shared identity.<sup>2</sup> Coupled with the slow rise of the vernacular, and the growth of the bourgeois, Anderson continues to explain that the decline of the dynastic states was essentially creating a void where the rise of the nation-state would be necessary. In regards to a shared common past, David Yaghoubian in his work *Ethnicity, Identity, and the Development of Nationalism in Iran* states that "with the fragmentation of [the] religious community, and the decline of [the] dynastic realm, there also came a change in cognitions of time toward a calendared, linear present and future, which enabled the creation of a common historical past."<sup>3</sup> In essence, with the loss of church power and the rise of the vernacular, there arose an imagined community through a shared language. That shared linguistic community fostered a timeline in which history was progressing from a shared ancestral and common past. Thus, the past was old and outdated, while the future would move forward through history. This would promote an idea of a future of progress, where the human experience continues to improve. With this progressive model of history rises the shared identity of the nation-state.

Emile Durkheim's view of nationalism as a religion is particularly interesting in regards to what is presented here. Durkheim views nationalism in a similar way to Benedict

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<sup>2</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (New York: Verso, 1991), 12-19; David Yaghoubian, *Ethnicity, Identity, and the Development of Nationalism in Iran* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2014), 18-19.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

Anderson. He argues that in the newly developed secular society, it was necessary to create a way to influence citizenry to stay productive. Without the threat of religion, how could the peasantry be motivated to continue their work? Nationalism was the development of Puritan working ideals without the need for Puritanism. In other words, a motivator to work towards the good of the community was essential, but one must find this motivation in a world that lacked the fundamental religiosity of the pre-modern world. This new secular religion would become nationalism. "Nationalism here is really a modern, secular ideology which serves as a 'civil religion', performing the same functions for individuals and groups as did traditional religion, although springing from secular, non-traditional sources."<sup>4</sup>

This explains the amount of imagery one sees through nationalism. Durkheim would argue that the imagery of the nation replaces the imagery of the church: "At that time, under the influence of the general enthusiasm, things purely secular in nature were transformed by public opinion into sacred things: these were the Fatherland, Liberty, and Reason. A religion tended to become established which had its dogmas, symbols, altars, and feasts."<sup>5</sup> The mass symbolism within the nation state has much to do with the religiosity of a community's past. It would be for this reason that things such as a nation's flag would become an ever-embracing image of nationalism.

Next, Ellie Kedourie's theory of a "Pulverized Marginal Society" argues that nationalism grows out of Europe through intellectual writings coming from the Enlightenment. He places particular importance on the writings of Kant and argues that "good will can only be the autonomous will."<sup>6</sup>

It was the merit of Fichte and other German  
Romantics like Schlegel, Muller, Schleirmacher,  
Arndt and Jahn to marry Kant's individualist

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<sup>4</sup> Anderson, 98.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 98.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 99.

doctrine to his cultural populism in such a way that autonomy was now predicated of pure linguistic communities, in which, to realise their true freedom, individuals must absorb themselves. To realise its autonomy, the linguist nation must determine itself and take up its destiny; the individual's self could only be realised in the struggle of his or her nation for self-determination.<sup>7</sup>

His analysis extends into colonized Africa and Asia, where Kedourie argues that those who were colonized were at the same time educated by the colonizers. Feelings of inferiority by the colonized would develop and thus they would attempt to become a part of the European society. Realizing that Europeans would never allow this transformation to occur, the "Marginal Man" would in turn search for internal identifiers. This would create nationalistic sentiment through the colonized regions of Africa and Asia.<sup>8</sup>

### ***Orientalism***

Edward Said would write a book in 1968 that would change the thought of modern historical research forever. While much has changed since the release of *Orientalism*, the historical significance of his research is still prominent today. Thus, a French intellectual writing about two Persians visiting France, and their reaction to French culture, is dripping with examples like those presented in *Orientalism*.

Said traces the beginning of his work with the start of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. He argues that Europeans would begin to study the languages of the "Orient" in order to master their knowledge of everything in the "Orient." The Orient is loosely defined by Europeans as most everything to the East of Europe including all of Asia, all of the Middle East, and large portions of Africa. They

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Yaghoubian, 11.

would define themselves against the Oriental as Occidental, or European. With this knowledge, Said argues that Europeans gain a sort of power in knowledge over those who inhabit the Orient itself. He in fact uses Balfour's expedition into Egypt as a means to define the power that is attained through knowledge:

As Balfour justifies the necessity for British occupation of Egypt, supremacy in his mind is associated with "our" knowledge of Egypt and not principally with military or economic power. Knowledge to Balfour means surveying a civilization from its origins to its prime to its decline—and of course, it means being able to do that. Knowledge means rising above immediacy, beyond self, into the foreign and distant.....To have such knowledge of such a thing is to dominate it, to have authority over it. And authority here means for us to deny autonomy to "it."<sup>9</sup>

It is decided early in Said's work that this stark contrast between the Oriental and the Occidental divided and created a paradigm of the "Other."

The choice of 'Oriental' was canonical; it had been employed by Chaucer and Mandevill, by Shakespeare, Dryden, Pope, and Byron. It designated Asia or the East, geographically, morally, culturally. One could speak in Europe of an Oriental personality, and Oriental atmosphere, and Oriental tale, Oriental despotism, or Oriental mode of production and be understood.<sup>10</sup>

The Oriental was then to be compared in direct contrast to the

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<sup>9</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 32.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.



## *Nationalism and Montesquieu's Lettres Persanes*

Occidental. If the Occidental was civilized, the Oriental was uncivilized: “On the one had there are Westerners, and on the other there are Arab-Orientals; the former are (in no particular order) rational, peaceful, liberal, logical, capable of holding real values, without natural suspicion; the latter are none of these things.”<sup>11</sup> With this fabricated existence of what it is to be the “self” and what it is to be the “Other,” Europeans abstractly justified the colonization of the Orient. With a general understanding of what Orientalism is, and what impact work such as Said’s had on the forum of historical thought, it is easy to understand why analyzing Montesquieu’s work in comparison to Orientalism and other competing theories of nationalism are important.

### **Montesquieu**

The next section of this essay will be devoted to analyzing Montesquieu’s *Lettres Persanes* in contrast to the three theories of nationalism mentioned above and Said’s Orientalism. *Lettres Persanes*, as mentioned earlier, was published in 1721 without a name. Montesquieu published the work in fear of being reprimanded by the then absolutist government of Louis XIV. It would be published through Holland, outside the reach of Louis control.<sup>12</sup> Throughout the book, Montesquieu criticizes French culture. The interesting aspect of this criticism is that his main characters are both Persians. This is incredibly significant, especially when viewed through the lens of Said’s Orientalism. Also significant are all three of the theories of nationalism. Several ideals will be investigated in the following parts of this work.

### **Imagined Communities and Lettres Persanes**

Benedict Anderson’s theory in his *Imagined Communities* hinges on three main principles, “The fragmentation of the religious community, the decline of the dynastic realm, and the changing

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 49.

<sup>12</sup> Samia Spencer, *Writers of the French Enlightenment II* (Detroit: Gale, 2005).

cognitions of time.”<sup>13</sup> The loss of the vernacular as a weakening church within France, the slow decline of the monarchy, and the Enlightenment view of progressive historical thought all play a part in Benedict Anderson’s view.

By 1721 the printing press had already made its European introduction and the printing of thousands of books was well underway. With the advent of the printing press, books became readily accessible to those who could afford them. While still relatively expensive in regards to the peasant classes, merchants and the rising bourgeoisie could easily afford them. With readily accessible books, writers began writing more in the vernacular languages as opposed to the Latin language of the church. Latin itself became less powerful and less popular. This would cause the slow degeneration of Latin and the slow rise of the Vernacular. It is thus within the theory of “imagined communities” that this trend is experienced. This is precisely where *Lettres Persanes* would fall.

The intellectual, Montesquieu, would write a book in French for his French compatriots that would largely be read by those within the new merchant class. The nobility and the clergy who were also literate and had the funds to purchase books would also read much of the new literature arising out of the Enlightenment. This would prove a challenge for Montesquieu, as *Lettres Persanes* would be published out of the Netherlands. To further complicate this, it was published without a name in order to protect Montesquieu from the wrath of the monarchy and the nobility.<sup>14</sup> With an understanding of the background to *Lettres Persanes*, Anderson’s theory comes to life. A rising middle class, a monarchy in crisis, a clergy without influence, and the publishing of a book in French all create a portrait of an imagined community.

The theory itself is present within the pages of *Lettres Persanes*, but there are also several questions that arise out of Mantesquieu’s book. One of the key arguments to Anderson’s

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<sup>13</sup> Yaghoubian, 18.

<sup>14</sup> Alan Kors, *Encyclopedia of The Enlightenment* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press), 2.

theory is the slow loss of the authority of the church. One of the very first insights we have within *Lettres Persanes* is within Letter 24 where Rica relates to his friend Ibben that the Pope is a “Magician...who controls...[the kings] mind completely as he controls other people’s.” He goes on to state: “The magician is called the Pope. He will make the king believe that three are only one, or else that bread one eats is not bread, or that the wine one drinks not wine, and a thousand other things of the same kind.”<sup>15</sup> While this may not seem like a weakening church, it is within the next paragraph that one begins to understand the weakening of eighteenth century church strength:

And in order to keep him in training, so that he [the king] will not get out of the habit of believing, he [the Pope] gives him certain articles of belief as an exercise from time to time. Two years ago he sent him a long document called the Constitution, and tried to make this king and his subjects believe everything in it, on pain of sever penalties. He succeeded with the king, who submitted at once, setting an example to his subject. But some of them rebelled, and said that they refused to believe anything in the document. The instigators of this revolt, which had split the court, the whole kingdom, and every family, are women.<sup>16</sup>

The very fact that anyone would refuse immediately to believe something coming from the Pope is great evidence that the church of the eighteenth century has weakened considerably. The taxing religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth century had taken their toll, and those within France were long since questioning the authority of the church. This fits perfectly into Anderson’s theory.

Further evidence of a weakening church can be found in

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<sup>15</sup> Charles-Louis de Secondat Montesquieu, *Persian Letters* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1985), 73.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 73.

Letter 29, where Rica is writing to Ibben again about the Pope. In this letter Montesquieu explains that at one point in time all of Christianity would listen and obey the Pope's word. But as of the eighteenth century, "nobody fears him any longer."<sup>17</sup> He then goes on to criticize the riches of the Pope, and the country that the Pope controls. Interestingly, within Letter 75, one can witness the criticism of the church through the civilian population itself: "Religion does not so much provide an opportunity for regeneration as for controversy, in which everyone takes part. Courtiers, soldiers, women even, rise up in opposition to the clergy and ask for things to be proved, when they have resolved not to believe them."<sup>18</sup> If Montesquieu is accurately portraying the feelings and emotions of his period, then truly people are coming together under another banner to question what the supreme authority is.

Even though the authority of the church has weakened, the religious community is still also very evident. This religious community is what Benedict Anderson searches for in understanding what ties together a group of people in the modern nation state.<sup>19</sup> It is through his perspective that one visualizes nationalism ultimately slipping into the role of religion's unifying properties. Rather than identifying through the traditional sacred traditions of the church, the French would begin to identify more and more with the imagined community of what it is to be "French." It is through the lens of the above passage that the reader can at once view the criticism of the authority of religion in France while simultaneously viewing the community coming together as "French" to voice their opinion of the church. In other words, the reader can instantly see the early development of nationalism through Anderson's work projected into *Lettres Persanes*. It is capturing a specific moment in time that people are tuning out of religious authority and the religious community into an "imagined" community of what is "French." Granted, this passage specifically

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 81.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 151.

<sup>19</sup> Anderson, 13.

reflects the discontent of women. But this is not something that should lighten the weight of influence women had within French society. After all, it was women who stormed the gates of Versailles during the October March, and it was women who wrote *Déclaration des Droits de la Femme et de la Citoyenne*.

Montesquieu continues his criticism of the church in Letter 69. In it, he questions the seemingly hypocritical concept of an omniscient god that has created humanity that has free will:

In what way could god foresee things which are determined by the decision of a free cause? There are only two ways in which he could see them: by conjecture, which is inconsistent with infinite prescience; or else by seeing them as effects which are necessary, in that they inevitably follow from a cause which also produces them inevitably; and this is even more contradictory.<sup>20</sup>

Montesquieu is utilizing his reasoning skills while living during the Enlightenment. These forces together frame the essence of Anderson's nationalism. The Enlightenment challenges religious ideals, further separating the state from the church. The void left by the weakening church not only creates a realm where the vernacular becomes stronger, but also where nationalism can insemminate its identifying properties for the bourgeoisie and commoners alike. The only thing standing completely in the way of a full flung modern nation-state would be the monarchy itself.

The monarchy would find itself challenged again and again as the French revolution approached. Singularly, with the decline of church power and the questioning of all church authority, it is no wonder that philosophers would begin to question the monarchy. Absolute monarchs, after all, claimed to receive the right to rule through god. With the loss of church authority, so too the monarchical system began to spurt and sputter. Montesquieu

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<sup>20</sup> Montesquieu, 145.

would take a stern look at the king himself and criticize his system of government.

The king of France is the most powerful ruler in Europe. He has no goldmines like the King of Spain, his neighbour, but his riches are greater, because he extracts them from his subjects' vanity. Which is more inexhaustible than mines. He has been known to undertake or sustain major wars with no other funds but what he gets from selling honorific titles, and by a miracle of human vanity, his troops paid, his fortress supplied and his fleets equipped. Moreover, this king is a great magician. He exerts authority even over the minds of his subjects; he makes them think what he wants.....<sup>21</sup>

If one only glances at this passage, it may seem as though Montesquieu is praising the great Louis XIV. After all, the king is very powerful, and very rich. The work presented here is a satire. Montesquieu is able to present a dialogue of a magician who makes money come from nowhere utilizing the ignorance of his character Rica, a Persian who has no idea who this king is. This knowledge relates two important things. The king of France is still strikingly powerful at the time of this book. If two visitors to France feel the essence of the power of Louis XIV, then certainly so did the citizenry. Also, the very fact that Montesquieu is able to criticize the monarchy shows that the monarchy has begun its decline. While it is true that Europe would see the establishment of enlightened despots in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, it would do nothing to curb the arrival of the French revolution. The people of France are beginning to identify more and more with each other as opposed to a religious community, or a community under a specific monarch.

The vision of Anderson's theory is visible through

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 72-73.

Montesquieu's work. But while his theory is one of the most widely read theories, it does not cover all instances of nationalism. He does well to explain how it came to exist. But how did one come to understand what it is to be French? To better understand the given feeling of what it is to be French, and the imagery of nationalism, we can turn to Durkheim.

### ***A Political Religion***

Durkheim's model hinges on a replacement of religion with a "political religion." Anthony D. Smith summarizes the essence of "Political religion" theory through David Apter, Lucian Pye, Leonard Binder, and Manfred Halpern as a transitional period into modernity. In other words, during the transition from a primarily agrarian, pre-modern society, nationalism was a necessary phenomenon that filled the secular void with the symbolic imagery of nationalism. Once the transition into modernism has finished, then nationalism will no longer be needed. While this issue is hotly debated, one can still look through the lens of the past to see if the rising trend of nationalism was appearing during the end of the early modern period.<sup>22</sup> In this case, Montesquieu may be a vital resource in viewing the rise of a political religion.

A good starting point for looking into the political religion of *Lettres Persanes* is the translators notes in the Penguin Books publication of 1985. Christopher Betts, a French studies professor at the University of Warwick, explains that within Letters 88 and Letter 90, Montesquieu is criticizing the French nobility, "contrasting [it]" with Persian ideals and then interpreting the "traditional noble ideal of 'glory' as a socially useful phenomenon..." This is a "useful phenomenon" because it "encourages" people to die for their country without complaint, and in fact willfully. Montesquieu hints that this is a ghost of feudal times and that this ghost is still very much alive within the

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<sup>22</sup> Smith, 98.

French community. Was this really a ghost of feudal times, or was this something greater in the infancy of development? Perhaps it can be considered that both are plausible. The phantom of earlier ideals of glory may rise into the dying specter of religion. Considering the rising tide of the French army at the time of Louis XIV it is possible to accept that the military had great influence over commoners, nobility, and bourgeoisie alike.

From this passion for glory that the French nation has in general, there has developed, in the minds of individuals, a certain something called the *point of honour*. Properly speaking it characterizes every profession, but it is more noticeable among military people, where it is found in the highest degree.

The French, especially nobles, used in the past to observe scarcely any laws except those of this code of honour, which governed the conduct of their entire life. Its laws were so strict that it was impossible for a man not merely not to break them, but even to neglect the most trivial of their conditions.<sup>23</sup>

Using Montesquieu's vision of the strength of honor within French society, it is entirely possible that nationalism was in some respects, a heightened vision of this honor - the honor not only for oneself, but for the country. This would include their neighbors' honor, the community's honor, all of the French nations honor, all alike within a society quickly losing its sense of religious community.

Montesquieu further describes the willingness of French troops to die on the battlefield within Letter 89. In it he describes the difference between French troops and "other" (Persian) troops. Troops within France will battle because French troops are willing

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<sup>23</sup> Montesquieu, 171.



to face death with happiness fighting for their country. Other troops are simply “slaves” who are “naturally cowardly” and only fight for “fear of being punished.” The tenacity and courage of French troops further cause fear in the hearts of slave-soldiers.<sup>24</sup> Montesquieu even goes on to comment on the imagery of honor:

But it seems that the sanctuary of honour, reputation, and virtue is to be found in republics, and the lands where men can speak of “my country.” In Rome, Athens, and Sparta, honour alone was reward for the greatest of services. A wreath of oak-leaves or laurel, a statue or public congratulations was an immense reward for winning a battle.<sup>25</sup>

The paragraph seems to echo the Durkheim model of a nationalism based on religious symbolism. The new deity of early modern France was quickly becoming “honor.” It is not enough that these pieces of “oak-leaves” represent thanks for a service provided. It is the honor one worships in servicing his country, and the oak-leaf symbolizes the thanks that the given nation imparts on that soldier. This creates the symbolism needed to establish a deistic pursuit of honor. Comparably, what is the consumption of the bread and wine during mass but a symbolic gesture of the gestation of the blood and body of Christ in remembrance of Christ’s sacrifice to all of humanity? Thus, the religious symbolism of nationalism as presented by Montesquieu is clearly seen. It is a representation of the nation to which one devotes his historical honor. This historical honor developed from a shared (perhaps imagined) past. It further embodies the sacrifice of those who have died for the country, for the “greater” good of the country or in religious terms for a deity. Within Letter 84 Montesquieu further relates the amazement of viewing individuals who were willing to die for their country.

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 170.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 171.

What a spectacle it is to see together in this one spot  
all these martyrs to their country, drawing breath  
only in order to defend it, and, with the same  
feelings as before, though without their former  
strength, complaining of nothing except their  
powerlessness to sacrifice themselves for it again!

I should like the names of soldiers who die for their  
country to be preserved in churches, and inscribed  
in registers which would become as it were the  
foundation of glory and nobility.<sup>26</sup>

Montesquieu places soldiers on the same pedestal as Christ himself. He wants to see soldiers names written in churches in memory of their sacrifice. Clearly, the honor of fallen soldiers within Montesquieu's mind is of the same magnitude of the supposed sacrifice of Christ for all of humanity.

Again Montesquieu makes reference to the rise of the nation within his summary of the Troglodyte nation. This nation as described in Letters 11 through 13 is a nation within Arabia that was very primitive. They eventually killed the king and lived within their own selfish means. The nation would crumble in upon itself as a result.<sup>27</sup> Fortunately, two great families of the Troglodytes survived the horrible outcome of the Troglodyte nation. They understood the benefits of "justice" and "virtue." Montesquieu even goes so far as to define humanism with these two nouns: "There had been two very extraordinary men in this country. They were human; they understood what justice was; they loved virtue."<sup>28</sup> Montesquieu continues the story, seemingly deifying the two nouns. It is through justice and virtue that one serves another's countryman. It is everyone's self-interest to serve the community, and "that justice to others is charity for

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 163.

<sup>27</sup> This is probably in reference to Hobbes' "Natural Laws."

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 56.

ourselves.”<sup>29</sup> Continuing the story of the Troglodyte nation, it is eventually invaded by barbarians. Again the reader is a witness to the strength of the new godlike strength of justice and virtue:

They were appalled by the injustice of their enemies, and not by their numbers. A new kind of ardour possessed their hearts: one wanted to die for his father, another for his wife and children; one for his brothers, another for his friends; and all for the Troglodyte nation.

Such was the combat of injustice and virtue. These cowardly peoples, who wanted nothing but plunder, were not ashamed to run away, and yielded to the virtue of the Troglodytes while remaining unaffected by it.<sup>30</sup>

Even though the Troglodyte nation was victorious, the nation would soon encounter its demise. Within Letter 14, Montesquieu describes the death of the Troglodyte nation. The nation would elect a king. With the election of a king, he described the death of virtue within the Troglodyte nation. The rise of a king destroys virtue, disposing of the godlike form of virtue and its unifying power. Montesquieu is questioning the very assertion of the monarchical system, and reaches out to an era prior to the monarchy where virtue and justice ruled. Rather than a nation united through a god, he is claiming the unification through an ideal: virtue. He is essentially creating the necessary narrative in creating a shared communal past for the present and also creating the necessary imagery for a political messianism. Virtue, self-sacrifice, and justice, all imagery borrowed from religion to form the modernizing force of nationalism.

With the advent of the godlike qualities of justice and virtue, and the determination of self-sacrifice for the common good

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 59.

of the nation, it is easy to understand the strength of a “political religion.” The future imagery that is evident through Napoleon’s France, into modern western society was very powerful. Every nation holds some characteristic as godlike. “Freedom, liberty, justice, and virtue” are just a few of the symbols that have arisen through nationalism. The imagery that often accompanies these characteristics are just as powerful as the words themselves. The flags, the eagles, the bandstands, and the national anthems all play a role. It is through these qualities that one can see the unifying and destructive nature of nationalism. “Everybody is capable of doing good to one man, but it is god-like to contribute to the happiness of an entire society.”<sup>31</sup>

### ***Pulverized Communities***

It is impossible to examine the colonies of France within the scope of this work. Thus, rather than exploring the communities of French colonialism and its education system, an investigation into the two fictional characters from Persia will be conducted. Montesquieu may have captured situations in which those of another cultural origin begin to develop feelings of insecurity through their self-imposed education in Europe. It is very possible that both Usbek and Rica begin to adopt and understand French culture ultimately taking it. It is also possible that the underlying symbolism of the story itself gives a better picture of what is happening to Rica and Usbek’s identity. It is through Kedourie’s theory that one can begin to better analyze Said’s theory.

Rather early within *Lettres Persanes*, Usbek, the main character, leaves Persia because of his virtuousness. He claims that his virtue has made himself enemies within the court, as the court was itself corrupt, and he refuses to abandon his ideal. Thus, early on it is decided that the court of Persia is corrupt, and as an excuse for escape, he, along with his friend Rica, flees to France. This already frames Persia as somewhat dysfunctional. Whether or not

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 171.

Montesquieu's intent was to frame Persia as dysfunctional will be further analyzed along with Said's readings. Within the framework of Kedourie's theory, a backdrop has been established. While both the characters will criticize the French court system in their letters, it was only in Persia that they had to flee because of a lack of "virtue."<sup>32</sup>

Throughout the book, one can see the influence of European culture on the two main characters. Early within the book, both Usbek and Ricca are shocked by French culture. Not only are both characters shocked by French culture, but the French are fascinated by the two Persians. Within Letter 30, one can witness the fascination with Persian culture. Rica describes how the French cannot seem to get enough of him, admiring his clothing, his features, and going even so far as to say that "you've got to admit, he really does look Persian." Rica explains that this indeed fascinates him, and yet, he does not consider himself "so curious or unusual a person."<sup>33</sup> This sets the stage for the duality of Kedourie's theory. At one end, Rica admires French culture while simultaneously French culture looks upon him with fascination. Rica's projection of his imagined self is on display through his appearance. He decides later to wear European clothing. He is pressured to appear more European, not through violence or any act of overt harassment, but rather through an urge to hide his identity within the robes of European society. Interestingly, Rica considers the attention an honor, but a burdensome honor. At the end of the letter, the ideas of what it is to be "Persian" begin to come into focus. After disguising himself within the robes of what it is to be European, Rica soon questions what he really is. His new European look gave him the feeling of "non-existence." In one moment he is viewed as an oddity, and in another moment, he is viewed as European. This causes a small identity crisis. "This made me decide to give up Persian costume and dress like a European, to see if there was still anything remarkable about my

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<sup>32</sup> Montesquieu holds virtue in extremely high esteem throughout his book.

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

countenance. The experiment made me realize what I was really worth. Free of all foreign adornment, I found myself assessed more exactly...for all at once I fell into a terrible state of non-existence.”<sup>34</sup> He goes on to explain that he can maintain his European image, but when one reveals that he is Persian, instantly there is a clatter of voices, often asking “How can one be Persian?”<sup>35</sup>

This presents another aspect to Kedourie’s theory. Rica is attempting to blend into European culture. Kedourie would argue that through the European education of the colonies and the colonial administration system, many would begin to “embrace” western ideals. Yet, because of their complete lack of ability to become European, they would quickly re-identify with their own culture, taking back with them the new-formed image of nationalism. This ideology would speak to them as a broad working theory that naturally divided humanity by varying cultures and characteristics, and that the only successful government would be a “national self-government.”<sup>36</sup> Seen here, one can see Rica identifying with European culture to the extent that he is willing to don the appropriate clothing. But the French citizens question what it is to be “Persian.” Rica hears and understands this. It is not far-fetched to imagine that Rica is beginning to feel the emotional response to nationalism, asking himself what it is to be Persian. He can never attain Europeaness, but instead must search for a new identity in himself, which would ultimately be Persian.

Further influence of French culture and the changes that occur appear at the end of the book. Usbek reveals his true feelings about the country he is living in when he begins to receive news of his harem in Persia. Discontent, and upset, the lead eunuch in Usbek’s harem is unable to keep order. Acting too late, Usbek is unable to reply to the culminating crisis, and his harem falls apart into complete rebellion. Within these final letters, many things are revealed. It is understood that Rica has completely assimilated into

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Smith, 100.

French culture: "I have urged Rica thousands of times to leave this foreign land, but he resists all of my suggestions. He keeps me here on countless pretexts; he seems to have forgotten his country, or rather he seems to have forgotten me, such is his indifference to my unhappiness."<sup>37</sup> In this context, Rica has completely fallen into his new French home. Usbek, is quite unhappy. It is never revealed whether Rica maintains his new European life. Additionally, the dismantling of the harem back home plays many symbolic roles. It is easy to understand that Usbek will forever be changed by his experience in Europe. So much so that his cultural identity through his royal blood and his harem in Persia are both completely destroyed. It can be argued that Persian culture is symbolized here through Usbek's harem. It symbolizes his cultural past, his power, his prestige, and his status. The constant bombardment of French culture slowly whittled away at the Persian identity of Usbek, resulting in the ultimate defeat of his image. Now, Usbek can never return to his home, nor his historical identity. Perhaps this new character will be further in line with a nationalistic sentiment, his old identifiers "bombarded" into a European mode of nationalism.

### ***Orientalism***

The Orientalistic view is rich throughout *Lettres Persanes*. Many of the examples previously used can be juxtaposed to further illustrate Orientalism. The very fact that Montesquieu attempts to write on Persian culture with any form of authority speaks for the Orientalist.<sup>38</sup> It is through knowledge of the "Orient" that Montesquieu writes through two Persians. But where does Montesquieu gain his knowledge of the Persian Letters? For that answer we turn to Jean Chardin's *Voyages en Perse*.

Born in 1643, Jean Chardin would frequently travel to Persia as a jeweler and a traveler. His extensive work titled *Voyages en Perse* would heavily influence all intellectuals of the

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<sup>37</sup> Montesquieu, 276.

<sup>38</sup> Said, 32.

18<sup>th</sup> century. Considering his major work would be popular among the French elite, it is safe to say that Montesquieu probably relied heavily on the expertise of Jean Chardin's work.<sup>39</sup> Within the introduction of the work itself, it is said that, "Chardin's first work affords a remarkable insight into Persian mentality, that is entirely new in the European writings of the period, being, in fact, the inside view."<sup>40</sup> This in and of itself peels back the layers of Orientalist thinking. Europeans were beginning to utilize another European's inside view into the thinking of Persians. Montesquieu, utilizing this work for inspiration into his own authority of Persian culture, is thus identifying Persians through the professional view of his own Europeaness.

Further, it is also identified that Montesquieu used the work of Jean-Baptiste Tavernier. Pascale Barthe of the University of North Carolina Wilmington quickly identifies the Orientalist contribution to European thought by Tavernier.<sup>41</sup> A traveler and an entrepreneur, Tavernier would write about his travels to the East, writing about his experiences and perceptions of Eastern culture throughout his books "profoundly influencing *Philosophies* of the next generation."<sup>42</sup> It is clear then that the first steps of an Orientalist perspective have been established. Montesquieu will be writing with academic authority about the perceived nature and culture of Persian life. He will be using this authority to identify what it is to be "Persian" while simultaneously criticizing and identifying French culture.

The next steps will be to investigate the literature itself. Where can examples be found of this identification throughout the book? The establishment of a harem early on already paints a clear picture of the Orientalist thought. Clearly, a harem is much

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<sup>39</sup> John Chardin, *Travels in Persia, 1673-1677* (New York: Dover, 1988).

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, Introduction.

<sup>41</sup> Pascale Barthe, "A Seventeenth-Century French Merchant in the Orient: The Portrait of Jean-Baptiste Tavernier in *Les Six Voyages*," in *East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Transcultural Experiences in the Premodern World*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013), 757.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 758.



different than 18<sup>th</sup> century Western thoughts on marriage. Also, the very nature of Usbek leaving his royal court because he has too much virtue is in direct contrast to the country he is fleeing to. If Usbek is fleeing because he has too much virtue, clearly Persia itself lacks virtue. Interestingly, both Persians will make interesting criticisms involving the lack of virtue within France. It is thus Montesquieu's conclusion through the Troglodyte nation that a state of virtue cannot exist within a state of Monarchical values. Montesquieu is seemingly pointing out the inherent flaws of a Monarchical system while comparing it to the Persian system of government. He is essentially stating that the French system is wrong, as evidenced by the existence of a similar system in Persia. Interestingly enough, this fable is related through the story of a Persian, who is at the same time becoming Europeanized throughout the book.

The eunuchs and their treatment of Usbek's wives throughout the Letters also seem to clearly identify a difference between French and the "Other." The head Eunuch and Usbek have a large discourse throughout the novel, and in it one witnesses the implied torment of a eunuch and his life. Usbek's responses often seem cruel. The eunuch complains about their duties to their harem and the constant service to the bickering and plotting wives of Usbek. Again, the portrayal of harem life, of a eunuch's life, and Persian experience entirely is projected onto the French reader. The readers would be placing themselves in contrast to what they are reading. Essentially this creates a catalog of Persian culture, and French culture: Persian's have harems, the French do not; Persians are cruel, the French are not; Persians perform castration on slaves, the French do not. This represents a sort of "drama played out" for Europeans involving the sexuality and violence of a culture not understood.

On the level of the *position of the problem*, and the problematic...the Orient and the Orientals [are considered by Orientalism] as an "object" of study, stamped with an otherness—as all that is different,

whether it be “subject” or “object”— but of a constitutive otherness, of an existentialist character....This “object” of study will be, as is customary, passive, non participating, endowed with a “historical” subjectivity, above all, non-active, non-autonomous, non-sovereign, with regard to itself: only the Orient or the Orientalist or “subject” which could be admitted, at the extreme limits, is the alienated being, philosophically, that is, other than itself in relationship to itself, posed, understood, defined—and acted—by others.<sup>43</sup>

In other words, the Persians here are “Othered” only to be fervently dissected and objectified by the reader. The “subject” of this study is “passive and non-participating,” and has no sovereignty over himself. The subject is alienated from himself, and acted on and understood by others. This can perfectly describe the extent of what Montesquieu accomplishes here. The essence of being Persian is pulled out of the very pages of this book, to be examined closely by other Europeans. In contrast, Europeans identify themselves by further pushing Persian culture back into its Oriental position, east of Europe.

Using the same Letters that were used to investigate Koudourie’s theory, one can compare the parallels of what it is to be “Persian” to what it is to be “French.” Again, we are approached with questions about “What is it to be Persian” and “How can one be Persian?” Within this frame one can witness Rica disguise himself as a European to escape the constant attention of the Europeans. A glimpse in French society gives one an interesting look into Orientalism. Here, French citizens question what it is to be Persian while gazing down at Rica. Through Rica they begin to determine what is Persian, or the other, and what is French, or themselves. In their eyes, Rica is a stage that represents all of the Orient. Through it they can recognize the other qualities

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<sup>43</sup> Said, 97.

of the Orient. They capture, in one person, the whole region and all cultures east of themselves. Through this narrow view, they make conclusions about the Orient itself. Interestingly, the book itself is still an example of Orientalist thinking. After all, while the French citizen are analyzing Rica, the Persian, the author is still writing from a European perspective. Montesquieu is establishing a stage of the Orient within the framework of his book in which all of Eastern culture will be projected and displayed for European citizens across the continent.

Also worth considering is the similarity between Kedourie's vision of "marginal men" and Said's "Othering." Both seminal works seem to work well with each other. It is because of this reason that many of the useful passages found within Montesquieu's work can be analyzed through both theories. For example, it was easy to analyze the concept of Rica's assimilation into French society while arguing that he was conceptually relating to what it is to be "French;" ultimately maintaining and questioning what it is to be Persian. It was also feasible to question the Orientalism theory under a similar pretext; Montesquieu is establishing what it is to be French while utilizing the Persian "Othering" as an image to compare it against. In this aspect, these theories are strikingly similar. The big difference seems to be under the image of nationalism. One deals with the theoretical concept of Orientalism, while the other deals specifically with nationalism. While it is not the goal of the work here to assume or make conclusions about what "nationalism" is, it is safe to assume that Orientalism and marginal men are quite similar. Perhaps upon further investigation one can find evidence that both nationalism and Orientalism are pieces of a much larger picture.

### ***Conclusion***

It is important for the modern academic to understand the arrival of nationalism. The world today is shaped through its ability to unify people. Many of the world's large scale conflicts involved and still involve this engrossing theory. Even though it is only explored in a

small amount in this given work, it still focused in on a point in time that is crucial to the development of western nationalism. It is because of the impact that thinkers such as Montesquieu had on the development of Europe that it is crucial in understanding their impact on nationalism.

Within this work the exploration of three modernist theories of nationalism were explored. The “imagined community” with Benedict Anderson was first. It was clear through his work that his theory of the rising vernacular and the loss of authority of the church created a shared community of language. All of this is evident through Montesquieu’s work. But Anderson does little to explain beyond the past shared identity of language. What is it to really be “French?” With this in mind, the theory of Durkheim’s political religion was analyzed. In it we find all the idolatry and visual appeal of nationalism, and the self-identification of what “French” is through religious fervor. Again, with the loss of church authority, the imagery and idolatry of religion is instead projected onto a nationalistic identity. Montesquieu’s work has much to support this point of view. But once again, this theory runs short and it does very little to explain nationalistic sentiments outside of France. Why does nationalism continue to spread throughout the world? Kedourie allows one to view the crisis of identity from the perspective of those outside of French culture. Inherently they attempt to adopt French culture, but French culture is exclusive to the French. Therefore they search internally for identifiers and compare themselves against French nationalism: “If we are not French, we are something else, we are Persian.” Said’s Orientalism would refine this perspective not only through European colonies, but through his use of European “authority of knowledge” over the so-called “Orient.” All of these theories are witnessed through Montesquieu’s book. Thus, one can conclude that theories of nationalism combined with theories of Orientalism all have faults and all of strengths. It is through the use of all of these theories that one can find the occurrence and the arrival of nationalism, particularly within Montesquieu’s *Lettres Persanes*.

*Nationalism and Montesquieu's Lettres Persanes*

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**Author Bio**

Tristan is a recent graduate of California State University, San Bernardino. He graduated with a Bachelor of Arts in History with a European concentration and a Minor in French. He would like to earn his PhD and this following summer plans on applying for graduate programs. His area of focus includes European nationalism, and its varying degrees of influence on the Middle East and Middle Eastern nationalism. He also studies the French language and spent a year in France developing a level of proficiency in French. He would like to thank faculty members at the history department at California State University, San Bernardino. He would like to give a special thanks to Dr. Pytell, Dr. Yaghoubian, and Dr. Murray for their support in facilitating a deeper interest in history. Finally, he would like to thank his friends and family for their support in creating an interest in the world around him.



*Tristan Murray*



## **Kurdish Women Guerrilla Fighters**

by Meagan Muschara

*Abstract: This article focuses on the female fighters of the PKK. The media over the past four years have continued to report about the female inclusion into this male dominated resistance group, the PKK in Turkey. The addition of women to the fight spread to various Kurdish resistance groups throughout the Middle East. The interviews brought about a plethora of questions about egalitarian rights for women entering the PKK. The questions that arose are: How equal are women's rights? Are there any stipulations? Why are females willing to fight for the cause and what do these women gain by fighting alongside the men? To begin answering these questions, a brief historical background is needed to fully understand the women's inclusion into the PKK and the level of equality practiced by men and women in the guerilla group.*

## Introduction



**Female Kurdish Fighters Take Arms Against Islamic State Extremists.**  
Photo by Jan Sefti<sup>1</sup>

Mitra spent her formative years feeling oppressed by a culturally and religiously male dominated society prior to abandoning her family to join the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) as a guerilla fighter. Consequently, Mitra decided that she would rather dedicate her life to the danger of the battlefield than to live a lifetime of oppression, welcoming and embracing the possibility of death. Currently, Mitra is a PKK commander residing in the desolate Qandil Mountains near the border dividing Iraq and Kurdistan. Here, she commands and trains a unit consisting entirely of women at a camp that holds approximately one thousand Kurdish rebels, of which forty percent are women. Soon these women will be sent to fight on the frontlines of Syria, and potentially Turkey, if peace talks with the Turkish government fail. However, there is a major stipulation to joining the PKK - both men and women are equally

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<sup>1</sup> Jan Sefti, "Female Kurdish Fighters Take Arms Against Islamic State Extremists," August 21, 2014, <http://www.pbs.org/newshour/rundown/female-kurdish-fighters-take-arms-islamic-state-extremists/>. Photo courtesy of Jan Sefti, PBS Newshour (NPR), accessed May 10, 2015.

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prohibited from having romantic encounters. As an unwritten rule, women fight harder than men to maintain freedom. But this does not bother Mitra. By not thinking about men, love, or passion, more time and energy can be dedicated towards the struggle to create an independent Kurdish state.<sup>2</sup>

The above narrative is common among Syrian and Turkish women who join the PKK. The PKK has been charged with spearheading a vast movement towards gender equality that has become popular among other Kurdish guerilla groups. Furthermore, the female acceptance of the PKK has grown increasingly throughout the Kurdish communities. Today it is common for women to openly speak about gender egalitarianism in public. On March 20, 2014, at the celebration of International Women's Day in Syria, Sharmiran Sham'un, the Christian deputy of Cizire Canton Foreign Office, spoke to a massive, primarily female crowd. Sham'un pointed out that a nation is not truly free unless the residing women are equally free. She continued, "We must follow Kurdish women as models, who have taken up arms to defend their gender rights, land and honour."<sup>3</sup> Though Kurdish gender equality for women has spawned somewhat from the PKK, Kurdish women were not originally considered equal to men with the creation of the party. Mitra, for example, explains that she had to fight harder than men in order to prove that she was worthy of maintaining her place in the party.<sup>4</sup> In theory, men and women are considered equal in the PKK, but a question remains about what extent the PKK actually practices gender equality.

This paper will seek to uncover what gender equality truly means for female cadres within the PKK, and to what extent equality is practiced. As we will see, the motives for promoting gender equality were not based on benevolence or fairness, but rather on the party's own ulterior motives. Gender egalitarianism

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<sup>2</sup> Jihar Gol, "Who are the Female Fighters of the PKK?" January 5, 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-25610424>.

<sup>3</sup> "Celebrating International Women's Day in Syria Kurdistan," March 20, 2014, [www.liveleak.com/wiew?i=450\\_1395352310](http://www.liveleak.com/wiew?i=450_1395352310).

<sup>4</sup> Gol.

evolved out of political necessity, as well as the desire for ethnic and cultural preservation. The creation of gender reform under the PKK is overshadowed by traditional Kurdish values giving the PKK the appearance of being a liberally progressive party. The promise of gender equality is not the only incentive for Kurdish women to join the PKK. Kurdish women claim that there are a multitude of factors that called them to leave their families and join the PKK as guerilla fighters in the mountains. By offering women an outlet from the culturally restricting customs it allows them to continue education seemingly without gender discrimination and the apparent freedom to enjoy equal gender and social status within the party.

This paper will seek to assess the common narrative of gender equality and shed light on the many restrictions women face in comparison to their male counterparts within the PKK. It will examine the influences and motives for women's participation in the movement, as well as the impact it has had on gender egalitarianism. The research will explore if there is a lasting impact for women rights within the Kurdish and Turkish societies and throughout the Middle East. In doing so, this paper uses interviews, primary and secondary documents, news articles, books, journal articles, and documentaries to enable a historical narrative that will determine the impact of the PKK. The guerilla movement is constantly evolving, partly in response to outsiders' labels of them as a terrorist group, but their goal of autonomy remains the same. The various Kurdish groups have been misunderstood throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century and this research attempts to bring an understanding to this vast group of people. Indeed, this paper argues that despite restrictions within the movement, the women have interestingly learned to use the male dominated political game to their advantage for their egalitarian ends. They seek to use the grassroots methods to patiently spread the equal rights for women within a group to their Kurdish society and ultimately to women throughout the Middle East. The women of the PKK have begun a concise movement to legitimize female

rights that if successful could change the societal structure of a male dominated world.

### ***The Kurdish Historical Background***

A background of the Kurdish people is needed to fully understand the discrimination of the Kurdish culture and its foundation as a specific group of people without a home. The Kurdish people are one of the oldest cultural groups to inhabit the Middle East and have co-existed with various peoples throughout their history. During the Ottoman Empire, the Kurds were considered independent with the authority to run their own government and practice their culture. Complications for the Kurdish people began during the fall of the Ottoman Empire, when the partitioning of the empire and conflicting backdoor agreements by European imperialists created a cultural, ethnic, and ideological self-awareness throughout the Middle East. As a result, the Kurdish people were inexplicably denied their own independent Kurdistan. Thus, the Kurds became displaced in their own land, stretched across a vast amount of space that includes parts of Iran, Iraq, Turkey, and Syria. These countries in their own nationalist fervor refuse to recognize the cultural and linguistic values of the Kurdish people, resulting in constant prejudice and persecution.

The Kurdish mobilization towards nationalism, like all nationalist movements, is extremely complex and full of international controversy. There is not a single time frame in history where the Kurds flipped the proverbial light switch to illuminate Kurdish nationalism; the movement was gradual and took place over a long span of time. Despite the fact that Kurdish history can be intriguing, the totality of Kurdish history is not necessarily relevant to understanding the purpose of this paper. A brief background to the Kurds does however; shed light on the progression of history in Kurdish society. This in turn will serve as a guide to understanding the current conflict and illustrate the

reasons as to why and how women came to be involved in the Kurdish national struggle.

The Kurds can be dated as far back as 3000 BCE. There is little if any doubt among scholars of Middle Eastern history that the Kurds are one of the most ancient ethnic groups in the Middle East.<sup>5</sup> Written and oral historiographies indicate that a majority of the Kurds typically date themselves to the Median Empire of the sixth century BCE.<sup>6</sup> Strangely, however, the Kurds share a similar genealogy with Persians and are often credited for being the purest Iranians.<sup>7</sup> However interesting this may be, Kurdish identity (Kurdî) is not ethnically specific, but also takes into account religion.<sup>8</sup> The development and spread of Islam throughout the Middle East caused the Kurds, as well as many other people groups in the Middle East, to relieve themselves of their old religious identity and traditions and convert to the new monotheistic religion.<sup>9</sup>

The conversion of the Kurds to Islam is not only significant for understanding their culture and distinctiveness in the Middle East, but also sculpts new intrinsic values within Kurdish society. Understanding plurality in values is essential because, in general, the Kurdish absorption of Islam may seem like a unifying phenomenon that would fuse tribes together. On the contrary, the Islamic movement in Kurdistan sub-fractionalized Kurdish groups due to the complexity stemming from the interpretation of the Quran. In other words, despite the fact that the Kurds are a single ethnic group under one religion, there is a differentiation among their affiliation with various Islamic sects, namely Sunni and Shi'a. Furthermore, Islamic traditions also define gender roles in which women are seen as relatively unequal to men. Therefore the

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<sup>5</sup> Lokman I. Meho, *Kurdish Culture and Society* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2001), 11.

<sup>6</sup> Denise Natali, *The Kurds and the State: Evolving National Identity in Iraq, Turkey, and Iran* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2005), xvii.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, xxiii-xxiv.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, xxiv.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

redefining of gender and gender roles in Kurdish society, which will be discussed later, is revolutionary, and quickly stirs up controversy throughout Kurdistan. This is one of many causes for the formation of ideologically mismatched jigsaw pieces in the otherwise potentially contiguous and independent Kurdistan. Culturally, Shi'a Kurds and Persians hold a relationship of relatively mutual respect for one another, while Sunni Kurds and Sunni Arabs West of Iran have a turbulent and volatile relationship.<sup>10</sup> Religion also paved the way for the political identity which was mainly impacted by the Ottoman Empire. This is to say that religion and specific groups were given higher status in the empire and eventually the religious sectors in the Ottoman government would undermine the ruling power of the caliphate system since the empire was partially dictated by religious law. There was no separation of religion and state.

Though the Kurds have endured centuries of various fluctuating empires, none impacted the modern Kurds as much as the Ottoman Empire and the nations that subsequently inherited them following the empire's fatal collapse. Early Ottoman history with the Kurds may initially seem mundane in relation to the modern Kurdistan, but Ottoman policies actually laid the groundwork for the future of the Kurds and their persecution. The Ottomans divided their empire into sub-regions under what is known as the *millet* system. Instead of strictly dissecting the empire on an ethnic basis, the Ottomans primarily focused on subdividing the land on religious affiliation, Muslim, or non-Muslim. In addition, it should be noted that the Ottoman government also put into consideration the complex linguistic and tribal entities of the empire to inhibit conflict. Since the Kurds were Muslim, they were at a political and societal advantage under the millet system, and were referred to as *boz millet*, "the gray nation,"<sup>11</sup> while non-Muslim groups were *millet-i mahkume*, or "dominated people," and given less autonomy in their millets.<sup>12</sup> On

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 2.

the other hand, Muslim groups such as the Kurds were *millet-i hakime*, “dominate people,” and enjoyed a greater autonomy within their millets, and a less discriminatory integration into Ottoman politics.<sup>13</sup>

However, the Kurds lost some of their autonomy when the *Porte* (Ottoman parliament) began establishing the *Tanzimat* reforms (reorganization) beginning roughly around 1839 and lasting until 1876.<sup>14</sup> This was an overhaul of the outdated political system in an attempt to prevent the empire from collapsing. The economy in Western Europe was expanding due to colonialism, and the Ottoman Empire was closely watching the successful European nations in order to gain some insight on how to preserve the empire. Ultimately, the Ottoman Empire attempted to become more “European.” Many empires during the colonial era used the European model of westernization in order to survive and keep up with the new demands of a beginning globalized economy. For example, the *Tanzimat* period included a revamping of the Ottoman legal system, *Mejelle*, by emulating the French civil code while still maintaining Islamic principles upheld through *shari’ah* law, a legal system based on the ethics within the Quran.<sup>15</sup> The destruction of the millet system also directly affected the Kurds. In 1839 Rashid Pasha issued a decree, the Hatt-i Sharif of Gülhane, which stated reforms for all of those living within the Ottoman Empire regardless of religion.<sup>16</sup> Then in 1856, the Hatt-i Hümayan decree greatly emphasized that all Ottoman subjects would be made equal.<sup>17</sup> Finally in 1869, the Nationality Law was enacted which granted equal citizenship to all Ottoman subjects.<sup>18</sup> This was done by way of giving control to governors who were elected by

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>15</sup> William L. Cleveland and Martin Burton, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition (Westview Press, 2009), 84.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 83.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.



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the Porte.<sup>19</sup> The Kurds only lost little autonomy, and were still able to maintain their local political systems under Kurdish shayks and *aghas* (chiefs).<sup>20</sup>

Following the end of World War I, the Ottoman Empire was disassembled which created a domino effect of nationalism throughout the Middle East that greatly affected the Kurds. Nationalism spread throughout the Middle East after WWI for many reasons. One factor had been the world powers and their ideological influences in each area of the Past Ottoman Empire. Each group that fought for a side was promised their own autonomy away from the Ottomans and had been influenced by ideologies from Russia, Great Britain, America, France, and Greece and the other colonial powers. Another factor was that many leading figures from the Middle East after WWI had a western education and learned about the ideology of nationalism. They noted how uniting a state could be achieved if everyone in an autonomous state were bound by borders and a common national identity. A rising power needed the acceptance of the western world for protection and legitimacy. Specifically, the establishment of Turkey created a new world of uniformed identity that all citizens were required to adhere to the Kemal Reforms which were successful because the Tanzimat Reforms had set a precedent. Since the 100 years of Tanzimat Reforms weakened the religious sects of government, Muslims and non-Muslims gained equality in an empire that was losing control to the invading colonialists. The Ottoman reforms allowed for a Western shift in the empire that set the foundation for acceptance of future reforms in Turkey.

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

### ***Establishment of Turkey<sup>21</sup>***

The fall of the Ottoman Empire resulted in a profound sense of cultural, ethnic and ideological self-awareness throughout the Middle East. When the victors of World War I divided the Middle East into distinct regions, the Kurdish people were inexplicably denied their own independent Kurdistan. Thus, the Kurds are spread across a vast amount of space that includes parts of Iran, Iraq, Turkey, and Syria. These countries have their own idea of nationalism and refuse to recognize the cultural and linguistic values of the Kurdish people. As such, the Kurds are under constant prejudice and persecution by the country in which they reside. The Kurdish people formed several resistance groups in response to this on-going struggle for nationalism. The establishment of Turkey specifically altered the lives of the Kurdish people under their control.

The nineteenth century, consisted of European powers meddling within areas of the Middle East to control resources by establishing colonies which weakened the Ottoman Empire. The Allied powers continued to influence the Middle East post-World War I by dismantling the Ottoman Empire through the Treaty of Sèvres granting the Allied forces self-determination for some and allowing western powers to claim territories for their strategic influence. The Secret agreements had been circulating among Britain, France, Russia, Greece, and Italy and were defined in the Paris Peace Conference of 1919. The agreements would distribute borders to the allies and form a divided Middle East in search of various nationalisms. The Treaty divided Anatolia between Italy

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<sup>21</sup> The history of Turkey has directly affected the fundamental actions of the PKK and contributed to the issue of gender equality. For this reason, Turkey will be the focus of the research as it is in direct conflict with the PKK. Mustafa Kemal or “Ataturk,” the leading figure for significant reforms within Turkey, was also the main contributor of opposition towards the Kurds. The Kemalist Reforms were intended to secularize Turkey and were initiated by Ataturk. Ataturk’s reforms attempted to create a loyal and uniformed state by creating only Turkish citizens. This prohibited the practice of any other culture that could possibly undermine a uniformed Turkish state.

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and France, creating an independent Armenian state, and granted Greece territory that neared Istanbul. Among the agreements was the promise of a sovereign Kurdistan for the Kurdish population of the Ottoman Empire. The Society for the Ascension of Kurdistan (Kurdistan Teali Cemiyeti) sent Serif Pasha<sup>22</sup> as their representative at the conference to discuss their claims to a bordered territory. The Kurdish representatives were divided as they could not agree on where Kurdistan should reside. However, the Treaty of Sèvres in Section III Articles 62-64<sup>23</sup> defined Kurdistan within the Mosul Province. The treaty outlined an autonomous state for the Kurdish people, but the subsequent Treaty of Lausanne nixed any hope for a Kurdish state in Turkey. Ultimately, the Treaty of Sèvres restricted what was left of the Ottoman Empire and put allied commissions and governmental finances under allied control. The Istanbul government signed the treaty in 1920 to cut bonds with Turkish and non-Turkish areas that were awarded to the European victors, but the European powers were met with opposition.

Turkish resistance groups comprised of militia units and guerilla fighters formed in an attempt to stop the division of Turkish territory. The rebel forces called themselves Societies for the Defense of Rights and formed to protect their land from the aims of the treaty and to begin their national war for independence in 1919, with the prior Ottoman field commander as their organizing leader.<sup>24</sup> The national movement for Turkish sovereignty was led by Mustafa Kemal who easily asserted his leadership. The Istanbul government, aware of Kemal's plans, revoked his official stance as an army officer in 1920, making him a rebel leader who opposed the legitimacy of the Istanbul

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<sup>22</sup> Hakan Özoğlu, *Kurdish Notables and the Ottoman State: Evolving Identities, Competing Loyalties, and Shifting Boundaries* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004), 112.

<sup>23</sup> "The treaty of peace between the allied and associated powers, 1995-2012," Hellenic Resources Network, accessed May 19, 2014, <http://www.hri.org/docs/sevres/part3.html>.

<sup>24</sup> James L. Gelvin, *The Modern Middle East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 179.

government. Kemal was dismissed as an army officer because he wished to protect Turkish land from the encroaching Greeks which went against the government and only heightened the fact that Istanbul no longer protected Turkish interests. This in turn, motivated the unification of Turkey, led by Kemal, and the overthrow of the Istanbul government. Kemal understood that he needed to legitimize his movement for Turkish sovereignty by creating a new Turkish government to replace the Istanbul government with proper representation in 1920. The process of establishing a government took place in Ankara, where the rebels chose their body of representatives that included members from the prior Ottoman parliament. The newly formed government was known as the Grand National Assembly, who then nominated Mustafa Kemal as their president. The National Assembly idolized Kemal and renamed him Ataturk which meant “the father of the Turks” in 1935.<sup>25</sup> The national assembly adopted the Western principles of popular sovereignty accompanied with a constitution. The establishment of a constitutional Turkish government and the invasion of Armenia, with aid from the Soviet Union, was the first step towards disassembling the Treaty of Sevres.<sup>26</sup> Ataturk considered the newly independent Armenia to be Turkish land and therefore invalid as an Armenian state. The territorial gains allowed Turkey the advantage to fight off the Greek invasion. The Greek forces became a threat to the new government as they invaded the prior Ottoman capital of Bursa and breached Anatolia in 1921.<sup>27</sup> In the same year, France and the Soviet Union acknowledged Turkey as a legitimate state leading to the Italian withdrawal from Anatolia. The second strike to the treaty was the Turkish nationalist defeat of the Greek troops in a three week battle at Sakarya in 1922, which left Ataturk victorious with his goals nearly achieved.

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<sup>25</sup> Hugh Poulton, *Top Hat, Grey Wolf and Crescent: Turkish Nationalism and the Turkish Republic* (New York: New York University Press, 1997).

<sup>26</sup> Gelvin, 179.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

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The achievements by Ataturk's forces led to a renegotiation of the Treaty of Sèvres in the Lausanne Conference of 1922. In the conference, Ataturk demanded recognition from the British for complete Turkish Sovereignty and to abolish the Sultanate, which would eliminate the caliphate's role as a source of political power. That strategic act would completely eliminate the Ottoman past and authority, allowing the National Assembly full legitimate control of Turkey. The Treaty of Lausanne was signed in 1923, officially recognizing Turkey as an independent nation state by the international community.

After Ataturk accomplished his goal of a sovereign Turkey, the next step was to establish Turkey as a uniform nation. He achieved this by carrying out a series of reforms that would result in a controlled and lasting state with a common Turkish identity. The Kemalist Reforms (Ataturkism) of Turkey were a set of reforms that were based on European nationalism and are seen in six distinct sections to unify the state under a sole Turkish identity. Understanding the cataclysm of the reforms is vital to comprehending the current conflict between the Kurdish rebels and Turkey. Ataturk's reforms contained two purposes for Turkey; one was to Westernize Turkey for its future inclusion into the European world stage for legitimacy and to unify the country through a common identity known as "Turkification" which took on the form of nationalism. The Kemalist reforms had drastic effects on dual populations that existed in the land before the establishment of Turkey. The reforms of Ataturk were successful because of the constant state of reforms of the Ottoman Empire (Tanzimat Reforms) during the nineteenth century. The prior reforms allowed the Kemalist Reforms a precedent to follow and allowed for a large acceptance of the changes being promoted in Turkey. The establishment of secularism, through the reforms, brought by far the most significant change in Turkey.

The introduction of secularism tremendously impacted Turkish society and entailed multiple changes for the state. Ataturk's policy of secularism was passed by the National Assembly's vote in 1924 to abolish the Caliphate system. Ataturk

understood that by exiling the Ottoman royal families (Caliphs) that generational Islamic traditions would be exiled with them. The reforms also dismantled the religious organizations that protected, taught and aided the Islamic traditions. In 1926, the Swiss Civil Code outlawed the Mejlle and the Shari'ah authority, replacing it with new penal and commercial restrictions. The legal codes banned polygamy and granted women access to divorce, which extinguished the Ulama's elitist stance in government matters. The civil codes embodied Western values of secularism to replace the traditional laws of religion, as interpreted from the Quran, which shifted the power base to the secularist state officials and away from the religious authorities.<sup>28</sup>

The reforms also dissolved the Sufi orders by prohibiting their worship at shrines and tombs, making it a criminal offense in 1925. The tradition of wearing a Fez in public areas was a link to the Ottoman past and, to destroy the Ottoman hold on Turkey, the Fez was made illegal to wear in public. Instead, the Fez was replaced by Western hats in 1925 to symbolize Turkey's 'civilized' Westernization. The reforms of Ataturk went further to resemble a Western nation by replacing the Muslim lunar calendar with the Western Gregorian calendar in 1926. In order for Turkey to keep up with the world markets they implemented a Western calendar, which included the adoption of Sunday as a day of rest instead of their traditional Friday. To further secularize, the state commissioned the translation of the Quran from Arabic to Turkish in 1932. The translation of God's direct words was highly controversial and seen as altering its important meanings. The reforms also stated that public prayers would change to Turkish instead of Arabic. The main purpose for the secularist section of reforms was to rid Turkey of the Islamic power base that could compete for control in Turkey, as it did during the Ottoman period. The second was to eliminate the Ottoman past to create an all-encompassing Turkish identity.

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

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For Ataturk, the promotion of nationalism was an attempt to unite the people. In doing so, he would create a sense of loyalty to the state by implementing complete “Turkification” through symbols of one cultural identity for citizens of the state. To further the unification of Turkey, language reform was implemented in 1928. Ataturk commissioned an organization to produce a Turkish alphabet using Latin to replace the existing Arabic alphabet. The aim was to completely disassemble the Ottoman past from future generations by only promoting a Turkish past and a Turkish identity. In a way, the reforms emphasized Turkey as a completely united nation. This was in stark contrast to the instability of the region under Ottoman and Islamic rule, and gave leaders the legitimacy to claim it as a sovereign state. The unification of Turkey was achieved through influence, education, and the opportunity for social and governmental involvement.

The populist reforms created establishments of “People’s Houses” throughout Turkey which promoted adult education and political ideology to inform the citizens of the reforms that would better the country. The grassroots efforts to inform the Turkish citizens through state institutions created feelings among citizens of equal participation in government affairs.

The mixture of populism and nationalism went further with the reforms in education. Ataturk saw education as an important foundation to create a lasting state. The literacy and knowledge of a state was gained through education and would be essential for a strong Turkish Republic. The main idea for education was again to break away from the Ottoman past by dissolving the tradition of an elitist education system and implementing a free mandatory elementary schooling system throughout Turkey. In the rural areas, educational efforts would prove difficult for various reasons. Nonetheless, between 1923 and 1940, schools and teachers doubled and the number of enrolled students increased by 300 percent.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

The reforms also affected the social roles of Turkish women through gender equality. The aim of the broadened equality between the sexes was to resemble the freedoms that European women possessed. The reforms advanced women on the social sphere by allowing them mandatory access to education to acquire the skills to work in Turkish society alongside men. The snowball effect allowed for thirteen female judges by 1933, women were also granted the right to vote by 1934, and there were seventeen female delegates in the national assembly by 1935.<sup>30</sup>

The reforms greatly aided the state economically and are important to the history of Turkey, but the above reforms mentioned specifically affected the Kurds in Turkey. Ataturk's reforms helped to establish a uniform Turkish state, whose drastic changes directly affected the Kurdish people. The new borders of Turkey as defined by the Treaty of Lausanne served as a direct antithesis to the Treaty of Sevres as the Kurds were not able to obtain an independent Kurdistan. With the promise of their own independent state squashed by yet another foreign influence, the Kurds were left desperately grasping for a solidified identity in the region and so formed oppositional factions within the newly formed Turkey.

The first Kurdish nationalist movement arose against the Turkish Republic in 1923 and another in 1925. The uprisings were a mixture of Kurdish protest along with Islamic revivalism.<sup>31</sup> The rebellions were severely dealt with and ended with Ataturk attempting to cleanse the Kurdish ethnic history from Turkey. The reforms were intended to create one national group that consisted of only a Turkish population and left no room for any other identity. The intention was to strip the Kurds and others of their ethnic cultures by outlawing their languages, clothes, practices and subsequently placing them among the lowest class in the Turkish society. It was against the law for the Kurds to practice their own culture. In the new democracy, it became mandatory for all young

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.



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citizens of Turkey to attend school in efforts to re-educate the masses. The schools preached a Western curriculum and promoted Turkish nationalism. Ataturk believed education that promoted Turkish history and vernacular would lead to faster assimilation of nationalism. Unforeseen by Kemal was the outcome education would have on the population who learned about ideology and how the legality of a republic should work.

### ***Formation of the PKK***<sup>32</sup>

The Turkish education system limited its participants primarily to those who were Turkish which created a class of wealthy elites. These elites eventually became aware of the political ideals of democracy and its promotion of certain humanitarian rights that the Turkish government denied. They learned how to protest on a legal basis and soon began to oppose the unjust treatment of specific groups by the government, which in turn ignited sparks of nationalism bolstered through the creation of various political parties. The educated elites gave backing to the military coup of 1960 and created a liberal period with a new constitution. Aliza Marcus in her book, *Blood and Belief*, wrote that the contents of the newly drafted constitution manifested “Freedoms to form associations, publish, organize trade unions, and the ability to call strikes.”<sup>33</sup> These new values gave rise to the many political parties controlled by Turkish and Kurdish activists. Kurdish activism now consisted of a new generational wave that did not experience the punitive end of the first Kurdish nationalist movement of the

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<sup>32</sup> Not all Kurds agree on the approach for independence nor do they agree on the end product. These Kurdish factions each have varying ideologies in their respective countries. The Yekêtiy Nîştîmanîy Kurdistan, Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) of Iraq, the Partiya Demokrata Kurdistanê, Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) of Iraq and the Turkish group Devrimci Yol (DEV-YOL) which translates to Revolutionary Path were some of the major regional opponents of the Partiya Karkeren Kurdistanî, PKK in Turkey also known as the Kurdistan Workers’ Party.

<sup>33</sup> Aliza Marcus, *Blood and Belief The PKK and the Kurdish Fight* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2007), 17.

1920s. The new generation differed from the old as they were better educated with redefined notions of freedom and new avenues by which to obtain it. At the same time, the poverty stricken Kurdish populations in rural areas began to migrate into urban areas in hopes of creating a better livelihood. The move to cities then created a surge of activists from various political arenas.

In 1961, the first legally organized political party that caught Kurdish attention was the Turkish Workers Party (TIP). The socialist ideology of the party promoted social and economic equality of the classes. The Kurds soon involved themselves within TIP, and paper media based on cultural aspects, in addition to the Kurdish language, began to be distributed. Unfortunately for the activists, the newly ensconced liberal leadership of the Turkish Workers Party was shut down after being charged for being a separatist party. One after another, legal parties began to be shut down or closely monitored.

During the 1960s, a rebellious Kurdish identity swelled and became a major influence on the preeminent Kurdish independence champion, Abdullah Öcalan, endearingly referred to by his followers as Apo. In the late 1960s, students and workers called meetings to demonstrate their democratic rights by protesting the oppression of their cultural identity. Many of the young groups had been influenced by their teachers, who were Kurdish nationalists and were well immersed in the Kurdish culture since their youth and thus viewed the suppression of their culture as cruelly unfair. Some Kurds, on the other hand, fell under the influence of the radical leftist movements of the 1960s.

Öcalan was raised in the primarily Kurdish, rural and impoverished city of Şanlıurfa, inside Turkey's borders. His family was poor, and his mother would often times publicly humiliate his father for not being able to sufficiently support his family. While attending school, Öcalan had to walk an hour to and from school. His childhood dream was to become a Turkish army officer, but he later failed the military school exam. Instead, he went to vocational school in Ankara and studied work related to the state land registry in 1966. This move influenced Öcalan as he saw the Kurdish

identity through speeches at meetings. By 1969, he worked in a government office that oversaw the measuring of land for deeds. During this time, Turkey had been in turmoil politically and, though hesitant, Öcalan knew something had to be done. Coincidentally he turned to a book with new ideas entitled, *The Alphabet of Socialism*.

Öcalan began to understand the issues through socialist ideology and proclaimed himself as a socialist.<sup>34</sup> Later in 1972, he would be arrested and spent time in prison for attending a demonstration. While incarcerated, Öcalan listened to a wide span of political ideologies in regards to the causes, effects, and actions needed for a revolution. He remained silent, while listening to assessments made by imprisoned activists, and was able to realize that various organizations went through legal means in order to reach their goals. They believed hostile action could be useful, but only after gaining sufficient legitimacy and wide support. Öcalan did not understand their views as he felt the legal avenue in Turkey was corrupt. The political parties throughout the 1960s and 1970s had been monitored and shut down each time to take away their legitimacy. Öcalan's assessment of prior attempts through the legal system in Turkey inspired an ideological shift on how to attain Kurdish independence.

The primary facets of Öcalan's path to Kurdish independence consisted of ridding the region of all remnants of colonialism, terrors of imperialism, and the implementation of the socialist ideologies from figures such as Marx, Lenin and Mao. His speeches tended to be long-winded and passionate. He engaged in debates about which socialist revolution to imitate; Lenin or Mao. He believed that debate on the economic and social position of Turkey should be relevant and that aggressive socialist action would inspire a concurrent nationalist element.

While trying to figure out which revolutionary model to follow, one idea still remained constant among those of Lenin and Mao; there was a need for an armed coup, the question was its

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 18.

timing. The parties differed on which stage the fight should be used. Öcalan believed that an armed struggle would legitimize the Kurdish stance and would allow them to gain followers. Though Kurdish nationals agreed on creating an independent Kurdistan, they did not agree on a single political dogma. They were divided over which leftist ideology to follow, not just in regards to Maoist, Leninist, but also on other fundamental leftist groupings. The division of ideology was useless in Öcalan's eyes but, rather than let ideology divide the movement, Öcalan believed it was better to unite in an armed coup. "If a people embraces its own tradition, uses its own language and makes it [sic] culture come alive, this too is a rebellion,' ... 'but the highest form of rebellion is armed rebellion.' said Öcalan in his 1977 speech in Elazig, a speech which became the basis for the group's first published pamphlet on its ideology."<sup>35</sup>

Öcalan could not gain support from the wide range of Kurdish independence parties as they disagreed that an armed coup was the necessary first step to legitimacy. This problem created a division that prolonged gaining support. The remedy to the problem, in regards to Öcalan and his followers, was to eliminate the various Kurdish parties. Attacking other groups was the first armed struggle for the PKK. They believed by eliminating their political rivals, the PKK would be the lone and unopposed Kurdish independence party. This strategy was based on the Leninist rule and the Maoist philosophy of eliminating other factions to create a single imperative party. The PKK's decision to attack and eliminate other Kurdish independence movements would prove to be a major thorn in the side of the PKK moving forward. It developed into a major diplomatic hurdle in garnering support from outside of Turkey.

The formation of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) became official on November 28, 1978. They formed a central committee that contained three people; Abdullah Öcalan, Sahin Donmez, and Cemil Bayik. The party also included a Regional

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 39.

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Preparations Committee with members spread out across Turkey. They were asked to stay employed by the state for information, while also acquiring new recruits. Some members quit their jobs to penetrate trade unions and attack other parties.<sup>36</sup> The beginnings of the PKK came to a halt following the economic collapse of Turkey. This led the military to go on a rampage and cleanse any opposition to their power. Öcalan fled from Turkey to Syria, leaving the PKK without a leader. The location was initially used as a gathering spot for ideas and PKK members. In Syria, Öcalan played the old Kurdish card of pitting neighboring states against each other for Kurdish preservation.

At this time, Syria was a location where various groups could escape oppression. Once in Syria, Öcalan encountered many leftist Palestinian groups whom were sympathetic to his socialist agenda. In Damascus, the groups agreed to help the PKK, but informed Syrian intelligence services of the PKK's arrival. The Syrian government was fully aware of the continued arrival of the Turkish Kurds into their country and distributed fake identity cards with Arab names. The acceptance of fake identification by the government was their protection against questions on allowing Turkish PKK members into Syria. That concept would eliminate evidence linking Syrian aid to the Kurdish rebels. The government allowed the Kurdish Turks into Syria because the two countries had ongoing complications. For example by harboring Turkish Kurds, Syria was able to use the PKK as a distraction against Turkey. One factor for the tensions were that both countries claimed the former jurisdiction of Alexandretta as their own, but officially it was absorbed by Turkey in 1939 after a referendum. Syria was distressed about Turkey's GAP dam project. The dams harnessed water from the Euphrates and Tigris rivers for domestic purposes. Originating in Turkey, the rivers stem for miles, streaming through Syria and Iraq. The dam project would give Turkey's capital, Ankara, abundant control of the water before reaching the arid Syrian climate. It was believed Turkey had been

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 47.

harboring an opposition military group, the Muslim Brothers, who launched attacks against Syria. In size, Syria is five times smaller than Turkey and bordered at that time by the Soviet Union. Turkey was a member of NATO and an ally to the United States, as such, the Western powers would align with Turkey militarily and Syria was painfully aware of this. Thus, the arrival and militant training of PKK members was encouraged. Syria used the PKK as a proxy to cause regional conflict for their problematic neighbor. The Kurdish party held similar notions about Turkey and their operations matched Syrian interests. In this instance, the Kurds used the disputing neighboring countries for their preservation.<sup>37</sup> The Kurdish people have a long-standing history of using their enemy's enemies for their advantage and self-preservation.

The admittance of Turkish Kurds into Syria was conditional. This is to say that the Turkish Kurds could not advocate uprisings regarding the Syrian Kurds. The conditional allowance of the PKK into Syria was followed with care because Öcalan had discovered his long-term goal in Syria for the PKK. While in Syria, the PKK met with another occupied people fighting for their independence, the Palestinians. The Palestinian groups in Lebanon and Syria received the PKK members with open arms and even trained them in guerrilla warfare.

The DFLP (Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine), during the 1980s, was one of the largest Palestinian groups under the umbrella of the greater PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organization). Mamdoh Nofal, the former military leader in the DFLP explained, "We accept the Marxist-Leninist groups because we are Marxist-Leninist, we are revolutionaries and we support the revolutionary movement."<sup>38</sup> Nofal met with Abu Laila (Qais Abdul-Karim) a political leader in the DFLP. They agreed to take a small number of the group to train. The training started during the 1980s in Helwe. The PKK learned about explosives, military tactics, topography, artillery, and guerilla

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 56.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 53.

tactics.<sup>39</sup> Unfortunately for the PKK, funds ran too low for the DFLP to continue fully supporting the group. The PKK then sought help elsewhere. Aid came from a plethora of Palestinian and communist groups: Yasser Arafat of Fatah, George Habash of the PFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine), Samir Ghoshesh of the Palestinian Popular Struggle Front (PPSF or PSF), and the Lebanese Communist Party.<sup>40</sup> In return the Kurds helped build fortifications and agreed to fight on the front line to defend against potential attacks from Israel. The PKK and other militants were pushed north following the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

Öcalan's interest then shifted to Northern Iraq as it was the ideal location for the PKK to set up camp. The territory, known as Üçgen (Turkish for triangle) was a long stretch of land that saddled the Iran, Turkey, and Iraq borders. The location was ideal for the members to enter into Turkey freely, stage attacks, and then exit when needed. Syria offered a great safe haven for the PKK, but not for attempting attacks. The path from Turkey to Syria was on flat land and party members did not want to draw attention to Syria, by aggravating Turkey. The geographical location borrowed by the PKK could easily be compromised and Syria, through harboring the PKK, could be seen as provoking Turkey. To achieve the goal of launching attacks in Turkey, Öcalan needed to make peace with the Iraqi Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) who controlled the coveted area in the mountainous region bordering Turkey. The KDP and surrounding parties were in a constant state of competition and disunity with one another in an attempt to obtain control of the region. Thus Öcalan reached out to Massoud Barzani, leader of the KDP. Massoud Barzani's father, Mulla Mustafa Barzani, was too conservative in Öcalan's eyes. He held on to old feudalistic ideas, and Öcalan harshly criticized Mulla Mustafa Barzani because of this. In November 1979, Massoud Barzani inherited control of the KDP following his father's death. Öcalan put priorities ahead of ideology, which proved to be

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 55.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 60-61.

diplomatically advantageous. Barzani agreed to put aside Öcalan's past criticism of Barzani's father and allowed Öcalan to enter KDP territory. By 1982, Iran and Iraq were at war and the KDP turned on Saddam Hussein, which in turn forced many to relocate and left new alliances open for consideration.

Öcalan used the situation in Iraq to his advantage and moved to form an alliance with Barzani. The intentions for the location were not seen as temporary for Öcalan, but as a permanent spot for the PKK. In 1982, an agreement was reached with Barzani to allow the PKK to use the bordering territory. The PKK was granted space to build camps in Northern Iraq and to freely cross the borders into Turkey. In Syria, the party learned to use and make weapons in guerrilla warfare, but in Northern Iraq the PKK became knowledgeable with survival in the mountains as a guerrilla power.

### ***Turkey and the PKK***

The establishment of Turkey and the creation of the PKK are interesting narratives that should be crossed examined for similarities. The two entities have been at odds with each other for more than three decades each trying to outwit the other by taking on the similar roles as a counterpart to become just as legitimate in their cause. Both leaders of each nationalist movement were rebels of the state. Ataturk's success of becoming a legitimate force of winning his sovereign Turkey can be seen as a product of that time. The atmosphere after WWI left many throughout the world in complete devastation leaving many world powers absent of the will to fight off Ataturk and his forces. Thus, Ataturk won Turkish sovereignty without much opposition. Apo created the Kurdish movement in a different time where Turkey now had international support, an established government, and an army to stop such a potential threat leaving Apo's goal out of reach.

Both leading figures of the movement were beloved by their followers, leaving a lasting impact on each community. Ataturk known as the father of Turkey and Apo known as the



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father of the PKK created a power base that left no room for oppositions in beliefs, ideology, and a cultural co-existence. Ataturk created a uniformed culture crushing any opposing system that threatened Turkishness, even to the extent of cultural genocide. Apo created an absolute power base by manipulating situations to create beneficial circumstances for his goals that include his switching alliances with various Kurdish resistance groups, murder of opposing groups and PKK party members that eventually showed opposition to Apo's decisions, he altered their socialist ideology to a democratic system, and even the inclusion of women as we will examine later.

Apo states that he is against Turkey and all it inhabits, but uses methods that are vastly similar to his opponent. It would seem that Apo learned from Ataturk's methods to attempt the same goals that Ataturk gained from in 1923, essentially to "out Turk the Turks". As we learned and will further explore, the PKK has used and continues to use techniques similar to Turkey in order to gain international support and awareness to their goal of an independent Kurdistan. The interesting aspect is that the female PKK members are using the party methods to establish egalitarianism for women that will last long after the PKK is gone.

### ***Öcalan's Views on Women***

Öcalan harbored views on women differently from the culture around him. As a young boy, he remembered watching his mother humiliate his father. She was very harsh and critical of her son. He was also influenced by his sisters' marriage to a man from a neighboring village. His sister Havva was traded for wheat and money. Marriage arrangements did not contain aspects of love but rather the decisions were made by the parents who would profit from the arrangement. Aliza Marcus states in, *Blood and Belief*, "Öcalan later explained he saw such marriages as a type of death for women, and former PKK ideologue and scribe Mehmet Can Yuce cited Havva's marriage as a major influence on Öcalan's

theories on the need to liberate women from the repressive roles inherent in traditional Kurdish male-female relations.”<sup>41</sup>

The first emerging female within the PKK was Öcalan’s wife, Kersire Yildirim. They married in 1978, after meeting at a journalism school. He received much criticism from his party for the union. They did not agree with her family links and believed that any relationship with women would bring needless distractions that would take away from their fight. Author Aliza Marcus noted an interview with a leading member of the PKK on the subject of relationships and party members, “PKK supporters viewed marriage as a bourgeois undertaking that weakened people’s commitment to the fight. ‘From the beginning there was a rule against marrying, or maybe not a rule, but it was an idea, a way of thinking,’ said Selahattin Celik, a leading PKK member. “Love was something for the small bourgeois, something unnecessary.” None the less, a number of PKK’s first members were married – some, like Öcalan, married other supporters – but the pressures of illegal life made it hard to maintain.”<sup>42</sup>

The whole party began to understand the idea of marriage as a distraction and became a rule for all later members of the party both male and female. It was believed that if a member was married their focus would shift on family instead of the struggle. Öcalan attempted to justify his marriage in terms of helping her independence. He explained their marriage would allow her freedom to move around Kurdish regions freely, since unmarried women were not permitted to travel alone. He also alluded to the idea that it would free her from family because they were linked to the state.

Much of the PKK’s ideology came from Öcalan and integrating women into the party was one aspect they adopted. If we analyze the leader’s view of women it becomes clear as to why he allocated women into their movement. Throughout Öcalan’s life, he had been influenced by strong women and admitted to

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 42.

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being afraid of them at times. He felt this was exemplary leadership material to cause fear and believed that women were more organized than men as members. The three impacting women in his life had been; his mother, his wife, and his beloved sister. He viewed his mother and wife as strong and capable of making an impact with their actions, he also saw his sister as a woman needing to be liberated. He detested the property theme of women and wanted to empower them away from a feudal hierarchy. He associated feudal life as a western approach to stay in power by keeping the rural population embedded in past ideas. His Maoist and Leninist approach needed a one party rule with everyone at an equal level. The ideology did not leave room for inequality and opposition of old cultural and religious practices. He had many thoughts on the subject but never attempted to put them in use until it was needed. Apo essentially brought women recruits into the PKK as a way to fill positions and to keep Kurdish women from changing their cultural identity to a Turkish one. The state of Turkey, through their reforms, was able to gain female support since it allowed gendered freedoms which were denied to them living in their Kurdish villages. The Kurdish women were granted the ability to enjoy a form of equality through activism in the PKK.

### ***Formation of Women Activism***

Women from various ethnic sectors in the area of Turkey served an important purpose during the World Wars and the War for Turkish Independence. They joined the fight as nurses on the battlefield, suppliers of materials, seamstresses for the men's uniforms, and the economic base during the wars. Women became the economic foundation for society as they took on the position of the male role in domestic life during the wars aiding the nostalgia of equal gender roles. Kurdish women in Turkey have been influenced by the 1923 decision to remodel the Turkish republic. Ataturk implemented reforms, as stated earlier, that would modernize Turkey to resemble Western Europeans. The end goal was to be recognized as an independent state in Western eyes, which meant

adopting democracy. One aspect of becoming a sovereign Turkey was to make all males and females equal under law. Kemal decided to establish women's rights through law which included social, legal, and political rights.

Only few women from elite families were chosen to receive equal education as men did and they competed for the same job opportunities. This emancipation created more difficulties for women because it gave the impression that all women were liberated, when most were not. In the article by Meltem Muftuler-Bac entitled, "Turkish Women's Predicament," the author states: "This created two types of women in Turkish society: the open, western, emancipated woman and the closed, traditional, "unliberated" women."<sup>43</sup> This is directly relevant to the study of outside ideas that had influence on the Kurdish culture in reference to true gender equality within the female gender as seen from a male perspective. The vast majority of Kurdish women resided in the underdeveloped Kurdish villages in Southeastern Turkey. The social structures of the various societies and cultures within Turkey create multiple inequalities and prejudices that influence their gendered identity.

The Kurdish society contained disadvantages for their women with male dominated customs, methodical economic advances to men, political violence, and danger from living in conflict zones overtaken by PKK and the Turkish forces. As Zeynep Sahin states in her dissertation, "The Political Representation of Kurdish, Kemalist, and Conservative Muslim Women in Turkey (1990-2010)," Kurdish women have been placed within, "systematic inequalities resulting from a lack of access to education, legal services, and health services. Worsened by language barriers, low levels of education, as well as low levels of employment outside of their homes among adult women in Southeastern Turkey, leave Kurdish women more vulnerable than other women in Turkey."<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Meltem Muftuler-Bac, "Turkish Women's Predicament," *Women's Studies International Forum*, 22, no. 3 (1999): 303-313, 304.

<sup>44</sup> Zeynep Sahin, *The Political Representation of Kurdish, Kemalist, and*

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Oppressive policies of marital law between 1980 and 1987 in Turkey had especially affected the Kurdish people which called Turkey to a state of emergency within the states lawmaking procedures from 1987 to 2002.<sup>45</sup> The legislative procedures were enacted due to the high levels of domestic violence and honor killings in the private sphere of Kurdish provinces.<sup>46</sup>

Kurdish women questioned the restrictive actions by the Turkish government through various forms of resistance that did not always include an armed struggle. Many Kurdish women formed levels of resistance through their political positions. They formed organizations that protested the lack of human rights for Kurds in Turkey in order to bring awareness to the “Kurdish question” from the international community. Sahin states that “forms of state violence against women have included sexual assault, rape, and torture exercised by state agents such as security forces, police, and village guards. Sometimes women were forced to witness the torture or murder of male relatives. Ill treatment of women by state agents was used as a strategy of demoralizing the Kurdish community.”<sup>47</sup> Female Kurds experienced a “double oppression” that shaped the Kurdish response of resistance of the 1980’s to the modern day.<sup>48</sup>

The Turkish state during the military coup in 1980 to 1983 attempted to stop the Kurdish resistance at all costs which left Kurdish women vulnerable. Sahin described an interview she had with a Kurdish woman named Hafize Ipek on July 21, 2009. Ipek, “a member of the Municipal Council of Yenisehir, Diyarbakir, was a university student in the 1980s and was detained for 36 days. ‘I was humiliated because of my gender and my ethnic identity. I was tortured with beating and electric shocks. I was abused

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*Conservative Muslim Women In Turkey (1990-2010)* (PhD Diss. University of Southern California, 2011), 101.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., 101.

<sup>46</sup>Kurdish Human Rights Project, 2009.

<sup>47</sup>Sahin, 101.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., 101.

psychologically’.”<sup>49</sup> The experiences of the state and the Kurdish cultural oppressions influenced the women into action by legitimizing Kurdish ethnic nationalism. The result of liberating gendered customs of their experienced “double oppression” was the belief that by “emancipating themselves through collective action and mass mobilization in the Kurdish nationalist movements, such that, the Kurdish nation and women would be liberated simultaneously.”<sup>50</sup> The experienced double oppression refers to the cultural or religious oppression and the state or village oppression. The Kurdish female movement was a way to legitimize their rights as equals in gender relations through acceptance within their involvement of activism.

Women began to assume the role of activist by joining the PKK out of necessity for numbers in recruitment as Kurdish women traditionally had many restraints within their villages. For the reason that PKK members were being jailed and killed in high numbers, they were not allowed to roam the villages alone or to socialize with men without a guardian. This made it difficult for the women to meet the PKK fighters. The PKK was not active in the cities, thus resulting in the lack of women recruits in the 1980s. The change occurred in 1989, when the PKK created roads into colleges and urban areas. The Kurdish group began to publish on politics in the 1990s, and gained the attention of women. This activity was seen as socially tolerable to family members with reference to office work being preferred to mountain fighting. The Kurdish community was astonished to find women guerrilla fighters carrying guns into villages at night to create propaganda and assemble goods.<sup>51</sup>

The allowance of women to join the Kurdish nationalist struggle was intended to enable Kurdish independence whereas women egalitarianism for the PKK came second. The Kurdish locals in eastern Turkey linked female modesty to the honor of the land by producing more Kurdish people to expand and honor a

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Marcus, 42.

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Kurdistan to justify sending daughters to fight. In turn, the combination created a wider nationalist situation for the Kurdish people, specifically the women. Many Kurds in Turkey view the Kurdish populations in terms of kinship. As seen in the examples above, mothers are known as mother of the nation, and PKK members are seen as sons and daughters of the nation. The control of female cadres by male party members can be seen as a “framework of nationalist forms of kinning,” which is essential for young unmarried women joining the party.<sup>52</sup> Weiss writes about an interview with a party official who spoke of the strict rules regarding modesty of female recruits:

If we do not make sure that we respect local values and show that we protect the women and their honor, parents would decline sending their daughters to us. ... Parents often agree to their daughters' political activities exactly because “the party is us” the community, where the same standards of modesty and honor are enacted as at home.<sup>53</sup>

Many of the Kurdish people residing in their villages of Turkey still practice patriarchal religious structures in their communities linked to old tendencies of past tribal life when kinship was an important tool to survival.

In the 1990s, women's roles began to change after a military coup. “Tens of thousands of Kurdish men”<sup>54</sup> were put in prison and forced women to take charge of the societal familial role. They became responsible for feeding their families and dealt with a challenging government in regards to Turkey's legal and jail systems. This meant that the women were often times brutalized

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<sup>52</sup> Nerina Weiss, “Falling from Grace: Gender Norms and Gender Strategies in Eastern Turkey,” *New Perspectives on Turkey* 42 (2010): 55-76.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

when dealing with guards or police. This helped to foster the revolutionary ideals growing within the Kurdish women.

Three interviews of women involved with the PKK had different experiences in reference to Turkish treatment in prison. The article by Nerina Weiss entitled, "Falling from Grace: Gender Norms and Gender strategies in Eastern Turkey," outlines the experiences and how the experiences interact with the idea of gender equality. The first woman, Fatma was a young woman married to a male Kurdish activist. She attended special political events but the responsibilities and expectancies of marriage generally mark an end to a woman's political career. At this time, Fatma had two young children and was pregnant when her husband was arrested. She had to watch her husband beaten and was not allowed to get properly dressed. The soldiers' were able to see her exposed in her nightgown and she felt this was as violent as her husband's beating. Her husband was taken away and sentenced to multiple years in prison. She went to visit him but, was disgraced by male guards who strip searched her. After the birth of her third child, she resumed visits and used the baby's diapers to smuggle through letters about the Kurdish movements.<sup>55</sup>

The Turkish soldiers used sexualized acts as transgressions in the way of demoralizing or to humiliate the Kurdish society as a whole. There were many reports of women being targeted by removing their respected female status and violating their moral code and conservative manner. The tactic not only afflicted the husband and wife, but also the Kurdish people. Kurdish and Turkish women share the same societal attitudes, as Muftuler-Bac states: "Mediterranean culture...is based on male superiority and female inferiority. This is reproduced by women themselves as mothers and mothers-in-law."<sup>56</sup>

The Turkish soldiers as noted used the sexual defilement of Kurdish women as a weapon of war to symbolically demoralize and degrade the Kurdish society. It is through this narrative that

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Muftuler-Bac, 303-314, 304.



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one might better understand the PKK's control over the women by allowing the women agency to protect themselves and end Turkish attempts to humiliate Kurdish society. Weiss perfectly connected the symbolic meaning of sexual violation to the act of war when she states: "The physicality of the ethicized body can hardly be separated from the symbolic meanings vested in it. In Kurdish communities, military and the police often very consciously violated local perceptions of good and evil, codes of modest conduct, and purity and pollution. As in most conflicts, these violations were highly gendered and sexualized."<sup>57</sup>

The second interview of a female activist was of a mother who was treated radically different than Fatma. This provides great insight to the gender role hierarchy. Handan is an older woman with grown children. Her daughter became involved with the PKK, which led to her home being searched regularly. Handan and her husband were taken into interrogation many times. She was interrogated as a parent and not a wife. She did not experience humiliating situations; rather her elderly position demanded her respect from the interrogators. She enjoyed more societal freedom because she was older. She was less likely to be sexually harassed and was seen as genderless. This allowed older women a higher familial, political, and social status. Handan later went looking for her daughter in the mountains. When she found her daughter she stayed with her for a few days. While visiting, the young women began to call her mother. She became the mother of their unit. Handan stated describing her time with the unit that, "these guerrilla fighters were not strong heroes: they seemed far too young, fragile and longing for their mothers."<sup>58</sup>

The third interview with the former guerilla fighter known as Zehra was a member of the Democratic Society Party (Demokratik Toplum Partisi, DTP). Weiss's study displays a female fighter that broke the rule of the party's ban on romantic relationships. Zehra grew up in a small Kurdish community in

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 58.

<sup>58</sup> Weiss, "Falling from Grace: Gender Norms and Gender Strategies in Eastern Turkey," 55-76.

eastern Turkey. Her village had been politically active in the Kurdish resistance, in turn influencing Zehra's involvement. She was imprisoned for ten years, but after her release became a high-ranking cadre in the DTP. In Zehra's position, the party enlisted her the task of reviewing the local political structure and to clean out the ranks of those who lacked the Kurdish cause. Her judgments were highly respected giving her the right to criticize the community and party officials. Zehra was respected but unpopular for her harsh reproach of many high-ranking party and community members accusing them of using the party for personal gain and in opposition to the purity of the Kurdish fight.

Zehra held a high position in the party structure and was known as the queen (*Kralice*) from her effectiveness in the party.<sup>59</sup> As firm as she was on the dealings of local officials she opposed the structure of the strict rules against romantic relationships of party members. Zehra believed that a member could be a committed to the party and have a personal life. She was also offended by her ascribed identity as an "*erkek-kadin*, meaning a man-woman."<sup>60</sup> Being a trusted member of the party, Zehra was able to socialize alone with male members without the start gossip. On one of the outings, the male member received a phone call from his girlfriend and became upset that he was out with a female cadre alone. The male member calmed his significant other by stating it was fine because Zehra was a *erkek-kadin*. The term meant there was no sexual desire for the male member because Zehra was basically seen as a man. The two terms ascribed to female members in the Kurdish parties are defined as, "while a women addressed as an *erkek* has the male characteristics of bravery and self-control, an *erkek-kadin* transgresses gendered boundaries and imitates men without having internalized the necessary (positive) characteristics of a man."<sup>61</sup> The term surprised her and created the need to discredit that ascribed identity because Zehra saw herself as a normal woman who wanted marriage and

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 56.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 56.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 72

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children at some point. She challenged the gender roles of the party structure by frequently claiming her right to familial normalcy while still maintaining a dedicated role in the party. Zehra differed from other female fighters who disclaimed a “normal life” of cultural customs for the contextual gender equality in the Kurdish resistance. Other female cadres feared the punishments for resisting the structural identity of asexuality and the rule against relationships.

The former guerilla fighter organized her marriage to a prominent political activist in the party to begin her family. The marriage created a major disturbance within the party and led to the removal of both Zehra and her husband from their positions in the DTP. The former queen “was accused of disloyalty, betrayal, and treason.”<sup>62</sup> She was initially sentenced to death for her offense, but the decision was altered to her expulsion from the party and society. However, Zehra’s husband received less scrutiny and punishment as he was welcomed back into the party, but denoted in rank.

The three experiences begin to explain why the Kurdish women join the PKK. Many join to escape the repressive life of their Kurdish villages, but are stripped of their gender identity and given a new form of an “emancipated gender.” Once a woman is involved with the PKK they are no longer seen as a woman, but referred to as a man. They lose all ties to femininity and are seen as asexual. If captured by Turkish soldiers the female fighters no longer had the gendered title as female. If Turkish soldiers attempted to humiliate or demoralize the Kurdish culture with the captive, it would no longer work. To diminish the sexuality of female fighters to that of no gendered identity strips their worth as a reproducing mother of the Kurdish people and in a sense lose their importance to the Kurds as someone that needs protection.

Overtime the Kurdish women filled positions of branched organizations of the PKK such as the ERNK (The Kurdish People’s Liberation Front), political networks, and the Kurdish

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 56.

Parliament in Exile military activities. The membership offshoots that aided the PKK worked in and around European countries to establish awareness for the Kurdish problem in Turkey by creating propaganda and intelligence activities, street demonstrations, and media support. Many women joined the armed struggle and were openly accepted. The female fighters were instrumental to the PKK because women were able to bypass the security inspection points in Turkey with ease. Sahin in an interview with Ali Kemal Ozcan in 2007, received the following answer to why women were accepted into the armed fight, “female militants often have better access to certain targets, such as police control points, public gatherings, and parades. In addition, women launched suicide attacks more easily than men. During the 1990s, the PKK launched 15 suicide attacks, 11 of them by women.”<sup>63</sup>

### **Conclusion**

The brief background to Kurdish history set the foundation to the understanding of Kurdish people’s right to exist as their own nation and culture. The Kurdish people are one of the oldest ethnic and cultural groups to the Middle East. The Kurds have co-existed for centuries with various civilizations and received little opposition to how they should live. It was the entrance of European imperialism that altered the Middle Eastern inhibitors and the Kurdish way of life. The alterations of the old practices to the western principles of economy, ideology, racism, secularism, the false promises of the world wars, and nationalism vastly changed the Middle East and are directly responsible for the current conflicts. The history also displayed the religious background that divided the Kurds and assisted in the inequality of women in their societal structure. The female fighters of the PKK and other Kurdish factions state that they fight in the resistance to gain a sovereign Kurdistan, but to also bring gender egalitarianism in the Kurdish communities. Many Kurdish communities follow

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<sup>63</sup> Sahin, 107.

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their religious or cultural customs of male dominance that restrict women in their societies. The young Kurdish women are subjected to be slaves to men as Mitra later stated in her interview. Females are restricted in their movement through the villages by needing a familial male chaperon, they have limited access to education, and many suffer from arranged marriages. The arranged marriages by male family members take away physical ownership and rights to the women's bodies. Many Kurdish women in Turkey and throughout the Middle East as noted, experienced abusive husbands, honor killings, and rape which clarifies the Kurdish females need to join the PKK and gain some equality or ownership over themselves.

The formation of Turkey by Ataturk was a monolithic alteration to the Kurdish people and their identity. Ataturk's reforms attempted to strip the Kurdish identity from Turkey through legal and violent force. A major key factor that pushed the Kurdish response was the reform of education and later gender equality. The educational reforms altered the thinking of the Kurds by granting them a western knowledge. The Kurds were able to implement western thought to evoke ideology and nationalism that they were now ready to effectively fight for because they understood the power behind both ideas. The gender equality reforms greatly affected the Kurdish women through legal gender rights. Many Kurdish women in rural villages were not affected by the new laws, but it set the standard that made a lasting effect on Apo's PKK by including women in the fight. The main goal for Apo was to gain numbers and to eliminate the backwardness of the patriarchal customs by becoming emancipated into a new form of women-hood. The PKK utilized the methods of stripping the past much like the Kemalist reforms attempted.

The formation of the Kurdish resistance in response to Ataturk's reforms that intended to create one cultural Turkish identity is essential to the female fighters. The PKK background allows for an understanding of Kurdish agency against their cultural genocide, but also sets the foundation for the inclusion of female fighters. Although, the female guerilla fighters are still

restricted by male dominance, they enjoy more freedom in the PKK compared to their life in the villages.

Female involvement in various Kurdish resistance movements allows for the possibility of liberation and empowerment from otherwise restrictive gender roles in rural Kurdish villages. Women that join the resistance gain self-worth and can negotiate their position within Kurdish communities. They are able to utilize their political positions to protect themselves from the daily constraints of honor and shame from their local communities and threats from Turkish forces. The party represents empowerment as a process for women to have control over their lives and decisions. Many interviews with the female fighters do not consider themselves at a disadvantage or in need of saving; instead they compare their old life of restraints to bolster the validation of their new social and political opportunities.

At first glance, the members of the PKK seem to share the same restrictions in the party structure of no sexual or marital relations. A closer view of the restrictions show that romantic relationships of male guerilla fighters is severely frowned upon and if caught, a demotion in rank is the punishment. On the other hand, the female guerilla fighters receive major repercussions for breaking the rules. The women's punishments vary depending on the area, but the most extreme is a death sentence. For many women cadres the punishments are more likely to be elimination of membership to the party and to be ostracized by the PKK and the Kurdish communities. The main contributor to the harsh punishments for females is to make the example that sexual relations for women will not be tolerated to keep families in the villages secure in trusting the PKK with their daughters honor. The female fighters within the party structure enjoy the freedoms of guerilla life even with their conditional equality.

Abdullah Öcalan was captured in 1999 and brought to Turkey. Öcalan was sentenced to death, but the sentence was altered to life imprisonment. The leading members of the PKK halted the violence to a low point. Attacks reemerged when the Iraqi Kurds obtained an Independent State in 2006. This echoed

### *Kurdish Women Guerrilla Fighters*

the long awaited achievement of a Kurdish fight for autonomy. The possession of cultural independent home drove the Turkish Kurds to hope for their own Independent Kurdistan.

Conflict between the Turkish Kurds and Turkey is an ongoing dispute. Determining a solution to the situation is difficult because the opposing sides use hostile actions to gain control. In a recent development, On March 21, 2013, Öcalan called out to the PKK to cease fire. According to the Turkish Government, Öcalan and Turkish leaders have been in negotiations to give the Turkish Kurds cultural rights in the upcoming constitution. Since 2013 to the present there has been a cease fire for peace talks with Turkey about Kurdish rights. From July 30<sup>th</sup> to July 5<sup>th</sup>, 2013, the PKK changed its leadership remarkably choosing a male and a female leader to head the PKK. The dual gendered power base is meant to create an illusion to the Turkish community that Kurdish women do receive the same rights and power that male members enjoy. Both members along with the conference members elected Öcalan as president and commander of the PKK.<sup>64</sup>

The gendered violations experienced by the females of the PKK are doubled by the Turkish military and the unequal structures of the PKK. The Kurdish women are willing to die to enjoy a form of freedom in the PKK that they otherwise would not experience in their Kurdish villages. The Kurdish women around the Middle East are using their role within the Kurdish resistance for a new conflict that is unrelated to the sole cause of Kurdistan. The Kurdish inclusion of women to the fight has allowed for the opening of a new social setting for women as feminist. As Weiss stated, "The Kurdish political arena had opened a context for women to appropriate new space. Women have taken up political offices and challenged the male dominance within the party itself."<sup>65</sup> The female guerilla fighters understood the PKK needed numbers and did not necessarily care about gender egalitarianism, but recently the women have gained the upper hand. They have

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<sup>64</sup> Sherzad Shekhani, Asharq Al-Awsat, July 11, 2013, June 10, 2014. [www.aawsat.net/2013/07/articles55309299](http://www.aawsat.net/2013/07/articles55309299).

<sup>65</sup> Weiss, 59.

learned to use the Kurdish card of self-preservation and using situations to their advantage. Male members of the PKK have also provided gender equality as a demand in Kurdish independence, subsequently giving Kurdish women legitimacy. The women have stepped into the public arena presenting to Kurdish society throughout the Middle East that they enjoy true equality in the Kurdish groups. By creating public legitimacy and rallying for women rights, society leaves an open space for the women to enjoy more freedoms when the Kurdish resistance is over. They have proven their right to gender equality by fighting alongside the men of the PKK and when the fight is over men will not be able to take female freedoms away. The Kurdish female guerilla fighters have thus successfully introduced a paradigm for their ultimate egalitarian ends.



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### **Author Bio**

Meagan Muschara graduated from California State University San Bernardino with her Bachelor of Arts degree in History in June 2014. She diligently served her campus community as Vice President and President of the CSUSB History Club/Phi Alpha Theta. As a member of the club she participated in many youth outreach programs such as Upward Bound, co-authored a published review of the film *Lincoln* in the 2013 edition of *History in the Making* and served on the editorial board for *History in the Making* the following year. The process for “The Evolution of Female Fighters in the PKK” began in January 2013. As a member of Phi Alpha Theta, she was invited to present her work as a panelist for the Biennial Convention in New Mexico 2014. She believed the paper needed to be expanded therefore she continued to work on her research throughout 2014 with Dr. David Yaghoubian. She would like to thank Sean Sweitzer, Ricardo Elias, Lauren Kirschke, Dr. Tiffany Jones, Claudia Aros and Orland Urbina for their editorial help and support over the past year. In addition she would like to thank the History Department at California State University San Bernardino for the knowledge and learning experiences that opened her mind to view history and the world around her in a new light. Furthermore, she would like to thank Dr. Jeremy Murray and Dr. Cherstin Lyon for their continual support throughout her time at CSUSB and also her family for always believing she is capable of big achievements. Lastly, she would like to give a very special thank you to Dr. Yaghoubian who mentored her through the entire process of this article. He helped to hone and shape the subject in its early stages. He also remained a constant motivator throughout the re-writes by helping to create new ideas and focusing in to see the other sides of the conflict. She appreciated Dr. Yaghoubian pushing her to always improve, and for believing that the study was worth the many hours spent working on it. Meagan recently accepted a full-time time position as a CSUSB Gear Up mentor where she works to inspire the youth of San Bernardino to attend college. She was also recently

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accepted into the history graduate program at California State University, Long Beach where she will continue to study and research Middle Eastern history. After completing her Master's, she plans to enter a doctoral program to eventually teach history at a college level.



*History in the Making*

## **Manchus: A Horse of a Different Color**

by Hannah Knight

*Abstract: The question of identity has been one of the biggest questions addressed to humanity. Whether in terms of a country, a group or an individual, the exact definition is almost as difficult to answer as to what constitutes a group. The Manchus, an ethnic group in China, also faced this dilemma. It was an issue that lasted throughout their entire time as rulers of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) and thereafter. Though the guidelines and group characteristics changed throughout that period one aspect remained clear: they did not sinicize with the Chinese Culture. At the beginning of their rule, the Manchus implemented changes that would transform the appearance of China, bringing it closer to the identity that the world recognizes today. In the course of examining three time periods, 1644, 1911, and the 1930's, this paper looks at the significant events of the period, the changing aspects, and the Manchus and the Qing Imperial Court's relations with their greater Han Chinese subjects. The Manchus were considered, at least to its newly conquered subjects, to be the foreign (or more commonly used) "alien" force. Outnumbered, the Manchus had every opportunity to assimilate, classifying themselves as "Chinese" rather than the standard "Banner" or Manchu. However, as this paper will exhibit through the very definition of who the Manchus were, and the events that surrounded them, as well as their poor relations with their non-banner subjects, the Manchus remained separated from the Han Chinese, continuously classifying themselves as Manchu until their official recognition in 1949.*

## **Introduction**

China is only for the Chinese. If this remark was made sixty years ago, many would have agreed with this statement and moved on. Upon recent discovery, this was not always the case. In 1949, the Manchu identity officially became recognized as a minority ethnic group (*shaoshu minzu*) within the People's Republic of China. Four years later, over two million registered as Manchus.<sup>1</sup> Prior to this event, many Manchus were thought to have either assimilated into the majority Han Chinese culture during the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) or blended together with Japanese culture during the Manchukuo period (1931-1945). Either way, the Manchus were a small forgotten group among the majority. However, the Manchus were a separate group with their own unique identity. This paper will explore and map this identity throughout the course of the Qing Dynasty and part of the Manchukuo period.<sup>2</sup>

By looking at three distinctive time periods in Manchu History, (1644, 1911, and the 1930's), this paper shows examples of how, despite previously thought, the Manchu identity has never disappeared, though it was given the opportunity. These chances came in many forms as the small ethnic group from Manchuria took over the large Han Chinese Culture of the Ming Dynasty, faced European competition that presented the ruling ethnic group in a poor light, a revolution whose goal was the elimination of the Manchus, to finally face a controlling foreign government. There were many chances for the Manchus to disappear, yet they endured. Not only is it seen by the cultural traits that continued but in the relationship with their conquered Han Chinese, or as this paper will refer to them as the Han. If the Manchu identity changed, it evolved to resemble a more modern identity, not a Chinese one. So long as the Manchus claimed their identity, they had not disappeared.

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<sup>1</sup> Mark C. Elliott, *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 42-43.

<sup>2</sup> Throughout the course of the paper, Han will be interchangeably used with Chinese and Manchu with Qing or banner people.



### **Beginning: 1644**

Before one can begin to see the evolution of the Manchus, one must start at the beginning. There are often two sides to the process by which a nation is formed. The first side offers a story based on vast imagination, involving impressive tales of heroism and mystical elements. The other side is commonly backed by tangible evidence, which can be traced and checked. The origins of the Manchu nation are no different. The mythical aspect tells the story of three maidens who one day decide to descend from heaven in order to bathe at a lake that lays at the foot of Mt. Bukuri. The youngest of the three discovers a fruit placed on her clothing by a heavenly messenger. Accidentally swallowing the fruit, the maiden becomes pregnant and human, and gives birth to a son. When asked his identity, the son claimed that his clan “descended from heaven, is the Aisin Gioro. I have no father. My mother was the third of heaven’s daughters... I was also a spirit of heaven above.”<sup>3</sup> The son was said to have later become leader of the Jurchens, the forerunners of the Manchus. His descendants would come to live in the place where the Manchus’ first leader, Nurhaci emerged.<sup>4</sup> For all of its glory and captivating storytelling, this narrative remains a myth.

The myth of the Manchus’ origins not only served to entertain, but to also claim ethnic authenticity for the nation. The tale may be fictional, but the places and people involved are not. Manchus who laid claim to the title of emperor also claimed themselves to be descendants of the Aisin Gioro clan. The claim of being Aisin Gioro connected one to the beginning of the Manchus as well as to claiming favor from the heavens. Ethnic authenticity is shown in name, but also location. The Odoli where the son’s leadership was established was the same Odoli where Nurhaci rose to power.<sup>5</sup> A claim to the birthplace of the Manchus not only brought ethnic authenticity but established the nation’s legitimacy

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 44-46.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 46.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

as a separate ethnic group. Odoli was already recognized as part of the Jurchen history (rulers of the Jin Dynasty). This established geographical legitimacy. What is more is the boy's way of conception was his claim to his lineage of being from heaven. The idea of heaven was very important in the Asian culture, just as was Confucian belief of the Mandate of Heaven. The Mandate of Heaven is the belief that so long as the emperor was able to maintain the well being of a nation, the right to rule was his. For the Manchus, the ability to claim ties of such high elevation gave the Manchu rulers the legitimacy they needed to rule.

Myths hold their own importance in history, yet they are often quickly dismissed in favor of facts that can be proven. The factual side of the Manchus origins begins with several tribes rather than a single nation. Manchuria (the Northeastern Three Provinces of modern day China), often fell into the hands of foreign forces. Eventually the people of Manchuria would develop into three main clans. Of these three, the main line of the Manchus connects to a Tungus border tribe, known as the Ju-chens or Jurchens.<sup>6</sup> These tribes, as well as the neighboring territories, were controlled by a feudal system. Though the feudal system had long been in place, it left much to desire in the ability to control the tribes. The weakening of the surrounding tribes left the opportunity for one to assert his power and to get rid of the feudal system in the process. That individual was Nurhaci (1559-1626). Inheriting the tribal chief position of his own clan upon the death his father, Nurhaci used his power to gain control over the rest of the tribes.<sup>7</sup> How Nurhaci went from inheriting the rule over one tribe to the formation of a nation lies in the decline the Haixi-Jianzhou alliance, an alliance formed by Nurhaci's Jianzhou Jurchen clan and the Haixi tribes.<sup>8</sup> The weakening of the tribes allowed Nurhaci to seize the opportunity to assert his leadership over all the tribes in

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<sup>6</sup> Franz Michael, *The Origin of Manchu Rule in China: Frontier and Bureaucracy as Interacting Forces in the Chinese Empire* (New York: Octagon Books, 1972), 23.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

<sup>8</sup> Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 54.

the alliance.<sup>9</sup> While the unification of the tribes began in the late sixteenth century, a united Manchu regime did not fully appear until 1616 when “Nurhaci proclaimed his regime as the Latter Jin.”<sup>10</sup> Nurhaci united the tribes, revealing his intentions when he took the title of Khan. By claiming the title of Khan, Nurhaci revealed his desire for imperial power.<sup>11</sup> Nurhaci’s proclamation was all he needed to convey his goal of expansion. However, Nurhaci did not merely state his intentions. As soon as the Manchurian tribes were brought under his control, Nurhaci moved into China, bringing about the fall of the Ming, (which had lasted from 1368 to 1644), leading to the rise of the Qing, in 1644.

Nurhaci may have been seen as the founding father of the great Manchu nation, but its true strength did not blossom until the rule of Hong Taiji (1592-1643). To further unite the tribes and gain additional control, Hong Taiji followed the example of the Chinese. Chinese dynasties were known to rule from the Dragon Throne, through a complex and extensive bureaucratic network of scholar-officials. Hong moved the Manchus away from the feudal system to a bureaucratic system based on the Ming political structure.<sup>12</sup> Hong’s goal was not to remodel the image of the Manchus in favor of the Chinese but gain a more centralized control over the Manchus. A bureaucratic government gave Hong Taiji the power to challenge the Ming. Unfortunately, the Ming Emperor failed to see the level of threat the Manchus posed. As Franz Michael points out, “in a letter of the Ming Emperor to Chinese frontier officials the statement was made that the Manchus were originally dependent; but their present status remained open. They were simply rebels.”<sup>13</sup> According to the Ming, the Manchus were just another group of Chinese rebels. What they failed to notice was that the Manchus were a “horse of a different color.”

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 56.

<sup>10</sup> William Rowe, *China's Last Empire: The Great Qing* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), 15.

<sup>11</sup> Michael, 51.

<sup>12</sup> Rowe, 17.

<sup>13</sup> Michael, 100.

The Ming may have seen nothing more than a group of rebels, but there were several ethnic traits that separated the Manchus and the Han, which established the Manchu identity; the first of these being their name. In 1635 the former Jurchen tribes dropped all ties to their tribal past and used the term “Manchu” to identify themselves.<sup>14</sup> Some, such as Dorgon, the regent for the Shunzhi emperor in 1644, believed “the empire is a single whole. There are no distinctions between Manchus and Hans.”<sup>15</sup> In reality, it would be the differences between the Manchus and the Han that would serve as a source of tension between the two groups. Moving beyond their history and name, religion also became a point of difference and a point of identity. Buddhism, Daoism, Shamanism and to some extent, Confucianism came to be the belief systems of China. Buddhism, Daoism, and especially Confucianism were the religious systems of the Han Chinese and were adopted. Yet shamanism remained the leading religion among the Manchus.<sup>16</sup> The religious leaders, shamans, were individuals of unnatural ability, who were responsible for the communication with spirits. Out of the two forms of shamanism, primitive and domestic, the large majority of Manchus focused on the domestic practice. Domestic shamanism was “liturgically based sacrifices made to heaven and to the ancestors...”<sup>17</sup> Shamanism held elements, such as the ancestral, patrilineal sacrifices, that closely resembled Confucian practices, which made the introduction of shamanism into the Chinese culture easier. Shamanism most importantly, provided a unity amongst the Manchus with a belief system as its center. “We Manchus have our own particular rites for honoring heaven.”<sup>18</sup> The Yongzheng emperor made it clear in the previous statement that all cultures honor the heavens, but the Manchu nation had its own way. Its similarity to the other religions had made its introduction into

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<sup>14</sup> Elliott, 63.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 212.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 235.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 236.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 241.

Chinese culture easier. Shamanism, however, also showed the differences between the Han and the Manchus; this would ultimately create a barrier between the two.<sup>19</sup>

Religion was only a small factor in which the Manchus sought to establish their identity and distinction from others. A written script was also created to further strengthen their identity. Manchu dialect had long been established, yet script was one area in which it had not fully developed. “The Chinese write their own speech, the Mongols write their own speech. Are you telling me that it is better for us all to continue learning and writing a foreign language than for you to find a way for us to write our own?”<sup>20</sup> Extreme as they were, Nurhaci’s remarks served to enforce the need to establish their own written script in order to dominate over China. By mixing a Mongolian script with their own language, the Manchus provided credibility to their identity as an ethnic group. The Manchus now had a tool which marked their place in history and acted as a means of communication. A written script became an important part of the Manchu identity where deaths, weddings, and names could be recorded.

Names also served as both an identifying and separating factor especially with name changing. “The Emperor: You are a Hanjun. Why do you have a Manchu name? Arsaï: My original name was Cui Zhilu. Since the time I was small, I have studied the Qing language [i.e., Manchu], and so I took a Manchu name.”<sup>21</sup> Name and language were often used to identify one’s ethnicity. The problem for this defendant was that he was commonly mistaken as a Manchu, instead of Chinese, due to his ability to speak the Manchu language and the origin of his name. Chinese and Manchu names differed in a myriad of ways. Chinese surnames are normally single character. Their given names are one to two

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Pamela Crossley, *The Manchus* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002). Kindle ed Chapter 2, Loc 550.

<sup>21</sup> Pamela Kyle Crossley, Helen F Siu, and Donald S Sutton, *Empire at the Margins: Culture, Ethnicity, and Frontier in Early Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press Berkeley, 2006), 27.

characters. In contrast, the Manchu names are longer than the two syllable names of Chinese. A Chinese name may look along the lines of “Wang Fuzhi,” whereas Manchu names resembled something more like “Niu-gu-lu E-bi-long.” In greeting, the Chinese used their surnames as identification, paying homage to their familial ties. Manchus, however, identified themselves not by their familial ties but by their banner affiliation.<sup>22</sup> For Manchus, names were nothing more than a syllable to be recorded for later reference. Their main concern was representing the sounds of the Manchu language. To hold on to a true representation of the Manchu language, names used appearance, character, and even numbers.<sup>23</sup> The ease of naming practices was not one enjoyed by the Han. Han names were fraught with meaning.<sup>24</sup> Burdened by the belief that naming was tied directly to fate, words such as “sickly” or “weak” would not be found in Chinese names. Names were an important first step in a person’s life that professionals were often consulted. For the Han, every detail in regards to the naming process was taken into consideration, so much so that Han Chinese of the same generation would use common names, a process which the Manchus paid little mind to.<sup>25</sup> There were cases where Manchus had Chinese sounding names or Chinese had Manchu names. Yet it was a belief that Manchus were to have Manchu names and the Han, Chinese names.

Intangible characteristics alone did not make up the Manchu identity. Physical appearances were also observed, such as dress. The most notable stylistic choice for the Manchu was the men’s hairstyle. The queue required the men to shave their forelocks, leaving only a piece of long, braided hair at the back of their head. However, since its introduction into the mass Chinese public, it was no longer a clear marker for Manchu ethnicity. The women on the other hand, maintained their own identity. Where the Manchu men’s hairstyle became one of the masses, the

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<sup>22</sup> Elliott, 241-2.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 242-3.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 242.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 243-4.

Manchu women's became one of distinction. Han women wore a simple bun on the top of their head, leaving all décor to a variation of headdresses. The Manchu women were the innovators of the use of hair extensions. Worn back, the Manchu women would take their hair and wrap it around either a wooden, metal, or ivory fillet that fastened behind their hair, in an intricate triangle pattern. Extending dramatically, the Manchu women would dress their hair with flowers or other decorative pieces and earrings that helped set the Manchu woman and Han women apart.<sup>26</sup> At the appearance level, the Manchu women were the examples of separation between the two groups as by passing the Queue edict. Manchu men had a difficult time standing out from Han or Mongol.

For the Manchu women, beauty came to reflect in the style of their hair. For the Han women, foot binding was a mark of beauty. This often led to the painful process of wrapping a woman's, sometimes young girl's, foot until it turned into the smaller, deformed, "beautiful" one. The Manchus did not see small feet as a marker of beauty. "[There] were several women, natives of Tartary or Tartar extraction, whose feet were not distorted like those of the Chinese... The Tartar ladies have hitherto kept their legs at liberty, and would never submit to the Chinese operation of crippling the feet."<sup>27</sup> Foot binding was frowned upon by the Manchu women, who could not see the apparent beauty that came with the manipulation of one's feet. Though an attempt was made to ban foot binding, the ban was lifted in 1668 after the Han women refused to give up the practice.<sup>28</sup>

For all for the importance of the previously discussed identity traits, the most important part to the Manchu culture, in terms of identity, was the banner system. The banner system was the division of the Manchus into different groups, resembling a class structure of. Typically, the top three banners were the upper class. From the beginning, the eight banners' purpose was to provide an efficient, quick way of "mobilizing an army" that at the

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 250.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 246.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 247.

same time transformed the Jurchen tribes into a unified Jin state, moving away from tribal ties to a centralized power.<sup>29</sup> Building from hunting traditions and tactics, Nurhaci used the quasi-military maneuvers of the hunt to practice warfare skills. He also based the division of the Jurchen army, on the hunting experience of old.<sup>30</sup>

The division of the banners extended beyond the military. The Manchus were divided into different groups whose boundaries would encompass not only the other males of the household but also their wives, children and servants.<sup>31</sup> Typically, once the hunt was over, one was expected to return to their different regions all over the nation, as the units of the hunting parties were temporary. The banner organization changed this aspect of the hunt and with the division of the groups, the units were to remain in a designated area with their families always ready for battle. This factor served the Jin well in their goal of conquest. Beginning with four banner colors, in 1615 the system evolved into the well-known Eight banner system. Twenty years later, when the Manchus began their invasion of China, the expansion included all ethnic groups, including both the Mongols and the Han.<sup>32</sup> The total number of banners amounted to twenty-four, yet the eight Manchu banners came to be known as the core of the banner system. The beginning of the banner system did not allow open enrollment. Even after Mongols and Chinese were allowed to join a banner society, it was mostly purely Han or Mongol, there was no intermixing. Complete integration was rare.<sup>33</sup>

Division between the two ethnic groups came from all sides. A relatively large population, the Manchus' numbers in comparison to the Ming failed to compete. Many have adopted the Confucius saying that "Only by becoming 'Chinese' in their political organization had the 'barbarians' a chance of conquering

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 57.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 58.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 59.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 73.



the rule over China.”<sup>34</sup> After the Manchus adopted the Ming government system, it would be expected that the Manchus had willingly become Chinese or the Chinese had fed their standards to the Manchus. This logic fails to recognize the tools of control. The Manchus, before the introduction of any government structure, were a divided, tribal, and feudal system. With the goal of conquest in mind, some form of government was required, which led to uniting the Manchus under one political system which in turn made the conquest over the Ming easier. Despite the fact a new ethnic group was taking control of the country, the adoption of the Han Chinese’s bureaucratic government allowed for the daily functions of the government to go without interruption.

Conquest is not only made easier when political structures match, but also when the gates are left open. The actions of the Ming rulers provided opportunity for any looking to expand their territory. During the end of the Ming rule, the Han faced financial decline due to the corruption within the court. Officials would not only exempt their own property from taxes but would also lend money with high interest rates that would allow them to acquire more land that would be tax exempt.<sup>35</sup> The Ming scholar-gentry class worked for themselves by acquiring these lands, not the government, whose source of revenues were from the taxes collected.<sup>36</sup> These were the problems of the Ming government; central power was limited and with no ability to tax the land, funds were scarce. These were funds that could have potentially been used to repair irrigation systems, protect the lands from flooding, or to pay for soldiers. These signs of corrosion within the Ming Empire moved beyond the official level. Deterioration seeped down into the local level, and upon the recollection of Nanjing’s transition, an eyewitness recounted that in the absence of the Ming emperor, the palace began to be gutted by the people of Nanjing, including the eyewitness’s family: “The good things had all been

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<sup>34</sup> Michael, 3.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 72.

looted; I got only the satins.”<sup>37</sup> Not even the emperor’s parrot was safe. The gates were open and the conquest had begun.

When the Manchus seized their opportunity and succeeded in their goal of defeating the Ming, conquest came in many forms. It was more than pillaging, murdering, or battles. Conquest often occurred in the lives of the Chinese at a quick pace.<sup>38</sup> In the case of Nanjing, Qing soldiers quickly replaced the original Ming soldiers. For many, the changing of protective forces was cause for concern; the Han’s safety was in the hands of foreign forces. Yet no change or act of Manchu domination came as great as the hairstyle of queue for the men. A mark of identity for the Manchu men, it soon became a mark of submission for the Han. At first, only officials and the military were forced to change their hair to the Manchu style. It was soon confirmed that all males of the Ming Empire were to wear the queue and, “anyone who didn’t conform was to be killed.”<sup>39</sup> For the Han, the opposition against the queue was more than a dislike of the hairstyle or its status as a mark of submission to the Qing, but a sign of disrespect. The shaving of one’s hair was seen as going against the Confucian belief of filial piety, or rather the need to honor one’s ancestors. Unfortunately for the Han, resistance to the queue made little difference.

The conquest of the Han Chinese began to change the relationship between the Han Chinese and the Manchus. Prior to the complete conquest, the Manchus had been Chinese rebels in the eyes of the Ming. When the queue was enforced, the Han became aware that the Manchus were anything but Chinese. To them, any modeling of the Manchu-styled haircut was inhuman, much less Chinese.<sup>40</sup> It was not only the Han who were quick to assume the Manchus were below them in status. The Manchus’ low view of the Han was seen in the example of the women who were captured in Yangzhou and were brought to Nanjing, who

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<sup>37</sup> Lynn A Struve, *Voices from the Ming-Qing Cataclysm: China in Tiger’s Jaws*, Birmingham (New York: Vail-Ballou Press, 1944), 60.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 64.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

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were tethered together, and given a price.<sup>41</sup> To the Manchus, the Han were objects to be sold or reshaped in an image befitting what pleased them.

The Manchus were reshaping the Han to look like them, especially the men. At the same time, each group maintained their separation. Separation only seemed natural to the Manchus and the Han. According to one Chinese scholar, Wang Fuzhi, separation existed in nature thus it existed in society. “So it is that dew, thunder, frost, and snow all occur at their proper times, and animals, plants, birds, and fish all keep to their own species. There can be no frost or snow during the long summer days, nor can there be dew or thunder in the depths of winter.”<sup>42</sup> In his own philosophical way, Wang commented that to mix the two groups together would be going against nature, which was one of two key elements to the Chinese culture as a way to maintain order and peace.

In order to govern an empire as large as China during the seventeenth and eighteenth century, peace was important. The purpose of the adoption of some of the Chinese culture, such as the political system, was to maintain peace. The hopes of the Manchus were not to become assimilated into the Chinese culture, yet the image had become an important part to the Manchus as they came into power. Hoping to rid their identity of the barbarian stigma, the Manchus had adopted the Ming bureaucratic style. The Confucian practice of widow chastity was also adopted. By adopting such a custom, the Manchus hoped it would work to “publicly demonstrate to their Han Chinese subjects their benignity and refinement,”<sup>43</sup> *not* to become assimilated into the Han culture. Widow chastity was adopted to change the image of the Manchus

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 65.

<sup>42</sup> William Theodore De Bary, “Wang Fuzhi” *Sources of Chinese Tradition: Volume 2: From 1600 Through the Twentieth Century: Vol. 2* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 28-9.

<sup>43</sup> Mark C. Elliott, “Manchu Widows and Ethnicity in Qing China,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41, no. 1 (Jan. 1999): 34.

as well as provided legitimacy to the Manchu rule.<sup>44</sup> The Manchus were an alien force, whose “crimes” against the Han made the acceptance of their rule difficult. Widow chastity helped to ease some of the tension between the two and allowed the Han to see beyond the perceived Manchu barbarianism. Even more, widow chastity served to show, not only the legitimacy of the Manchu rulers, but that the Manchu women were just as deserving of grace as the Han women.<sup>45</sup> The Manchus made it clear that they were on the same level, if not higher, to that of the “civilized” Han. The adoption of Chinese cultural practices, such as widow chastity, made the peace between the two possible. However separation still existed.

As Rana Mitter points out, “the Mandate of Heaven theory did not demand that China’s rulers be Chinese, only that they accepted the conceptual framework on which the Chinese imperial institution rested (cheng) and that they bring all the Chinese under one unified rule (t’ung).”<sup>46</sup> At the same time as the Manchus were bringing all under one unified rule, they were creating barriers between themselves and the Han. These barriers would far outlast the end of the Qing. Even in the adoption of Chinese practices, there was separation. In the case of widow chastity, chastity often brought recognition and awards from the imperial court. In turn, these awards brought substantial funds to the women and their family. However, the division of the awards caused strife among the two groups. The number of recipients of the awards tallied up to a high number of Manchus. This number far exceeded that of the Han recipients.<sup>47</sup>

The extreme practice of widow chastity in some cases involved suicide. Suicides among these widows were a common and well respected practice during the Ming. The Manchus saw it

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 39.

<sup>46</sup> Rana Mitter, *Manchurian Myth: Nationalism, Resistance and Collaboration During the Manchurian Crisis, 1931-1933* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 18-19.

<sup>47</sup> Elliott, 40-41.

as a “lack of respect for life” and a minor reflection on their own supposed “barbarian” nature.<sup>48</sup> The Qing attempted to stop the practice by arguing that it went against Confucianism, masking the real motivation of their desire to separate themselves from the barbarian stigma.<sup>49</sup> Even with the disapproval of the Qing court, the Han and the Manchu women continued the practice of “following one into death,” a practice that existed before Chinese use. The difference of the Manchu use of the practice was in more cases that the wife was not the only one to accompany the man in death. Maids, consorts, and even other males followed the deceased man into death, as in the case of the Shunzhi emperor.<sup>50</sup> Suicides were not a source of pride or distinction for the Manchus as it was for the Han. Suicides were centered more on loyalty and death.<sup>51</sup>

The acceptance of widow chastity by the banner women extended beyond ancestral traditions or the loyalty to one’s husband. Financial rewards also played a role. Han widows were forced to rely on the family of the deceased husband for support. Manchu widows, due to the 1762 edict of the Qianlong emperor, received more assistance regardless of their age. Prior to this, chastity was only open to those over the age of forty.<sup>52</sup> Benefits made it appealing for banner women to remain chaste. The benefits may have been appealing but the issue of choice also affected whether or not widow chastity was practiced. The Han women were to practice chastity, willing or not. For the Manchus, at times, chastity was never an option. To prevent the abuse of the assistance given to them exclusively, thus creating a pressure on the National treasury, Manchu widows were commonly forced to

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 44-5.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 53.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 46. The Shunzhi Emperor was the son of Hong Taiji, who succeeded his father and became emperor at the age of six. His reign was from 1644 to 1661. Under him the queue edict was issued through his uncle, Dorgon, who served as his regent. Rowe, 19 and 40.

<sup>51</sup> Elliott, 47.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 61.

remarry. Pressures on the treasury and the population numbers became a concern for the Manchus. Already having less than their conquered subjects, widow chastity further lessened the population. In light of this, Manchu widows under forty were forced to remarry to continue the Manchu line.<sup>53</sup>

The Manchu officials, by the adoption of certain policies, saw that: “if they publicly embraced the concept of China, such acceptance of Han culture would win them the support of the Han people.”<sup>54</sup> The Manchus had conquered a nation that far outnumbered their own. The adoption of some cultural customs, such as chastity and the bureaucratic government, served to appease the roaring, rebellious voices of the Han. The Manchus understood that concession was necessary in order to maintain peace. At the same time, they did not wish to discard their own cultural differences to conform to become fully Han Chinese. Anything of Han Chinese influence that was seen as unnecessary to maintain peace was changed.<sup>55</sup> It so happened that in the process of creating Qing China, the Manchus got rid of most aspects of Han China.

Among the first changes was the Ming’s geographical redefinition of China. Ming China encompassed fifteen provinces and the Han Chinese who resided within them. Under the Qing, China grew to include the lands of what once was Manchuria, and present day Mongolia, Xinjiang, Tibet, along with a number of other areas.<sup>56</sup> The expansion of China’s borders helped stabilize its economy and aided the newest residents of China. In stabilizing the economy, “the Manchu emperors not only legitimated their own rule but also opened the way for the banner armies to conquer and incorporate a range of ethnically diverse peoples into the

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 55.

<sup>54</sup> Zhao Gang, “Reinventing China: Imperial Qing Ideology and the Rise of Modern Chinese National Identity in the Early Twentieth Century,” *Modern China* 32, no. 1 (2006): 7.

<sup>55</sup> Michael, 105.

<sup>56</sup> Zhao, 5.

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imperium.”<sup>57</sup> For as much as the Manchus used traditions, cultural practices, or government structures, they were not Chinese, thus they were not treated the same way. The Manchus changed the social hierarchy.

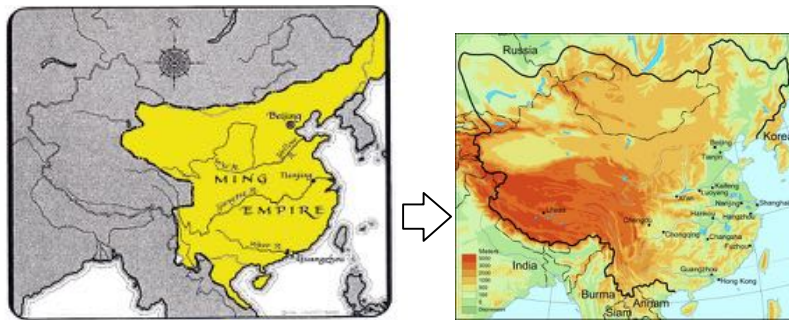


Image of Ming Empire. <sup>58</sup>

“They demarcated the whole area north of Tongji Gate and Dazhong Bridge and west of the place called Small Camp near Gem Pearl Bridge [for exclusive occupation by Qing bannermen], and they ordered everyone to move out of the dwellings in that area within three days.”<sup>59</sup> Nanjing was only one example of Han residents who were moved out of their homes in order to corner off a section of cities to accommodate the Manchus. The ability to do so exhibited the power the Manchus now had, a power envied by the Han. “Upon seeing the Prince of Yu at West Floral Gate, Zhang also told his circle that his own ancestors had been Tartars and that he still had a portrait of them in Manchu costume in his

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 11-12.

<sup>58</sup> Image for Ming Empire courtesy of Kenny R. Gomez (“China Limits European Contacts” CDA’s World History Wiki, accessed December 12, 2014, <http://cdaworldhistory.wikidot.com/china-limits-european-contacts>. Image for Qing China courtesy of “A Visual Sourcebook of Chinese Civilization,” accessed December 1, 2014, <https://depts.washington.edu/chinaciv/1xarqing.htm>.

<sup>59</sup> Struve, 64.

home, so it was fitting that he shave his head.”<sup>60</sup> Though stating the reason for the acceptance of the Manchu hairstyle so easily was his ancestral connection, in reality Zhang’s willingness to support the Manchu side shows the power they had, a power and status Zhang hoped to gain.

Zhang, as well as the other Han subjects, would soon learn that “Manchus [were] to be an example for the Han Chinese.” Separation between the two would lead to favoritism for one, mistreatment for the other.<sup>61</sup> The Manchus had adopted the Ming’s bureaucratic government. However, banner appointments were not subjugated to the law of avoidance as the Chinese appointed officials were.<sup>62</sup> Law of avoidance kept corruption within a government at bay by making it against the rules for an official to be posted in his home province or in a neighboring province. In the bureaucratic system the Qing had adopted, there was still room for change. The Manchus not only could serve within their own banners but also benefitted from many opportunities within the government and military. The Han, even those of the greatest talents, were confined to certain positions within the Chinese banners and the government.<sup>63</sup> Even those who had joined the Manchu side from the very beginning faced the same treatment. The once high officials of the Ming became the lowly ones of the Qing. “When my father was in the Ming court, was he not the exalted Duke of Pingguo? Now that he’s serving the Qing Court, how is it that he’s behind others? But it is that way even for those who went over to the Qing first.”<sup>64</sup>

Favoritism had become another form of separation between the Manchus and the Han. Those who served in the banners and as banner soldiers were shown considerable amount of favor. Due to the amount of hardship and the possibility of death in service, the needs of the bannermen were met. Money was given in the form of

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Elliott, 164.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 137.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 136.

<sup>64</sup> Struve, 185-6.



silver, households wanted for nothing as allowances were given to each man to cover the housing and food needs for him and his family. Weapons, as well as supplies to care for their horses, were also provided. Additional stipends were given to cover any financial circumstances; bravery in battle was rewarded with a monetary sum.<sup>65</sup> Debts, weddings, and funerals were paid for by the court; the banner soldiers had become known as the people who “ate the emperor’s rice.”<sup>66</sup> The costs of such care were taken from the imperial treasury. The source of income for the treasury was the taxes paid by the Han, who in the meantime were evicted from their homes for the Manchus. Even when the Chinese banners existed, they did not receive quite the same treatment and for sure the regular Han citizens did not.

Becoming an official in the imperial court was even more rewarding than being a simple bannerman. Salaries and benefits of officers, officials of the bannermen, were regularly higher and more favorable in comparison to the civilian officials (the Han). The route to these official positions required a three part civil service examination. In another cultural practice adopted by the Manchus, the Han had the advantage as they were more familiar with the texts that were tested upon. However even among the Han, who spent years studying, numbers of those that passed at the first level, let alone all three, were low. This was the problem that presented itself to the Qing court; they had adopted the system when they came in to power to appease the Han, but the Manchus themselves were not scholars. Out of the 108 first-place honors, only one was given to a bannerman, who was not even a Manchu but a Mongol.<sup>67</sup> For the Manchu officials, the question that arose was how to guarantee that Manchus would pass so that they would be able to hold posts within the imperial court? To solve this dilemma, the Manchus set up many methods to guarantee the acquisition of a government position was made easier for a bannerman. One method was by “imposing a quota of successful

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<sup>65</sup> Elliott, 195.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 191-2, 195.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 203.

banner candidates, so that the examination standard was, so to speak, on a ‘curve.’”<sup>68</sup> Not trusting one method to guarantee the Manchus would dominate the official positions, the examination was easier for the banner soldiers, sometimes only requiring translations between Manchu and Chinese. The Manchus had the highest success rate of other ethnic group, including the Han. Again such favorable treatment was focused only on the Manchus, not the Han.<sup>69</sup>

There was only one route to a government position for the Han, the examination system. The Manchus were not as unfortunate. Bannermen also had the option to work their way through the banner hierarchy, by creating successful careers within the military, or were awarded government positions. A bannerman could acquire a position in the government by either creating both a successful career and working his way through the Banner hierarchy or by being awarded for impressive performance in battle with a high position. Either method was accomplished without a degree or ever taking the examination. “And when have we ever relied on people who came up through the military examinations? Would we place our leadership and trust in them?”<sup>70</sup> Other bannermen relied on family connections as did Agui, whose father, Akdun, an important official, gave him a position as a secretary.<sup>71</sup> Family connections were often the footholds to the life as an imperial official. As Evelyn Rawski points out, “the Qianlong Emperor frequently appointed banner nobles who were linked to him through marriage to the Grand Council: the number of Manchus on the Grand Council exceeded Chinese in 73 percent of the sixty years of his reign.”<sup>72</sup> The

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 204.

<sup>69</sup> Edward Rhoads, *Manchus & Han: Ethnic Relations and Political Power in Late Qing and Early Republican China, 1861-1928* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000), 43-44.

<sup>70</sup> Elliott, 205.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 205.

<sup>72</sup> Evelyn S. Rawski, “Presidential Address: Reenvisioning the Qing: The Significance of the Qing Period in Chinese History,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 55, no. 4 (1996): 832.

methods opened to the Manchu bannermen were not opened to all. The Han did not have these same options and instead had to look for other positions.

While the bannermen dominated the government positions, the Han attempted to hold some presence in government. Most of the imperial positions that were held by the Han Chinese were local level positions, such as the magistrate. The magistrates oversaw the grievances of a number of towns. The magistrate could act as judge and jury, except when it came to legal cases concerning the Manchus. Any crime committed by a bannerman, even premeditated murder, could only be handled by the magistrate to the point of discovery. They were then required to hand the case to local banner authorities to be dealt with.<sup>73</sup> It did not stop there. Torture could not be used on bannermen in interrogations, they were held in their own prisons, and made it difficult for civilians (the Han) to bring charges against them as they held immunity from the regular prosecution ordinance. “[S]o there is no way to enforce the law inside the Manchu city.”<sup>74</sup> Even when measures were taken to enforce the charges, the punishment was left to garrison commanders. It was mandatory for punishments to be lessened for all bannermen.<sup>75</sup> Manchus were above the law and above the Han. They kept themselves separate at all times, even within their banner organization, separating the Chinese banners from the Mongols. Even though they could claim to part of the banner system, they received less than their Manchu counterparts.<sup>76</sup>

The favoritism shown to the Manchus as well as signs of Han submission had come to resemble a form of conquest. The conquest of the Ming had come in the form of hair, social demographics, and ultimately separation. It also came in the form of death and destruction. By the time the conquest was over, many of Han descent shared the feelings of Shi Kefa, whose last diary

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<sup>73</sup> Elliott, 197-8.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 198.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 199.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 77-78.

entry read: “To repay the nation with this one death is surely my destiny. I only regret not having earlier followed our former emperor to the grave... In a world like this, life is of no use anyway; one might as well come to this conclusion early on.”<sup>77</sup>

What preceded this feeling of despair was a story of mass pillaging, rape, and murder as the city of Yangzhou fell. A survivor of the event, Wang Xiuchu, describes a scene of chaos as “the men guarding the wall came down, making a commotion, and scurried for cover, throwing off their helmets and spears, some even cracking their heads or spraining their ankles.”<sup>78</sup> In fear of what was to come, the city was left open, undefended, and ready for the invaders to enter.

The soldiers fled, leaving the citizens to face the Manchus. As stated by Wang, those left in the city attempted to welcome the Qing troops and burned incense “to show they dared not resist.”<sup>79</sup> Many believed that peace could be reached between the two groups. Others, such as Wang, realized that the Manchus had not come for just their lands. Those who realized this turned to their wives and other female relatives to say: “Enemy soldiers have entered the city. If things go awry, you should cut short your own life.”<sup>80</sup> Wang’s wife response was that of appealingly logical, saddened mindset, “Women like me in situations like this no longer think to live in the human world.”<sup>81</sup> To die appeared to be the better option than to be conquered by the Manchus. Bribes of silver or any other wealth delayed any acts against the Han but it could not delay the inevitable. “The sounds of lamentation and pain outside struck terror from the ears to the soul.”<sup>82</sup> To maximize the destruction, the Qing set the city on fire and issued false promises to spare any who did not resist. Crowds gathered in the squares under the protection of these false promises where true terror

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<sup>77</sup> Struve, 31.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 33, Wang Xiuchu.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 35.

began. Women were tied together at the neck, babies were left on the ground, where trampled victims' organs began to blend in with the mud, and dead bodies decorated the streets.<sup>83</sup> The days of killing began to number and extermination appeared to be evident.<sup>84</sup> The feelings of resentment began to build. "Before my eyes I seemed to see countless souls [Buddhist] guardian demons driving a million souls to their deaths in hell."<sup>85</sup> The Manchus' goal appeared to be mass destruction as was as one soldier revealed to Wang. "If I don't kill you, somebody else is sure to."<sup>86</sup> By the end of massacre 80,000 had died by the hand of the Manchus in Yangzhou.<sup>87</sup>

To repair the damage that events such as Yangzhou had caused, the Manchus attempted to change their image. The Manchus, aiming to be seen as benefactors than conquerors, started with the survivors where the attack was the greatest, i.e. Yangzhou. For the survivors, peace came in the form of rice and clothing.<sup>88</sup> The Manchus hoped to portray an image of benevolence, one that would be copied. An image they believed would only come across up close. At the same time as the Manchus were to be an example for the Han, they also forced them into subjugation. After the fall of the Ming, a large number of Han had become the slaves of the Manchus. Whether through capture or bankruptcy, the Manchus believed that while they were slaves, the Han had benefitted. In a 1723 report, it is said that Han came "to Manchu houses, dreaming of a place to rest their bodies and not wanting to go hungry, they all ask to stay. In this way Manchus also take on slaves [Ma aha]."<sup>89</sup> By taking them on as slaves, the Manchus were helping the Han by providing food and shelter, if they suffered in the process, it was rarely reported. The Manchus were the great

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 36.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 44.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 45.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 46.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 48.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 47-8.

<sup>89</sup> Elliott, 228.

“providers” of the Qing Dynasty, rather than the murderers of the Han.



Image of Yangzhou massacre.<sup>90</sup>

The case of Yangzhou served as an example of what Manchu rule looked like. It showed the power of the Qing, their ideas regarding their relationship with the Han. There is a question of whether the mistreatment of the Chinese was more extreme than other ethnic groups. The cities that were attacked were not of Mongol, or other, ethnicity; the cities were Chinese. At the mention of the treatment of the women during this period, one soldier made mention that when they had conquered Korea (1627, 1636-7) they “had captured women by the tens of thousands, and not one lost her chastity.”<sup>91</sup> The repeated mentioning of rape that occurs reveals that the Han women were not treated the same as Korean women. The conquest of the Ming empire both helped define who the Manchus were and united them as an ethnic group. At the same time, the acts of subjugation, violence, favoritism, and separation ultimately established the tense relationship between the Manchus and the Han. A relationship that would not change for the next 276 years, leading to several of China’s key historic events.

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<sup>90</sup> “Image of Yangzhou Massacre,” Wikipedia, July 27, 2014, accessed December 9, 2014, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yangzhou\\_massacre](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yangzhou_massacre).

<sup>91</sup> Struve, 37.

### **Change in Power: 1911**

In the late nineteenth century, several decades after the Taiping Rebellion, the Guangxi Emperor saw the warning signs of a larger movement and took action. In 1898, the Guangxi emperor, the lone representative of the Manchu side, was joined by many Han Chinese reformers. Though many called for the end of Manchu design, which would change the social structure, or even the elimination of the queue, many believed it was not taking the reform movement far enough.<sup>92</sup> The goal of the One Hundred Days of Reform was to eliminate the differences between the Manchus and the Han. To do so, one reformer, Zhang Yuanji, listed six reforms that would end the differences in the relations between the Han and the Manchus. These six would bring an end to administrative separation, social and occupational segregation by getting rid of the separate slots for Manchus and Han, and allow intermarriage. Zhang also hoped to end the stipends meant for banner soldiers and create schools that would work to give vocational training to unemployed bannermen. The banner system had made it impossible for its members to look outside of the military or government for work. Now, even the emperor called for the bannermen to move beyond the system.<sup>93</sup>

The target of the reforms was the Manchu way of life. However, for Liang Qichao, disciple of Kang Youwei, this was not the goal.<sup>94</sup> Liang Qichao believed there was a need for the races to merge together, “only because they had mixed together were they able to survive. Meanwhile, numerous other groups had perished because they had not intermixed.”<sup>95</sup> China was facing increasing competition from the Western powers, that they could not win divided. Essentially, Liang believed that the superior race, the Han,

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 64.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 65.

<sup>94</sup> Kang Youwei was one of the leading reformers during this period. After its end, Kang fled to escape punishment. Kang (1858-1927) Liang Qichao (1873-1929).

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 3.

had a chance at survival. The Manchus, inferior, ran the risk of dying out if they did not choose to intermix.

If their oppressive policies continue much longer, they will engender a great upheaval, in which resolute scholars all over the country will either declare independence, as in America, or start a revolution, as in France and Spain. By then, of course, it will be too late for the Manchus to regret. Or if it does not happen like this, then after a few more years of today's reactionary government, there will be partition. As partition takes place, the secret societies will rise and run amok. Since the government's authority cannot penetrate to the local level, the people will have free rein to take their revenge. Whatever else might happen, the Manchus in the provincial garrisons will surely be annihilated. After partition both Han and Manchu will be enslaved. But the Han, because they have a large population and are not lacking in intelligence, will still be able to conspire to join together to regain their independence. The Manchus, on the other hand, are not only few in number but also stupid and weak. Although they will have escaped the vengeance of the Han, they will forever serve as beasts of burden for the white people. Moreover, Han farmers and artisans are industrious and frugal.... Consequently, even if the Han territory is partitioned, the Han people will still have some influence in the world; though subjugated, they will survive in the end. The Manchus [on the other hand] have for the past two centuries eaten without farming and been clothed without weaving. Not one among their five million people is capable of being a scholar, farmer, artisan, or merchant. When partition occurs and their political, financial, and



military powers have all fallen into the hands of the white race, if they want some food or lodging then, will they still get it? Therefore, what the Manchus themselves have decided to do is precisely a self-chosen road to destruction. This truly is an example of “quenching one’s thirst by drinking poisoned wine.”<sup>96</sup>

Liang sees the Manchus as parasites who would not survive if forced to do so on their own. Resentment over current policies and past attacks remained just as strong at this point as it did then. Should the Manchus wish to prevent any Han uprising, intermixing was the only solution according to Liang.

For others intermixing was not a solution, as there had never been any separation to begin with. A student of Charles Darwin, Yan Fu advocated the belief that today’s world features many different species. However all of these species came from one source.<sup>97</sup> Where Liang pits the Manchus and the Han Chinese as two opposing races, Yan Fu sees them not as competitors but belonging to the same race, the yellow race. Yan Fu claims that the rule of China has never been by an outside force. It is only now that the rule of China is threatened by another outside, race, the Westerners.<sup>98</sup>

Separation or not, either thought did not stop the reforms of the 1898 Reform Movement from coming about with great speed. As stated earlier, the reforms attacked the Manchus’ way of life yet they were supported by the Guangxi Emperor. The emperor was the only Manchu to agree with the reforms. Liang was correct in assuming that the banner people had no way to support themselves outside of the stipends they received. The “preferential treatment” such as leniency in legal occurrences or favorable government

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<sup>96</sup> Rhoads, 1, 4-5.

<sup>97</sup> De Bary, 256. Yan Fu.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 257-8.

posts would cease, thus ending the Manchus' way of life for the past two hundred years.<sup>99</sup>

As quick as it started, the Hundred Days of Reform was brought to an end as the Empress Dowager Cixi placed the Guangxi emperor under house arrest. As many of the reformers fled from fear of punishment, many of the reforms set forth were discarded.<sup>100</sup> The Barriers were reinstated and life returned to the way as it was. The issue of reform was not revisited until the Boxer Rebellion. Imperialism and industrialization during the late nineteenth century had pushed Western nations farther into other nations, spreading new ideas and increasing pressure on the Qing. One of these ideas, Social Darwinism, was the pitting of the "white race against the yellow."<sup>101</sup> With the failures of the Opium Wars, the Sino-Japanese Wars, and other disputes between China and foreign nations, many realized that China lacked the ability to compete with outside forces. "The arrival of Western merchants, industries, railways, gunboats and ideas upset and changed the usual course of events... The security and permanence of the Chinese system under whatever rule came to an end."<sup>102</sup> The foreign nations, who had become a greater presence in China by the 1900's, would lead to its future problems.

The instigators to these problems were the Boxers. The Boxers, ancestors to China's Nationalist Party of 1911, were strictly anti foreign. Foreign competition had left the cotton production in Shandong in a state of poverty. The residents also faced flooding in the Yellow River, financial decline, drought, plus numerous invasions by foreign groups. Out of Shandong, the Boxers began their attacks against foreigners. What started as a fraction of a small group would help lead to the demise of Qing Rule and Cixi in particular. Cixi's court issued commands to tolerate, not suppress, the Boxers and soon joined the anti-foreign movement. Any within the Qing court who opposed were

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<sup>99</sup> Rhoads, 68.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 70.

<sup>101</sup> Rowe, 232.

<sup>102</sup> Michael, 7.

executed. The national court did little to stop the Boxer violence and forced the involvement of foreign nations. The Qing lost and heavy reparations were issued, which the treasury had no way to pay. In light of this, foreign nations, such as England and France, took control over much of the revenue producing areas of the government, such as the salt administration, until the debt was paid. The power and safety the Manchus had known no longer existed.<sup>103</sup> Whatever power remained would only be preserved through reform.

The motivations behind the reforms that came about after the Boxer Rebellion were different than those of the reform of 1898. During the reign of Guangxi, there was a desire to reshape China to create a united nation through the blending of the two cultures. During the reign of Cixi, and that of Pu'yi, reform was for the sake of control. The January 29, 1901 Reform Edict stated that "the whole system of government must be radically transformed so that wealth and power might eventually be attained."<sup>104</sup> The Dowager Empress had ended the reforms of 1898 with a coup and executions. What had changed was that Cixi had invested in the wrong side during the Boxer Rebellion and lost. In an act of self-preservation, Cixi gave into the reforms.

Among the first reforms that the edict called for was the blending of both Chinese and foreign policies, to "suppress vigorously the use of the terms, 'new' and 'old', and to blend together the best of what is Chinese and what is foreign."<sup>105</sup> The policies of old that had been harmful to China included the ones concerning the Manchus. The banner system and the imperial court, which had closed the ranks to any non-Manchu groups, began to open its doors. Even with the end of the separation, the Manchus believed the barriers had existed for a reason. In the case of intermarriage, Cixi stated the rarity of intermarriage was due to unfamiliarity with each other's culture, customs, and language.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Rowe, 243-246.

<sup>104</sup> Rhoads, 73-4.

<sup>105</sup> De Bary, 285.

<sup>106</sup> Rhoads, 76.

After several hundred years of social separation, one would think that the unfamiliarity between the two would have grown. Even if it did, the desire to maintain control over the empire took precedence over the desire for separation.

The forced end of separation between the Han and the Manchu did not only focus on social aspects but moved on to the political theatre. December 29, 1903 marked the end of Manchu monopoly on posts in the banner system and the ban barring all non-Manchu entry into Manchuria. In the process of reforming China, Cixi reshaped the social and political demography by taking several steps to move the government from a monarchy to a constitutional monarchy, giving the people more power. Set to be implemented over a number of years, this was to be Cixi's last attempt to maintain control over China. However for all the changes and reforms that were implemented, the circumstances in China did not improve. Outside voices praised the reforms that worked to end the "distinctions between Manchus and Chinese," but also cautiously watched over the new Chinese parliament.<sup>107</sup>

With the Qing working to end the distinction between the Han and the Manchus, the late nineteenth to early twentieth century Manchus no longer resembled their ancestors who had conquered the Ming in the 1640's. Some key ethnic traits, such as the banner system, began to show signs of decay as early as the Taiping Rebellion. Archery, once an often practiced skill, now began to be seen as a novelty as guns became the weapon of choice. Yet to say that the Manchus had acculturated into the Chinese culture would be dismissing the other traits that did survive, such as the Manchu language. The Yongzheng emperor was correct when he stated: "If some special encouragement as this is not offered, the ancestral language will not be passed on and learned."<sup>108</sup> In the beginning of the Manchu conquest, schools were created with the purpose of teaching and preserving the

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<sup>107</sup> "China Takes Another Step," *Los Angeles Herald* 34, no. 39, November 9, 1906.

<sup>108</sup> Rhoads, 53. The Yongzheng Emperor (1678-1735) ruled during the High Qing.

Manchu language. However, by the Revolution of 1911, Chinese had become the main script, with little as one percent in cities being able to read Manchu, even less were able to speak it.<sup>109</sup> Chinese may have been the main language used in the cities, but the usage of Manchu increased as one ventured farther out, even in Manchuria. In the Imperial Court, documents were recorded in Chinese and Manchu.<sup>110</sup> Banner schools also continued in its instruction of Manchu. The Manchu language, though limited in its use, remained a distinctive identity trait for the Manchus.

Naming practices were also preserved by the Manchus. Over the course of Han and Manchu interaction, Manchu names began to reflect more Han monosyllabic style names. Manchu personal names (first names) became shortened to disyllabic and meaning was also taken into consideration.<sup>111</sup> The first names had changed but the family names (last names) were not. When certain Manchus, who were in no way attached to the imperial clan, changed their polysyllabic surnames to the monosyllabic style of the Han, the Qing officials were displeased. The changing of the personal names held no importance to the Qing, however to change their surnames would come to mean they had “forgotten their roots.”<sup>112</sup> The surname was the connection to their past. At the same time as the surname was being preserved, the Manchu identification was also maintained. In the beginning, Manchus identified themselves by their banner affiliation rather than their familial lineage, as the Han did. Still true, the Manchus preferred to use other choices in place of their surname, in this case their personal names. Though small, seemingly unimportant ethnic traits, these traits still presented an image of who the Manchus were, as well as maintaining their separation from the Chinese culture.

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid., 53.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 54.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 55.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., 56.

At this point it became evident that the Manchus had not sinicized into the Chinese Culture, as stated by Zhang Binglin:

Today, have the Manchus assimilated to the Han people? Or have they conquered the Han people? Manchu shamanism is not the orthodox imperial religion, queues and jeweled necklaces are not the Chinese caps; and the documents of the Qing in its own language are not traditional Chinese orthodox... Their talk of the 'same race' is not to turn the Manchus into Han people, but to make the Han people Manchus!

The Han may have grown accustomed to the lifestyle of the Manchu and had grown accustomed to the queue, but for the Han, it was not their natural lifestyle.<sup>113</sup> Nor did they agree with the favorable treatment shown only to the Manchus. General Zeng and General Zou had been the heroes of the Taiping Rebellion. The Generals were also Han Chinese. They were given the titles but commanded local forts with no real power. On the other hand, a Manchu governor who suppressed an uprising in Taiwan, less significant, was made a "Beile Commandery Prince."<sup>114</sup>

Cixi and the imperial court had taken measures to unite the Manchus and Han under one culture. Upon her death, these reforms were then entrusted to the three-year-old emperor, Pu'yi, and his father Zaifeng, who served as Pu'yi's regent.<sup>115</sup> The first steps in Cixi's plan to reform the Manchu/Han relations encompassed reforms such as reorganizing the banner system, eliminating the banner stipends, and dissolving the eight banner system to end all differences between the Manchus and Han.<sup>116</sup> But the retaining of such traits as names and language, made it clear

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<sup>113</sup> De Bary, 310-1.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., 311.

<sup>115</sup> Pu'yi (1906-1967), Zaifeng (1883-1951) served during the final years of the Qing Dynasty. Zaifeng's formal name is Prince Chun.

<sup>116</sup> Rhoads, 137.

that, despite their best efforts, the barriers would not come down. The ones holding onto these barriers were the Manchus. All Manchu men had been restricted on where they could seek occupations, either within the banner system or state bureaucracy.<sup>117</sup> When jobs proved to be difficult to find, the stipends became the supplement to their livelihoods. The increased burden and pressure on the government to reform occurred when the Manchus began to live above their means. The reforms of the 1900's, threatened to take away their only source of income, their lifestyle, and thrust them into jobs they were not equipped to handle. As soon as it became clear this was to be their future, the bannermen pressured Zaifeng, who eventually succumbed to their demands.<sup>118</sup>

Any attempt by Zaifeng to consolidate control through the means of reform, failed. The bannermen feared any change that would remove their social status, such as a change in the mourning period. Han tradition calls for the mourning period to last twenty-seven months. Due to the length of time, Han officials were forced to resign from their posts, which were then given away. The Manchus were not faced with this problem. The Manchu mourning period lasted only a hundred days, a time that did not force them to resign from their posts. Upon the movement to end ethnic differences, the Ministry of Rites mandated that the Han mourning period would be observed by both sides in order to create equality. Instead Zaifeng, upon the request by the Manchus, left a loophole which made it possible for officials to remain in their positions during the mourning period, so long as they petitioned to do so. Han officials rarely petitioned to remain in their positions. The largest number of officials who used this loophole was the Manchu officials.<sup>119</sup> Zaifeng also attempted to reinstate a small fracture of the power the Qing once held by making the emperor the direct commander over the military.<sup>120</sup> While Zaifeng had hoped for the

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<sup>117</sup> Elliott, 200.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 138.

<sup>119</sup> Rhoads, 141.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., 144.

revival of the Manchus as the dominating ethnic group, revolution forced him to eliminate all differences, including Manchu women's dress, opening Manchu cities, etc. Yet all of this did little to diffuse the spread of revolution.<sup>121</sup>

Many doubted the effectiveness of these reforms. "It is predicted that unless the Manchus immediately demonstrate the sincerity of the imperial edicts being issued at Peking the slaughter will exceed that of the Taiping rebellion."<sup>122</sup> Zaifeng had his five-year-old son, Pu'yi, issue an edict taking the blame for appointing too many officials that were imperial relatives and also enacted the reforms of the Guangxi emperor.<sup>123</sup> All were done to preserve the power and control of the Manchus and the Qing Court. However this edict and any that followed were seen as an act. "All today's edicts, like that of yesterday, are written in the first person, as coming from the infant emperor himself. This is unusual and apparently a device adopted by the throne's advisers in a pathetic attempt to create among the people a feeling of personal loyalty for their sovereign."<sup>124</sup>

This tool did not work. Further complicating the problems arising was the poor financial state China was in. Upon the conquest of the Ming, the financial state was also in decline, due to the decadence of the court. Just over two hundred years later and the banner people faced the same problem as they lived above their means, placing a burden on the government. Decadence was still a weakness of the court as descriptions of Cixi's funeral portray scenes of splendor as her body is wrapped with pearls, gold, gems, things the treasury could not afford.<sup>125</sup> The overspending of the court, along with the pressures incurred upon the Han became too great and the revolutionists issued a proclamation to the people that stated: "In order to establish a reign of liberty, equality and

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<sup>121</sup> Ibid., 184-7.

<sup>122</sup> "Manchus in Desperate Stand at Canton." *San Francisco Call* 110, no. 154. November 1 1911, accessed December 1, 2014, <http://cdnc.ucr.edu/>.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> "Manchus in Desperate Stand at Canton."

<sup>125</sup> Brackman, 46.



fraternity the Manchus must be driven out at once; the people must unite together to form a new government.”<sup>126</sup> The Qing Dynasty was at an end.

The Revolutionaries had many reasons to justify their attack on the millennium old monarchial system and the Manchus. Among those justifications was a seven point argument taken from the 1898 Affair, first being the Manchus was an alien group. Social Darwinism had developed the idea that the five races had subgroups that continuously had divided down. The “yellow race” included the Chinese and Siberian as its subgroups. From the Chinese came the Han, Korean, and Japanese. The Manchus were thought to have come from the Siberian subgroup.<sup>127</sup> According to this ideology, the Manchus held no link to the Chinese, therefore they held no right to the throne. “China belongs to the Chinese” as one reformer, Zhang Ji, stated.<sup>128</sup> If their lack of Chinese ties did not prove their illegitimacy as rulers, their crimes against the Han Chinese in 1644 did. The words of Wang Xiuchu, survivor of the Yangzhou massacre, became a lesson for the revolutionaries: “All I intend is that people of later generations who are fortunate to live in a peaceful world and to enjoy uneventful times, but who neglect self-cultivation and reflection and are inveterately profligate, will read this and be chastened.”<sup>129</sup> The acts of cruelty and murders of the 1644 conquest had made the Manchus a long lasting enemy of the Han.

The points against the Manchus varied in gravity from mass murders to the implementation of their own culture upon the Han Chinese. By forcing their culture upon the Han Chinese, the Manchus had “barbarized China.”<sup>130</sup> The culture of the Ming, a culture of scholars, was no more. The Manchus had adopted Confucianism and the civil examination system into their own culture, but rejected the core beliefs, and by having the Han shave

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<sup>126</sup> “Manchus in Desperate Stand at Canton.”

<sup>127</sup> Rhoads, 14.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>129</sup> Struve, 48.

<sup>130</sup> Rhoads, 15.

their forelocks in submission, they disregarded filial piety. Not only that but a culture based on the importance of meritocracy witnessed a minority group place itself over the majority.<sup>131</sup> Privileges, key government positions, and promotions were given to Manchus, whereas the Han were pushed out. Divisions throughout the empire had become the standard way of life. “Although it has been over two hundred years, the Manchus stick with the Manchus and the Han stick with the Han; they have not mingled. Clearly there is a feeling that a lower race does not rank with a noble one.”<sup>132</sup> Neither was on the level of the other, so relations between the two never occurred.

By stating the reasons as to why the Manchus were the illegitimate rulers of China, it created an opportunity for the Han to examine their identity as a nation. Many scholars of this period, including Zhou Rong, made the claim that to have the legitimacy to rule over China, one had to be a descendant of the Yellow Emperor, the very first ruler of the first dynastic cycle.<sup>133</sup> Han were said to be these descendants, establishing theirs as the only legal ethnicity of China.<sup>134</sup>

The seven points to discredit the Manchus, plus the idea of a need to separate themselves from the Manchus all marked the true unifying tool for the Han, Anti-Manchuism.<sup>135</sup>

How could we have allowed the unworthy tribes of Mongolia and Manchuria, who knew nothing of China or Confucianism, to steal China by means of their barbarism and brutality! After stealing China, they controlled the Chinese by means of the system they had stolen, and they shamelessly made use of Confucianism, with which they had been

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<sup>131</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., 16-17.

<sup>133</sup> Zarrow, 157.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., 147.

<sup>135</sup> Zarrow, 155.

unfamiliar, to oppress China, to which they had been strangers.<sup>136</sup>

A fault of the Manchus, according to Tan Sitong, a former pupil of Kang, was that they knew nothing about the political system or Confucianism before their conquest of China. This did not stop the Manchus from using these cultures to keep people ignorant and under the Manchu's control. In the end, the Han's own culture had played a part in their conquest and their subjugation. "Today five million Manchus rule over more than four hundred million Han only because rotten traditions make the Han stupid and ignorant. If the Han people should one day wake up, then the Manchus would be totally unable to rest peacefully."<sup>137</sup> On October 10, 1911, the Han did wake up and so did their resentments for the Manchus.

On the surface, the revolution was a chance for China to join the modern political systems of the world. Below the surface, the revolution gave the Han a chance to act upon their anti-Manchu sentiments. In Wuchang, where the Revolution began, the Taiping Rebellion had left a large concentration of Manchus. At the outbreak of the Revolution, as they headed for the arsenal, one revolutionary cried: "Slay the Manchu officials and the banner people." Despite the lack of resistance, many Manchus were slaughtered. The Hubei Military government's goals were to "elevate the Han and exterminate the Manchus."<sup>138</sup> Students were convinced to join the cause of revolution through the argument of filial piety. The nationalists claimed it was their duty to avenge their ancestors who had suffered at the hands of the Qing.<sup>139</sup> The elimination of the Manchus began with the taking down of the imperial flag over the imperial customs office and ended with the extermination of the Manchus. "Brutal treatment of Chinese by Manchus has created bad impression, and slaughter that will

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<sup>136</sup> De Bary, "Wang Fuzhi," 282.

<sup>137</sup> De Bary, *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 311.

<sup>138</sup> Rhoads, 188.

<sup>139</sup> Zarrow, 160-1.

exceed that of the Taiping revolution is predicted.”<sup>140</sup> Manchu cities became drenched with the color of red. Those who managed to escape the bloodshed in the Manchu cities were no safer as they were killed upon entering Chinese cities. Tales of mass terror came forward as Chinese military leaders told the soldiers to spare any except the Manchus. “One banner woman, about to be killed, piteously cried, ‘We are guiltless; we detest our ancestors for their mistreatment of the Han people.’ Another old woman pleaded, ‘What is to be gained by murdering us worthless women and children? Why not release us as a show of your magnanimity?’ The soldiers, though moved, dared not reply but killed them anyway.”<sup>141</sup> No help came for the Manchus as foreign nations’ concern turned to pulling out their missionaries instead of listening to the cries of Yuan Shikai.<sup>142</sup>

Violence reigned throughout the Qing Empire. Manchus also participated in the killings as Han Chinese were no safer than the Manchus. The violence during this period not only showed the resentment between the two, but also how the barriers, though officially removed, still existed. The Manchus

were known by their clothing, by their cast of countenance, by their speech. Their fondness for reds and yellows, their use of white linings, their high collars and narrow sleeves . . . their belts, their shoes; all gave them away. With the women the unbound feet were the fatal distinction. Their peculiar headdress, their clothing they might change, but there was no disguising their natural-sized feet.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> “Manchus in Desperate Stand at Canton.”

<sup>141</sup> Rhoads, 189-91.

<sup>142</sup> “Bandits are Beheaded in Turn.” *San Francisco Call* 110, no. 178. 25 November 1911. Yuan Shikai (1859-1916) General for the Qing Imperial Court.

<sup>143</sup> Rhoads, 192.

The Manchus had changed since 1644, but not enough that they were unable to be signaled out by “their speech.”<sup>144</sup> The Manchus’ separate identity had been part of their downfall.

As the Qing Dynasty and the Manchus fell, the Republic of China rose to power along with a new sense of Chinese identity. China underwent a severe transformation, as any remnants of the Manchu rule were removed. As Sha Tauk Kok related: “the Revolution has succeeded and my elder brother has cut his queue... The Manchus have starved to death, their intestines shriveled to nothing... Do not fear the Manchus will use their sharp knives.”<sup>145</sup> As the Han cut their queues, they were cutting away all signs of Manchu submission. The queues had reverted back to being an identity marker for the Manchu males. The Chinese looked to rid China of all remnants of the Manchus’ past involvement. Part of this involved the political structure.

The political change that China underwent was larger than the transition between a millennium old monarchical system to a republic. Upon the defeat of the Qing, the demands given to the Qing side included that the capital no longer be in Peking, which Yuan Shikai could not serve at the provincial level until the republic was recognized outside of China, and more importantly, that Manchus would not be allowed to serve at the provincial level.<sup>146</sup> For as long as the Manchus restricted the participation of the Han in the government, after the revolution they faced the same treatment. The Han Chinese sought to eliminate any credence the Qing had gained during their time in power. “Old myths assumed new significance in the political context of the late Qing. They now spoke not merely to flexible ways of distinguishing ‘us’ from ‘them’ through ethnicity and culture but also to the early growth of a specific ‘Chinese’ nation that –by implication–grew like the tree

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<sup>144</sup> Arnold Brackman, *The Last Emperor* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 1991), 56.

<sup>145</sup> P.H. Hase, “A Song From Sha Tauk Kok on the 1911 Revolution,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch*, 29 (1989): 383.

<sup>146</sup> “No Place for Manchus Say Chinese Leaders,” *San Francisco Call*, 111, no. 51, January 20, 1912.

from the seed into today's Chinese nation."<sup>147</sup> Meaning that the Han stated that the beginning of the Chinese nation began with them, not the Manchus. As part of the process of establishing their own identity as the "Han People," the revolutionaries dated the calendar to begin with the Yellow Emperor. The revolutionaries, in the process of creating their identity, took away the right of the Qing to set the calendar. To them, the entire period of the Qing Dynasty was an illegitimate period.

The U.S. as well as other nations credited the new Chinese government, seeing the Chinese as "a patient people, peace-loving, law-abiding and with a fine respect for law. They are easily ruled if fairly ruled, but stroke them the wrong way and it is just the opposite."<sup>148</sup> Both a complement to the Han and an insult to the Manchus, this article that appeared in *The Sun* in February 1912, supported the new Chinese government due to the closed door/anti-foreign policy the Manchus had adopted during the last years of the dynasty. The article credits the Boxer Rebellion for opening China to Western ideas. The Manchu rule was over, the Han people had taken over, and China belonged to the Chinese.

The only issue remaining was Manchuria. *The Sun* article states that if China had succeeded in strengthening its forces and had acquired a stable government, Japan and Russia would have no choice but to relinquish their claim to Manchuria and Mongolia. Then again, if China failed to put forth an image of strength, or was "sick at that time," outside forces would take over.<sup>149</sup> Manchuria would become available to any strong nation, except to those who can claim ancestral ties to it, the Manchus. Enter Japan, China, and a desperate ethnic group.

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<sup>147</sup> Zarrow, 172-3; 178.

<sup>148</sup> "The Chinese Government Yesterday and Today," *The Sun*, February 18 1912.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

### **Manchuria Turned Manchukuo: The 1930's**

Nearly twenty years after the fall of the Qing, the issue of sovereignty over Manchuria was still a problem. The Manchu emperor, Pu'yi, remained a resident in the Forbidden City in Peking, kept his title as emperor, and received an annual income of four million dollars.<sup>150</sup> Because he still claimed the title of emperor, false hope was given to Pu'yi and all other Manchus that the resurrection of another Manchu dominated dynasty was possible. As the years passed, this false hope began to dwindle. After a failed attempt at a restoration in 1917, the emperor and his court were confined to their living quarters at the imperial palace in the Forbidden City. Whether or not by choice, Pu'yi had not left his area of the palace, not far from the throne. In a New York article written ten years after the revolution, author Nathaniel Peffer describes the scene "Of the once hallowed Forbidden City a large part is now trod by profane feet."<sup>151</sup> Once walked by tribute bearers who wore the finest jewels, the Forbidden City now acted as a public park where tea, cakes, even American sandwiches and beers are enjoyed.<sup>152</sup> The Qing splendor had left Peking, as had their claim to Manchuria.

With this in mind, awareness shifted to a question of who would take over first. Japan had long been a residential power in Manchuria, since Russia had signed over all rights of the South Manchurian Railway to Japan at the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905. In the same treaty, the Treaty of Portsmouth, Japan gained complete control of Korea.<sup>153</sup> Logically, Manchuria was next on territory acquisition list. Japan supported the warlord of the region Zhang Zuolin in the hopes of having a

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<sup>150</sup> Brackman, 65.

<sup>151</sup> Nathaniel Peffer, "Monarchist Plot have China Seething," *New York Tribune* 6, August 14, 1921.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

<sup>153</sup> "Russo-Japanese War," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, last edited November 28, 2014, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/514017/Russo-Japanese-War>.

hand in the running of the country. When Zhang's goals ventured away from the ideals of Japan, he was assassinated.<sup>154</sup> Zhang Xueliang's, Zhang's son, support of Nationalism led to the intervention of the Japanese. This began the 1931 conflict with China for Manchuria.

It is believed that the conflict was ignited by an attack on the railway. The attack was staged to give Japan reason to counter attack on the Chinese, claiming self-defense.<sup>155</sup> China had long held anti-Japanese sentiment, taking every opportunity to exhibit their feelings, one being their refusal to lease Manchuria to Japan.<sup>156</sup> To China, Manchuria was a piece of their territory (disregarding that its acquisition had more to do with their Manchu rulers). Japan's move towards Manchuria reignited ill feelings, with commands such as "Kill Japanese on sight" being the first and only command given.<sup>157</sup> Japan, on the other hand, claimed that they "do not want conquest there anymore than in China... Japan's position there, as is well known, is strategical and political as well as economic."<sup>158</sup> Japan was a small island, whose own land was running out with the expansion of its population. Manchuria had miles of land unsettled, with bountiful resources. It seemed that for all purposes, Manchuria was to become a resource base for Japan, not part of its territory. Japan's goal was to "foster friendly relations between Japan and China."<sup>159</sup> If China didn't believe them, they had no problem stating "It may be superfluous to repeat that the Japanese government harbours no territorial designs in Manchuria."<sup>160</sup> Rather, Japan looked to create a new government

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<sup>154</sup> Rana Mitter, *Manchurian Myth: Nationalism, Resistance and Collaboration During the Manchurian Crisis, 1931-1933* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 21.

<sup>155</sup> Louise Young, "Twentieth Century Japan: The Emergence of a World Power," *Volume 8: Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 24, 40.

<sup>156</sup> Sino-Japanese Entanglements, 8.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, 111.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.



and the campaign against the Chinese would act as a way to “clear North Manchuria of what remained of the old military power, this removing an obstacle that had stood on the way of bringing the new state into being, materially clearing the atmosphere for the outlook of the future.”<sup>161</sup> Japan won the war with China and Manchukuo was named an independent state in 1932.

Once the battle was done, Japan had no reason to remain in Manchukuo. However “evidence” presented itself to the Japanese government that said otherwise. Seeing as the “Manchurian government at present is not strong enough to suppress them,” it was only natural that the Kwantung army took over to guarantee the safety and success of Manchukuo.<sup>162</sup> The Manchus in power slowly faded into the background as Japan worked in Manchukuo to remold it. As its presence in Manchukuo, Japan’s actual purpose for freeing Manchukuo from China was revealed. Instead of its growth as an independent nation, Manchukuo was part of the evolution of the Japanese imperialism, one to rival the Western powers. Their goals represented their commitment to that dream. Japan, once a colonial prize for other nations, proved its own abilities at becoming a rival to Western powers. With its victories against China in 1894-5 and then again against a western power, with Russia in 1904-5, Japan proved its strengths.<sup>163</sup> The first step was Korea. By acquiring Korea, Japan had acquired a “guest seat” at the imperial table, taking itself off the market as an area to conquer by the Western Powers.<sup>164</sup> If Korea was to serve as a way to secure Japan, Manchuria was to secure Korea. In 1905, Manchuria became the buffer zone between the Japanese and the Chinese and any other western powers as Russia signed over any rights, interests, or influence it had acquired during the nineteenth century. Japan had already integrated itself into the elite of Manchuria; it wasn’t long before they took complete control.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> Young, 99.

<sup>162</sup> Sino-Japanese Entanglements, 318.

<sup>163</sup> Young, 22.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid., 21.

The real power holders in Manchukuo were the capitalists and the military. Manchukuo served Japan in its attempt at imperialism, at the same time renovating “[Kaizo] Japan.”<sup>166</sup> “The Manchurian paradise depicted by Manchukuo government planners was intended to become the model of state capitalism, with industrialization proceeding in steps according to a well-ordered plan.”<sup>167</sup> Manchuria was said to be enough to satisfy everyone. However its main purpose was to satisfy one group, the Japanese army, the Kwantung Army, who saw Manchuria as a resource base.<sup>168</sup> The emperor of Japan had no more say in the matter of Manchukuo than Pu’yi or the other non-Japanese residents. Japan transformed Manchukuo, the banner soldiers were replaced by the Kwantung Army as the main fighting force, and the governments allowed for risky investments by the banks. All of these factors were signs that the military had taken control of the government.<sup>169</sup>

Japan remained in control of Manchukuo until the end of World War II. It’s only goal for Manchuria was to fortify its place among the imperial powers of the world. Aligning with Pu’yi had been for the purpose of using his alliance with the Mongols and to serve as a buffer zone as the Manchus were on the border and Japan was under constant threat from Russia and China.<sup>170</sup> “Japan has brought this situation to pass as a means of securing essential raw materials and food products for her own people and a market for her manufactured goods.”<sup>171</sup>

Some would state that the 1895 Sino-Japanese War had been warning enough for the Manchus at the motives of the Japanese. However it made no difference to the Manchus and Pu’yi. During the Qing Dynasty, the Manchus had been the ones in power, the leading ethnicity. To be allied with the Manchus meant to hold a title of prominence. The Manchu banners were awarded

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<sup>166</sup> Ibid., 196.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid., 200.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid., 203-204, 207-208.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., 30, 217.

<sup>170</sup> Brackman, 178.

<sup>171</sup> “Editorial Comment,” *World Affairs* 95, no. 2 September 1932.

stipends to cover all of their costs, extra for courage in battle, but they did not face the same grueling civil service examination that the Han did and official posts were easier to come by. By 1911 the Chinese declared that the Manchus would no longer be eligible to hold positions at the provincial level.<sup>172</sup> Pu'yi may have bared the title of emperor, but it was a title with little power, as his salary was now dictated by the Republic and decreasing from the initial millions to 500,000.<sup>173</sup> Pu'yi was faced with the reality of his actual power in China during his flight from Peking, where he was addressed as "Mr. Pu'yi."<sup>174</sup> Nor was it more obvious that the revival of the Qing in China was unlikely to happen as once it was made by a declaration in the *Washington Times* that "it was decreed that the Manchus should never again hold power."<sup>175</sup>

Power was not the only motivating factor for Pu'yi's decision to side with the Japanese. As commented upon continuously, resentment between the Han and Manchus persisted throughout the Qing Dynasty. It also persisted long after. On November 5 1924, Warlord General Feng Yu-hsiang invaded Peking. The General's attitude was one that fell along the same sentiments of 1911, sentiments that had led to the extermination of Manchus. The Manchus in Peking feared that the General's anti-Manchu beliefs would lead to a massacre and Pu'yi and his court finally vacated the old capital of the Qing Dynasty. However, no act showed the resentment shared between the two more than the final act that pushed Pu'yi to seek aid from China's enemy, Japan. In 1928, one Chinese group, in an act of Cultural Revolution, desecrated the tombs of the Qianlong Emperor and the Empress Dowager Cixi. Jewels were stolen, statues smashed, and the bones of the dead were scattered. While the republic celebrated the action as "heavenly justice," it angered Pu'yi. "My heart smouldered with

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<sup>172</sup> "No Place for Manchus Say Chinese Leaders," *San Francisco Call* 111, no. 51, January 20, 1912.

<sup>173</sup> Brackman, 129.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

<sup>175</sup> Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr., "China Warfare is Seen Due to Hate For Japs," *The Washington Times*, May 3, 1922.

a hatred I had never known before... Standing before the dark and gloomy funerary hall I made an oath before my weeping clansmen: 'If I do not avenge this wrong I am not an Aisin-Gioro.' i.e. a faithful member of the imperial Manchu clan."<sup>176</sup> Pu'yi sought every opportunity for the revival of the Manchus and revenge against the Chinese. His advisors warned him against the division between the military and the citizens of Japan, foreseeing the power the military would hold. However Pu'yi leapt at the chance, with no regards to the repercussions.<sup>177</sup>

There were many reasons for Pu'yi's decision. Among the reasons, personal revenge remained among the strongest motives. Pu'yi looked for revenge against the Republic for the crimes against the Manchus and the revival of the Qing. Second, Manchuria had been the homeland to the Manchus. Closed off to foreign occupants until the early twentieth century, to the Manchus, Manchuria was a sacred site. However, by this point, it was not only the Manchus who had made Manchuria their home. The Japanese made it clear of their goal to help the "Manchurian people win their freedom from Chinese rule." There was an element of disingenuity in the exchange which both accepted Manchuria consisted largely of Chinese; why would Chinese free themselves from Chinese?"<sup>178</sup> Pu'yi's personal goals were not those of the remaining Manchurian residents. Open to the public, Manchuria's demographic had drastically changed. Manchu once again was the minority. The only difference this time is the majority agreed with the minority. Manchuria had disagreed with the Republic from the beginning, choosing to remain loyal to the emperor.

Loyalty alone did not motivate the residents of Manchuria to fight against China. The current residents, including Manchus, Mongols, and Japanese, had been left in the hands of warlord Zhang Zuolin. With the goal to establish himself as the ruler of China, Zhang started a military effort to achieve this goal, an effort

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<sup>176</sup> Brackman, 159-161.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid., 174.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid., 188.

that required funds. “Civilian elites in the region were unhappy at the way in which Zhang raised taxes and overrode their newly constituted assemblies, and even some of his military subordinates, notably Guo Songling in 1925, attempted to overthrow him.”<sup>179</sup> Even after his assassination in 1928 and the takeover of his son Zhang Xueliang, Manchuria’s current situation failed to improve. His alienation of the locals and the military, through the means of abolishing both the provincial governments and military, led the way to the acceptance of the Japanese in 1931.<sup>180</sup> In turn, it forced Zhang to turn to Nanjing for support against the Japanese backed opposition.<sup>181</sup> This proved to be a poor decision for Zhang, as the Nationalists Chinese government held no favor in the eyes of the Manchus. During the 1911 Revolution, the Manchus were seen as a foreign force and targeted. Zhang Xueliang and his associates’ decision to not only support the nationalist movement, but to allow its legalization within Manchuria and for some to become members had meant that they were inviting the Manchus’ enemy into their house.<sup>182</sup> Resentment for the Manchus and their crimes during the 1644 conquest had been held onto for nearly three hundred years; there is no doubt that the Manchus could do the same.

Aside from questionable alliances, the financial state of Manchuria was in decline. Though promising the installation of industry and commerce and emphasis on education, Zhang Xueliang’s spending resembled that of his father, who had created the financial burden in the first place. Had it not been for the money spent on the military, as noted by the Japanese upon their intervention, “the finance of the Three Eastern Provinces would show a good surplus.”<sup>183</sup> Japan appeared to be no different from China, whose goal of “reclaiming” Manchuria was proclaimed with every maneuver. However, Japan proceeded with caution. Its

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<sup>179</sup> Mitter, 21.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid., 28.

<sup>182</sup> Mitter, 31.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid., 36.

already conquered territories in Korea and Taiwan were colonized but this was not the route that could be taken with Manchuria. Instead, the independent state of Manchukuo was formed.<sup>184</sup> The formation of the South Manchurian Railway and immigration had been Japan's beginning as a presence in Manchuria.

There was no greater show of Japanese control in Manchuria than in their involvement in the economy in Manchuria. With plans of a centralized dictatorship, the Kwantung Army was in charge of all future Manchurian expansion in the interests of Japan. Part of their plans involved creating a planned economy, with the army playing the role of the creators. An attempt to reign in the growing debt, the Kwantung Army stated, "In view of the evils of an uncontrolled capitalist economy, we will use whatever state power is necessary to control that economy."<sup>185</sup> For some, this was a saving act against a high debt. Yet many opposed to a government economy. It meant losing control of all decisions, of all businesses, such as the Railways. For many, Manchuria presented an opportunity of freer politics than in the surrounding nations. However many of the policies made came from a Japanese perspective as that was the dominating group in power.<sup>186</sup>

Acceptance of the local government had given the Japanese an advantage in their taking of Manchuria. Their increased involvement in the economy, plus their planned attempt to expunge the Manchurian economy of its debt, also aided in the conquest of Manchuria by the Japanese. While the national level was reconstructed to rid the policies of Zhang, it appeared that Manchuria, now Manchukuo, was formed without bloodshed. Yet the supposedly peaceful take over covered resistance from volunteer armies, supported by China, and mostly composed of bandits. With the purpose to oppose the intrusion of the Japanese on what was once consider to be part of China, dissension came not between the Kwantung Army and the "volunteers" but between

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<sup>184</sup> Ibid., 41-42.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid., 76.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., 77.

these volunteers and the ordinary people.<sup>187</sup> The volunteer army was not alone in their willingness to attack to maintain their claim to Manchuria. The Kwantung Army not only quickly put down these attacks but put on hold their peaceful conquest to exhibit their willingness to acquire Manchuria by force. The city of Fushun saw much bloodshed as houses were burned and lives were lost, all at the hands of the Kwantung Army. Blame for the massacre was laid at the feet of the villagers when rebels had left many Japanese dead. In reality, Fushun was one of many examples of the Japanese's strength and willingness to use brutal force as a tool in the acquisition of Manchuria.<sup>188</sup>

For all Pu'yi's attempts to restore the Manchus, it appeared that the identity of the Manchus was slowly changing. It was not changing to model a traditional Chinese culture, but a western one. Pu'yi's tutor after the 1911 fall was the English bred Reginald Fleming Johnston, whose influence began to reshape Pu'yi. Johnston's influence came to touch every aspect of Pu'yi's life, from using a fork instead of chopsticks, to prizing wool instead of the silks and satins of China. However, no greater influence, or greater change for that matter, was as great as Johnston's role in the cutting of the queue. Despite the pleas of the republic over the course of the years, one remark from Johnston referring to the queues as "pigtailed," pushed Pu'yi shed the queue in 1919. Many would follow within the Forbidden City.<sup>189</sup> Pu'yi adopted an English name, Henry, and so the transformation appeared to be in the favor of modernization.

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<sup>187</sup> Ibid., 187.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid., 112-4.

<sup>189</sup> Brackman, 105-106.



**Sir Reginald Fleming Johnston. China Institute in America.<sup>190</sup>**

The outside world was changing. The 1900's had brought change in technology, fashion, thought, as well as political structures. These changes were not central to nations such as the United States or Europe. Rather, the ideas of modernization spread as trade between the many nations expanded. As the modern world put forth the image of the ideal style, the queue quickly lost its place of importance, as did other traditional garb. Though modernization had transformed the exterior side of the Manchu identity, it did not transform its ideals. At the time when marriage came into question, many encouraged the marriage of Pu'yi to a Chinese girl, seeing it as a political strategy. However the desire to "maintain the 'purity' of the royal bloodline too overpowering" in order to compromise their beliefs for an upper hand.<sup>191</sup> Even with the policy of intermarriage put forth by Cixi, it was still a taboo for a Manchu to marry a Chinese, especially if he should be wearing the crown.

If there was to be one lasting physical trait that continued for the Manchu identity, it would be the dress. After finally being made emperor of Manchukuo, Pu'yi sent for the Qing imperial

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<sup>190</sup> "Image of Sir Reginald Fleming Johnston," China Institute in America, accessed December 11 2014, <http://www.walfc.org/play/gallery-of-historical-characters/>.

<sup>191</sup> Brackman, 120.



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robes for his ascension to the throne. By doing so, Pu'yi marked how heritage still held a place of honor among the Manchus.<sup>192</sup> Pu'yi still claimed his lineage to the Aisin-Gioro clan of old, whose opinion was of concern to Pu'yi when the Japanese rejected his plan to wear the imperial robes. Pu'yi still held ties to Aisin-Gioro just as he held ties to shaman practices. For as much as modernity rejects these practices, on the day of his enthronement, Pu'yi said a prayer while a "snow-white bull" was sacrificed and the rising smoke of the altar symbolized "the transmission of his prayers to the spirits of the dead."<sup>193</sup> Had the Manchus assimilated, Confucianism would have been the major belief system, a belief system that itself was faltering at the end of the Qing Dynasty and blamed for the loss of the Opium War.<sup>194</sup> Much of what was the Chinese culture at the end of the Ming had fallen to modernity, as outside and inside influences had changed as the definition Chinese Culture during that time.<sup>195</sup>



**Image of Pu'yi/Emperor, 1909-1911. China Institute in America.**<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>192</sup> Ibid., 200.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid., 200-01.

<sup>194</sup> Brown-Galido, 5-6.

<sup>195</sup> Ho Ping-Ti, "In Defense of Sinicization: A Rebuttal of Evelyn Rawski's "Reenvisioning the Qing'," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 57, no. 1 (1998): 125

<sup>196</sup> "Image of Pu'yi/ Emperor Xuantong," China Institute in America, accessed December 11 2014, <http://www.walfc.org/project/emperor-xuantong-puyi-r-1909-1911/>.

It was not only religious standards maintained but also ideas about social stratification. The banner system, a core of Manchu identity, had long lost its warrior side and thus was replaced by Japan's Kwantung Army as the main fighting force.<sup>197</sup> However the banner system still remained. Upon his entry into Hsinking on route to the throne Pu'yi was greeted by five Manchukuo banners.<sup>198</sup> If only ceremonial, the presence of the banners, as well as claiming the Aisin-Gioro title, shows Pu'yi's and the Manchu's connection to the past. While others followed Pu'yi to modernization, others remained deeply loyal to the Manchu ethnic identity and kept their queues when Pu'yi cut his.<sup>199</sup> In the end, the agreement between Japan and Manchukuo spoke to certain guidelines to their relationship. For example, each would respect the others territory and rights. None had the allowance to cross the other's borders or specifically, change those borders. Also, Manchukuo was required to respect the rights, interests, and treaties already established within Manchukuo at the same time provide aid for each other if the need arises. The last requirement made the presence of Japanese troops in Manchukuo required.<sup>200</sup> Japan's take over not only overshadowed Manchu rule but also their identity.

Outside forces offered different opinions on Manchukuo and who the Manchus might be. In a news article that came out in 1934, one philosophy/economics professor from the United States, Charles F. Stickle, spoke on the circumstances in Manchukuo. While the article fails to address the actual lecture, it does mention how the United States sees the Manchus. Not only does the professor dress in "full regalia" but he is assisted by a woman, also dressed in Manchu fashion, who plays the role as "his number one wife." "His wife" and he then "made obeisance to the incense altar in the approved Manchu fashion, where a statue of Buddha and

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<sup>197</sup> Young, 30.

<sup>198</sup> Brackman, 193.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid., 106.

<sup>200</sup> "Editorial Comment," *World Affairs* 95, no. 2 (September 1932).

ancestral tablets were placed.”<sup>201</sup> The article focused on the different dress styles and the fact that having more than one wife was the standard in Manchukuo instead of the circumstances in Manchukuo, as the professor was playing the role as a second class Manchu. However, the article shows that the Manchu’s ethnic distinction still existed, even if it was not as prevalent as it had once been. As one may recall, though the Manchus adopted the religions of China, such as Buddhism and Confucianism, shamanism was the core religion of the Manchus. Disregarding the mention of the Buddha statue, the article mentions the act of respect shown for the altar and to the ancestral tablets. Part of the Shaman culture involved performing ceremonies or sacrifices to spirits or ancestors to signal respect. This part of the Manchu identity had not disappeared over the course of the years. Not only did the United States observe this custom, but Pu’yi also exhibited this cultural aspect as he made his way to the tomb of Nurhaci and made an offering and said a prayer to his deceased ancestor.<sup>202</sup> While conversion to the western religions was encouraged, the Manchus held on to their own.

The U.S. did recognize the culture but, along with the Chinese government, failed to recognize Manchukuo as independent state. Part of the purpose of the Lytton Commission of 1933 was to address the current problems within Manchuria, and its solutions to those problems. The administration of Manchuria was created by the Chinese to protect it from neighboring nations who would take advantage of the weak state, such as the Japanese. The administration developed into a complex system, whose purpose was to strengthen the internal government to defend itself. However, the understanding between China and Manchuria was that “even during these political changes, the laws promulgated by the Central government with reference to civil, financial and judicial matters, were completely enforced as before.”<sup>203</sup> The

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<sup>201</sup>“School Closed Until Monday, April 2,” *Cosair* 5, no. 23 (March 14 1934).

<sup>202</sup> Brackman, 193.

<sup>203</sup> V. K. Wellington Koo, “The Lytton Commission,” *Vol. III. The Chinese Cultural Society* (New York City, 1933), 100.

political changes, the Lytton Commission describes, is the move from the Monarchical system of the past to the Republic, who retained the power to make appointments over Manchuria, such as the creation of a provincial government and its appointments in 1928.<sup>204</sup> These powers, as well as its claim to Manchuria, came from the argument that it not only was part of China but also based on population. The Lytton Commission believed that the “term immigrants” had been incorrectly used to describe those who had made their way into Manchuria. Blaming this mistake on the Japanese government, the Chinese government stated that since most of the new residents had come from other parts of China, the term that should be used is migrants.<sup>205</sup> Seeing many of the residents of Manchuria had come from China, the only logical thought is China had governance rights to Manchuria.

Thomas Jefferson once stated, “We surely cannot deny to any nation that right where on our own government is founded—that every one may govern itself according to whatever form it pleases... The will of the nation is the only thing essential to be regarded.”<sup>206</sup> It seems natural that the U.S. would then side with the newly formed Manchukuo, seeing it as the will of the government and its leader lies with its formation. However this was not the case. On January 7, 1932, at the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese war, U.S. representative Henry Stimson created the Stimson Doctrine of Non-Recognition. The doctrine simply states that “the United States ‘does not intend to recognize any situation, treaty or agreement which may be brought about by means contrary to the covenants and obligations of the Pact of Paris of August 27, 1928.’”<sup>207</sup> This included the creation of Manchukuo. Few within the US, such as George Bronson Rea, saw this as going against the core belief of the United States and how it came into existence; if the people had of Manchukuo have recognized it as a

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<sup>204</sup> Ibid., 105.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid., 39.

<sup>206</sup> George Bronson Rea, *The Case For Manchukuo* (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1935), 3.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid., 4.

state, follow its laws, then it is a state, “recognition does not create the state,”<sup>208</sup> he reasoned.

Rea echoed the claims of the Manchus that Manchukuo, or Pu’yi, were not Chinese. To the Chinese, Pu’yi was a traitor and thus, they refused to recognize Manchukuo’s independence.<sup>209</sup> As stated by Rea, “no proof can be adduced to support the contention that the Manchus have died out...”<sup>210</sup> Even if the only recognized Manchu was Pu’yi and his court, it is evidence against the idea that all Manchus had ceased to exist. Due to the fact that Manchus still exist, by example of Pu’yi and the anti-Manchuism of the time, China had no right to Manchuria based on this claim. Furthermore, by the time of the Japanese takeover, approximately three percent of the population was made up of Manchus.<sup>211</sup> Though their numbers had decreased immensely since they first came into power in 1644, action of tracking their population shows that the Manchus were still a recognizable part of the population in China. The parts of their ethnic identity they had kept were enough to make a clear distinction between the Manchus and the Han. The Han Chinese have always outnumbered the Manchus, a fact that argued against Manchu rule. The Han could see no reason as to why the minority ruled over the majority. Nor does it have a claim to Manchuria based on immigration numbers. If this were so, the U.S. would have lost Hawaii to Japan.<sup>212</sup>

The Manchus have long held the right of possession to Manchuria as their homeland. The right to govern Manchuria belongs to the Manchus.<sup>213</sup> Manchuria has long been a place by which to draw replacement troops from during conquest and a safe haven. To preserve the purity of the Manchus in their homeland, the Qing rulers barred all Chinese from entering and residing in Manchuria, a ban that lasted until the end of the Qing rule.

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<sup>208</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>209</sup> Brackman, 195.

<sup>210</sup> Bronson Rea, 115.

<sup>211</sup> Mitter, 23.

<sup>212</sup> Bronson Rea, 122

<sup>213</sup> Ibid., 114.

Furthermore, said purity was also ensured by the banning of marriage between the bannermen and the Han. Any claim the Chinese held in the past was removed with the Manchu occupation during the Qing Dynasty.<sup>214</sup> Rea's claim against Chinese sovereignty shows that even the Western forces were divided over the question of whether Manchukuo was its own state and whether or not the Manchus were its own people. At the same time, his claims also showed that the Manchu were a recognized ethnic group. The outsiders, such as the United States or Europe, only justification for its support of Han rule was they could not tell the difference between the two.<sup>215</sup> Then again, can one tell the difference between an American and a Canadian? Physically no, as was the case for the Manchus, once the queue was removed in 1919. Yet as seen, the traits that identified them as an ethnic group were there and the fact that they still claimed to be Manchus also showed that they did not belong to any other group.

### **Conclusion**

By the end of World War II, Japan had lost its claim to Manchukuo and the Manchus lost whatever false sense of power they held. Manchukuo was absorbed back into China's dominion and the Manchus were officially recognized as a legal ethnic group in 1949. Despite their recognition, many believe that "when the barbarian enters China (i.e. Chinese civilization) he becomes Chinese."<sup>216</sup> Over the centuries the Manchu identity had changed. Events such as the Opium War, the Taiping Rebellion, the 1898 Affair, the 1911 Revolution, and the rise of Manchukuo in 1932 have forced the Manchu identity to evolve. Yet while the Manchu identity has changed, it has not disappeared.

In 1919, Pu'yi was the first Manchu to cut his queue, a long standing symbol of Manchu identity and conquest. Many may look at this as the Manchus' move to assimilate. However the Manchus

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<sup>214</sup> Ibid., 115-6.

<sup>215</sup> Ibid., 120.

<sup>216</sup> Michael, 9.

did not claim to be Chinese. Modernity had forced these changes, not Chinese culture. The biggest influence on the Manchu identity was an individual not of Chinese or Japanese nationality but an Englishman by the name of Sir Reginald Fleming Johnston. For sinicization to occur, one of Chinese culture must be present. The biggest sign that the Manchu identity still remained separate were the actions and beliefs of the Manchus and the Han.

The Manchus saw themselves to be different from the Han. Part of the problem that arose was the generalization of the two races, in part due to the opinions of outside forces, such as the U.S. as seen from the newspaper clippings and special reports seen throughout this paper. Over time the opinion may begin to become fact but it disregards actual events and circumstances. The Manchus were persistent on maintaining the border between themselves and the Han. Part of this barrier was constructed of biased testing, enforced hairstyle, and preferred treatment in political and social aspects. The Manchus were not alone in their desire to maintain ethnic borders. Just as the Manchus showed their contempt for the Han by the violence of the Yangzhou massacre, the Han showed that the border had lasted throughout the Qing Dynasty by the violence of the 1911 Revolution. Even as the twentieth century brought modernization, political change, as the Manchus faced the loss of their native land, their grasp of their identity did not falter. The only change in the identity of the Manchus went from being based on physical elements and more to an ideal and an ancestral connection. Until a law made it official, the only sign of the recognition of separate identities was usually through violence. Even with the confusion or the idea of their sinicization, the Manchus, by their own recognition, maintained their distinct ethnic identity, an identity that has lasted to this day.

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**Author Bio**

Hannah Knight is a recent graduate from California State University, San Bernardino with a Bachelor of Arts degree in History with interests lying in European and Asian History. Her goal is to continue her education at CSUSB by entering their Single Subject Credential Program in the summer of 2015. Following the completion of her credential, Hannah's goal is to teach world history at the high school level. She hopes to one day have the chance to travel the world so that she may be able see the places that have been such a large part of her life. The list of people she is most grateful to is extensive but there are a few key individuals who have played a vital role in her success. She would like to thank Dr. Murray and Dr. Blackey from the history department at CSUSB. Dr. Blackey who introduced her to the world of European history with HIST 306 and Dr. Murray who played a key role in the development of this paper. To Amanda Codeus who played the part of editor of many papers and friend throughout their time at CSUSB. Most importantly her family; they were her editors, sounding board, support system, prayer group, and source of an endless supply of love.



## **Riverside's Chinatown**

by Miranda Olivas

*Abstract: The City of Riverside has benefited economically, culturally, socially, and historically through the diverse contributions of Chinese immigrants. In the nineteenth and twentieth century, Chinese immigrants contributed by making Riverside an economic powerhouse through its citrus industry. Riverside's Chinatown, which once was populated and flourished by thousands of Chinese bachelors during harvest season, has been deserted and neglected over the past several decades. The site where Riverside's Chinatown once stood is one of the richest sites of Chinese American artifacts in the United States, yet is currently under threat for being destroyed to make way for new development.*

## **Introduction**

In the late nineteenth century, Euroamerican migrant farmers left Northern California to settle into a region that is now known as Riverside, California with the dream of creating an agriculturally based economy. Riverside's earliest farmers experimented by planting citrus, which proved to be successful. During this time, there was a huge need in California for cheap agriculture laborers. Chinese immigrants already had an impact on the economy in surrounding areas, including San Bernardino County, through their contribution of the building of railroads. The farmers, knowing the Chinese had experience with producing and handling orange and lemon crops, appealed to Chinese immigrants with the prospects of economic opportunity through jobs in the citrus groves.

Beginning in 1879, Chinese men emigrated from Southern China's Guangdong region for economic opportunity. These men were attracted to California with the prospect of being employed as gold miners, workers on the transcontinental railroad, and as agricultural laborers. Southern Chinese laborers were sought out specifically because they had centuries' worth of knowledge on how to cultivate citrus. Riverside's Chinese pioneers worked within farming communities in jobs such as fruit pickers, gardeners, ranch foremen, housekeepers, merchants, small and large-scale tenant farmers, and even small business owners.<sup>1</sup> They found comfort away from home by setting up their residence within ethnic neighborhoods; this helped to maintain their Chinese culture. For a brief period, Riverside's Chinese population was second largest to the state (exceeded by San Francisco).<sup>2</sup>

Riverside's first Chinatown was referred to by the local community as the Chinese Quarter and was located in downtown

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<sup>1</sup> Riverside's Save Our Chinatown Committee, "Proposed Signature Park to Preserve Riverside's Historic Chinatown" Newcastle: Dangermond Group, nd, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Rebecca L. Lum and Suanne J. Yamashita, "Chinese Who Died in Riverside, California: 1886-1939," unpublished research paper, University of California Riverside, Sociology 190, Professor Edna Bonacich, Summer 1984, 3.

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Riverside. Following the American Civil War, the nation's economy was in a depression. Limited economic opportunities and job competition fueled racial tension between Americans and Chinese laborers.<sup>3</sup> In 1882, the federal government introduced the Chinese Exclusion Act which put caps on the number and social class of immigrants from China and justified local hatred toward the Chinese population in the United States. On the local level, this law had direct consequences for Chinese immigrants living in Riverside. In 1885, when the Chinese Quarter caught on fire, the residents were pushed to relocate their second Chinatown to the outskirts of town, which would become known as Riverside's second Chinatown. In 1893, Riverside's Chinatown caught on fire, resulting in what became known as The Great Chinatown Fire. The settlement was rebuilt and continued to thrive for several years. As decades passed, the Chinatown population diminished after several of the bachelors returned home to China due to heavy anti-Chinese sentiment. Others stayed in California, but relocated to other surrounding counties such as Los Angeles and Orange County.

Today, the historic Chinatown is no longer visible above ground. The Great Chinatown Fire of 1893, pushed artifacts into wooden cellar pits. Chinatown residents at the time rebuilt brick buildings on top of the original foundation and artifacts. In 1974, the buildings that were constructed after the fire were demolished by the City of Riverside for safety reasons. Riverside's Chinatown is believed to be the richest undeveloped archaeological site of artifacts of Chinese immigrants within Southern California. Preserving the history of Chinese immigrants to Riverside County from 1879-1920 is important in understanding how the region has developed into what it is day.

### ***Chinese Immigration to California***

Ancient Chinese Confucian doctrine favored staying in one place, remaining tied to the motherland and the graves of one's ancestors.

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<sup>3</sup> Riverside Municipal Museum Press, 3.

It is considered an embarrassment when citizens left their homeland. In the nineteenth century, a series of crises caused the Chinese population to flee abroad. During the rule of the Qing dynasty, China underwent both foreign and domestic conflicts. This conflict weakened government, led to food shortages, the Opium War (1839-1842), and the Taiping Rebellion (1851-1865). It was during this time of discontent and strife that many Chinese citizens immigrated to the United States. “This enormous ‘push,’ coupled with the ‘pull’ of California’s Gold Rush, proved an almost irresistible force drawing impoverished peasants, merchants, and speculators from China to ‘Gold Mountain,’ the Chinese term for California.”<sup>4</sup> As the California Gold Rush frenzy declined in 1863, the Chinese went from working in the gold mines to the strenuous work of clearing mountain terrain in the High Sierras and setting train tracks across the country to build the transcontinental railroad. When the transcontinental railroad was completed in 1869, thousands of Chinese laborers were left unemployed.<sup>5</sup>

As Californians developed citrus crops, that required intensive labor, the demand for a skilled work force increased. This demand encouraged emigration of white Americans from the eastern side of the United States to Southern California.<sup>6</sup> Chinese immigrants were willing and able to do the job. The immigrants from the Guangdong region possessed a century’s worth of knowledge of farming in southeastern China with orchard and truck gardening skills, citrus propagation, irrigation, pest control, and citrus and packing techniques.<sup>7</sup> This resulted in a large number of Chinese to migrate to Southern California’s “Citrus Belt” in Riverside and San Bernardino in the late 1870s. Orange growers viewed the Chinese traveling from Northern California as an

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>6</sup> The Great Basin Foundation, ed., *Wong Ho Leun: An American Chinatown, Volume 1: History* (San Diego: The Great Basin Foundation, 1987), 2.

<sup>7</sup> Lai and Choy, 61; Riverside Municipal Museum Press, 4; Riverside Save Our Chinatown Committee, 7.



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unexpected blessing because they replaced low quantity of Native American pickers as well.<sup>8</sup>

By the year 1900, the United States' Census showed that the city of Riverside had the highest per capita income in the entire country, a main reason being the contribution of the Chinese immigrants and their knowledge of citrus cultivation. The Chinese workers provided all the labor in Riverside's first thirty years in the citrus industry that made the city an economic powerhouse.<sup>9</sup>

### ***Riverside's First Chinatown, 1879-1886***

In late nineteenth century, Dr. James P. Greves, a rancher from Northern California purchased land in Riverside, California with the hopes of out-producing Southern China in its production of opium. In the years to follow, Greves failed in his goals and ultimately he withdrew from the opium market.<sup>10</sup> Although his opium crops failed, it placed Riverside, California on the map as an agricultural hub. In the years to come, citrus groves proved to be a successful crop in the area.

In the 1880s, the Chinese immigrants gained a reputation as excellent budders and grafters from their techniques practiced in China. Soon, the Chinese were replacing the Native American pickers in Riverside's orange groves.<sup>11</sup> By 1879, Chinese laborers, ranging in age from eighteen to sixty years old, moved to Riverside to work in the citrus groves.<sup>12</sup> Riverside specifically attracted unwed males in large part because manual laborers were in high demand and these men were not tied down with familial commitments.<sup>13</sup> Most of the Chinese immigrants in the Riverside

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<sup>8</sup> The Great Basin Foundation, Vol. 1, 194.

<sup>9</sup> Kevin Akin, "This Place Matters" radio interview, California State University San Bernardino, recorded in Spring 2014.

<sup>10</sup> Harry Lawton, "Orange Groves and Rice Bowls: A Narrative History of the Chinese Pioneers of Riverside, California (1969-1974)," research manuscript, 1986-1987, 15.

<sup>11</sup> The Great Basin Foundation, Vol. 1, 2.

<sup>12</sup> Lawton, 23.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

area came from the regions around Canton Delta, in particular the Gom-Benn village.<sup>14</sup>

For a place to rest and socialize after a hard day's work, Riverside's Chinese laborers established their ethnic quarter between Eighth and Ninth street, and Main and Orange street. The Chinese quarter was made up of ten buildings, all wooden structures, that housed tents for the day laborers, and was also composed of small shacks with as many as twelve men sleeping in bunk beds that were stacked from floor to ceiling. By 1885, several hundred Chinese laborers were living in this settlement.<sup>15</sup>

Chinese immigrants thrived in Riverside. They made significant contributions to the local economy and attracted both Euroamerican and Chinese consumers. For example, the "Quong Mow Lung Company" store, once located on Ninth street, became a prominent supplier of general merchandise which attracted members of the Euro-American community. The company also advertised "Chinese and Japanese Nick Nacks for the Holidays" to market to non-Chinese consumers. This same store sold a variety of goods that attracted Chinese consumers as well. The store sold foods such as roasted pork, roasted ducks, Chinese vermicelli, dried fish and seaweed, peanut oil, and Chinese candies; as well as clothing, cooking utensils, ceramic ware, Chinese slippers, and herbs and medicines. In addition, some of the Riverside general stores served as gambling parlors and opium dens.

Chinese immigrants served in diverse positions such as house servants, packinghouse employees, cooks, barbers, railroad workers, restaurant owners, ranchers, and vegetable farmers and truck farmers. Of all of these businesses one of the most competitive ones was the laundry washhouses.<sup>16</sup>

In 1878, the Hang Wo Laundry washhouse was the first Chinese business to market a service using traditional Chinese

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>15</sup> Patricia Riddell and Lesley Bacha, "Riverside's Chinatown: A Study of the Past," University of California, Riverside, 1974, History 260, Dr. Tobey, 1974.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 14.

methods that pleased the residence of Riverside.<sup>17</sup> The most successful washhouse was the Duey Wo Lung Company which was established in 1882. The owner, Chen Duey Wo, also became known as the unofficial mayor/spokesperson of the first Chinatown. Rumors spread throughout Riverside that the Duet Wo Lung Company was so successful that it forced a white owned laundry company to close permanently.<sup>18</sup> This fueled tensions between the Chinese community and Euroamerican community in Riverside.

Riverside Chinese washhouses each employed about five workers, since house-to-house deliveries were part of their service. It is estimated that about thirty Chinese laundry men were employed in Riverside. In the late nineteenth century, the laundry industry was dominated by Chinese business owners.<sup>19</sup> The typical laundry had several rooms, which contained areas for hot water kettles, ironing, and handling business.<sup>20</sup> In 1882, Riverside had several Chinese washhouses located in the Chinese Quarter.

Anna Rice Bordwell arrived in Riverside in 1880. Bordwell explained the traditional methods of washing clothes that the Chinese would use in washhouses. She described the Chinese laundrymen as wearing “broad-brimmed straw peasant hats, white wide-legged trousers and cotton blouses, and sandals industriously pounding the town’s wash on rocks and starching clothes so stiff that ‘generally they would stand alone.’”<sup>21</sup> She also explained that “the laundrymen soaped and washed customers’ clothes in a lateral irrigation ditch running along Seventh Street. Clothes were then pounded flat on rock slabs of the banks of the irrigation ditch, hung up to dry over Chinese sleeping bunks in the washhouses, and finally starched and ironed.”<sup>22</sup> The Chinese launderers and other

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<sup>17</sup> The Great Basin Foundation, Vol. 1, 6.

<sup>18</sup> Riddell and Bacha, 10.

<sup>19</sup> Riverside Municipal Museum Press, 5.

<sup>20</sup> Paul C. Sui, “The Chinese Laundryman,” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1953).

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> The Great Basin Foundation, Vol. 1, 7.

careless merchants dumped their dirty water into cesspools beneath building or into irrigation ditches running alongside downtown Riverside. This caused a terrible stench, potential health hazards, and a pollution problem. Despite the fact that both Euroamericans and Chinese laborers contributed to this problem, Riverside's residents blamed Chinese laborers solely for this situation.<sup>23</sup>

### ***First Attempts Of Removing Chinese From Downtown Riverside***

The Chinese population of Riverside lived with “sojourner” intentions, that is to say that they always viewed their time in the United States as a temporary move and that they would eventually return home to China. Because of this, they lived in temporary shelters and saved as much money as possible. Many Americans were critical of their standard of living. This helped to fuel anti-Chinese sentiment.<sup>24</sup>

The other early source of conflict between Euroamericans and the Chinese population in Riverside was the fact that Chinese immigrants were not interested in assimilating into American culture.<sup>25</sup> For instance, Chinese men wore queue hairstyles which were a symbol of the submission to the Manchu government in China. Removal of the queue could cause serious penalties for Chinese men upon arrival back to China. Therefore many chose to keep this hairstyle even in the United States.<sup>26</sup>

In 1882 Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, as a means to limit Chinese immigration to the United States. By 1892, the Geary Act banned immigration for China to the United States for ten years. Also under the Geary Act, Chinese immigrants that already lived in America were required to carry residence certificates on the penalty of deportation.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 12-13.

<sup>24</sup> Riddell and Bacha, 13.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 14.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 219.

<sup>27</sup> Lucy E. Salyer Laws, *Harsh as Tigers* (Chapel Hill & London: University of

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The first attempt to forcibly remove the Chinese quarter from Riverside's downtown area occurred in 1878. The Chinese men who settled in the Chinese Quarter became subject to harassment, were jailed and eventually forced out of downtown Riverside in an effort to develop this area to accommodate the business interests of prominent Euroamericans.<sup>28</sup>

By the late 1880s, Riverside was a thriving city due to its citrus industry. Luther M. Holt, a promoter for large land development companies and Secretary of the Southern California Horticultural Society encouraged citrus industry in a Riverside. However, Holt was uncomfortable with Chinese culture. He wrote: "The Chinese appear to have everything their own way. They sell whisky and gamble and disturb the peace generally. The law appears to be powerless to protect our people from this curse. If everything else fails, Riverside must do what Eureka did, drive the Chinamen out and tear down their filthy quarters."<sup>29</sup>

Between the years of 1882 and 1885, Holt, also an editor for the Riverside newspaper, published editorial campaigns to "Renovate Chinatown." In the editorial he claimed that the Riverside Chinatown was "breeding disease in the very heart of town," and he was able to persuade a small amount of his readers to boycott Chinese vegetables.<sup>30</sup> The Chinese vegetable boycott was unsuccessful to the mass public because in an era of no refrigeration, the Chinese home delivery of vegetables was a convenience to the Riverside housewives and residents who were unskilled at growing their own crops.<sup>31</sup>

Local newspapers and businesses also started to advocate a white-owned steam laundry company named Riverside Steam Laundry. This company promised customers that their laundry would be returned "in finer shape than if manipulated by the best

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North Carolina Press, 1995), 95.

<sup>28</sup> Great Basin Foundation, Vol. 1, 44.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 44.

<sup>31</sup> Lawton, 63.

heathen Chinese this side of the Rockies.”<sup>32</sup> Their marketing did not work and the white-owned laundry failed because customers preferred the Chinese prices and quality of service.<sup>33</sup>

“Ordinances were passed that prohibited anymore wooden buildings in the downtown area [specifically in the Chinese Quarter] and allowed present ones to be condemned by the health officer. Finally, pressure was put on all land owners of the block to raise their rents to five hundred dollars per month, payable in advance.”<sup>34</sup> This pushed the Chinese to realize that they needed to relocate their property to the outskirts of downtown Riverside, which they believed would be secure from future harassments.<sup>35</sup>

In most cases, non-Chinese Riverside residents were not enthusiastic over having the Chinese leave the downtown area, in large part because they relied on the Chinese community for economic purposes.<sup>36</sup> Some thought the Chinese had good work ethics because they were willing to work long hours a day and seven days a week. Even though many Riverside residents thought poorly of the Chinese inability to assimilate into American culture, many people in Riverside were interested in traditional Chinese culture including the Chinese New Year festival, which was one of the most popular annual events in Riverside. Some Euroamerican women also enjoyed wearing Chinese gowns at their tea parties.

Even though the Chinese were not discriminated against by all of Riverside, the Chinese residents were still insistent in moving locations. In between moving locations of the Chinese quarter, the settlement was set on fire. An unknown person saturated boards and boxes with kerosene in front of the Blue Front grocery store, a wooden building, in the Chinese Quarter.<sup>37</sup> It is believed that the fire was set by the immigrants themselves as a

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 45.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>34</sup> Riddell, and Bacha, 5.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 20.

<sup>37</sup> Great Basin Foundation, Vol. 1, 47.

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sign of retaliation for the unjust treatment they had endured.<sup>38</sup> “The first attempt at a fire department [in Riverside] came when Chinatown [caught fire]...everybody got buckets and tubs from the hardware store and threw water in the flames till they got tired. After [this had failed they] sat down and watched Chinatown burn...Such a statement seems to hint at the feelings of the Riversiders for the Chinese.”<sup>39</sup> The Chinese were more than ready to move away from the hostility and start a life with the freedom to embrace their culture at the new Chinatown.

### ***Riverside's Second Chinatown, 1886-1930***

In 1885, Wong Nim, Wong Gee, and Chen Wo Duey negotiated an agreement to establish a Chinatown on a seven acre site that a couple owned in the Tesquesquite Arroyo, southwest of downtown Riverside, under the company name “Quong Nim and Company.” The company purchased the land on the corner of Brockton and Tesquesquite Avenues for ten thousand dollars and agreed to pay the couple’s remaining mortgage of \$3,000. Wong Nim assisted Wong Gee and Chen Duey Wo in purchasing the land because he was the only one of the three to be born an American citizen. Wong Nim had also been a successful business owner and “founding-father” of San Bernardino’s Chinatown.<sup>40</sup> The company then hired contractor A.G. Boggs to erect some buildings in the new Chinatown.<sup>41</sup> The company also made sure that their new Chinatown settlement followed the ancient principles of *feng-shui*, a Chinese ancient art and science that was used to orient buildings based on spiritual energies and harmony. In surveying the land, they paid close attention to the property’s relationship to the

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<sup>38</sup> Riddell, and Bacha, 6.

<sup>39</sup> S.C. Evans, “Riverside Museum Associations Newsletter” (April-May 1974), 2.

<sup>40</sup> Great Basin Foundation, Vol. 1, 50.

<sup>41</sup> Harry W. Lawton, “Riverside’s Pioneer Chinese: Part One: Only A Few Graves and A Crumbling Brick Building Link Hazy Era To Present,” *Press Enterprise*, February 9, 1959 [or 1958].

geographical landmarks as the nearby Santa Ana River, Mount Rubidoux, and the adjacent upper canal.<sup>42</sup> Being near a canal brought good *ch'i* and the mountain protected them from evil influences.<sup>43</sup> For more than twenty-years, Chen Duey Wo took the role as the “mayor” of Chinatown. There are numerous stories found in Riverside’s newspapers that speak of his competence as a Chinatown leader. During earlier demonstrations of anti-Chinese sentiment, Chen Wo Duey served as a force of moderation and discipline.<sup>44</sup>

By 1892, Chinatown was made up of twenty-six wooden buildings, half of which were shops and laundries. There were two tall dovecotes mounted on four-legs above the Chinatown shops. The settlement reflected the Gom-Benn village from the Guangdong Province, “a community of dingy frame buildings and mysterious smells, a complex of shops and lodging houses with colorful signs above the doorways, varnished ducks, rattan baskets and cuttlefish swinging from wooden beams.”<sup>45</sup> The streets were populated with laundry boys, orange packinghouse workers, vegetable handcarts and wagons, shopkeepers haggling customers, and local housewives seeking house servants. Popular Chinatown shops included “Bow Lung’s Restaurant,” where one might eat abalone, bird’s nest soup, or shark fins scrambled with ham and eggs. “Wong’s Barber Shop,” where Chinese immigrants got their queue haircut maintained, and “Tuck Sing Lung Co.,” an employment agency that also sold valuable articles from Japan and China.<sup>46</sup>

The following year, in 1893, the Great Chinatown Fire destroyed much of the community. According to one of the inhabitants interviewed by a *Daily Press* reporter, the fire was

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> The Great Basin Foundation, *Wong Ho Leun: An American Chinatown, Volume 2: Archeology* (San Diego: The Great Basin Foundation, 1987), 14.

<sup>44</sup> Lawton.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.



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started in one of the kitchens.<sup>47</sup> Only one of the eight buildings remained. Chen Duey Wo who had leased the buildings estimated losses ranging from \$2,000 to \$10,000 per merchant. In reconstructing the community, the main street was narrowed and wooden buildings were rebuilt with bricks.<sup>48</sup> For more than forty years, until its gradual decline in the 1920s, Chinatown had thrived and remained a significant community in Riverside.

### ***Money Transfers and Communicating Back Home***

The Chinese banking system provided immigrants with a variety of services. The Chinese immigrants were known for their frugality. Money was saved from their wages and regularly sent back to China. It was estimated that the Riverside Chinese immigrants had sent hundreds of thousands of dollars annually.<sup>49</sup> A prominent remittance banker who served all of the Inland Empire was Wong Sai Chee. Wong, a native of Gomm-Benn, arrived in Riverside in 1890. Wong owned Sing Kee Company, which operated from 1894-1930, served as a general merchandise store, laundry, café, and specialized in money transfers. His company had thousands of clients across the inland region, and was located on the eastern side. Wong was also arrested in 1921 for running a lottery in Riverside. It was rumored that he failed to pay the customary bribe to the police.<sup>50</sup>

His remittance banking service directed money and mail from the United States to rural locations in Southeastern China. The Riverside Chinese immigrant community relied heavily on this system to send money and remain in contact with their loved ones at home. Wong had the only banking system that serviced Gomm-Benn and its surrounding areas where there was not a door-to-door post office system. It also made it easier since most Chinese immigrants could not write addresses in foreign languages for

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid

<sup>48</sup> Riddell and Bacha, 22; The Great Basin Foundation, Vol. 1, 51.

<sup>49</sup> Lawton.

<sup>50</sup> The Great Basin Foundation, Vol. 1, 329.

international mailing. Wong's profitable business eventually allowed him return home in 1930.<sup>51</sup>

### **Religion**

Chinatown's last resident, George Wong, explained that "in China every village had its own god. The first person to die became the one who watched over the village and kept the evil spirits away."<sup>52</sup> The immigrants of Riverside Chinatown brought their religious beliefs with them. In 1900, Chinatown constructed the "Chee Kung Tong Temple," also known as a Joss House, which was located on the street that American mapmakers named "Mongol Avenue;" known by residents as "The Avenue." The temple's shrine was dedicated to Kuan Kung, who was a general of the Shu Han dynasty (210-280 A.D.) and was worshipped as the guardian of courage, loyalty, and commitment. The Chee Kung Tong shrine was popular amongst the merchant class and non-Chinese visitors. The temple was painted bright red. Besides being a place for prayer, the temple also served as a meeting hall and a place for celebrations where residents viewed dragon parades and concerts. Walter Chung, whose father owned a small farm near Riverside's Chinatown from 1917-1919, recalled that at the Chee Kung Tong Temple, "Chinese would go there and burn incense to those who have departed and their relatives, and they would leave food and incense burning on a cut watermelon."<sup>53</sup>

The Chee Kung Tong Shrine was not the only site that was spiritually significant in the settlement. Rose (Wong) Ung, a daughter of a Riverside Chinese merchant recalled that in her childhood home, her family had a Buddha shrine with incense and fruit offerings.<sup>54</sup> Even though the Chinese continued to practice their religious customs, some Riverside residents persecuted them

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<sup>51</sup> Riverside Municipal Museum Press, 11; The Great Basin Foundation, Vol. 1, 331.

<sup>52</sup> The Great Basin Foundation, Vol 2, 39.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 37.

for being bad influences because of the practice of gambling and smoking opium.

### ***Gambling and Opium***

In the limited excavations of Riverside's Chinatown in 1984-1985, over 400 items of opium paraphernalia were found, making it the largest collection of opium found on a site. These items were mostly pieces of pipe bowls, smoking lamps, opium needles, and pipe fittings.<sup>55</sup> The 1886 *Riverside Press and Horticulturist* published an article titled "Opium Joints" that alleged some of Riverside's prominent young men and women visited opium dens while dropping off their laundry.<sup>56</sup> The Chinese immigrants were being blamed for corrupting the youth's morality. "The threat of opium dens to virtuous Euroamerican youth was a rallying point for the anti-Chinese sentiment."<sup>57</sup>

Along with smoking opium, gambling was also a common practice among some Chinese immigrant men. It served as a leisure activity that took away some of the depression of living in a distant foreign land, being away from families, and the stress of working twelve hour shifts.<sup>58</sup> Some of the Chinese men partook in illegal gambling in general merchandise stores and laundry washhouses while one man would serve as look out for the police.<sup>59</sup> One of the games played during this time was called Fan-Tan. It was a game of chance where the winner had to guess whether the amount of coins on the middle of a table was an odd or even number. Other popular games were Pi-Gow (a domino game) and playing the lottery.

These types of gambling were also popular with the non-Chinese community. A high number of white Riverside residents would come to Chinatown and buy a lottery ticket. Lottery tickets

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 317.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 239.

<sup>57</sup> The Great Basin Foundation, Vol. 1, 239.

<sup>58</sup> Lawton, 59.

<sup>59</sup> Riddell and Bacha, 11.

contained eighty Chinese characters or ten lines of eight words taken from the Chinese poem, “See Tsz King,” a one-thousand line poem with no repetitive characters. There was a drawing that pulled twenty characters and if a player had five of these, he won back his bid. If a player had more than five characters, the profit would go up several thousand times from the original bid. If players were caught in a police raid and the profits were high enough, the police would sometimes “turn a blind eye” and take the money with them.<sup>60</sup> Many Riverside residents participated in the Chinese lotteries and some tried to prevent the Chinese immigrants from getting caught in police raids. Eventually, the police prohibited any whites from participating in the Chinese lotteries.<sup>61</sup>

### ***The Fight For Preserving This Site***

By the 1920s, Riverside’s Chinese immigrant population started to diminish for several reasons. The federal Chinese Exclusion Act caused limited population growth. Some Chinese immigrants moved to bigger areas in Los Angeles and Orange County, and many returned home to China. Since the community was made up primarily of Chinese bachelors, it was easier to simply pack up and relocate. The lack of familial ties to the community meant that there was little incentive of any potential direct descendants of Chinese immigrants to protect the heritage of Chinatown. Some also argue that the arrival of 300,000 Mexican immigrants in the fields and packinghouses during the time caused many Chinese to be out of work through job competition.<sup>62</sup>

In 1941, George Wong, who had arrived in Riverside from China in 1914, acquired the property title of Wong Nim’s Chinatown. Wong had already owned part of the property that was given to him by Chen Duey Wo. He became the caretaker and was the last resident of Riverside’s Chinatown. Wong became a

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<sup>60</sup> The Great Basin Foundation, Vol. 1, 239.

<sup>61</sup> Riddell and Bacha, 12.

<sup>62</sup> The Great Basin Foundation, Vol. 1, 306.

prominent figure in Chinatown and Riverside at large. He took care of his elderly neighbors and ran his restaurant “Bamboo Gardens.” He was open to sharing stories and showing artifacts from Chinatown’s heyday. Wong saved “old signs that once hung above Chinatown shops [and he] kept an ancient Chinese herbal cabinet, once used by Chinatown’s doctors” as well as other relics like porcelain vases, teak chairs, the handbell of the Chinese vegetable vendors, and ancient tools.<sup>63</sup> Throughout Wong’s life, the legacy of Chinatown remained alive.

Wong passed away in 1974 and was buried at Evergreen Cemetery, right next to Chinatown. At the time of his death, Riverside showed little interest in preserving the site and its historical artifacts. Most of the items were sold at auction to private collections, but only a few were kept in possession at the Riverside Municipal Museum. As the years passed, Chinatown’s buildings were demolished for safety reasons and the historical value was in jeopardy. In 1976, the city of Riverside designated the site as a Cultural Heritage Landmark due to the archeological significance that Chinatown represented, since it was the only site in California that had an entire Chinese commercial and residential community.<sup>64</sup> The Great Chinatown Fire in 1893, left much debris that was pushed into the cellar pits of the wooden buildings. The debris from the fire contained many artifacts. After the fire, brick buildings were built on top of the debris. The demolition of 1974 pushed Chinatown’s remains further underground.

The fight to preserve the site has been active since the 1980’s, with people like Eugene Moy, Director at Large of Save Our Chinatown Committee and member of the Riverside Chinese Culture Preservation Committee, that when the Riverside County Board of Education proposed to construct a warehouse on the land, political lobbying had to be pursued. With the support of the city and county of Riverside, the Riverside Cultural Heritage Board allowed a limited archeological dig of the site between 1984 and

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 309.

<sup>64</sup> “Asian Pacific Heritage Month: Chinatown,” National Park Service, accessed December 11, 2014, <http://www.nps.gov/nr/feature/asia/2006/chi.htm>.

1985. The dig uncovered several thousand artifacts such as chinaware, currency, and drug paraphernalia. This proved that a significant trade of culture existed between China and Riverside during the Chinese immigration boom of the late 19th century.

After learning about the findings of the limited dig, the Riverside County Board of Education agreed to construct their building on the western end of the Chinatown property, away from the original Chinatown buildings. The Board of Education and the County Parks Department then showed intentions of developing the land into a legitimate Chinatown Heritage Park for the community and visitors. The city submitted an application to designate the site for the National Register of Historic Places, and the Board of Education adopted a minute order to preserve the site. By the 1990s, a mix between poor communication and lack of secure long-time finances between city, county, and school officials obstructed the process of creating a park from being completed. The Chinese Historical Society of Southern California, among others, were in favor of the preservation and assumed that the site and archeology would remain safe and untouched. To date, the site is owned and maintained by the Board of Education.

In 2008, business developer, Doug Jacobs, gave an offer to the Riverside Board of Education to purchase the land for a large sum of money, and has since been fighting for his right to own the land. Jacobs intended to build a 65,281 square foot medical office. An Environmental Impact Report (EIR) was given to his company as part of the city approval process for the proposed Jacobs Medical Office Building on the Chinatown site. If the land were to be sold to Jacobs, the site's archaeological remains would be destroyed through construction. Moy described how this caused the formation of the Riverside Chinese Culture Preservation Committee (RCCPC). In this committee, members discussed how to negotiate between the developer and the City toward an alternative to the imminent destruction of the site. Moy explained that the Preservation Committee's objective, "comments were sent in response to the draft EIR, and recommendations were made for the proper and professional recovery of archaeology, curation of

artifacts, and the interpretation and display of the history. A fiscal commitment from the developer was requested/demanded. The Riverside City Council members responded by finalizing the EIR with what some in the RCCPC felt were inadequate terms and conditions for the developer. The EIR was certified by the city council at a public hearing in late 2008. The city council adopted a Statement of Overriding Considerations, which asserted the project was approved, despite the significant impact to a historic resource, based on the economic benefits of the medical office project.<sup>65</sup>

It was because of this lost battle, many Preservation Committee members felt defeated and chose to leave the committee. It was after this that the Save Our Chinatown Committee quickly formed. The Save Our Chinatown Committee is a small 501c3 non-profit organization dedicated to preserve Riverside's Chinatown site for current and future generations. The Save Our Chinatown Committee had been heavily involved with not allowing the developer to build on the property, and to see the development of the site into a Signature Heritage Park. They have battled in court with local politicians many times to preserve the site. Committee members have advocated for the developer to build his medical building in an alternative location in Riverside.

In 2012, efforts from committee members were not taken into consideration from a panel of judges. The court also found that the new EIR contained insufficient analysis for the city to consider the severity of the environmental and cultural impacts of the proposed development. The committee sought advice from Pete Dangermond, former Riverside County Park Director and retired California State Park Director. Dangermond had a background of consulting on the development of regional parks in the Riverside County area. The committee entered into a contract with Mr. Dangermond. They also worked with a University of Southern California graduate student in landscape architecture to produce a site concept and brochure that described the vision for the park.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Eugene Moy, Interview, March 22 2015.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

With a concrete vision of the park, the committee worked equally as hard to bring awareness to Riverside mayor, Rusty Bailey, and city councilmen, Mike Gardner, Chris Mac Arthur, and Steve Adams. The committee and Dangermond reached out to historians, archaeologists, students, community leaders, activists, and locals to support an alternative site for the medical office. In 2014, Councilman Gardner, whose district inhabits Chinatown, suggested the City Council members sell another piece of land to the developer for the medical office development. The alternative site is located a few blocks away from Riverside's Chinatown. The developer accepted Gardner's pitch and Jacobs purchased the land.<sup>67</sup>

More recently, in March 2015, the City's Development Committee, comprised of three of the seven Riverside City Council members, unanimously approved the recommendation to have the City study the feasibility, cost, and funding options for a park.<sup>68</sup> Currently, the committee members will work with Riverside city staff to work on the feasibility report. Moy stated, "We're still a ways from full approval of the park... The park will probably be accomplished in phases, as funds become available. The first priority will be to stabilize the area of archaeological sensitivity, the interim landscaping and maybe interpretive exhibits. Then, the final interpretive and community center."<sup>69</sup>

The Save Our Chinatown committee members are committed to honor the contributions of Riverside's Chinese immigrants in the early infrastructure and economy of Riverside. The committee members do not want to remove the artifacts that exist underground, instead they want to safely lay a foundation for a park on top of the property. They have proposed to transform the

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Save Our Chinatown Committee: Preserving Chinese American Heritage in Riverside, California. "About Chinatown," last updated February 12, 2015, <http://www.saveourchinatown.org/aboutchinatown.html>; Suzanne Hurt, "Riverside: Chinatown Park Moves One Step Closer," *The Press Enterprise*, March 20, 2015, <http://www.pe.com/articles/site-762790-city-park.html>.

<sup>69</sup> Moy.



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property into a heritage park that would “help residents and visitors better understand and appreciate the role of Chinese workers had in building the early infrastructure of [Riverside], region, and state, while providing a community-service amenity.”<sup>70</sup> The ultimate goals of the park include a visitor center, a bookstore, a reconstruction of the Chinatown’s water tower, a Chinese garden, and citrus plants planted as a symbol of the story of Riverside’s early Chinese immigrants. However, the threat to the preservation of Chinatown continues, since there is not a full approval from all Riverside city council members for the security of a Signature Heritage Park. In a radio interview conducted by California State University, San Bernardino students, Save Our Chinatown Committee officer, Kevin Akin, strongly believes that this site can be saved with more individuals coming together in popular support. He argues that the people of Riverside want it to be saved, so the bigger the support, the higher the chance city officials will approve a heritage park.<sup>71</sup>

Although the original Riverside Chinatown is gone, there is still a way to honor the legacy of the Chinese immigrants and their contributions through a memorial park. It can exist as a symbol, and as a way for future generations to remember the history and legacy of their city. Furthermore it will symbolize the contributions to not only the history of Riverside, but to the history of California as well. Save Our Chinatown Committee Director at Large, Margie Akin, expressed that “thousands of Chinese lived in Riverside, to turn it into a building property isn’t right.”<sup>72</sup> It is important to bring awareness to the contributions of these early Chinese immigrants in the history of Riverside, and the inland region of Southern California. Chinese immigrants of the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth century directly contributed to the development of the fishing and lumber industry, laid tracks for the transcontinental railroad, and were vital in the agricultural industry. Riverside’s

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<sup>70</sup> Proposal to Preserve Riverside’s Chinatown, 15.

<sup>71</sup> Kevin Akin, radio interview, California State University, San Bernardino, Spring 2014.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

Chinatown deserves to be preserved for current and future generations before another immigration story is lost.

### ***Conclusion***

In the late nineteenth century, Riverside was developed with the intentions of being a lush farm town. After many failed crops, farmers decided to give citrus a try. Growers discovered Southern Chinese workers were skilled at citrus growing because of their home in Guangdong, where citrus cultivation had been practiced for hundreds of years. These immigrants showed growers how to propagate, irrigate, and ship citrus. They were able to share their knowledge about citrus to growers, which allowed Riverside to become one of the nation's economic powerhouse at the time.<sup>73</sup>

Southern California Chinese immigration history is an unknown story to many. The settlement was important then, but it became a forgotten memory. Today, Riverside's Chinatown is the only remaining archeological site in the region of Riverside that has not been destroyed or been built over. To be acknowledged of the historical meaning of this property makes the land special, and the land needs to be handled with care. The City of Riverside's growth and success today from the citrus industry came from the hard work of the Chinese immigrant labor force.

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<sup>73</sup> Margie Akin, radio interview, California State University, San Bernardino, Spring 2014.

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### **Author Bio**

Miranda Olivas graduated from the California State University, San Bernardino in 2014. She first studied Chinese-American immigration history in Dr. Cherstin Lyon's "Immigration and Ethnic American History" course. In Miranda's senior year, she enrolled in Dr. Lyon's "Introduction to Oral History" course, where she participated in a collaborative project with Riverside's "Save Our Chinatown Committee" to preserve Riverside's Chinatown by collecting individuals' personal memories and committee members' stories of the historical landmark. These stories were then broadcast on CSUSB's Coyote Radio Station. Miranda has been a life-long resident of Riverside and has been committed to continuing the city's legacy of being committed to embracing education, community, and cultural history. She has felt that it is especially imperative to continue raise awareness of the city's historic Chinatown. Upon graduating from CSUSB, Miranda has continued her work with the Save Our Chinatown Committee at the National Archives and Records Administration building, where she has been working to catalog Chinese immigration documents that specifically pertain to Riverside and San Bernardino County. Miranda plans to continue her education by pursuing a degree in Special Education.



## **Glocalized Apartheid: Global Apartheid, the Global Implications of Local South African Resistance Movements, and the Creation of Counter Globalization**

by Alexis Butts

*Abstract: This paper seeks to explore numerous local cases of resistance in South Africa and their connection to global social inequality. The paper links historical and current localized resistance movements to a greater global struggle referred to as “global apartheid.” It shows that similar struggles are ongoing all over the “developing” world, where sentiments of social justice are present, creating a “counter globalization” movement tied to the struggle against global apartheid. This paper also speculates on the overall effectiveness of the notion of global apartheid and its associated movements, and the complications associated with using this term.*

## **Introduction**

The South African apartheid government in 1948 mandated racial separateness in all aspects of life for the benefit of a minority of white South Africans. Since its end in 1990, there has been a new concept of “global apartheid” that has emerged. Global apartheid, describes a worldwide inequality of basic human rights created by a financially elite minority. Global apartheid constitutes a branch of apartheid that has been repurposed to define many different forms of oppression; the chronic underdevelopment of the “developing” world, the fight for equal rights, unequal representation in global governance and economic bodies all fall under the broad definition of global apartheid.

Similar to its historical counterpart, global apartheid has resulted in staunch resistance. Indeed, opposition movements to global apartheid, particularly in South Africa, have been somewhat hostile to the negative forces associated with globalization, which are often viewed as the main perpetrator of their inequalities. Opposition movements in South Africa, although fighting the negative aspects of globalization, or global apartheid, are interconnected with a larger global movement within the “developing” world. Resistance movements against global apartheid represent a process what academics call glocalization or “the interaction between the local and the global. A key challenge for local activists with a stake in an international issue is to generate sufficient interest from the national government to garner its support.”<sup>1</sup> Resistance movements throughout the “developing” world represent a global connection through the reoccurrence of anti-West and anti-globalism sentiments, similar to those in South Africa. An argument can be made against globalism for perpetuating inequality in the “developing” world, however glocalism acts as medium for these movements to be heard and resolved. This paper will explore the motivations for some of these

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. Jorge Heine and Ramesh Thakur, *The Dark Side of Globalization* (United Nations University Press, 2011).



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local South African movements and how they fit into a global context of resistance.<sup>2</sup>

Beginning with an examination of the origins of global apartheid, the paper defines the context of the resistance movements' criticisms. The paper delves into the history of global apartheid and the establishment of a global economic system that supports it, and is followed by the historiography of global apartheid and its progression from local anti-globalization or social justice movements to resistance movements with a global focus. It then proceeds by discussing the local forms of resistance to global apartheid in South Africa and how these movements relate to those in developed and developing countries around the world. It also highlights the misconceptions about global apartheid. Finally the paper will draw conclusions on the possible resolution to global apartheid.

Such an examination is significant because without a holistic analysis of the increasing inequalities in the world connections are left out, and people remain marginalized. Understanding and resolving the worlds' inequalities are not possible without a working knowledge of why these issues have arisen. The positive effects of globalization are unequal, to resolve why this is, requires a globalized approach to understanding. Furthermore examining these inequalities from all perspectives is necessary, all voices are vital to make connections that bridge the developed and developing world.

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<sup>2</sup> For the purpose of this paper, global apartheid is defined as the maintenance of inequality between the "developing world" and their "developed Western" counterparts who benefit from and seek to maintain this inequality. The use of "developing world" and "West" (both placed here in quotation marks but hereafter without quotations) is to highlight the notion that there is a goal for all nations to achieve in social and economic standards or development; this end goal is also held at a European or Western standard, which is problematic for perpetuating colonialist attitudes. Quotation marks also denote the lack of agency citizens of the periphery experience by being held to foreign standards. Additionally, throughout this paper glocalization and globalization will at times be used interchangeably where glocalization implies a local use of global events.

### ***Globalization in South Africa and the Creation of a Global Economy***

South Africa is an interesting case study in how the term apartheid has morphed from racial segregation to be used more recently as a notion of constant social inequality. The initial use of apartheid in this context can be linked back to former South African president Thabo Mbeki 1999-2008,<sup>3</sup> who was vocal about South Africa's role in the global economy and the negative side effects stemming from globalization. The South African public staunchly supported Mbeki's criticisms; he however adopted neoliberal economic policies that supported the internationalization of trade and finance, increased power of transnational corporations, and enhanced the role of the Bretton Woods organizations.<sup>4</sup> Mbeki's economic policies gave him the public image to what Patrick Bond calls "talk left, walk right,"<sup>5</sup> meaning that to the public he denounced global inequality, but in practice, he adopted the very economic policies that promoted it.

Mbeki's economic policy can be compared to South Africa's current President Jacob Zuma's strategies. Zuma held complete support from the African National Congress (ANC) as their candidate after the ANC dropped their support of Mbeki after an internal dispute. At the time of his election in 2009, the global community held a great interest in the direction Zuma's foreign and domestic policies would differ from his predecessor Mbeki. As Chris McGreal points out, "Zuma, a populist who has at times declared himself a socialist, has been working hard to shore up the confidence of businessmen at home and abroad who fear that his populist rhetoric and backing from the unions and the Communist party will lead to a shift away from Mbeki's market-oriented

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<sup>3</sup> Patrick Bond, *Against Global Apartheid South Africa Meets the World Bank, IMF and International Finance* (Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 2001), 134.

<sup>4</sup> Manfred Steger, *Globalization A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

<sup>5</sup> Bond, *Against Global Apartheid*, 134.

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economic policies.”<sup>6</sup> Jacob Zuma in many ways followed Mbeki’s neoliberal model. He has been, however, less vocal about fighting these policies than Mbeki had been. Nonetheless, the South African people continue to be very vocal about the inequalities and corruption they face.

Outside of South Africa, protests and acts of resistance to neoliberal policies have been well established, examples are Brazil, Nigeria, and Greece all of which struggle with economic restructuring and forced austerity measures, where their populations experience the worst side effects. These exemplify a small selection of developing countries that were co-opted into Western economic “development” schemes. The economic “development” plans of the mentioned countries are a part of the international economic order established by the Bretton Woods system, which created the foundation for the three main international economic organizations the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization (WTO). The three Bretton Woods organizations essentially control global flows of capital, guide macroeconomic policy, and serve as an authority on economic “development.” As Manfred Steger points out, “the IMF was created to administer the international monetary system.”<sup>7</sup> The IMF continues to provide policy advice and financing to its 188 member countries in economic difficulties and also works with “developing” nations to help them achieve macroeconomic stability and reduce poverty.<sup>8</sup> “The World Bank was initially designed to provide loans for Europe’s postwar reconstruction however; it was expanded to fund projects in developing countries.”<sup>9</sup> The third entity, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was “established as a global trade

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<sup>6</sup> Chris McGreal, “South Africa in Turmoil as Mbeki Heads for Defeat,” *The Guardian*, December 14, 2007,

<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/dec/15/southafrica.chrismcgreal>.

<sup>7</sup> Steger, 38.

<sup>8</sup> “About the International Monetary Fund,” International Monetary Fund, 2015, <http://www.imf.org/external/about.htm>.

<sup>9</sup> Steger, 39.

organization charged with fashioning and enforcing multilateral trade agreements. In 1995, the WTO was the successor organization to GATT.”<sup>10</sup> Together these three entities make up the Bretton Woods organizations. The Bretton Woods organizations were created and today are controlled by developed Western nations, which perpetuate macroeconomic policies that serve to benefit their own needs. Many developing nations undertook macroeconomic policies under the guidance of the Bretton Woods organizations, but have yet to experience any lasting economic improvement. These three organizations, and the Western countries which control them, are perceived as the purveyors of neoliberalism and global apartheid. Thus, all three are often a target of the developing world’s protests.

The Bretton Woods organizations had not always employed neoliberal policies on participating Member States; this was a gradual change as neoliberalism gained popularity among ruling Western powers. Steger gives us a good overview of neoliberalism and its origins:

Neoliberalism is rooted in the classical liberal ideals of Adam Smith (1723-90) and David Ricardo (1772-1823), both of whom viewed the market as a self-regulating mechanism tending toward equilibrium of supply and demand, thus securing the most efficient allocation of resources. These British philosophers considered that any constraint on free competition would interfere with the natural efficiency of market mechanisms, inevitably leading to social stagnation, political corruption, and the creation of unresponsive state bureaucracies. They also advocated the elimination of tariffs on imports and other barriers to trade and capital flows between nations. British sociologist Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) added to this doctrine a twist of social

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

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Darwinism by arguing that free market economies constitute the most civilized form of human competition in which the ‘fittest’ would naturally rise to the top.<sup>11</sup>

Neoliberalism gained viability as a tool to establish economic independence and vitality following Europe’s economic reconstruction after World War Two. As Susan George notes, “neoliberalism has become the major world religion in 1979 [when] Margaret Thatcher came to power and undertook the neoliberal revolution in Britain. The central value of Thatcher’s doctrine and of neoliberalism itself is the notion of competition, to allocate all resources with the greatest possible efficiency.”<sup>12</sup> Western leaders like Thatcher and American President Ronald Reagan’s economic shift toward neoliberal policies, that took place 1977-1988; these two powers essentially changed the rules of the global economy. The English and American economies recovered and boomed during the Thatcher and Reagan eras. As they enacted neoliberal policies such as cutting budgets, reducing taxes, and privatizing sectors, the economy rebounded for a short term. The gains of neoliberalism always come at a great expense, both the United Kingdom and United States experienced high rates of unemployment and a shift in income distribution. As George points out, “another structural feature of neoliberalism consists in remunerating capital to the detriment of labor and thus moving wealth from the bottom of society to the top. If you are, roughly, in the top 20 percent of the income scale, you are likely to gain something from neoliberalism.”<sup>13</sup> Neoliberal policies are, however, an unsustainable tool to establish economic stability.

Nonetheless, the economic “success stories” of the United Kingdom and the United States caused a spread of neoliberal policies to the global economy, where the IMF and World Bank

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 40.

<sup>12</sup> Susan George, *A Short History of Neoliberalism*, Transnational Institute, (Amsterdam: Transnational Institute, 1999).

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

adopted these policies as an absolute solution for developing countries. Neoliberalism on a global scale carries the same unintended consequences as seen in the United Kingdom and United States model; these effects however are far more corrosive on developing countries' economies. Neoliberal policies have been carried out throughout the developing world under the guise of structural adjustment programs and a number of other programs under another name for neoliberalism. As George relates, "at the international level, neoliberals have concentrated all their efforts on three fundamental points: free trade in goods and services, free circulation of capital, and freedom of investment. Over the past twenty years, the IMF has been strengthened enormously...the debt crisis has moved it from balance of payments support to being quasi-universal dictator of so-called 'sound' economic policies, meaning of course neoliberal ones."<sup>14</sup> The developing world has essentially been forced into following neoliberal policies that do not positively contribute to their economic and social advancement.

For those in the developing world, the spread of neoliberalism is likened to the spread of imperialism; the forced acceptance of Western norms is a common criticism of the developing world. Neoliberalism further hinders the process of creating lasting economic and social development for those countries that were once colonized and are seen as an extension of neo-imperialism, and thus a threat for the sovereignty of the people of least developed countries (LDCs). There is an ongoing struggle between members of LDCs and the perceived neo-imperialist West; this struggle is an economic aspect of a global apartheid. The core motivation for citizens of LDCs resistance to global apartheid is to place their nations' economic prosperity over western corporate gain/profit.

Instances of global apartheid are found throughout the developing world. Citizens of LDCs are cognizant of the corrosive effects global apartheid has had on their governments' ability to

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

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protect their rights and interests. A number of isolated incidents represent the ongoing struggle of globalized economic norms are seen in Brazil, Nigeria, and Greece with South Africa acting as a model for forms of resistance. Leading up to the World Cup, Brazil has experienced numerous protests over the use of government funds for the tournament.<sup>15</sup> Brazil and South Africa have an interesting relationship in terms of both countries hosting the World Cup; globalization has had a mix of influences over these two countries. Nigeria is another country where protests against the Shell Oil Company's influence over the country are ongoing;<sup>16</sup> the group Boko Haram also highlights an interesting aspect of how corrosive globalization or global apartheid can be in one country. Greece<sup>17</sup> and a number of other countries have also experienced similar protests over the economic and social inequalities they face. South Africa is not a case of isolated unrest; much like the spread of globalization, global protests have responded to its ill effects.

The fight against global apartheid is an interesting incarnation of anti-globalization or social justice movements; where the developing world seeks to remove the imperialist aspect of globalization. The global community has also facilitated this fight against global inequality. Globalization possesses numerous merits and flaws; it has been able to bring the peoples of the world and their concerns and needs to the attention of a global audience. The spread of information alone is one merit of global unrest that cannot be denied. Conversely, the movement against the negative

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<sup>15</sup> Brian Winter and Marcelo Teixeira, "Brazil Police, Protesters Clash as World Cup begins," *Reuters*, June 12, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/06/12/us-brazil-worldcup-protests-idUSKBN0EN1DD20140612>.

<sup>16</sup> John Vidal, "Shell Oil Paid Nigerian Military to Put Down Protests, Court Documents Show," *The Guardian*, Sunday, October 2, 2011, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/oct/03/shell-oil-paid-nigerian-military>.

<sup>17</sup> Helena Smith, "Greek Protesters Rally against IMF and EU Inspection," *The Guardian*, November 5, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/nov/05/greek-protesters-rally-against-imf-eu-inspection>.

aspects of globalization should be recognized as protecting the rights of the developing world from unscrupulous government and organized financial bodies.<sup>18</sup>

### ***The Historiography of Global Apartheid***

The notion of global apartheid is relatively new, it has however long been a topic of debate through a number of different names; discussions of anti-globalization, neo-imperialism, and neo-liberalism all bring up concerns similar to those voiced in the discussion of global apartheid. Patrick Bond is one of the leading voices on global apartheid; his book titled *Against Global Apartheid South Africa Meets the World Bank, IMF and International Finance*, examines the influence of the financial institutions listed on post-apartheid South Africa and their damaging effects.<sup>19</sup> Bond also links the problems of post-apartheid South Africa to the general ineffectiveness of the global economy. The ill effects of the global financial institutions experienced in post-apartheid South Africa can also be found in a number of non-western countries who like South Africa were once colonized; Bond however, does not delve into the colonial link global apartheid possesses.

Thabo Mbeki former President of South Africa was a large proponent of the downfalls of globalization. In 2000 Mbeki gave an Address to the Commonwealth Club, World Affairs Council and US/SA Business Council Conference in San Francisco,<sup>20</sup> where he acknowledges the positive and negative effects a global community had brought to the developing world: “[T]he process of globalization has brought about many possibilities for rapid

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<sup>18</sup> Delegation from Third World Network represented by CSUSB, position paper for the United Nations Human Settlements Programme, NMUN 2014.

<sup>19</sup> Bond, *Against Global Apartheid*, 2001.

<sup>20</sup> Thabo Mbeki, Address to the Commonwealth Club, World Affairs Council and US/SA Business Council Conference, San Francisco, California, May 24, 2000, <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/speeches/2000/mbek0524.htm>.



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advancement of humanity... The tragic and unfortunate irony is that “developing” countries continue to be spectators in the globalization process, a process that is undoubtedly irreversible, with devastating results for the millions of people of such countries.”<sup>21</sup> In tandem with Mbeki’s statement, Walter Rodney’s book *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* shows why globalization perpetuates underdevelopment for countries; their colonial past keeps a wide economic gap between the developed and developing worlds.<sup>22</sup> Rodney makes the argument that the colonial process caused great developmental problems for the African continent, where colonialists purposely kept economic development at a minimum in the countries they inhabited for their own economic profit. The colonial period established the conditions that Mbeki describes, conditions that globalization has perpetuated: “Colonialism increased the dependence of Africa on Europe in terms of the number of aspects of socio-economic life in Africa which derived their existence from the connection with the metropole... European trading firms, mining companies, shipping lines, banks, insurance houses, and plantations all exploited Africa.”<sup>23</sup> Although Rodney focused on the African continent it was not the only colonized region; similar conditions can also be seen in other colonized areas.

The colonial period established the global economic system of today. David Slater’s article “Post-Colonial Question for Global Times” argues that ideas of the colonial period are being perpetuated through globalization, and need to be replaced with post-colonial perspectives of society.<sup>24</sup> While Rodney and Mbeki note the financial and technological disparities globalization has helped to create, Slater discusses how old colonial perceptions are perpetuated through globalization; the agents of knowledge and

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<sup>21</sup> Mbeki, Address to the Commonwealth Club, 2000.

<sup>22</sup> Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Washington D.C.: Howard University Press, 1982).

<sup>23</sup> Rodney.

<sup>24</sup> David Slater, “Post-Colonial Question for Global Times,” *Review of International Political Economy*, vol. 5, no. 4 (Winter, 1998): 667-678.

information historically are and continue to be Western powers, they perpetuate the same false images of the global South:

The non-west or south, the historical experiences of being subjected to a variety of forms of exclusion and inclusion, and of being the object of subordinating modes of representation which justify the maintenance of unequal power relations in the world system, tend to generate a subjectivity that is more resistant, and more critically conscious than is generally the case within societies that have benefited.<sup>25</sup>

This form of globalism perpetuates the ideas and trends of the most prominent Western countries; the developing world however has little to no influence in the global community because of their lack of economic independence.

In further defining the notion of global apartheid Gernot Kohler's article, "The Three Meanings of Global Apartheid: Empirical, Normative, Existential" discusses the various definitions of global apartheid: "The term global apartheid entails a world view that is empirically based, but also partisan and sympathetic to the needs and rights of the global majority, as opposed to the power and privilege of a global minority."<sup>26</sup> As Kohler describes, global apartheid is a notion that does not pander to the trends or wants of the global minority, or wealthy countries. Kohler argues that global apartheid can be quantified and observed, in many different forms and injustices. Edward Said's book *Culture and Imperialism* delves into various ways literature and culture has been Western dominated, an observable form of global apartheid; the voices of the developing world are largely

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<sup>25</sup> Slater, "Post-Colonial Question for Global Times," 1998.

<sup>26</sup> Gernot Kohler, "The Three Meanings of Global Apartheid: Empirical, Normative, Existential," *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, 20, no. 3 (July-Sept. 1995): 403-413.

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ignored and unpublished.<sup>27</sup> Said shows how global culture is inherently skewed for a Western audience. Morten Jerven's book *Poor Numbers*<sup>28</sup>, and Martin Ravallion's article "The Debate on Globalization, Poverty and Inequality: Why Measurement Matters"<sup>29</sup> both discuss the quantifiable aspects of global apartheid, and how even the "numbers" used to measure poverty can be skewed by a Western based globalization.

### **Local Forms of Resistance in South Africa**

Following the fall of the apartheid government in 1990, and after its first democratic election in 1994, South Africa has experienced a great deal of protest to the various manifestations of global apartheid. The South African public following Mbeki's example have been very vocal about the inequalities they face. Mbeki although having been vocal against political and social forms of global apartheid has been largely criticized for his neoliberal economic policy that bolstered the Western dominated economic system. Unlike Mbeki, South Africa's current president Jacob Zuma did not publicly reject the West or its neoliberalism, Zuma widely accepted the benefits of these policies. In response to South Africa's policy transitions, the public has become gradually more vocal over the problems they continue to experience, and the government's lack of support.

In 2007, Soweto experienced riots and protests over growing unrest at the failure to improve the lives of South Africans who have resorted to stealing electricity for basic needs such as cooking and heating.<sup>30</sup> In a *Mail & Guardian* news article on the

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<sup>27</sup> Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993).

<sup>28</sup> Morten Jerven, *Poor Numbers: How we are Misled by African Development Statistics and What to do About it* (Cape Town: Cape Town University Press, 2013).

<sup>29</sup> Martin Ravallion, "The Debate on Globalization, Poverty and Inequality: Why Measurement Matters," *International Affairs*, 74, no. 4, (2003): 739-753.

<sup>30</sup> Isaac Mangena, "Soweto Hostel Dwellers Vent Fury at Government," *Mail & Guardian*, July 20, 2007, <http://mg.co.za/article/2007-07-20-soweto-hostel->

protests, Ngethembu Myaka a mother of two, voices her frustration over the lack of improvements for the community: “It is like we are not living in South Africa, we are not part of the democracy everyone enjoys.”<sup>31</sup> Myaka’s sentiments are echoed across Soweto and throughout South Africa, where the stealing of utilities is seen as a fight against globalization and South Africa’s active role in the global economy. Patrick Bond’s article, “Power to the People in South Africa” makes this connection more evident.<sup>32</sup> Bond discusses Mbeki’s push for privatization of government-owned services to be more profitable on the global market and its cause for the unrest. Mbeki’s policy usually favored more neoliberal economic policies, which have been the global trend, and most profitable for those in power. The privatization of electricity, telecommunications, and transportation was hotly protested when these mandates were first proposed in 2000.<sup>33</sup> These protests are ongoing on a smaller scale, as poor communities are largely still not serviced.

Anita Von Schnitzler’s article “Traveling Technologies: Infrastructure, Ethical Regimes, and the Materiality of Politics in South Africa” examines instances of resistance to global apartheid in Soweto.<sup>34</sup> She discusses the use of prepaid meters to regulate the access to paid use of electricity; in 2011 a violent protest occurred in Chiawelo an area of the Soweto Township over automatic shutoffs of electricity when the user does not pay for access: “In the past two decades, and in a context of neoliberal reforms

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dwellers-vent-fury-at-government.

<sup>31</sup> Mangena.

<sup>32</sup> Patrick Bond, “Power to the People of South Africa Operation Khanyisa! And the Fight Against Electrical Privatization,” *Multinational Monitor*, (January/February 2002), 20-23.

<sup>33</sup> Patrick Bond, “From Racial to Class Apartheid: South Africa’s Frustrating Decade of Freedom,” *Monthly Review*, 55, no. 10 (March 2004), <http://monthlyreview.org/2004/03/01/south-africas-frustrating-decade-of-freedom-from-racial-to-class-apartheid/>.

<sup>34</sup> Anita Von Schnitzler, “Traveling Technologies: Infrastructure, Ethical Regimes, and the Materiality of Politics in South Africa,” *Cultural Anthropology*, 28 no. 4 (2013): 670-693.

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prescribing, ‘cost recovery’ on the one hand, and widespread nonpayment of service charges on the other, prepaid meters are primarily deployed in poorer, historically black townships and informal settlements.... ‘Living prepaid’ with an always-precarious connection to flows of water or electricity has thus become an increasingly normalized condition.”<sup>35</sup> The use of electricity meters primarily for poorer communities and the protest of their use is an ongoing struggle in Soweto and many other townships in South Africa. The outcome of the use of meters is a never-ending cycle; once protests end, Eskom the local provider installs a new type of “unbreakable” meters, which is bypassed by residents. In Chiawelo the cycle of innovation and subversion,<sup>36</sup> as Von Schnitzler puts it, is an act of resistance against a local implication of global economic trends.

Von Schnitzler’s article “Performing Dignity: Human Rights, Citizenship, and the Techno-politics of Law in South Africa” also examines resistance to global apartheid in Soweto and a number of other townships in South Africa over citizens constitutional right to water.<sup>37</sup> Five members of Phiri, a poor area in Soweto, initiated a lawsuit over “Operation Gcin’amanzi (Zulu for “Save Water”), a controversial, large-scale project initiated by the recently corporatized Johannesburg Water utility to install prepaid water meters in all Soweto households.”<sup>38</sup> Violent protests had erupted after cutoffs of water. In 2008, Phiri residents won the case. Justice Moroa Tsoka “maintained that the utility had shown an apartheid-style ‘patronization’ of poor township residents, and that water prepayment technology was unconstitutional. Most importantly, he ruled that free lifeline of water per household satisfy basic needs. Guided by international human rights norms advocating a specific ‘minimum core’ of economic and social

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<sup>35</sup> Von Schnitzler, “Traveling Technologies.”

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Anita Von Schnitzler, “Performing Dignity: Human Rights, Citizenship, and the Techno-Politics of Law in South Africa,” *American Ethnologist*, 41, no. 2 (2014): 336-350.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

rights.”<sup>39</sup> The Phiri victory against the privatization of water is one example of a successful resistance movement against neoliberal policies. Global trends in economic policies can affect otherwise unknown communities, globalization has brought citizens of all LDCs closer together through their refusal to be marginalized by possible profit.

Another example of dissent to the South African government’s neoliberal policies can be seen in the 2012 Lonmin Marikana mine protests, which resulted in police opening fire on protesters who were also armed, leaving thirty-four dead.<sup>40</sup> Mineworkers had been protesting over a wage raise, also the long-established National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and the newly formed Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU) were initially thought to have triggered the violence over competition between the two unions.<sup>41</sup> Marikana workers and those living in the surrounding community were also frustrated over their poor living conditions; one unnamed woman told reporters “Lonmin has done nothing for the local community. They take our platinum and enrich themselves but where is our royalty money going? We don’t have tar roads and our youth are unemployed.”<sup>42</sup> While unions have traditionally been the voice of workers, the Lonmin Mining Company has been free to abuse those in Marikana. Onyekachi Wambu, Director of Engagement and policy for the African Foundation for Development, voices the larger implications of the mine protest in the *New African Magazine*:

The shooting of miners and the attempts to level murder charges using old apartheid legislation have now starkly forced us all to confront the issues of

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> William Gumede, “Viewpoint: Will South Africans’ Anger Boil Over?” *BBC News*, August 23, 2012, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-19355104>.

<sup>41</sup> Andrew Harding, “Do Unions have a Future in South Africa?” *BBC News*, September 18, 2012, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-19635747>.

<sup>42</sup> “South Africa Lomin Killings:”We Are so Angry”” August 19, 2012, *BBC News*, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-19314083>.

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how we truly reform the neo-colonies we inherited at independence. Removing the old colonial racial order is welcome - but far more critical is controlling the military/security services, and ensuring that the economy benefits ordinary Africans and not just the national elites, who have shown time and again their willingness to maintain the old economic order, with its structural inequalities.<sup>43</sup>

Wambu makes a precise connection between the Marikana protests and the government's stand with neoliberalism. At the heart of the protests in Soweto and Marikana is the government's maintenance of global apartheid; South Africa's economic growth has benefited those in power, but not for the average citizen. The South African economy is structurally unequal and a continuation of the continent's colonial past.

### ***Global Protest of Global Apartheid***

Like South Africa, similar injustices and protests can be found globally. Neoliberal policies and globalization are likewise the forces behind the repressions that are being committed. Many nations like South Africa seek to be a force in the global economy and obtain the perceived wealth being a global economic power brings. Although the benefits of neoliberalism can be profitable for those in power, those at the bottom of society remain overlooked.

Leading up to the World Cup in 2014, Brazil experienced numerous protests over the eleven billion dollars<sup>44</sup> the government

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<sup>43</sup> Onyekachi Wambu, "Marikana and the unfinished liberation," *New African Magazine*, October 2012.

<sup>44</sup> Brian Winter and Marcelo Teixeira, "Brazil Police, Protesters Clash as World Cup Begins," *Reuters*, June 12, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/06/12/us-brazil-worldcup-protests-idUSKBN0EN1DD20140612>.

spent to prepare for the tournament while social services were ignored. Workers in three Rio de Janeiro airports had gone on strike leading up to the World Cup over a lack of wage increases: “Check-in assistants, baggage handlers, mechanics, and engineers are among the workers taking part in the 24-hour strike. For months, they’ve been seeking salary raises of at least 5.6 percent. A court has ordered the unions to keep staffing at 80 percent of normal levels or face a \$22,400 fine.”<sup>45</sup> While Brazil spent billions on preparations for the global event, those living in Rio de Janeiro were either ignored or forcibly removed. In attempts to “modernize” the city for the games and the coming Olympic Games, the Brazilian government has prioritized their global image over the needs of its public. As Owen Gibson and Jonathan Watts point out, “at least 19,000 families have been moved to make way for roads, renovated stadiums, an athletes’ village, an ambitious redevelopment of the port area and other projects that have been launched or accelerated to prepare the city for the world’s two biggest sporting events.”<sup>46</sup> Brazil, like South Africa, is a BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) country, and both experienced social unrest due to their actions leading up to hosting these sporting events; these two countries have actively worked to be a part of the global powers at the expense of their public.

Similar unrest over nations’ desire to compete in the global economy rather than mitigate domestic issues can be found in Nigeria and Greece. In Nigeria, the Shell Oil Company has been a long source of strife for those living in the oil rich region. Nigeria is the wealthiest country in Africa<sup>47</sup> and partially from its oil

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<sup>45</sup> Sarah Toms, “Rio Airport Workers Strike on Eve of World Cup,” *Reuters*, June 12, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/video/2014/06/12/rio-airport-workers-strike-on-eve-of-wor?videoId=314401746>.

<sup>46</sup> Owen Gibson and Jonathan Watts, “World Cup: Rio favelas being “socially cleansed” in run-up to sporting events,” *The Guardian*, December 5, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/dec/05/world-cup-favelas-socially-cleansed-olympics>.

<sup>47</sup> The World Bank Data lists the 2013 the Gross Domestic Product of Nigeria at 19 on the global scale, and first of the African continent at 1,017,913 millions of dollars. [http://databank.worldbank.org/data/download/GDP\\_PPP.pdf](http://databank.worldbank.org/data/download/GDP_PPP.pdf).



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reserves; Nigeria although rich has become worse off by their forced entry into neoliberalism.<sup>48</sup> As Olumide Victor Ekanade points out:

Under the reign of neoliberalism in Nigeria, capital and wealth have been largely distributed upwards, while civic virtues have been undermined.... Under attack is the social contract with its emphasis on enlarging the public good and expanding social provisions... all of which provided both safety nets and a set of conditions upon which democracy could be experienced.<sup>49</sup>

Shell is the best example of the ill effects of neoliberal policy, where a corporation is unchecked by government, watchdog groups, or the international community; Shell left unchecked has let a number of environmental and social atrocities occur. In response to Shell's disregard of any social responsibility "armed groups began sabotaging pipelines and kidnapping oil company staff from 2006, with a ceasefire called in 2009 by one group, the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta. A year later it announced an "all-out oil war" after a crackdown by the Nigerian military."<sup>50</sup> The communities in the oil region have been partially successful in gaining awareness for these abuses.

In Greece protests against neoliberal policies have been ongoing since its six-year recession and debt problems boiled over.<sup>51</sup> During this period the European Union and IMF have been

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<sup>48</sup> Olumide Victor Ekanade, "The Dynamics of Forced Neoliberalism in Nigeria Since the 1980s," *Journal of Retracing Africa*, 1, no. 1 (February 2014): 1-25.

<sup>49</sup> Ekanade, 1.

<sup>50</sup> Adam Vaughan, "Oil in Nigeria: a history of spills, fines and fights for rights," *The Guardian*, August 4, 2011, <http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2011/aug/04/oil-nigeria-spills-fines-fights>.

<sup>51</sup> Helena Smith, "Greek Protesters Rally Against IMF and EU Inspection," *The Guardian*, November 5, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/nov/05/greek-protesters-rally-against->

pushing Greece to employ austerity measures to deal with their debt, these measures however lower the quantity and quality of services provided by the government, making life much more difficult in an already weak economy. Helena Smith argues that

Relentless spending cuts and tax rises have resulted in Greeks losing 40% of their disposable income since the crisis began...with unemployment nudging 30%, Greece has been hit by record levels of poverty – the price of making the biggest fiscal adjustment of any OECD state since the second world war.<sup>52</sup>

While Greece is not considered a developing country or member of the developing world, it is a victim of the global economy. The European Union and IMF have been able to force Greece to enact these measures to maintain the Union, against the demands of the Greek public. “Many of the demonstrators who took to the streets told reporters they had been directly affected by public sector dismissals demanded by the EU, IMF and European Central Bank. The prospect of yet more austerity measures being meted out to plug a looming fiscal gap has sent passions rising further.”<sup>53</sup> Two years later, the European Union and the IMF are still in negotiations with Greece to resolve their debt crisis; the groups are withholding aid until such an agreement can be met.<sup>54</sup>

The nations mentioned above have diverse social backgrounds and economic bases; all have become entangled in the global economic system, which purports neoliberal policies as the key to being an economic power. The people of these nations

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imf-eu-inspection.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Renee Maltezou and Lefteris Papadimas, “Greece Fails to Reach Initial Deal on Reforms with Lenders,” *Reuters*, March 31, 2015.

<http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/03/31/us-eurozone-greece-deal-idUSKBN0MR12M20150331>.

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are protesting the failures of their government's lack of protection over the global interests of the country. Globalization's main export for these countries is a greater gap between the rich and poor and lowered government safety nets.

### ***Criticisms of Global Apartheid***

The fight against global apartheid can at times be inherently contradictory. Global apartheid has been defined as “the de facto division of the world's states into rich, powerful, majority-white states and poor, weak and dependent majority-non-white states,”<sup>55</sup> with globalization used as a tool to perpetuate these standards. This has given rise to many movements against globalization and global apartheid. However, it can also be argued that globalization has facilitated this dialogue against the rich-poor divide. Without the connection of communication and information globalization provides, the injustices experienced in the developing World would continue. Globalization has created not only a cause for protest but also an outlet for these movements to be heard by a larger community. Without the rapid spread of information globalization creates, this outlet would leave these resistance movements largely unknown.

Aside from globalization, the issue of anti-neoliberalism and the rejection of neoliberal policies are somewhat problematic. Like globalization and global apartheid, neoliberalism has an obscure definition that can be altered by its user. James Ferguson's “The Uses of Neoliberalism” aptly distinguishes between the ways the term “neoliberalism” has been demonized and is used in a variety of contradictory ways; this misuse is similar to the use of global apartheid and anti-globalization movements: “With respect to poverty and social policy, for instance, it is simply not the case that neoliberal government ignores poverty, or leaves it to ‘the

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<sup>55</sup> Definition of Global Apartheid, Student recourses Cultural Anthropology, Rutledge, <http://cw.routledge.com/textbooks/9780415485395/glossary.asp>.

market’.”<sup>56</sup> To say that neoliberal policies contribute to the economic underdevelopment of LDCs is unsound, there is far more at play in each country’s government and economy. Furthermore, the connection between neoliberalism and neocolonial/imperialism that is often made is false on similar grounds. “Neoliberalism, in this sense, has become the name for a set of highly interested public policies that have vastly enriched the holders of capital, while leading to increasing inequality, insecurity, loss of public services, and a general deterioration of quality of life for the poor and working classes.”<sup>57</sup> Although this is often a side effect in neoliberalism, it is not the case that poverty is ignored, neoliberalism is employed to remedy poverty and economic underdevelopment. This discussion of global apartheid is incomplete without a discussion of neoliberal policies; they fuel the sometimes misplaced dissent of one another.

The fight against global apartheid and globalization alike target the West as the main culprit for their underdevelopment. The overuse of these notions can be problematic for the LDC critics. Placing sole blame on the West for poor choice in economic and social policies gives no agency to the developing world. This is akin to arguments made against colonialism as being necessary for developing African, Asian, and Latin American countries: “Technical prescriptions for “making poverty history” seem irrelevant because they presume the central actors to be states—and well-financed, bureaucratically capable, poverty-fighting states that resemble twentieth century European welfare states. Couldn’t the Democratic Republic of the Congo solve all its problems, reformers seem to say, if only its government would start to behave like that of Sweden?”<sup>58</sup>

Prior to the widespread use of the notion global apartheid, the power divide of the world was referred to as colonialism and neocolonialism; all refer back to similar circumstances. In this

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<sup>56</sup> James Ferguson, “The Uses of Neoliberalism,” *Antipode*, 41 no. S1, (2009): 155-184.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

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sense global apartheid is somewhat of an all-encompassing popular phrase to reinvigorate the criticism of the wealthy West. Global apartheid although an interesting concept, primarily reiterates the same awareness and dissent of Western superiority. The awareness global apartheid creates is undeniably useful, it has created a new channel for the discussion of inequality of the world.

### **Conclusions**

Racial apartheid in South Africa mandated the separation on races for the benefit of white South Africans; this form of inequality has lent itself to creating a culture of protest within South Africa. Today, South Africans are leading protests against global apartheid. South African citizens are versed in the global policies that affect their daily lives, and how their local resistance can impact global perspectives similar to the ending of racial apartheid South Africa. Neoliberalism and other forms inequality are one of many sources of oppression South Africans and other citizens of the global community face; resistance movements and glocalization for now are truly effective solutions to curbing global apartheid.

Discussing global apartheid is also a discussion of anti-globalization; a small number of Western countries reside as global powers that control global flows of capital and ideas, the nations in power contain a constant criteria of being Western and traditional colonial powers. The West perpetuates a neoliberal economic structure that maintains its influence over the poor and marginalized developing world. Globalization is a mechanism that both brings the peoples of LDCs closer together, and at the same time economically further away from each other. There is an ongoing struggle within LDCs to reach the same living standards of their Western counterparts; this has manifested itself into a vast network of resistance movements throughout the developing world. The movement against global apartheid should be

recognized as an awareness of the rights of communities of the developing world.

Resistance movements against global apartheid can be defined as glocalization, which highlights the action of local actors on global issues. Global apartheid creates glocalization through the developing world's mutual dissatisfaction with neoliberalism and other forced foreign trends. While these movements foster and utilize anti-Western sentiments, a community is created.

Through the gaze of glocal movements the West is seen as an oppressing force, these actions are traced back to the colonial period. In response the BRICS countries have made their own path against Western-centric power. These countries have recently begun talks to create a "New Development Bank,"<sup>59</sup> which would be competition for the IMF and World Bank as the only global financial lending institutions. The creation of a BRICS development bank would, if not replace the Western institutions, overshadow them. The creation of a LDC-centric development bank would be a great achievement for the countering of global apartheid, but would this institution employ the same neoliberal policies as the IMF and World Bank, and essentially replace the West as the new power center? Is the global economy inherently skewed to one wealth base, or is it the states in power that perpetuate this?

The aforementioned examples presented on South African global apartheid show the possibility for maintenance of the status quo; both Mbeki and Zuma have bent to Western styles of economics and done little to enhance glocal processes. It may be as also plausible that a shift from neoliberal or any Western-centric form of "development" is impossible for LDCs; perhaps neoliberalism is so prevalent because it is the best available system. Perhaps the world is inherently unequal. The developing world may yet be as "power hungry" as the West, which has the

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<sup>59</sup> Tahmeena Bax, "Will the BRICS Bank Shift the Balance of Power?" *The Guardian*, July 25, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/poll/2014/jul/25/brics-bank-world-bank-power>.

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potential to create a whole alternate set of conclusions about globalization.

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**Author Bio**

Alexis recently graduated from California State University, San Bernardino in 2014 with her Bachelor of Arts degree in History concentrating in African History, and a minor in Political Economy. During her time at CSUSB Alexis has been a proud member of the Model United Nations Team. This research was started during Alexis' time in South Africa, part of CSUSB's study abroad program, she would like to one day return and delve deeper into these issues. She would like to thank Dr. Tiffany Jones for sparking her interest in African history and her continued support in making this research possible. She would also like to thank Dr. Grisham for his guidance and the opportunities he has provided her while at CSUSB. Alexis also warmly thanks her family and friends who have been a constant source of love and support.



## **Roses and Votes: Immigrant Jewish Women and the New York Woman Suffrage Movement, 1894-1917**

**by Katelyn Johnson**

*Abstract: The purpose of this article is to explore the role that Jewish immigrant women had in the Women's Suffrage Movement. It is focused in New York due to the unique concurrency of a large, concentrated Jewish immigrant community and a heavily active location for the Women's Suffrage Movement. The project draws a strong link to Jewish workingwomen's influence and participation in the Labor Rights Movement, also during the early nineteenth century. The research draws upon several primary sources from the Lower East Side Jewish community, as well as the research of historians Susan A. Glenn and Melissa R. Klapper. The Jewish immigrants coming from Eastern Europe had distinctive cultural worldviews that allotted the women of the families a stronger economic presence. This cultural mindset led to a strong support of the Labor Rights and Women's Suffrage Movements. Not only were they involved with the suffrage movement, but also without the large support of working class Jewish women, the New York Women Suffrage Movement may have not experienced the ultimate success that it did.*

## ***Introduction***

It is no exaggeration to say that modern woman suffrage might not exist if it had not been for the efforts of Jewish women in the early twentieth century New York. The Jewish community has often had an interesting place in social history, not simply as a religious group, race, or nation, but a mixture of that, which is represented in a community spread across the world. There are many examples throughout history where they have faced anti-Semitism, rejection, and unfounded blame. In America, they entered into a society that very much saw everything and everyone as “black” or “white,” and they, along with many other immigrants, were “neither” in the eyes of the white American public. In the early twentieth century, thousands of Jews immigrated to America, primarily from Eastern Europe. With the immigration station Ellis Island right off the coast of New York, immigration caused the city’s population to expand rapidly. Simultaneously, women in America were in their final push for political suffrage, and New York City became the hub of the suffrage movement. Both the Jewish immigrants and woman suffragists converged in the State of New York. Jewish immigrant women, who brought with them their cultural roots as well as a thirst for new opportunities, were key players in the fight for women’s suffrage for several reasons. The political and economic ideas that they brought with them, heightened by the struggles of immigrant life, caused Jewish immigrant women to become activists to make a better life for their families. From 1894, when New York turned down the suffragists’ appeals and continued to deny women the right to vote during a state constitutional congress, to 1917, when New York finally granted women the vote, woman suffrage entered discussions at every social level. As with many social circles of this period, Jewish-American women had many different opinions about the quest for women’s suffrage. Though the majority joined in and supported the cause, others stood back or openly opposed it. The presence of immigrant Jewish women from Manhattan’s Lower East Side contributed greatly to the ultimate success of the woman suffrage

movement in New York, and their significance to the cause was particularly due to their unique social and cultural worldview. They saw themselves as economic providers for their families, which led to some of their great work for the labor movement. Without the work of many Jewish immigrant women in New York, the labor movement would have suffered, and without their connection to the labor movement, the woman suffrage movement would have lost a valuable asset.

Jewish immigrants were not unfamiliar to American society of the early twentieth century. Jewish immigrants sought a home in America since the early colonial era, and arrived in three distinct waves of immigration. The first wave came primarily in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These immigrants were collectively known as the Iberian, or Sephardi, Jews who made their journey from homelands in Spain and Portugal. The second wave was composed of the Central European Jews during the nineteenth century. They traced their roots primarily to Germany, thus they were also known as the German Jews. The third and largest wave came in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These were the Eastern European Jews.<sup>1</sup> This third wave is the group that populated the Lower East Side in New York and made a considerable contribution to the growth of the woman suffrage movement.

The main entry point of Eastern European Jews was Ellis Island, located off the coast of New York. Although Jewish immigrants made their way across the continental United States, most remained close to the port of entry and took up residence in New York.<sup>2</sup> The Jewish population in America grew from 300,000 (0.6 percent of total US population) in 1880, to 1.058 million (1.39 percent of total US population) in 1900, to 3.6 million (3.41

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<sup>1</sup> Henry Feingold, "Introduction" in *The American Jewish Album: 1654 to Present*, Allan Schoener, ed. (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1983), 9.

<sup>2</sup> Allan Schoener, *The American Jewish Album: 1654 to Present* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1983), 109.

percent of total US population) in 1920.<sup>3</sup> Most settled in New York's Lower East Side in Manhattan, a tenement district that quickly grew to have the single largest population of Jews in the world at that time.<sup>4</sup> Historians also note that New York's tenement district had the highest population density of any city in the world in 1895.<sup>5</sup>

Although the Lower East Side was home to immigrants from all over the world, it became a cultural hotspot for the Jewish immigrants making their way from Ellis Island, and the Jewish population soon made up the majority of the area's population. Photographs of the Lower East Side<sup>6</sup> show streets filled with vendors, billboards advertising Jewish businesses, and signs peppering the way in both Yiddish (the popular language of the Jewish immigrants which was essentially a mixture of German and Hebrew) and English.

Living conditions in the Lower East side were far from what most immigrants expected. The high population created a low living standard. Many immigrants settled into tenement housing, apartment-style living arrangements that were typically dark, overcrowded, and unsanitary.<sup>7</sup> Immigrants had to find housing, jobs, and navigate the new dynamic of the new world. Most Jewish women immigrated along with their husbands or fathers. Even with the support system of family with them, they struggled with the new challenges of how to most efficiently help their family survive.<sup>8</sup> There was also a significant population of young, unmarried Jewish women who were sent on alone to America. Thousands of these girls were now faced with the bleak living

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<sup>3</sup> "From Haven to Home: 350 Years of Jewish Life in America," Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/haventohome/haven-haven.html>

<sup>4</sup> *The Jewish Americans, Part 1*, "They Came to Stay," directed by David Grubin, PBS, 2008.

<sup>5</sup> Schoener, 114.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 109.

<sup>7</sup> Susan Glenn, *Daughters of the Shtetl: Life and Labor in the Immigrant Generation* (New York: Cornell University, 1990), 57.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.



conditions, usually forced to find room with a resistant next-of-kin.<sup>9</sup>

One view that was prevalent in the Jewish community was socialism. In Eastern Europe, the heavily oppressed Jewish communities found the idea of an equally shared society very appealing. In many places in Europe they were restricted in where they could live and work.<sup>10</sup> Socialist ideology traveled across the ocean from Eastern Europe along with the immigrants and the socialist movement grew in the Lower East Side, particularly among the garment workers, known for their labor and woman suffrage activism. By 1917, about fifty percent of Jewish men from the Lower East Side voted for socialist city and state candidates.<sup>11</sup> Women of the tenement districts formed similar political goals and opinions, accustomed to their welcomed presence in Europe, where socialist political groups allowed women to become members. The distinctly Jewish, radical socialist group in Eastern Europe, The Bund, was especially open to the participation of young women. In fact, young, Jewish woman made up about one-third of their membership, and many Jewish immigrant women emigrated to the United States with the mindset that the political sphere was open to them.<sup>12</sup>

Even though the Jewish community in the Lower East Side was a mix of people from different European countries, and many spoke different Yiddish dialects, similar religious cultural ties provided a sense of comfort and identity in the face of new cultural challenges.<sup>13</sup> Thus, Jewish culture grew in the Lower East Side. *The Jewish Daily Forward*, often just referred to as *The Forward*, was a Yiddish newspaper that helped the Jewish immigrants cope with both American and Jewish identities. An Eastern-European Jew, specifically a Lithuanian Jew or *Litvak*,<sup>14</sup> named Abraham

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 32.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 182.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 56.

<sup>14</sup> Ronald Sanders, *The Down-Town Jews: Portraits of An Immigrant*

Cahan was one of the founders of the paper. His newspaper reached Jewish immigrants across the United States, but it was especially significant in its home state of New York, where Cahan's articles worked to bring the Jewish community together and spread socialist ideas. Cahan, and consequently his articles, was both pro-worker and pro-women's liberation.<sup>15</sup>

In 1906, Cahan created a daily feature in the paper called "A Bintel Brief," which literally translates to "a bundle of letters."<sup>16</sup> The feature was the predecessor to what we know as "Dear Abby" columns today. Jewish immigrants from the Lower East Side could write in to the paper and Cahan could publish it anonymously along with a reply. Even those who could not write well found ways to get their letters to Cahan.<sup>17</sup> Many of the Jewish community had difficulties in writing their letters, so certain businesses advertised dictating services, in which an employee would write letters for the illiterate.

For the Jewish immigrants who found themselves alone or struggling with the cultural differences between the tenement districts and the Eastern European *shtetls*, Cahan became a listening ear and a trustworthy advisor.<sup>18</sup> Part of what made "A Bintel Brief" so popular was Cahan's appeal to families. Many letters came in from women and even children, and Cahan welcomed them, realizing the importance of the strong family unit to the Jewish immigrants.<sup>19</sup> Jewish immigrants wrote about marriage, social issues, political questions, and even unruly children. Letters ranged from a young man asking if he should dye his hair due to teasing because of its red color, to a woman

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*Generation* (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), 28.

<sup>15</sup> *The Jewish Americans, Part 2*, "A World of Their Own," directed by David Grubin, PBS, 2008.

<sup>16</sup> Sanders, 361.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 367.

<sup>18</sup> Isaac Metzker, introduction to *A Bintel Brief: Sixty Years of Letters From the Lower East Side to The Jewish Daily Forward*, ed. Isaac Metzker (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1971), 10.

<sup>19</sup> Ronald Sanders, *The Down-Town Jews: Portraits of An Immigrant Generation* (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), 366.

searching for her long-missing children, to a man sending in his suicide note because he had no one else to turn to. Cahan's answers were fair and compassionate. Cahan's socialist leanings deeply informed his responses, as they were consistently pro-workers and unions and pro-women's liberation. In 1909, a contributor whose letter was published simply from "With Socialistic regards, L.V." wrote in asking about the issue of woman suffrage. The writer says that they are on the side of woman suffrage, but that they have been part of a group of people who have been debating the issue for several weeks. The opponents of woman suffrage in the group claim that if women were to get the vote, "the women would then no longer be the housewife, the mother to her children, the wife to her husband – in a word, everything would be destroyed."<sup>20</sup> In Cahan's response, he praises the writer for their defense of women and their case for the support of woman suffrage. Cahan then stated that justice can only exist once all people have equal rights, and that men cannot rule over women in the tyrannical fashion that they have been.<sup>21</sup> *The Forward* was also very popular and widely read by the Jewish community in the Lower East Side, and "A Bintel Brief" was easily one of the favorite features.<sup>22</sup> This made it an important tool in the spreading of the connected ideas of socialism, labor, and woman suffrage.

In contrast to the emotional and physical turmoil faced by Jewish immigrants in the Lower East Side, there were also elite Jewish families in the city. On the other side of town, the Upper East Side of New York, many of the German Jews of the second immigration wave had taken up residence. Having had more time to establish themselves, many of these immigrants were now successful business owners. They often referred to themselves as "Our Crowd," an elitist group of well-to-do New York Jewish

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<sup>20</sup> L.V., "A Bintel Brief," in *A Bintel Brief: Sixty Years of Letters From the Lower East Side to The Jewish Daily Forward*, 94.

<sup>21</sup> Cahan, "A Bintel Brief," 95.

<sup>22</sup> Isaac Metzker, introduction to *A Bintel Brief: Sixty Years of Letters From the Lower East Side to The Jewish Daily Forward*, 12.

families.<sup>23</sup> For instance, Irma Levy Lindheim was born to German Jewish parents and lived in the Upper East Side, growing up around the turn of the century. She wrote about her family's success and the stark contrast it held to the lives of Eastern European Jews in the Lower East Side in an article titled "My German-Jewish Family Life."<sup>24</sup> She describes that the tenement housing was crowded, there was little help for medical needs, and it was impossible to avoid filth, while the homes of the Upper East Side were well taken care of and comfortable.<sup>25</sup>

Although life in the tenement housing was harsh, the Jewish immigrants grew into a tight-knit community. With the help of Cahan's *Jewish Daily Forward*, common ideologies could spread and gain wider appeal. Many Jews readily embraced both their Jewishness and newfound Americanism. Immigrant women found the opportunity to make differences in their lives; in particular, many became involved in the labor and women's suffrage movements. Jewish workingwomen were at the forefront of the labor movement, which had strong connections with the woman suffrage movement.

In Eastern Europe, Jewish women were heavily involved in the garment industry, a cultural role that they brought with them to America. Many of these Jews came from the Russian 'Pale' (the area of Eastern Europe where the government allowed the Jewish people to take up permanent residence) and *shtetls*. *Shtetls* were small Jewish towns in Eastern Europe socially organized through Jewish religious standards, although they remained under the control of the country's reigning government.<sup>26</sup> In addition, the Jewish family structure had several differences from the traditional American family structure. Though not always the case, the usual ambition of a Jewish man was to become an intellectual, a

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<sup>23</sup> *The Jewish Americans, Part 2*.

<sup>24</sup> Irma Levy Lindheim, "My German-Jewish Family Life", in *The American Jewish Album: 1654 to Present*, ed. Allan Schoener (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1983), 130.

<sup>25</sup> *The Jewish Americans, Part 2*.

<sup>26</sup> Glenn, 9.

religious scholar of the Torah, while in the United States the popular ambition was to be a successful workingman, the economic provider of the family. In order to allow their husbands to study, Jewish women often had to be the breadwinner in the family. Their economic efforts were widely accepted by the Jewish community. On the contrary, American society expected women to be only domestic and live up to their Victorian ideals of a virtuous woman.<sup>27</sup> Understanding this different culture provides a clearer picture of why Jewish women working in American factories would have a different perspective on labor than other workers, male or female.

The garment industry was a prominent part of Jewish society in Eastern Europe. Jewish daughters would aspire to become seamstresses. They took pride in the industry and it was an area where women dominated. The Jewish community looked down upon men in the industry for participating in “women’s work.”<sup>28</sup> However, work in the American garment factories was anything but comfortable. Clara Lemlich, a Jewish immigrant, leader in the shirtwaist strikes, and an advocate for women’s suffrage, wrote on what it was like working in the garment sweatshops. In 1909, she wrote that the terrible working conditions involved working over twelve hours a day with only a half hour break. The young women would be paid six dollars a week, but in the slow season their pay would be reduced by two dollars with no explanation from their superiors.<sup>29</sup> Surprisingly, many of the owners of these factories were Jewish as well, members of the successful “German-Jews.”<sup>30</sup>

Such was the case in the disastrous Triangle Shirtwaist fire of 1911, which served as one of the great sparks for the labor movement. The Triangle Shirtwaist Company was located in Greenwich Village, Manhattan, not too far from the Lower East

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 21

<sup>29</sup> Clara Lemlich, “Working in a Sweatshop”, in *The American Jewish Album: 1654 to Present*, 118.

<sup>30</sup> *The Jewish Americans, Part 2.*

Side. The company was owned by German Jewish business partners, Isaac Harris and Max Blanck, and staffed by mainly young Eastern European Jewish women. On March 25, right before quitting time, a fire started on the 8<sup>th</sup> floor of the building. The fire spread extremely quickly through the work areas located on the 8<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, and 10<sup>th</sup> floors, which were filled with loose fabric and string. With the exit doors locked by the owners as they usually were, and the fire escape collapsed from the rampaging escapees, 146 workers were killed either by the flames and smoke or by falling from the upper stories. The community was horrified by the tragic event. Isaac Harris and Max Blanck were tried for manslaughter; the argument against them was based on the unnecessarily locked doors without too much mention of the other unsafe working conditions. The partners were ultimately acquitted.<sup>31</sup>

On April 2, 1911, Jewish immigrant Rose Schneiderman gave an impassioned speech in response to the Triangle Shirtwaist disaster. She noted that this was not a singular tragedy, for, “every week I must learn of the untimely death of one of my sister workers.” Schneiderman’s speech was a call to arms for the labor movement. She declared that the only people capable of making changes in the labor system were the workers themselves.<sup>32</sup> Here she also spoke the famous phrase, “The woman worker needs bread, but she needs roses too.” Bread was meant to represent the very basic needs of survival, while roses were the rights and privileges that made life worth living. From this, the labor movement adopted the mantra “Bread and Roses.”<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> “Complete Transcript of *Triangle Fire* (New York, 1911),” Cornell University, <http://digitalcommons.ilr.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1017&context=triangletrans>

<sup>32</sup> Rose Schneiderman, “Protest of The Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire” Jewish Women’s Archive, <http://jwa.org/media/excerpt-from-rose-schneidermans-april-2-1911-speech>

<sup>33</sup> Annelise Orleck, “Rose Scheiderman Biography,” Jewish Women’s Archive, 20 March, 2009, <http://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/schneiderman-rose>

## *Roses and Votes*

One of the ways that women workers could take hold of their own destinies in the workplace was by gaining suffrage. Suffrage was key in having a voice in politics and society. These Jewish women whose lives depended on their work, served in the front lines of the labor movement and needed the vote as much as anyone else. However, suffrage was still withheld from the women of America. New Yorker Leonora O'Reilly understood clearly the significant connection between the workingwoman's labor movement and suffrage. Born to Irish immigrant parents in the Lower East Side, O'Reilly knew exactly what the young working Jewish women were facing because she was also experiencing it herself. In 1912, she gave a zealous testimony before a Joint Senate Committee.<sup>34</sup> After explaining her experience working in shirtwaist factories, starting when she was a girl, O'Reilly merged into firmly arguing for woman suffrage. She emphasized that in the current social system many women from poor families had to work in order to survive, and with that being the case, they needed the vote for self-protection. Suffrage would give these women more control over their work environment, which, as she claimed, should not be a privilege, but a right. O'Reilly knew that suffrage was very important for the workingwomen to support because it was necessary for their survival and that of their families: "All other woman ought to have it, but we working women must have it."<sup>35</sup>

In 1894, a state constitutional convention was held in New York, the "great battleground for the rights of women."<sup>36</sup> Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper worked tirelessly during the lead up to the convention in Albany, New York. Supporters of women's suffrage sent out thousands of petitions and obtained 332,148 signatures, of which about half were women. Prominent signers of their petitions included New York tycoon John D. Rockefeller and

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<sup>34</sup> Susan Ware, *Modern American Women: A Documentary History* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2002), 105.

<sup>35</sup> Leonora O'Reilly, "A Labor Organizer Speaks Out For Suffrage," in *Modern American Women: A Documentary History*, 106.

<sup>36</sup> Ida Husted Harper and Susan B. Anthony, *The History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. 4*, (Indianapolis: The Hollenbeck Press, 1902), 842.

progressive Jewish activist, Rabbi Gustav Gottheil.<sup>37</sup> They battled valiantly, however the suffrage amendment was turned down, with ninety-eight votes opposed and fifty-eight votes in favor.<sup>38</sup>

This failure of the petitions was not a deterrent for the women who were determined to claim their right to the vote; it was time for the movement to become louder and stronger. On May 21, 1910, the first substantial suffrage parade was organized in New York City. Several thousand women marched down the streets of New York City in the largest public spectacle so far organized by the suffrage movement. This parade was only the first of many to come. Although there was much fear within the movement about whether such a demonstration would appear ridiculous, parades quickly became a significant way the suffragettes could make their intentions known.<sup>39</sup> Such a public display was contrary to the typical social customs women were meant to adhere to, particularly those of the upper and middle classes.<sup>40</sup> Therefore, all classes of women parading together became a symbol of courage, integration, and independence.

Organizers were vital in putting together such large demonstrations. However, Jewish women faced some particular obstacles in participation. Harriet Stanton Blatch, a prominent New York suffrage activist, organized the May 21 march along with her Equality League of Self-Supporting Women. She organized parades to take place on Saturday morning. This schedule interfered with the Jewish observation of Sabbath. This meant that the marches were missing a substantial number of participating activist women. More than 320,000 Jewish immigrants lived in the Lower East Side in 1915, making up about sixty percent of the demographic.<sup>41</sup> Of those 320,000, seventy-five percent of the

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 850.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 852.

<sup>39</sup> Linda J. Lumsden, *Rampant Women: Suffragists and the Right of Assembly* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 75.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 76.

<sup>41</sup> "Jews – Lower East Side," Lower East Side Tenement Museum, 2005, <http://www.tenement.org/encyclopedia/Jews.htm#les>.



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women supported women's suffrage. In 1915 and 1917 New York State suffrage referenda, Jewish immigrant districts showed stronger support than the rest of Manhattan, even the upper-classes.<sup>42</sup> Inquiries were raised about moving the parades to evening in order to include the Jewish population. However, Blatch held strictly to her carefully detailed plans and argued that the majority of the marchers were young women who might not be allowed out so late by their parents and that the light of day made their demonstration more impressive. After some time, a compromise was made and the parade times were shifted to the afternoon when the Jewish women could join in at the end.<sup>43</sup> This was not the only obstacle that Jewish women faced in their activism. Anti-Semitism was just a present within the movement as it was in the society around them. Jews involved with movements such as woman suffrage were accused of trying to destroy white Christian life.<sup>44</sup> Though Jewish neighborhoods had the highest percentage of women's suffrage voters in New York City, they were blamed by the Woman Suffrage Party when it was turned down in a 1915 vote. Many suffrage leaders not only tried to gloss over the amount of support that came from the Jewish population, but they openly tried to stop it. Leading suffragist Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the mother of Harriet Stanton Blatch, attempted to pass an 1885 resolution in the National Woman Suffrage Association that stated, "dogmas incorporated in the religious creeds derived from Judaism" were "contrary to the law of God as revealed in nature and the precepts of Christ."<sup>45</sup> More of this negativity towards Judaism was written into her 1895 publication, *The Woman's Bible*, in which she even claims that the Jews maliciously

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<sup>42</sup> Glenn, 215.

<sup>43</sup> Ellen Carol DuBois, *Harriet Stanton Blatch and the Winning of Woman Suffrage* (Michigan: Yale University Press, 1997), 141.

<sup>44</sup> Abraham D. Lavender, *Ethnic Women and Feminist Values: Toward a "New" Value System* (New York: University Press of America, 1986), 153.

<sup>45</sup> Joyce Antler, "Feminism in the United States," *Jewish Women: A Comprehensive Historical Encyclopedia*, Jewish Women's Archive, March 1, 2009, <http://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/feminism-in-united-states>.

“manipulated” the words of the Old Testament to subjugate women to men.<sup>46</sup>

However, discrimination within the movement was not too large a deterrent for Jewish activist women. One Jewish woman who was very involved in leading the woman suffrage movement was Maud Nathan. Nathan was born to a prominent New York Jewish family in 1862 and could trace her ancestry to the early immigration wave of Sephardic Jews. Nathan was technically a part of “high society,” but she developed an ardent interest in the living and working conditions of the poor of New York. She helped found, and was president from 1897 to 1927 of the New York Consumers League, where she focused on exposing and improving working conditions in the city. She pushed consumers within the elite classes to look into the working conditions in the factories that produced the products they were buying. Nathan also saw her Judaism as all the more reason to be involved in social work, because a true person of faith should support the equality all of peoples and fight social injustice. Nathan’s husband, Frederick Nathan (sometimes referred to in the 20<sup>th</sup> century media as “Mrs. Maud Nathan”), was also very involved in activism, and he led the Men’s League for Equal Suffrage in New York.<sup>47</sup> Together, they were a suffrage power couple and Maud Nathan herself was a member of the Equal Suffrage League of New York. She recognized that the fight for better working conditions was a hopeless cause without the ability to vote. She also knew that the Labor Movement would struggle without the success of the woman suffrage movement.<sup>48</sup>

In the “Old Country,” the importance of extended families and the community of the *shtetls* was a central part of their life.

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<sup>46</sup> Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *The Woman’s Bible* (Michigan: Northeastern University Press, 1993), 18.

<sup>47</sup> Anne Kaufman, “Maud Nathan Biography,” Jewish Women’s Archive, March 20, 2009, <http://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/nathan-maud>.

<sup>48</sup> Seymour Brody, “Maud Nathan: Social Worker and Suffragist,” in *Jewish Heroes and Heroines of America*, Seymour Brody (Hollywood: Frederick Fell Publishers, 2004), 57.

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However, the journey across the ocean to the “New World” disturbed the traditional family unit. Families were split up out of financial necessity; fathers traveled ahead of their wives and children, or children would leave parents behind to make a life in America. Some family members would be turned back after not passing the stringent tests at the Ellis Island immigration center. This loss of both the nucleic and extended family and the established Jewish community, caused many to struggle with their new environment. As seen in several of the letters sent to “A Bintel Brief,” immigrants dealt with loneliness, a sense of a loss of culture, and struggle with adhering to orthodox Jewish beliefs. Too often parents could be overrun by the trials of poor immigrant life. Cahan received letters from mothers struggling with having to give up their children and wives searching for their runaway husbands. In 1908, one deserted wife, or *agunah*,<sup>49</sup> wrote to *The Forward* calling out to her missing husband to let him know that of their four children, now only two were still alive, and that he had “made them living orphans.”<sup>50</sup> However, with this disturbance also came a revival in the protection of the Jewish nucleic family. The establishment of the father, mother, and children, wherever it could be found, became a sacred institution in many instances.<sup>51</sup> Traditionally, the family is placed in the women’s sphere, which left Jewish women with the burden of protecting this family security in the harsh immigrant living environment. Out of this sprung a new form of woman, a distinctly Eastern European Jewish immigrant version of “New Womanhood.” This version of the Jewish woman did not strive to leave the prescribed gender role entirely, yet she was a freer being. These women were workers and laborers, as well as mother and wives. A new relationship with the opposite sex developed as they began to work together toward common goals in unions and strikes. This “New Womanhood” was

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<sup>49</sup> Isaac Metzker, “Introduction” in *A Bintel Brief: Sixty Years of Letters From the Lower East Side to The Jewish Daily Forward*, 84.

<sup>50</sup> Deserted Wife, “A Bintel Brief,” in *A Bintel Brief: Sixty Years of Letters From the Lower East Side to The Jewish Daily Forward*, 83.

<sup>51</sup> Sanders, 351-352.

consistent of young Jewish women, who could labor all day in a factory, work in a union beside a man, and then go home and take care of domestic chores.<sup>52</sup> According to historian Susan A. Glenn in her book *Daughters of the Shtetl*, “immigrant women’s consciousness of their new role and responsibility in public life was an essential element in their activism.” Their role as women now branched into the public “men’s” sphere, however, the issues they publically addressed still only pertained to the domestic “women’s” sphere. Their activism remained under the goal of improving domestic life through labor and suffrage.<sup>53</sup>

This domestic women’s sphere was not unique to Jewish culture. The idea that women were the “softer” sex was prevalent in American culture as well. According to the “Cult of True Womanhood,” the Victorian ideal that women were supposed to adhere to, the four fundamental virtues of womanhood are “piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity.” This belief gained particular strength in the mid nineteenth century and carried on into the twentieth century.<sup>54</sup> This Cult of True Womanhood elevated women to a special place in society; however, it also made them inferior to men. This was a struggle for women from all sorts of backgrounds. Due to familial upheaval caused by the immigration process, Jewish immigrant woman had a particular connection to the protection of their place in society. This is one of the main reasons that the fight for suffrage and labor rights was such an important goal.

Many women saw suffrage as the key to being able to protect this family structure. As with the labor movement, a number of Jewish women supported women’s suffrage because they saw it as necessary in order to fulfill their duty in the “women’s sphere.” Culturally, it makes sense that Jewish women would be involved in movements like woman suffrage. Suffrage, labor, peace, and birth control all had to do with women protecting

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<sup>52</sup> Glenn, 210.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 211.

<sup>54</sup> Barbara Welter, “The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860,” *American Quarterly*, 18 (1966): 152.

their “women’s sphere.” Traditional culture places women in the role of protectors of the home and family. Particularly for Jewish women, as Glenn points out, this means working to support them.<sup>55</sup> Suffrage would give them a voice in the government and allow them more opportunity to influence things like labor, which affected their family roles.<sup>56</sup> Many suffragists openly recognized women’s traditional place in the domestic and private sphere and were not demanding a reorganization of the established cultural gender roles.

A suffragist leader and parade organizer in New York, Alice Paul, said in an interview many years after her involvement in the suffrage movement: “Women are certainly made as the peace-loving half of the world and the homemaking half of the world, the temperate half of the world. The more power they have, the better world we are going to have.”<sup>57</sup> Paul was a well-educated Quaker and founder of the National Women’s Party. Interestingly, she had attended for a while the New York School of Philanthropy and lived in Manhattan’s Lower East Side for a year, until she graduated in 1906. She did social work with the residents of tenement housing while living right next to a Jewish synagogue in the Lower East Side.<sup>58</sup> Paul believed in the equality of women with men, but also in the stereotype of women being the “softer” sex. However, Paul had witnessed for herself the struggles of working women in the Lower East Side and her activist plans to gain suffrage were, more often than not, anything but meek and lady-like. Paul spent time in jail after a protest, where she and her suffragist jail-mates participated in a hunger strike as a final form of protest.<sup>59</sup> They were calling for an entrance into the public

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<sup>55</sup> Glenn, 21.

<sup>56</sup> Melissa R. Klapper, *Ballots, Babies, and Banners of Peace: American Jewish Women’s Activism, 1890-1940* (New York: New York University Press, 2013), 22.

<sup>57</sup> Interview of Alice Paul by Amelia R. Fry, “Conversations with Alice Paul: Woman suffrage and the Equal Rights Amendment,” 401.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>59</sup> Alice Paul, “Suffrage Militant Alice Paul Goes to Jail,” in *Modern American Women: A Documentary History*, ed. Susan Ware (New York: McGraw-Hill,

sphere, customarily under the domain of men.<sup>60</sup> Suffrage would grant them a certain amount of equality with men, yet the focus remained within their own socially constructed gender roles.

Opponents to the women's suffrage movement saw the consequences of granting women suffrage very differently. There were a large and growing number of woman suffrage supporters in New York, but there were still many who were opposed, even many women, both Jewish and Gentile. This group called themselves anti-suffragists or "anti's." There were a variety of different reasons why some Jewish women would not support woman suffrage. Some did not feel that it was their place, or that there were more important issues to deal with first. Many anti-suffragists saw the division of gender roles as the laws laid out by nature, and the fight for woman suffrage as trying to destroy those laws. An article published in the anti-suffrage *The Woman's Protest* titled "The Elimination of Sex" emphasized the absurdity of the woman suffrage movement, claiming the suffragists' goal was to eliminate sex, or even to create some sort of gender "hybrid."<sup>61</sup> The author stressed the natural division of men and women as a vital cog in the instrumentation of society. In the author's opinion, "women can do without the ballot." In other words, this softer and gentler sex has their own inherent strengths and purposes, without needing to take on the characteristics of men. The final claim of the author is that, "this proposition to eliminate sex, under any circumstances, or for any purpose—is such an insult to womanhood that if one could stop laughing at the absurdity one must weep at the tragedy of misapprehension and misunderstanding." The fear is that the gendered structure of society will be completely broken down with the "elimination of sex" if the radical suffragists got their way.<sup>62</sup>

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2002), 112.

<sup>60</sup> Abraham D. Lavender, *Ethnic Women and Feminist Values: Toward a "New" Value System* (New York: University Press of America, 1986), 5.

<sup>61</sup> "The Elimination of Sex" *The Woman's Protest*, June, 1912, 4.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

## Roses and Votes

Melissa R. Klapper points out in her book, *Ballots, Babies, and Banners of Peace* that although “there was no Jewish suffrage organization per se, there was also no anti-suffrage Jewish group,”<sup>63</sup> but there were instances when the roles of Jews in the movement were particularly noticed. One such Jewish-American anti-suffragist was Emma Goldman. Goldman was born in Russia in 1869, and though she was not an ardent supporter of religion, the culture of her family and her experiences in Russia under the controlling Czarist government, and the threat of the secret police, along with racial discrimination for her Jewish heritage laid the foundation for her activism in the United States. Rumblings of the Bolshevik revolution and their ideas for a free and equal population caught the ear of young Emma<sup>64</sup> and at the age of seventeen, she emigrated to America in search of independence. She experienced the harsh conditions of the factory system, and influenced by different factions of the labor movement, Goldman developed an anarchist view, and in 1889 she moved to New York to be in the center of the movement. From then on, Goldman adopted a completely activist lifestyle. In 1910, she published a collection of her works titled *Anarchism and Other Essays*, included in which is her essay on woman suffrage, where she argued that the fight for universal suffrage was not a worthy cause.<sup>65</sup> Political participation in an already corrupt government system was not what would set women free. Her anti-suffrage argument is that women will not be able to improve the country’s condition through voting and the equal suffrage movement itself is an unequal class entity, claiming that the movement was being carried only by the elite women of the city. Goldman argues that the woman suffrage movement grew up as a “parlor affair,” a plaything of the elite class of women and excluded the working class women. Rather than making themselves equal through hard

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<sup>63</sup> Klapper, 101.

<sup>64</sup> “Emma Goldman (1869-1940)”, PBS American Experience, March 11, 2004, [http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/goldman/peopleevents/p\\_goldman.html](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/goldman/peopleevents/p_goldman.html).

<sup>65</sup> Hippolyte Havel, “Biographical Sketch” in *Anarchism and Other Essays*, by Emma Goldman (New York: Mother Earth Publishing Association, 1910).

work, like Russian women, American women were spending too much of their energy trying to outdo men.<sup>66</sup> Goldman suggests that the solution to the problems woman face in society must be solved through their own means, not through politics. They must free themselves from the roles American society has boxed them into.

Goldman criticizes suffragettes for seeking freedom from church, war, and home, but then arguing that voting will make them better Christians, citizens, and home keepers. She wants women to be able to break free of the stereotype of being pure, pious, and domestic, yet the suffrage movement, which claims to pursue freedom, is only perpetuating the idea. Goldman strongly believes that women are equal to men and are in all ways capable of the vote, but because they are completely equal there is no reason why they should be able to do a better job. If men have already ruined the political system, why would women, who are the same as men, make it any better? Goldman argues, “Woman’s greatest misfortune has been that she was looked upon as either angel or devil, her true salvation lies in being placed on earth; namely, in being considered human, and therefore subject to all human follies and mistakes.”<sup>67</sup>

What is unique about Goldman’s anti-suffrage rhetoric comes from her anarchist standpoint. Most protests against woman suffrage fell along patriarchal and traditionalist lines: women belonged at home, politics would corrupt them, and they were not smart enough to handle the importance of the vote. The anti-suffrage newspaper *The Woman’s Protest* printed an article in 1912 on a New York woman suffrage parade. The author of this article accused the activists of having a socialist agenda, asking, “Where were the suffragists?”<sup>68</sup> However, even though the opposition, the suffrage movement in New York won its battle. In 1917, New York legislature declared that women in the state of

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<sup>66</sup> Emma Goldman, *Woman Suffrage* (New York: Mother Earth Publishing Association, 1910).

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> “Where Were The Suffragists?” *The Woman’s Protest*, June 1, 1912, 7.



### *Roses and Votes*

New York could vote. Woman suffrage won by an immense majority that was a stark contrast to the denial of 1894<sup>69</sup>.

Often the woman suffrage movement is seen as an elite women's movement, pulled along by figureheads such as Susan B. Anthony and Harriet Stanton Blatch. However, there was so much more to it and so many others who had significant roles to play in its success. The figureheads of the movement were important, but they also needed the support at the grassroots level. Jewish immigrant women from Manhattan's Lower East Side were key members of the movement. Due to their culture and immigrant experience, they had special interest in defining their social roles. Their cultural background gave them a comfort in being economically involved in providing for their family. Protecting their families and livelihood was very important to them, which led to both their activism in the Labor and Woman suffrage movements. They recognized the need for both movements. Gaining suffrage was pivotal to the pursuit of political help for labor rights, and without the support from the working-class; the woman suffrage movement probably would not have had the influence and ultimate success that it did. Their socialist leanings, labor rights activism, and fight for suffrage all revolved around their inherent right to help their family to survive. Jewish immigrant women were driven by the need to protect their families during the upheaval of the immigration process, and they had a firm understanding that voting was basic "bread" needed in order to accomplish this.

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<sup>69</sup> Ida Husted Harper and Susan B. Anthony, *The History of Woman Suffrage*, Vol. 5 (New York: J.J. Little and Ives, 1922.), 400.

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**Author's Bio**

Katelyn Johnson graduated from California State University, San Bernardino in the spring of 2014 with her Bachelor of Arts in History, with an emphasis in United States History. She enjoys furthering her interest in history through study and travel. Since her senior year at CSUSB, Katelyn has had the opportunity to visit America's colonial roots on the East Coast several times and even take an international tour through China. Her hope for the next adventure is to explore New York City and its immigrant history. Katelyn also actively participates in the Lake Arrowhead Mountain Fife and Drum Alumni Corps, playing the traditional fife for different historical reenactments and events throughout the year. As well as working at a local Christian camp, and pursuing her love of history, Katelyn is loving married life with her wonderful high school sweetheart. She would like to thank her husband, Ben, for all his unwavering support and countless cups of coffee during her academic career. She would also like to express her appreciation for Dr. Joyce Hanson, who encouraged, challenged, and inspired her throughout this project.



## **Here and There, Now and Then: Portrayals of the Third Crusade in Film and How their Inaccuracies Encompass Contemporary Movements**

by Steven Anthony

*Abstract: This paper examines the relationship between films dealing with historical events and how they encompass events of the time the film was made. This work uses two film representations of the Third Crusade, from 1187 – 1192; the first is Youssef Chahines' 1963 film Al Nasser Salah Ad-Din and the second is Ridley Scotts' 2005 film, Kingdom of Heaven. Between the films' narrations of events and the actual history, parallels are created between past and present, dealing with ideas such as tolerance and peaceful dialogue, as well as movements such as national, ethnic, or religious unity and inclusiveness.*

## **Introduction**

The sounds echo for miles with the clash of steel, battle cries, and the thunder of hoof beats under the unforgiving heat of the desert sun. It is the Battle of Hattin of 1187, one of the most famous battles from the Crusades in which the Muslim armies overtook the crusaders; but all is not as it appears. The smell of fresh popcorn wafts temptingly in the air, the excited cries of children can be heard close by, and while it is the middle of the day with the heat of the sun beating down on the Battle of Hattin, the audience sits mesmerized in the cool, dark theater. Yes, that large silver screen shows many things to many people; whether it is glorious reminiscence of the past, joyous tales of the present, or haunting looks into the future. Cinema is the medium through which a thousand feelings are communicated in moments and it is a universal form of art around the world.

No genre evokes the power of film better than the historical drama. These particular types of films not only tell great stories and tales of the past; but also encompass the present through modes of storytelling, depictions of people, and the development of the plot. Egypt's 1963 film *Al Nasser Salah Ad-Din (Saladin)*<sup>1</sup> and America's 2005 film *Kingdom of Heaven* both present the same events of the Third Crusade; yet, the messages, depictions of events, and portrayals of the people are completely different. Is it simply ideas expressed by the directors, or does it have more to do with when and where the films came out that shaped their messages? Film is more than simple entertainment, it is a lens that can clarify a time or place in modern history. However, one must always be leery when looking at that silver screen because it can tell more about a people, a time, or culture than one ever wanted to know. This paper is designed to examine key events and personalities on a case-by-case basis to see how the same historical proceedings can be depicted through various lenses of distortion

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<sup>1</sup> To avoid confusion all instances of the 1963 film will be italicized to separate it from discussions of Saladin the man.



*Here and There, Now and Then*

created by cultures and contemporary events within a nation. These representations can alter the morals, historical accuracy, and tone within a film to both positive and negative effects.

*Kingdom of Heaven* was produced by 20<sup>th</sup> Century Fox Film Corporation and was directed by famed English director Ridley Scott. *Kingdom of Heaven* was filmed throughout 2004 in the countries of Morocco and Spain, and was released in May of 2005.<sup>2</sup> *Saladin* was produced by Lotus Films and directed by long-time Egyptian director, Youssef Chahine. *Saladin* was released to Arab audiences in 1963, but did not receive international distribution until 1983, with all of the filming done in Egypt.<sup>3</sup>

Both of these films cover the Third Crusade that occurred between 1187-1192,<sup>4</sup> however both films also cover some of the events leading up to the Third Crusade beginning as early as 1184. What distinguishes these two films is the emphasis placed on events and what events are covered. *Kingdom of Heaven* focuses primarily on events leading up to Saladin's 1187 siege and conquest of Jerusalem beginning sometime around 1184, while *Saladin* gives a more sweeping coverage of the entire Third Crusade or in terms of a timeline roughly 1186-1192.

*Kingdom of Heaven* centers on Balian, a blacksmith that is brought to the Middle East by Godfrey of Ibelin sometime around 1184. After being mortally wounded, Godfrey names Balian his heir and requests he continue on to Jerusalem, where he meets the crusaders Guy of Lusignan and Tiberias, Sibylla the princess of Jerusalem and wife of Guy, and finally, and most importantly, the leper king of Jerusalem Baldwin IV. Baldwin welcomes Balian and gives him an order to protect all the caravans and pilgrims traveling to and from Jerusalem, particularly the Jewish and Muslim travelers. While Balian carries out his task, Guy and his

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<sup>2</sup> "Kingdom on Heaven," Internet Movie Database, [http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0320661/locations?ref\\_=tt\\_dt\\_dt](http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0320661/locations?ref_=tt_dt_dt).

<sup>3</sup> "El Naser Salah el Dine," Internet Movie Database, [http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0057357/?ref\\_=rvi\\_tt](http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0057357/?ref_=rvi_tt).

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Asbridge, *The Crusades: The Authoritative History of the War for the Holy Land* (New York: Harper Collins Publisher, 2010), 370, 512.

ally, Reynald of Chatillon, carry out attacks on caravans in the hope of starting a war with Saladin. Their plan succeeds and Saladin leads his forces to Kerak where they are briefly stalled until Baldwin IV and his army arrive from Jerusalem. Neither desiring bloodshed, Baldwin and Saladin agree to a truce with the condition that Saladin withdraw his forces. The journey, proving too much, causes Baldwin to succumb to his leprosy placing his sister Sibylla as queen and Guy as king. Freed from all of Baldwin's agreements, Guy and Reynald gather their forces and launch an attack against Saladin at Hattin in 1187, which fails miserably. With no one else left to lead, Balian organizes a desperate defense against Saladin's army with the hope that a long siege will create an opportunity for negotiations. Not desiring a long siege, Saladin meets with Balian and agrees to let the people of Jerusalem leave unmolested. The film concludes with Sibylla and Balian returning to his home in Europe where they are met by the forces of Richard I looking to recruit Balian, who declines and sends the crusaders on their way.

*Saladin* begins with Reynald of Chatillon's attack on Muslim caravans leading to the Battle of Hattin in 1187 and follows the movements of Saladin as he slowly takes control of the Holy Land from the crusaders. Following Saladin's victory at Kerak, the Princess Virginia slips by boat and sails away to Europe where she gathers the forces that will make up the Third Crusade. Among the leaders she gathers are King Philip II of France, Marquis Conrad of Montferrat, and the renowned Richard I also known as Richard the Lionheart of England. Together they sail to Acre where they lay siege to the city until finally capturing it. From that point onward, the crusaders and army of Saladin are locked in a struggle to obtain the city of Jerusalem. During this time, conspiracies abounded amongst both the armies of the crusaders and the commanders of Saladin, with each side respectively making and breaking deals to advance their individual agendas. Virginia schemes with both Philip and Conrad to displace Richard and to guarantee their own place as ruler of Jerusalem. Meanwhile, several of Saladin's commanders work to force battles

and push the crusaders out of the Holy Lands even against the will of Saladin. This all comes to a climax when Richard is shot by an Arab arrow while attempting to enter Jerusalem in order to negotiate with Saladin. This leads Saladin to enter the crusader camp unescorted to save Richard's life. The film comes to a conclusion as Richard and Saladin meet alone and in secret to negotiate a truce. Much to Richard's disappointment, Jerusalem will remain in the hands of Arabs but Christians will be permitted to come and go freely. Simultaneously, Saladin vows that he will not attempt to take any other crusader controlled territory.

Watching *Saladin* and *Kingdom of Heaven*, one can see several noticeable similarities between the two films, some for different reasons; likewise there are differences that are clear and some that are obscured. One of the earliest similarities between the films is the portrayal of Reynald of Chatillon as an instigator of violence between the Christians and the Muslims. In *Kingdom of Heaven*, he is portrayed as someone who sees the Muslim presence as a total threat to Christianity in the Holy Land. Throughout the film any reason given to avoid conflict with the Muslim army is seen as "heresy" and a lack of faith in God's decree that the Holy Land should belong to the Christians. It becomes clear as the film progresses that his fervent beliefs bring about his undoing. However, in *Saladin*, Reynald is portrayed as someone more concerned with the state of the treasury than men's souls. His reasons for attacking the caravans of Muslims are not motivated by religious fervor, but rather by pure greed. The two portrayals distinguish themselves from each other even further by Reynald's actions after the Battle of Hattin. It has been well documented that in actuality, Saladin offered water to the parched Guy of Lusignan after the Battle of Hattin, and Guy after drinking his fill, offered the rest to Reynald.<sup>5</sup> After Reynald drank, Saladin commented that he was no longer obligated to show Reynald mercy because Saladin did not offer the water to Reynald, a sign of mercy and

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<sup>5</sup> Amin Maalouf, *The Crusades Through Arab Eyes* (New York: Schocken Books, 1985), 193-194.

respect, Saladin then proceeded to execute Reynald in front of Guy.<sup>6</sup> The portrayals of these events in each film are extremely different and speak more about the decisions of the directors and writers than bigger historical contexts. In *Saladin*, Reynald makes demands, challenges Saladin, and overall shows nothing but disrespect at the meeting even though he is the prisoner. As a last show of arrogance when Saladin orders that water be brought to Guy, Reynald snatches the jug away from the attendant and drinks it in full view of the assembly, an act of defiance and disrespect towards Saladin. This leads to a full duel between Reynald and Saladin rather than an execution. In contrast, *Kingdom of Heaven* shows Reynald as being a victim of ineptitude when Saladin offers water to Guy and he in turn passes it to Reynald who gratefully accepts. When Saladin informs them of Reynald's misfortune, both are shocked and caught off guard leaving Saladin to quickly, even brutally, execute Reynald in front of Guy.

It is difficult to gauge the authenticity of each film's representation of Reynald because he was such a complex individual throughout the length of his life. In the early years of his life during the Second Crusade, one sees a man that is brutal to the point of receiving harsh criticism from his allies, as demonstrated by his 1153 raid on Cyprus.<sup>7</sup> This is in contrast to the shrewd tactician in 1180 that urged Baldwin IV to rally troops at Kerak to protect the annual corn harvest or in 1183 when he had five galleons built and carried by camel to the Gulf of Aqaba to set sail for Mecca and Medina which shook Saladin and the Muslim world to its core.<sup>8</sup> The last instance alone was enough for Saladin to want Reynald dead. Reynald's motives for attacking an Islamic caravan in the winter of 1186 still remain open for debate, however scholars like Thomas Asbridge have agreed that Reynald's actions were not what led to the Battle of Hattin and loss of Jerusalem in 1187.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Asbridge, 252.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 318, 324.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 343.

The portrayal of Reynald in both films is relatively accurate with the only contestable aspect being his raid on the Islamic caravan in 1186 as the event that reignited war in the Holy Land, ultimately leading to the Third Crusade. The reason for this has less to do with events of the time when these films were made and more to do with clean storytelling. The events leading to the Battle of Hattin are complicated on both sides. On the side of the Franks, there is the newly crowned Guy of Lusignan needing to secure his and Queen Sibylla's authority after Baldwin V died at age five in 1186;<sup>10</sup> meanwhile, Saladin needed to keep momentum within his allied Islamic force before it disbanded at the end of autumn.<sup>11</sup> These historical facts would make a film retelling convoluted and most likely scare away the general audience. Presenting the war as the result of Reynald's actions in 1186 allows for a tighter film narrative that is accessible to a larger audience.

This leads to another character portrayal that separates both films, Guy of Lusignan. In *Kingdom of Heaven*, Guy is portrayed as a young, ambitious man out to control Jerusalem no matter the cost, and the goal of expelling Muslims from the Holy Land is simply a means to that end. Like Reynald in *Saladin*, Guy is defiant even when a prisoner. He believes that he will ultimately be victorious even when he is clearly defeated; it is not until Balian injures him in the streets of Jerusalem after a truce is reached with Saladin that doubt and defeat present themselves on Guy's face and he is forced to accept his failures. In contrast, *Saladin* portrays Guy as an older leader, a man more content, even determined, with maintaining the peace between Muslims and Christians. However, the greed of Reynald drags him and his knights into the Battle of Hattin. When standing before Saladin, Guy pays him all the proper respect, but more importantly, he has an air of acceptance of his own defeat. He clearly knows that his life is in the hands of Saladin yet he is not afraid, which is also different from the actual Guy who was terrified when he was before Saladin after Hattin.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 342.

<sup>11</sup> Maalouf, 190.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 194.

Both films misrepresent Guy of Lusignan but *Kingdom of Heaven* is further from the truth than *Saladin*, mainly for being a major character in the former and a minor in the latter. While it was true that Guy was ambitious in his pursuit of power in the Holy Land, it was not out of the ordinary for any noble born crusader; in fact his marriage to Sibylla occurred on the insistence of Baldwin IV so he could maintain control of the throne in Jerusalem,<sup>13</sup> rather than the unhappy, contentious sham that is presented in *Kingdom of Heaven*. Both films also failed to capture the strategic workman-like mind of Guy, who repelled Saladin's forces on multiple occasions with the most notable being the Islamic forces' 1183 campaign through Galilee for which Guy received a great deal of ridicule for not being more aggressive in his resistance to the Islamic forces.<sup>14</sup> Guy's portrayal is another anomaly like Reynald of Chatillon in that it is distorted more for simplicity's sake. In *Saladin*, Guy is simply a foil to Reynald's arrogance when before Saladin's mercy and forgiveness. In *Kingdom of Heaven*, Guy is nothing short of the primary antagonist; all the conflict between Muslims and Christians and the war as a whole are portrayed as results of his ambition and greed, which could not have been further from the truth.

One of the most egregious portrayals is that of the leper king Baldwin IV in *Kingdom of Heaven*. Within the film he is portrayed as a leader of religious tolerance amongst the crusaders; he strives to maintain peace with Saladin and the Ayyubid Empire, and he advocates for overall coexistence not only within Jerusalem but the entire Holy Land. This presentation of Baldwin IV is wildly different from the actual man who ruled Jerusalem. In all actuality, Baldwin was a devoted crusader who made every attempt to gain some type of advantage over Muslim forces during times of peace. One such example of this was in 1178 when Baldwin ordered the construction of a fortress at Jacob's Ford in the Upper Jordan during a truce with Saladin.<sup>15</sup> Despite being offered 100,000 dinars

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<sup>13</sup> Asbridge, 323.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 326-327.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 311.

to abandon the fortification Baldwin continued to slowly move into the neutral zone between Christian Palestine and Muslim Syria until halted by Saladin in August of 1179 with the destruction of the fortress.<sup>16</sup> Additionally, Baldwin IV was most likely also party to Reynald of Chatillon's naval excursion into the Red Sea in 1183, as well as authorizing raids into Damascus and Bosra in 1182 while Saladin was occupied elsewhere.<sup>17</sup>

Baldwin IV's portrayal was changed so dramatically within *Kingdom of Heaven* to serve as a call for multiple movements within the United States. A leading movement that Baldwin represents was the call for dialogue between civilizations rather than clashes. This film came out only a few years after President George W. Bush's infamous "'Crusade' Against Terrorism" speech which in the words of British Christian Science Monitor journalist Peter Ford "Passed almost unnoticed by Americans, [but] rang alarm bells in Europe."<sup>18</sup> Ford went on to further write on how failure to distinguish politics from religion within the conversation would lead to a "clash of civilizations."<sup>19</sup> Quotes like Ford's help to understand the parallels that Ridley Scott, an Englishman himself, was trying to draw between the disasters of Third Crusade and US presence in Iraq in 2004. Baldwin IV's attitude and actions throughout the film calls for discussion and contemplation, rather than emotionally driven action and sense of moral justification.

Baldwin IV's dialogue throughout *Kingdom of Heaven* stands out the most because it is mostly about accountability, honesty, and the overall conduct of a leader. Writer William Monahan spent much of 2003 developing the script for *Kingdom of Heaven*, which then filmed between January 12, 2004 and May 16, 2004.<sup>20</sup> During this time the United States launched its invasion of

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 312-315.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 324.

<sup>18</sup> Peter Ford, "Europe Cringes at Bush 'Crusade' Against Terrorists," *The Christian Science Monitor* (September 19, 2001).

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> "Box office/business for Kingdom of Heaven," Internet Movie Database,

Iraq in 2003 and the CIA admitted to the falsification of its reports of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq on February 3, 2004.<sup>21</sup> These events created a great deal of suspicion towards American leaders like Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and President George W. Bush not only in the minds of Americans, but other nations as well. What suggests this is a piece of dialogue from Baldwin to Balian about conduct: “When you stand before God, you cannot say, ‘But I was told by others to do thus’ or that ‘Virtue was not convenient at the time’. This will not suffice. Remember that.” This line of dialogue could be viewed as a call for better conduct in dealing with foreign and domestic relations, as well as giving a nod to audiences that they were not alone in their sentiments and feelings towards government as a whole.

Richard I (The Lionheart) holds a unique place within both films but to varying extents. A minor character in *Kingdom of Heaven*. Richard appears only at the end and is not given much depth, rather he is a visual representation of how the war for the Holy Land continues even after the fight ends for others. *Saladin*, in contrast, has Richard as a major character who serves as a European counter balance to Saladin. Unlike his fellow crusaders, Richard I is never portrayed as scheming or placed in a truly negative light; rather he is shown to be misguided at times but never malicious or arrogant. He is portrayed as the most outstanding among the other crusaders physically, morally, and spiritually while the other Europeans are portrayed as treacherous, greedy, and self-serving. Richard alone is willing to meet with Saladin, allowing Saladin to implore for a truce. Richard being swayed by Saladin was an allegorical reminder of when Nasser convinced the British to withdraw their military forces from Egypt in 1955<sup>22</sup>, after Nasser negotiated a treaty with Britain in 1954 to

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[http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0320661/business?ref\\_=tt\\_dt\\_bus](http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0320661/business?ref_=tt_dt_bus).

<sup>21</sup> Timothy Corrigan, *Timeline-the 2000s, American Cinema of the 2000s: Themes and Variations* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2012), xi.

<sup>22</sup> Viola Shafik, *Popular Egyptian Cinema: Gender, Class, and Nation* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2007), 107.



evacuate all troops from the Suez Canal.<sup>23</sup> Historically Richard and Saladin never actually met each other in person.<sup>24</sup>

This leads to a significant issue with the depiction of Richard's siege of Jerusalem, namely how it ended in *Saladin*. The film presents that Richard was won over by the morality and compassion of Saladin, but this is a far cry from the truth. Historically, the siege of Jerusalem ended mostly due to French forces under the leadership of Hugh of Burgundy returning to Jaffa in 1191 and Richard receiving news that his brother Prince John and French King Philip Augustus were working together to remove him from the English throne in 1192.<sup>25</sup> The final blow to Richard's campaign came in August of 1192 when he developed a debilitating fever that stole much of his strength to the point that he could not even read the truce he created with Saladin.<sup>26</sup> It is clear that Richard is meant to be a denouncement of the idea that all Western powers were looking to subdue and exploit Arab states within the context of when *Saladin* was released. *Saladin* was released in 1963, which was seven years after the Suez Crisis. One must ask what some of the consequences of the Suez Crisis were in 1956. Britain and France both lost a tremendous amount of standing within the global community.<sup>27</sup> The biggest result was the open condemnation by the United States and Soviet Union over the military action by Britain, Israel, and France followed by the open support of Egypt.<sup>28</sup> This was clear acknowledgement by the two world super powers of Egypt's sovereignty and elevated both nations in the eyes of Arabs, much the same way that Richard the Lionheart acknowledges the wisdom and strength of Saladin after he saves his life from, by no coincidence, European treachery and deceit.

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<sup>23</sup> Martin Bunton and William L. Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East* (New York: Westview Press, 2009), 309.

<sup>24</sup> Asbridge, 512.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 491 & 497

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 511-512.

<sup>27</sup> Bunton and Cleveland, *A History*, 312.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

The final individual to be covered is none other than the titular Saladin as a man who is ever-present within both films yet is shown in two very different lights. *Kingdom of Heaven* presents Saladin as a pragmatic force that is always looming in the back of crusaders' minds. Through several of his exchanges with other individuals in the film, one would almost believe him to be an atheist or someone with a more modern sense of religion. This comes across clearest during the siege of Jerusalem when he has two exchanges with Balian; the first when Saladin asks for him to yield the city and Balian replies "Before I lose it, I will burn it to the ground. Your holy places – ours. Every last thing in Jerusalem that drives men mad."

To this Saladin simply replied "I wonder if it would not be better if you did." This exchange is concluded with Balian inquiring about the value of Jerusalem to Saladin, to which he replies "Nothing....Everything." This is a wildly different interpretation of Saladin than what is portrayed in the 1963 film. In it, Saladin is portrayed as a humble, pious man that wishes to avoid war. An example of his humility is demonstrated when he first meets with the crusader frontline after they take Acre. During the introduction, each of the crusaders lists their various titles and ranks; when the time comes for Saladin to introduce himself he says "Saladin, servant of God and of the Arabs." This was only one of the many instances of Saladin's humble acts within the film.

In historical fact, Saladin is somewhere in between these portrayals; he was regarded for his moral uprightness and humility, yet he was also feared for his shrewdness and logicity. An example of this would be the 1180 truce he agreed to with Baldwin IV, which was unpopular among many members of the Ayyubid court; Saladin explained to the caliph that the truce was necessary so he could lead forces into the Upper Euphrates against Kilij Arslan and the Armenian ruler of Cilicia, Roupén III, because they posed a threat to the sacred struggle against the crusaders. However, in truth this was an expansion of the Ayyubid Empire

led by Saladin.<sup>29</sup> An important aspect of Saladin's military career and personal life that both films gloss over is the fact that Saladin was a devoted sultan of the Ayyubid Empire. Expansion of the Ayyubid Empire was the main reason Saladin agreed to prolonged truces with the crusaders in the Levant. His continued peace with Baldwin IV from 1182 through 1183 was so he could lead a military campaign into Aleppo and Mosul.<sup>30</sup>

The portrayal of Saladin being overly merciful and generous is also over exaggerated. After capturing the sailors that Reynald of Chatillon dispatched into Arabia in 1183, Saladin had the sailors separated and taken to various cities where they were publicly executed, with two more being taken to Mecca during the Hajj where they were butchered like animals on an altar.<sup>31</sup> Despite his many acts of brutality, however, Saladin could also be tolerant and compassionate. An example of this was after his successful siege of Jerusalem on October 2, 1187; with the inhabitants having refused all his offers for surrender until he breached the walls, he was not obliged to show them any mercy, however he allowed the people to buy their freedom: ten dinars for every man, five for every woman, and one for every child.<sup>32</sup> After accepting this offer, Balian of Ibalin beseeched Saladin to let 7,000 of Jerusalem's poor go for only 30,000 dinars, which Saladin agreed to.<sup>33</sup> After entering Jerusalem, Saladin heard from his brother about the poor that were gathered around the gates to beg. In response, Saladin agreed to free 1,000 people without ransom; hearing this, the Frankish patriarch of Jerusalem asked if seven hundred more could not be freed and Balian followed by asking for another five hundred; both of their requests were granted.<sup>34</sup> Saladin followed this act by freeing all imprisoned men with young children and the

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<sup>29</sup> Asbridge, 316-317.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 320-322.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 324-325.

<sup>32</sup> Maalouf, 198.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 199.

elderly.<sup>35</sup> And as his final act of charity, he not only offered complete exemption to orphans and widows but money and other gifts for their travels, much to the frustration of his treasurers.<sup>36</sup>

Much like his history of being the sultan of the Ayyubid Empire, Saladin's ethnicity as a Kurd is also annexed from his identity within both films. While this did not define Saladin, it was an aspect of him that was strangely absent. In the case of the 1963 film, it has to do with two facts. The first was that the film was supposed to be portraying Saladin as a prototype Nasser, an early Pan-Arab unifier; this representation strengthened the ideas Nasser was spreading in the 1960s. The second reason was to emphasize the difference between Arabs and Europeans; throughout the film, the differences between the crusaders were constantly being presented, while Saladin's Kurdish origin was replaced instead with a stronger Islamic and Arab identity to promote the idea of a unified "Arabness" against a disorganized European coalition.<sup>37</sup> In the case of *Kingdom of Heaven* it was most likely done to prevent confusion with American audiences since many Americans related Islam with being Arab. When *Kingdom of Heaven* came to theaters in 2005, Islamophobia within the United States was rising, as proven in a study by the Pew Research Center, which found that by 2005, 41 percent of Americans had an unfavorable view of Islam.<sup>38</sup> One of the goals of the film was to relieve the fears of Americans towards Islam and Arabs. Adding the fact that Saladin was not Arab would only have caused audiences to lose the overall message of the film.

The pivotal depictions in both of these films were the large battles that occurred in the Third Crusade. Between the two films, audiences could witness the Battle of Hattin, Saladin's 1187 Siege of Jerusalem, the crusaders' 1189 Siege of Acre, and Richard I's

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 199-200.

<sup>37</sup> Shafik, *Popular Egyptian Cinema*, 107.

<sup>38</sup> "Prospects for Inter-Religious Understanding: Will Views Towards Muslims and Islam Follow Historical Trends?" Washington D.C.: Pew Research Center. 2006. 4.

1192 Siege of Jerusalem. Each of these battles was not only fundamental in the crafting of each film, but in shaping actual events in the Third Crusade.

The Battle of Hattin is presented in both films, but to varying degrees. In *Saladin*, it is the introduction to Saladin's brilliance as he devises a way for his small army to defeat the Christian army of 100,000 men using a combination of cutting off the crusaders' water supply and clever battle tactics. In reality Saladin had a larger force than the crusaders, which consisted of only 1,200 knights and between 15,000 to 18,000 infantrymen.<sup>39</sup> This was a clear embellishment meant for Arab audiences and enforced the idea of Saladin as an Islamic and Arab hero. In contrast, *Kingdom of Heaven* gives a realistic look at what the weather and terrain would have been like for the Christian army and how it affected the army's strength, going so far as to show men dropping dead from the heat. *Kingdom of Heaven* follows this scene with one showing the decimated crusader forces scattered about the battlefield of Hattin with vultures circling above. While *Kingdom of Heaven* does not directly depict the struggle at the Battle of Hattin, it presents a more historically accurate idea of the battle and proceeds to drive home how devastating the loss was for the Christian forces.

The Siege of Jerusalem is covered only in *Kingdom of Heaven*, but it does capture the havoc and fear within the city when Saladin began his siege. *Kingdom of Heaven* accurately shows how outnumbered and ill-equipped the Christian army was in defending Jerusalem from Saladin and his army. An aspect that the film covers in its depiction of the siege was how quick it was. Beginning on September 20<sup>th</sup>, the siege lasted until a wall was breached on the 29<sup>th</sup> of September.<sup>40</sup> In the film, Balian is extremely aware of Saladin's power and knows that only by getting Saladin to agree to terms of surrender for the city could its populace be saved. This attitude to bring Saladin to terms mirrors

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<sup>39</sup> Asbridge, 345.

<sup>40</sup> Maalouf, 197

the actual stand point of Balian of Ibalin who had only a few knights and soldiers under his command, as well as a population of Christians that sided with Saladin within the city.<sup>41</sup> The film captures the desperation and courage of the crusader defending Jerusalem, while also showing the momentum and sense of inevitability within the ranks of Saladin's army. This section of *Kingdom of Heaven* captures the essence of the actual event and unabashedly presents it to viewers in a way that brings the history to life.

The Siege of Acre in 1189 is one of the most poorly presented of the battles that occurred in *Saladin*'s presentation of events of the Third Crusade. *Saladin* shows the siege as being primarily naval based with the German King Fredrick Barbarossa giving his life to raise the flag of Christendom in the city of Acre. This depiction of the Siege of Acre is wildly inaccurate from the actual siege for numerous reasons, the primary problem being the death of King Barbarossa and the time it took to take Acre. Beginning with the latter, the siege began in August of 1189 and lasted until July of 1191,<sup>42</sup> almost two years. Acre was a long, bloody siege that was sustained only through continued reinforcements by the armies of Richard the Lionheart, Conrad of Montferrat, and Philip II Augustus.<sup>43</sup> Fredrick Barbarossa's death was another exaggeration within the film. In truth, Barbarossa drowned in a stream before he even reached Syria in 1190.<sup>44</sup> This news shocked both crusaders and Arabs that one of the most powerful leaders from Europe was gone and that his expeditionary force had dissolved.<sup>45</sup> There are two other factors that were also missing from the film's presentation of the Siege of Acre. The first being Saladin's inability to break the siege, despite his best efforts,<sup>46</sup> however this would not have been in the interest of

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Asbridge, 402 & 443

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 403 & 428-429.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 421.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 412-417.

anyone involved with the making of the film under the film regulations and nationalizations established by Gamal abd al-Nasser only a few years before.<sup>47</sup> The second problem was that the siege was not shown to be initiated by the dethroned Guy of Lusigna, who ensured constant pressure was being placed on the city while also foiling all of Saladin's counter-attacks until reinforcements arrived in 1191.<sup>48</sup> From a film narrative perspective, this could have very easily been a point of redemption for Guy after losing the Battle of Hattin in 1187, consequently followed by Jerusalem.

The final event, and most inaccurate, is Richard I's 1192 Siege of Jerusalem. *Saladin* shows the siege occurring in the month of December with a few days of heated, bloody battle with Richard and Saladin both calling for a temporary respite so that all Christians could celebrate and worship the birth of Jesus. During this time, Saladin convinces Richard to agree to a truce and the withdrawal of Christian forces. While the ideas in the film make for great entertainment, the historical inaccuracies make it nothing but an enjoyable "what if" scenario. In historical fact, the crusaders never reached the gates of Jerusalem; at one point, they came within a few hours march of the Holy City but nothing more.<sup>49</sup> Additionally, the march to Jerusalem occurred in June of 1191 with the negotiations between Richard and Saladin taking place throughout early 1192.<sup>50</sup> The main reason for this stall in the crusaders' rapid advance to Jerusalem was disagreements between the nobles that were leading the efforts. Tensions became so high that Richard resigned as commander of the crusader forces on 17 June 1191, which brought the Christian army to a standstill.<sup>51</sup> This was the death knell for Richard the Lionheart's march to Jerusalem

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<sup>47</sup> Walter Armbrust, "The Rise and Fall of Nationalism in the Egyptian Cinema," in *Social Construction of Nationalism in the Middle East*, ed. Fatma Muge Gocek (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 229-230

<sup>48</sup> Asbridge, 401-420.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 508.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 509 & 512-513.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 507-508.

with its official conclusion coming on September 2, 1192 when Saladin and Richard signed terms for a truce.<sup>52</sup> While fictitious, *Saladin's* depiction of Richard I's 1192 siege of Jerusalem is nothing short of an intriguing idea of what Richard's campaign could have been like had he not relinquished command of the crusader forces in 1191.

A theme that is present within both films is the idea of religious tolerance. Each film promotes tolerance for very different reasons. Chief among them was the political and social climates of the time when each film was released. *Saladin* came out in 1963 when Gamal abd al-Nasser's Arab unity movement was being reinforced through films and other forms of nationalizations to rally the Egyptian populace.<sup>53</sup> Within the film, one of Saladin's commanders, Issa, is revealed to be a Christian; when asked by a crusader why he fights for the Muslim army, his response was simply for Arab unity. This was clearly a push through film to bring together the different religious groups of Egypt not as separate religious sects, but as unified Egyptians working towards a common goal of a stronger nation free of Western control.<sup>54</sup> Another historical factor for the insertion of Issa was the mass expulsion of Jewish, British, and French nationals from Egypt in 1956 after the Suez Crisis.<sup>55</sup> This caused thousands of Egyptians to leave behind the only home they ever knew and travel to countries they had never visited before.<sup>56</sup> This aspect of the film was to not only unite the Arabs of the Middle East in the wake of the failed United Arab Republic in 1961,<sup>57</sup> but also dissolve the separation Egyptians were creating between ethnic and religious groups.

*Kingdom of Heaven* is also clearly promoting the institution of religious tolerance through many of the actions and dialogue of characters over the course of the film. One of the earliest examples

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 512.

<sup>53</sup> Shafik, *Arab Cinema*, 169

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 169-170.

<sup>55</sup> Bunton and Cleveland, 312.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 314.



of this is how seriously Baldwin IV takes the laws negotiated between himself and Saladin so seriously that he sentences even Templar knights to death when they break those laws. Another comes when Baldwin gives orders to Balian to be especially protective of Jewish and Muslim travelers along the roads not for political protection or economic gain, but simply because it is the right thing to do. One of the most iconic and famous scenes in the film is when Saladin walks through Jerusalem and finds a crucifix lying on the ground. Rather than stepping on or over it, Saladin picks it up and places it back on the alter from which it had fallen. This scene depicts the acceptance Saladin has for the Christian presence in Jerusalem despite the bloody history of the past.

This by all accounts contrasts with how both men behaved in their time. Baldwin IV during his lifetime was not a proponent of Christian and Muslim spiritual coexistence within the Holy Land; however, it was clear he understood the economic importance of the Arab presence. The traveler Ibn Jubayr noted that trade between Cairo and Damascus had not been interrupted when he visited Damascus in 1184 which was a contested time between the Franks and Muslims.<sup>58</sup> What he noticed was that when the Muslim traders entered Christian territory, they paid a reasonable, standardized tax on their goods and were then allowed free passage through the territory; Ibn Jubayr also noticed that the same was true for Christian traders that passed through Islamic territory.<sup>59</sup> This shows that concern for protecting various religious caravans was not done out of religious tolerance or moral code, but rather for a steady revenue stream for both sides. This places a new viewpoint on Baldwin's orders to protect caravans in *Kingdom of Heaven*. Perhaps Baldwin's orders were made not just for the sake of tolerance and chivalry, but also for financial stability and profit, which adds a layer of practicality to the film's message of acceptance and tolerance.

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<sup>58</sup> Maalouf, 185.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

Saladin's march through Jerusalem in *Kingdom of Heaven* is also quite misleading and while it does serve the themes and overall message of the film, it does so on a significant bending of the historical truth. While it was true that Saladin did permit Christian pilgrims unrestricted access to holy sites in Jerusalem, it did not become an Ayyubid practice until after Richard I's march to Jerusalem in 1192.<sup>60</sup> After Saladin took Jerusalem in 1187, he had his soldiers immediately begin "purifying" the holy sites that the Franks had "tainted."<sup>61</sup> Of the sites "purified" was the Dome of the Rock, which the Christians had named the Templum Domini (Church of Our Lord), but which Muslims believe houses the rock Abraham prepared to sacrifice his son on and which Muhammad ascended into heaven from.<sup>62</sup> The Muslim forces had removed the alter and all art the Christians had placed inside the Dome, burned incense and sprinkled rose water throughout the site, and finally ripped the cross down from the golden colored dome.<sup>63</sup> The historical actions of Saladin are a sharp contrast with the actions of Saladin in *Kingdom of Heaven*, but it is important to note that Saladin did engage in dialogue with Christians and eventually worked out a peace with the crusaders in 1192. In both of these situations, director Ridley Scott distorted the historical facts, which is always dangerous because it can affect peoples' perception of history, changing how they perceive events of the present. However, Scott bent these facts in a way that highlighted one of the core lessons from the Third Crusade, that zealousness and over-devotion to a cause can be devastating to multiple groups of people because clashes of civilization never have good results. Through that perspective, Scott captures the distilled historical warning of the crusades at a time when emotions, tensions, and ambitions were running rampant in the United States and other parts of the world.

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<sup>60</sup> Asbridge, 512.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 362.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

Another aspect of *Saladin* is the portrayal of Saladin and the direct relation to Nasser as a leader and a national figure. The film presents Saladin as a Pan-Arab leader seeking to unite the downtrodden Arab peoples of the Holy Land for the purpose of throwing off the oppressive presence of the crusaders. This remarkably parallels Gamal abd al-Nasser's struggle to unite the Arab world to stomp out the interference of the Western world in Arab affairs.<sup>64</sup> Saladin was also portrayed as being morally upright to the point of righteousness and having wisdom beyond his years, in addition to his generosity and tolerance for other religions; all traits that Nasser tried to portray within himself.<sup>65</sup> Despite his attempts at over-grandeurizing himself, Nasser still understood the power of cinema to shape opinions and create support. Anwar Sadat himself had a love for cinema that ran so deep he almost missed the 1952 coup because he was at a movie.<sup>66</sup>

This leads to a final factor in the development of *Saladin*, the laws of censorship regarding film. While Nasser reformed the censorship laws in 1955, they were still vague with their declaration to "Protect public morals, to preserve security, public order, and the superior interests of the state."<sup>67</sup> This vague regulation put many filmmakers in a difficult position; what qualified as a "threat" to security, morality, or the state? More importantly, what were the punishments for breaking these censorship laws? The answer was simple enough; make films that promoted Egyptian nationalism, pride, and unity either directly or through allegory and everything would be fine.<sup>68</sup> Over time the laws became slightly more defined but still vague enough that directors and actors had to be wary of clauses such as "good morals" and "public safety" in their works.<sup>69</sup> Another factor in the regulation of Egyptian cinema was that Nasser began nationalizing

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<sup>64</sup> Shafik, *Popular Egyptian Cinema*, 106

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 106-107.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 107-108.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 108.

<sup>68</sup> Shafik, *Arab Cinema*, 35

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

the film industry beginning in 1960.<sup>70</sup> This allowed for an increase in original and risk taking films to be produced by directors that no longer had to consider how marketable a film was to audiences.<sup>71</sup> In fact, by 1963 one third of all theaters in Egypt were owned by the government.<sup>72</sup>

The director of *Saladin*, Youssef Chahine is arguably a master of manipulating the regulations on Middle Eastern cinema to his artistic whims. Having worked in the Egyptian film industry since the early 1950s and being a Christian in a predominantly Muslim country, Chahine learned many ways of presenting his own views while still skating past government censorship laws.<sup>73</sup> As previously mentioned, one of Saladin's commanders in the film is a Christian that fights alongside his Arab brothers for the greater good. The film does highlight how Issa feels and is marginalized by the other leaders, while Saladin accepts him unconditionally. Even when the crusaders gain the slightest advantage in the battle for Jerusalem, Issa is immediately suspect in aiding them and betraying his Arab brothers. However, through the great leadership and vision of Saladin, these suspicions are quickly banished and Issa is accepted fully by the rest of the commanders. In this single decision on direction, Chahine has called out the marginalization of religious minorities within Egypt but has still protected himself from backlash by framing it within a call for Arab unity. That is merely a single instance of the tight rope filmmakers in the Middle East have to walk to both express their ideas and keep themselves out of prison.

Film is a powerful source of media that can capture the imaginations of millions of people from around the world and give each of them different ideas and feelings. Likewise, film can perfectly encapsulate movements and changes going on in a

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<sup>70</sup> Walter Armbrust, *Mass Mediations: New Approaches to Popular Culture in the Middle East & Beyond* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000), 292.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 292-293.

<sup>72</sup> Shafik, *Popular Egyptian Cinema*, 282-283.

<sup>73</sup> Shafik, *Arab Cinema*, 34-37.

society by way of its themes or story, as seen in both *Kingdom of Heaven* and *Saladin*. Both films, despite their historical inaccuracies, capture the spirit of the Third Crusade not just through their presentations of epic battles and sieges, nor their portrayals of men and women that were and are still considered inspiring, nor even the costumes and constructs that transport one back in time; it is the messages of tolerance, courage in the face of overwhelming odds, and above all, the need for dialogue between civilization rather than war and violence.

Both films do not shy away from showing the costs associated with war: the death, destruction, treachery, deceit, and sorrow, after it is over. Each film also tells a historical narrative of what was happening when they were made. In the case of *Saladin*, one sees the call for Pan-Arabism and Egyptian unity in the face of Western plotting, as well as the promotion of Gamal Abd al-Nasser as the next great Arab hero. This was not a trend that would continue into the 1970s, where satire and mockery of Gamal Abd al-Nasser and his push for Arab unity became standard.<sup>74</sup> While directors of the 1960s promoted Pan-Arabism, directors of the 1970s discussed how Egyptians could become alienated within their own country.<sup>75</sup> In *Kingdom of Heaven*, one sees the call for dialogue between nations rather than politically and ideologically fueled conflict, in addition to leaders and organizations conducting themselves in the manner that is expected of them through deeds, not words. Like *Saladin*, *Kingdom of Heaven* suffered a similar problem of audiences in America having changes in theatrical taste, with a demand for films that were pure fantasy or firmly established in reality and historical fact.<sup>76</sup> Even when *Kingdom of Heaven* was released, its ideas of dialogue and tolerance were overshadowed by films like *How Little We Know about Our Neighbors*, which focused on the idea of being under constant surveillance, playing to American sensibilities and fears in 2005.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Armbrust, "The Rise," 229-230.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 233.

<sup>76</sup> Corrigan, 103.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 134-137.

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Film can be a medium from which events can be discussed over hundreds of miles and decades of time. Cinema was, is, and shall be the revolutionary medium that enables many stories of both historic and fictitious manners to be told to present generations and preserved for future generations. Film can inspire people to action, to become better than they are. It can pass on a lesson from the past or it can create hope for the future. The silver screen will continue to be a part of history, preserving the past and enlightening the future. To borrow from *Kingdom of Heaven*, it is worth nothing. And everything.

*Here and There, Now and Then*

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*Here and There, Now and Then*

**Author Bio**

Steven Anthony is a graduate from California State University, San Bernardino with a B.A. in History and a minor in Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies. He also has two Associate's Degrees from Mt. San Jacinto College in Humanities and Liberal Art. He served two years on CSUSB's successful Model United Nations team and had a previous publication in last year's journal. He is currently working to pay down student loans before continuing on towards a Master's degree and PhD hopefully at the University of Texas. He would like to thank Dr. David Yaghoubian and Dr. Kevin E. Grisham for challenging him to be a better student, writer, and overall scholar. He would also like to thank family for being so supportive. Lastly a special thanks to Brian Salisbury and Chris Cox of oneofus.net for giving me, though unintentionally, the idea for this paper.



*History in the Making*

# Notes from the Archives

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## **Exhibiting Mental Health History in the Patton State Hospital Museum**

by Shannon Long, Amanda Castro, and Sarah Hansen

### ***Introduction***

In any museum, it is important that the artifacts on display represent the theme of the exhibit. One of the first steps in creating an exhibit is to choose artifacts that will bring visitors closer to the topic discussed and to help them understand what role the artifacts played in history. Each artifact must provide a means to interpret the story behind that theme. When the right artifacts are chosen for an exhibit the visitor feels transported to another time because physical representations of the past can have a lasting impact on the memory. These same artifacts can also make visitors feel enlightened about the topic in that they are able to see how and when each item was created and used. All artifacts chosen to be on display should aid patrons in leaving the exhibit with a better understanding of the topic being interpreted. These were the exact qualifications that we followed while curating items to be on display at the Patton State Hospital Museum. This article will reflect on the establishment of the museum and archive of artifacts, photographs, and documents belonging to and related to Patton State Hospital (hereafter referred to as “Patton”) located in Highland, California. Special focus will be provided on key items

within each major exhibit throughout the museum and how these items work to interpret the history of Patton.

This museum and archive project, although it has been in the works for years, became a joint initiative between Patton and California State University, San Bernardino's History Department (hereafter referred to as CSUSB) in January 2014. The goal of the project was to provide Patton staff, students, volunteers, interns, official visitors, and researchers with information about the history of the hospital and about the history of mental health care in Southern California from the establishment of the hospital in 1890 to the present. We hope that the museum and archive will provide an educational venue that will raise awareness and will further efforts to provide the best care possible to patients. Ultimately, this project is intended to open the museum to the public in an effort to create awareness of the plight of the mentally ill in California, treatment modalities utilized by Patton State Hospital over the course of its history, and to provide a means by which patients, their families, Patton staff, and the local community can reflect on their stories for posterity.

With over 120 years of history, Patton provides a wealth of information regarding the care of the mentally ill in California, yet until now there has been little effort to preserve the history, artifacts, or buildings of the institution. Though there has been a plan for the establishment of an archive and museum at Patton for many years, Patton lacked the personnel and expertise to take on such a large endeavor. Hospital historian and supervising social worker Anthony Ortega, L.C.S.W., has been collecting and organizing artifacts from all over the hospital for several years and was housing these artifacts in an unused room on the grounds. Two years ago Mr. Ortega was able to secure a location for the museum on the grounds, however, with little available time and no experience in museum and archive methods, the project stagnated until graduate student Shannon Long, who was studying public history and the history of mental health expressed an interest in the project in the Fall of 2013. After a contract was drawn up between CSUSB's History department, Mrs. Long and three undergraduate

public history interns, Amanda Castro, Cassie Grand, and Danielle Bennett began work on the project in January 2014. Two months later another undergraduate public history student, Sarah Hansen, joined the project. Fifteen months later, and with further assistance from undergraduate students Brent Bellah and Casey Lee, the students have established an archiving system, designed all the exhibits in the museum, installed the exhibits, and opened the museum on April 17<sup>th</sup>, 2015.

In the process of establishing the museum and archive, hundreds of artifacts, photographs, and documents collected over the years by Patton staff have now been preserved and, where possible, digitized and organized into a searchable database. Several of each type of object is on display in the museum and the entire collection is in the process of being logged into the archival system. Countless hours have been dedicated to researching the history of Patton, the artifacts displayed in the museum, and the history of mental health care in general in order to provide an accurate and informative experience for visitors to the museum.

### ***Patton State Hospital***

Patton State Hospital was the fifth state hospital established by the state of California to care for the state's mentally ill. It was established in 1890 and accepted its first patients under the name Southern California State Asylum for the Insane and Inebriates in 1893. The hospital was renamed Patton State Hospital in 1927 after a member of the board of directors.<sup>1</sup> A State Commission in Lunacy was established by the turn of the century to oversee the state hospital system.<sup>2</sup> That commission would be replaced by the Department of Institution in 1920.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> April Wursten, "Patton Time Line," March 28, 2005; Patton State Hospital Library, Patton, California.

<sup>2</sup> Joel T. Braslow, *Mental Ills and Bodily Cures: Psychiatric Treatment in the First Half of the Twentieth Century* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 16.

<sup>3</sup> California, Department of Institutions, "First Biennial Report Two Years Ending June 30, 1922" (Sacramento: California State Printing Office, 1923), 3.

By the end of the nineteenth century, one in every 281 Californians was committed to a California state hospital. Overcrowding quickly became an issue, leading state hospitals to use deportation, parole, probation, and sterilization as the means to reduce patient populations.<sup>4</sup> During the Great Depression the state established family care homes, urban psychopathic wards, and outpatient clinics to ease the cost of caring for the mentally ill in state institutions, but the financial crisis of the Depression, followed by shortages during World War II, made it difficult for the state of California to provide adequate housing and care for the state's mentally ill.<sup>5</sup>

After World War II, the Department of Mental Hygiene replaced the Department of Institutions and took control of the state hospital system. In 1945 the National Mental Health Act was established to provide funding for research and for the development of community mental hygiene clinics.<sup>6</sup> This, along with treatment advances such as electroconvulsive therapy (ECT) and new psychiatric medications allowed many long-term patients to leave the institution and to be treated on an outpatient basis. Patton's patient population peaked at over 5,500 patients in the mid-1950s.<sup>7</sup> At that point there were a total of nine state mental institutions. With the passing of the Short-Doyle Act in 1957, state aid was directed to local governments to increase community mental health services in order to provide care for patients on an outpatient or local basis. This act marked the beginning of the process of deinstitutionalization in California.<sup>8</sup>

The federal government passed the Community Mental Health Centers Act in 1963 which further increased the funding for

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<sup>4</sup> "California State Mental Health Care Historical Summary 1850-1996;" Patton State Hospital Library, Patton, California.

<sup>5</sup> Al Ostrow, "People in the Dark" reprint from the San Francisco News, circa 1947.

<sup>6</sup> "California State Mental Health Care Historical Summary 1850-1996."

<sup>7</sup> "Medical Records Contain Files on 60,000 Patients Since 1893," The Patton Progress, November 1, 1953, 3.

<sup>8</sup> "California State Mental Health Care Historical Summary 1850-1996."

community services<sup>9</sup> and between 1963 and 1968 Patton's patient population decreased by nearly 2,000 patients.<sup>10</sup> In 1967, the Governor of California, Ronald Reagan, cut state agency budgets by ten percent and laid off nearly 2,000 state hospital employees, a large number of whom were psychiatric technicians.<sup>11</sup> The deinstitutionalization movement reached its peak in the 1960s and thousands of patients were released from state hospitals. With the passage of the Lanterman-Petris-Short (LPS) Act in 1968, California's long history of committing harmless mentally ill patients in state hospitals came to an end. This act ordered the release of those patients deemed harmless and changed involuntary commitment processes in an attempt to balance civil rights and public safety by committing only those who were seen as a danger to themselves or others.<sup>12</sup> Another change in the system took place when the Department of Mental Health replaced the Department of Mental Hygiene in 1973.<sup>13</sup>

Since the passage of the LPS act most of the state hospitals have closed.<sup>14</sup> In the early 1980s Patton became strictly a forensic facility. All current patients are committed by court order as penal code offenders.<sup>15</sup> In 2012 the Department of State Hospitals was formed to streamline the state hospital system. Today, Patton is one of five existing state hospitals in California and is the largest forensic hospital in the United States. Patton currently houses and treats just under 1,500 patients and employs approximately 2,000 people.

### ***Museum Approach and Methodology***

The importance of this project cannot be overstated. There are few museums of psychiatry and mental health history on the west coast. By establishing the museum and archive, we hope to create

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Wursten.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> "California State Mental Health Care Summary 1850-1996."

awareness and decrease stigmatization of mental illness through education and transparency. This museum will also be the pilot project for a series of museums the California Department of State Hospitals hopes to establish at other state hospital locations.

As there are few secondary sources relating to Patton's history, we had to rely primarily on primary sources for researching Patton's history. We utilized photographs, various private documents, and some publications from Patton itself. One of the best sources for information about Patton is *The Patton Progress*, a weekly patient-written newspaper that provides a great deal of information for Patton staff and patients. This resource is available in the Patton State Hospital library and has been invaluable in piecing together Patton's history. Unfortunately, the hospital paper was only published from 1947 to 1972. This has had an effect on the approach of the exhibits and text written for the museum because there are few other sources to refer to for information prior to and following the publication of *The Patton Progress*.

For information about Patton prior to the 1940s, we had access to handwritten records held privately by Patton State Hospital regarding the establishment and early history of the hospital as well as annual and biennial reports from the various departments that oversaw the state hospital system over the years. Another resource for information on Patton prior to the 1940s is the California Digital Newspaper Collection (<http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc>), a searchable database that consists of articles from a variety of California newspapers from the late 19th century to the present.

Information about Patton after the 1970s was difficult to find. Patton became a forensic-only facility in the early 1980s and all patients from that point on were committed by the judicial system. Patient privacy issues and the lack of photographs, documents, and other publically and privately available

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Wursten.



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information from the late 1970s to the present has made researching Patton's last few decades difficult. We were only able to locate two reports from the Department of Mental Health for the years 1975-76 and for 1990.

All the research necessary for the design of the exhibits and for the writing of text panels was completed by October 2014. We utilized the above-mentioned literature and sources in order to provide an accurate, ethical, and informative experience for all museum visitors. The most current museum and archive methods were utilized in the design and construction of both the museum and the archives.

### ***Key Artifacts in the Patton State Hospital Museum***

The various exhibits of the museum were designed around the artifacts and photos we had available, the exhibit space we had to work in, and the information we were able to find. The exhibits were also designed along the wishes of Patton's staff. The artifacts we chose were those that provided a means to interpret key events and trends in Patton's history and that fit within the theme of the exhibits. For the purposes of this paper, we will discuss just six of the key artifacts we utilized in the exhibits in the museum; these include a discharge receipt book, an industrial toaster, a Patton Farms branding iron, a patient toothbrush holder, a hydrotherapy tub, and the first Patton payroll book.



**Discharge Receipt Book in the *Patton Then and Now* Exhibit. Photo by Authors.**

The first exhibit, *Patton Then and Now*, in the museum provides information about the hospital's history and the history of mental health in California and offers the context for the rest of the museum. The artifacts chosen for this exhibit encompass the entire history of Patton from the discharge receipt book, dating from 1893, to artifacts from a time capsule that was opened in December 2014. The discharge receipt book is one of the oldest Patton artifacts that has survived. When patients were discharged from the hospital they would receive a discharge receipt from this book that would provide proof of their recovery and release from the hospital. This artifact reflects the custodial nature of late nineteenth century asylums. Patients during this time were almost always committed through court proceedings to the state hospitals and were usually released on probation or parole as though they were criminals rather than mentally ill and would often have to provide proof of their recovery and release. This artifact is very much like a large check ledger in that the receipt was handed to the patient

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upon release while the stub was retained in the book for hospital records.



**Industrial Toaster in the *Patton Food Services* Exhibit. Photo by Author.**

The exhibit entitled *Patton Food Services* offers a glimpse into the momentous operations of preparing and serving food to patients and staff. In building an exhibit to encompass the vital role of nutrition, careful decisions have been made in regards to which artifacts to include. The purpose is to give visitors a feeling for the quantity of ingredients and finished products made in the kitchens at Patton State Hospital. One of the main artifacts in this exhibit is the industrial toaster. Measuring over three feet tall with its own exhaust pipe, it draws the attention of visitors by itself. It also shows how foods that people consume on a regular basis can quickly become extraordinary when large quantities are needed. Just one of these toasters had the capacity to make 720 slices of

toast per hour. This artifact became a centerpiece of the *Patton Food Services* exhibit because it is representative of the amount of work involved in feeding a large patient and staff population. It also allows visitors to understand what a physically large operation it was by being able to see just how large the machinery used in the kitchens was, and still is.

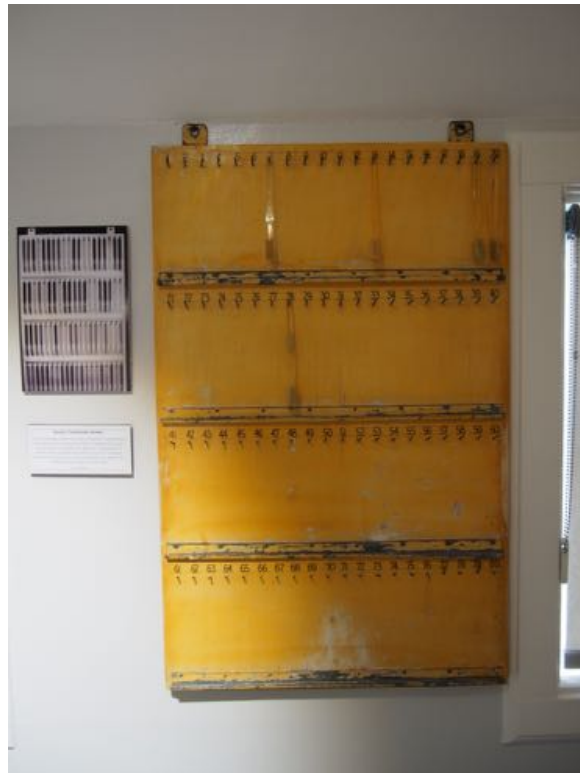


**Branding Iron in the *Self-Sustainment* Exhibit. Photo by Authors.**

Essential to the understanding of how Patton operated as a community, the *Self-Sustainment* exhibit explains the various processes that allowed the hospital to be a city within itself. There are many artifacts that are of equal importance to the design of this exhibit. The branding iron is a seemingly small choice to highlight, but appearances can be deceiving. A rod made of cast iron with a simple “PF” on the end of it signifying Patton Farms, this tool was used to brand cattle raised on hospital grounds. It is an excellent representation of the exhibit theme of self-sustainment because this simple tool affected many departments. It was made by iron workers in the shops before being used to brand the cattle. The

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cattle were then sent to the butcher shop and used in the kitchens to feed patients and staff. The branding iron shows that even a relatively small piece of an exhibit can communicate a theme thoroughly.



**Toothbrush Holder in the *Patient Life* Exhibit. Photo by Authors**

The *Patient Life* exhibit's design brings visitors into the surroundings and daily lives of the patients who have called Patton their home. The visitor is able to view various artifacts and images that take them into a housing unit at Patton. The artifact that has had the most impact on museum staff and visitors alike is the toothbrush holder, which has become a conversation starter for those who enter the exhibit. Since found in an abandoned housing

unit on the Patton campus, it has put into perspective the difficulties that come with sharing personal space with such a large group of people. This particular toothbrush holder holds up to 80 toothbrushes. It kept the toothbrushes organized in horizontal rows hanging from small nails in the board. With such large groups of patients averaging eighty per unit even the mundane activity of brushing one's teeth becomes a struggle. The object evokes in most visitors the image of patients fighting over the top spots on the holder in order to keep their toothbrushes out of the line of drippings from other toothbrushes above. This artifact is one that brings the patient's story to life and allows patrons to understand the complexities of patients' daily lives while at Patton.

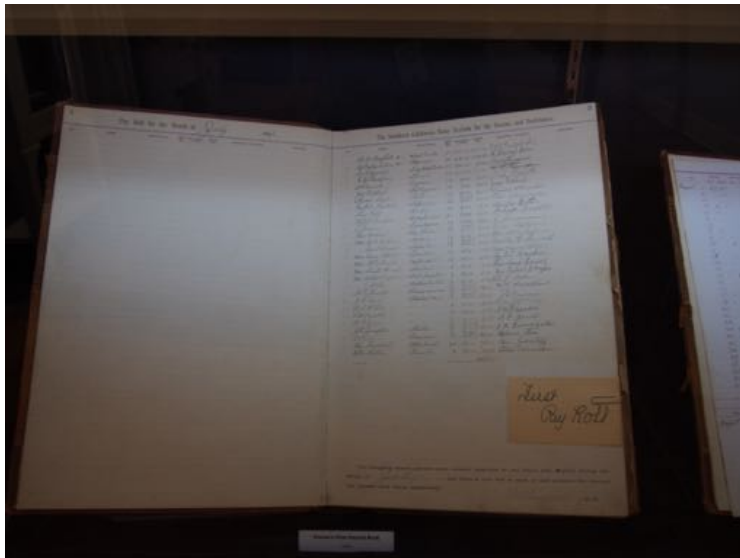


**Hydrotherapy Tub in the *Patient Treatment* Exhibit. Photo by Authors.**

The exhibit titled *Patient Treatment* includes artifacts, photos, and information related to historical and current psychiatric treatment modalities utilized to treat the patients at Patton over the

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course of its history. It is the goal of this exhibit to ensure that visitors will leave mindful of the changes made in psychiatric treatment over the last 125 years. Included in this exhibit is a hydrotherapy tub from the second decade of the twentieth century. Hydrotherapy was a common treatment for the mentally ill in the early twentieth century. Patients were confined in hydrotherapy tubs by being wrapped in sheets and covered with a canvas top to regulate temperature. It was thought that water could have a healing effect while confinement would cause agitated patients to calm down. Treatments could last several hours. Hydrotherapy fell into disuse in the mid-twentieth century when more effective treatments, such as electroconvulsive therapy (ECT) and psychopharmaceuticals became available. This artifact represents one of many treatments that were once commonly utilized at Patton but are no longer practiced.



**First Payroll in the *People of Patton* Exhibit. Photo by Authors.**

One of the most historically significant artifacts within the Patton collection is Patton's first payroll book. The *People of*

*Patton* exhibit highlights this artifact. It works as a starting point to help visitors understand how the staff and volunteers who have kept the hospital functioning since 1893 have shaped the history of Patton. Opened to the first page, the book includes the first set of staff members to work on Patton grounds. Listed are staff members from the Executive Director of the hospital to the dairy man. Categories included on the payroll are name, occupation, days worked, rate of salary, amount due, and a received payment signature from each staff member. This gives visitors an idea of how times have changed and how the system of pay has changed. Rather than the mass-produced checks, pay stubs, and direct deposit the hospital uses today, the first staff members had to sign out their payment. All staff members were able to view pay and hours worked for other staff. The first Patton payroll is an artifact that has a huge impact on employees who visit the exhibit. They are struck by the differences in pay and even the intricate signatures that cover the page. As part an exhibit focused on staff this artifact brings current staff into contact with those of the past in an immeasurable way.

### ***Conclusion***

As the above items show, there were many diverse artifacts from which to choose when designing the exhibits for the Patton State Hospital Museum. The museum opened recently on April 27<sup>th</sup>, 2015 with various exhibits, each representing a different aspect of the institution's history. When designing exhibits for display in any museum, many aspects must be taken into consideration: artifacts and space available, exhibit themes, audience, educational goals, and creating lasting impact. It is vital for the artifacts to not only communicate to patrons the significance of historic events, but for those artifacts to provide an avenue to the past that can lead to a greater understanding of the relationship between that past and the present. One of the most essential objectives of a museum is to be able to interpret history in a transparent, non-biased fashion, yet also allow space for debate. The exhibits designed for Patton State



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Hospital Museum have been carefully curated to these standards so that they may convey the importance of the hospital's history and the history of psychiatric treatment in California in the most honest, enlightening, and thought-provoking way possible.

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# In Memoriam

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## Benjamin Bradlee

by Marlyn Rodriguez

### *Introduction*

Benjamin “Ben” Crowinshield Bradlee, an icon in the journalistic world, died at the age of 93 on October 21, 2014.<sup>1</sup> Bradlee was known for his work as executive editor for *The Washington Post* during the release of the Pentagon Papers and the Watergate scandal that led to President Robert Nixon’s resignation, the first presidential resignation in United States history. His efforts not only led to the resignation of Nixon, he inspired journalists to seek the truth.

In 1971, Bradlee published the Pentagon Papers, a confidential government report on the Vietnam War detailing how the American government “lied to the American public about the Vietnam War.”<sup>2</sup> These lies included denying responsibility for bombing missions during the war and the actual amount of American deaths on the battlefield.<sup>3</sup> *The New York Times* was the first to publish the Pentagon Papers, but stopped after being legally urged to withhold the information by the Justice Department due to

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<sup>1</sup> Eric Bradner. “Journalists React to ‘icon’ Ben Bradlee’s Death.” CNN, October 22, 2014, <http://www.cnn.com/2014/10/21/politics/bradlee-death-reaction-tweets/>.

<sup>2</sup> Jeff Himmelman, *Yours in Truth: A Personal Portrait of Ben Bradlee* (New York: Random House, 2012), 45.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

the Nixon Administration's claims that publishing them violated national security. After *The New York Times* (hereafter *Times*) stopped publishing the papers, Daniel Ellsberg, who was the source that provided the Pentagon Papers to the news organization, gave *The Washington Post* (hereafter *Post*) a copy of the papers.<sup>4</sup> Once the papers were at grasp, Bradlee decided to publish the records after speaking with lawyers and learning that the publication of this information did not violate national security in any form, but instead presented the public with the truth. When addressing his motives for publishing the papers Bradlee wrote, "our duty is to publish news when it's news."<sup>5</sup>

One of Bradlee's goals as executive editor was for the *Post* and the *Times* to be equally respected by readers.<sup>6</sup> The release of the Pentagon Papers elevated the respect and expectations for readers of both papers. An interesting fact is that, even though the *Times* received access to the papers first, it took them more than three months to put a story together while it took the *Post* only twelve hours once they got access to the papers.<sup>7</sup> This had to do with the fact that the *Times* had access to them first and had more time to work on a story whereas the *Post* was on a time constraint to publish as soon as the *Times* stopped. As with the *Times*, the government attempted to prevent the *Post* from publishing the papers. The case went to the Supreme Court, where the *Times* and the *Post* were heard together, "in the same breath on the national stage, fighting together for journalistic freedom. Ben's gamble has paid off."<sup>8</sup> The trial led to the verdict that the government could not restrain newspapers from publishing what they wanted because it would violate the first amendment which allows for the freedom of speech and freedom of the press. The ruling declared that instead of preventing a newspaper from publishing what they

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<sup>4</sup> Benjamin C. Bradlee, *A Good Life: Newspapering and Other Adventures*. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995).

<sup>5</sup> Himmelman, 43.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 47.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 53.

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wanted, the government has the potential to prosecute after the information has been printed if they find it violates the law.<sup>9</sup> The Pentagon Papers were important to the history of the *Post* because it established a relationship of trust and faith between the paper's owner Katherine Graham and executive editor, Bradlee, the type of relationship necessary for the proper functioning of a newspaper as important as the *Post*.<sup>10</sup>

Less than a year after the publishing of the Pentagon Papers the Watergate break-in occurred. The Watergate scandal was what eventually cost Nixon the presidential seat. Reporting on Watergate took place from 1972 to 1973, only one year after the release of the Pentagon Papers. The break-in occurred at the Democratic National Committee headquarters at the Watergate office complex in Washington D.C. The investigation into Watergate led to the conclusion that Nixon was part of a scheme that involved bugging the offices of political opponents and using government agencies, such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and Internal Revenue Services (IRS), to harass activists groups and political figures.<sup>11</sup> When the Watergate break-in took place, Bradlee was in his country home in West Virginia and Howard Simmons, the managing editor, had to make executive decisions.<sup>12</sup> If this had not been the case, Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward would not have been the two journalists reporting on Watergate, and the end result could have potentially been different.

While reporting on the case of the break-in, Woodward heard one of the burglars, James McCord, whisper to his arraignment officer that he worked for the CIA.<sup>13</sup> It was at that

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> "1986 Poynter Institute Interview with Ben Bradlee," YouTube, accessed April 12, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XP2KES3aNsl>.

<sup>11</sup> Carroll Kilpatrick, "Nixon Resigns," *Washington Post*, August 9, 1974, accessed April 12, 2015, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/national/longterm/watergate/articles/080974-3.htm>.

<sup>12</sup> Himmelman, 47.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

point that Woodward and Bernstein's investigation started, a partnership that would eventually lead to the downfall of President Nixon and his administration. Bernstein and Woodward received their information from an anonymous source they named "Deep Throat" who later revealed himself as FBI Associate Mark Felt. Bradlee claimed that Felt served more as a guide to Bernstein and Woodward rather than simply a distributor of inside information. After reporting on the Watergate incidents, Bradlee was the most important man in the nation with the exception of the President for orchestrating the publication of events that led to Nixon's resignation. Bradlee felt that Watergate was "a great defining moment" in history and turned the *Post* from a good paper to a great one.<sup>14</sup> The *Post*'s reporting on Watergate, however, did lack important details such as why or how Nixon's attempts to gain inside information on his opponents started.<sup>15</sup> Nixon was urged to resign after his misuse of government agencies was publicized. Bradlee admits to having seen change in the political forum after the publishing of the Pentagon Papers and Watergate. In an interview he explained that in 1974, after Watergate, he saw "a new breed of Congressman," but eventually found that there was no change in the ethics of politicians.<sup>16</sup> Instead there was an increased fear of getting caught.<sup>17</sup> After these revelations, the relationship between politicians and reporters became one of strictly business.<sup>18</sup> Bradlee was thankful to have been able to have an experience such as Watergate because an occurrence such as this does not happen often, he explained it as "a once in a lifetime experience."

Bradlee was driven by the idea of freedom of speech, which helped motivate him during the publishing of the Pentagon

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<sup>14</sup> Interview with Ben Bradlee, 1986 Poynter Institute.

<sup>15</sup> James DiEugenio, "Consortiumnews," Consortiumnews, accessed March 12, 2015, <https://consortiumnews.com/2015/03/10/ben-bradlee-not-such-a-good-life-part-2/>.

<sup>16</sup> Interview with Ben Bradlee, 1986 Poynter Institute.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

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Papers and the investigation of Watergate. Bradlee, was a Harvard College graduate, founded the New Hampshire Sunday News in 1946 and wrote for *The Washington Post* and *Newsweek*.<sup>19</sup> Bradlee became the Washington bureau chief at *Newsweek* in 1957 and it was then that he met and became good friends with John and Jackie Kennedy.<sup>20</sup> Bradlee was assigned to be deputy managing editor in 1965 and four months later became the managing editor for the *Post*.<sup>21</sup> He began his position as executive editor for the *Post* in 1968 and during his twenty-three years as executive editor won eighteen Pulitzer Prizes. He felt that the location of *The Washington Post* was important because it was in the nation's capital.<sup>22</sup> Bradlee is also known for being one of President John F. Kennedy's close friends, who he met first as a neighbor and was later in charge of covering Kennedy's presidency.<sup>23</sup> After Kennedy's passing, Bradlee went to his cabin for twenty three days and wrote a book about his friendship with Kennedy titled *Conversations with Kennedy*.<sup>24</sup> He retired at the age of 70 in 1991 but continued to work for the *Post* as their vice-president.

Bradlee explained that the biggest regret of his career was the Janet Cooke episode which included a story titled "Jimmy's World," about an eight year old heroin addict that gained national recognition and won a Pulitzer Prize but turned out to be fabricated. Cooke admitted to fabricating the story after she won the Pulitzer Prize and after being questioned by her editors. She was unable to show her editors where Jimmy lived or provide any further information on Jimmy and his family.<sup>25</sup> Bradlee always

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<sup>19</sup> "Timeline: The Life and Career of Ben Bradlee." *Washington Post*, accessed April 6, 2015, <http://apps.washingtonpost.com/g/page/local/timeline-the-life-and-career-of-ben-bradlee/1308/>.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Interview with Ben Bradlee.

<sup>23</sup> "Ben Bradlee on His Life and Career in Journalism, JFK, Watergate, Pentagon Papers 1995." YouTube, accessed April 12, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7QPk2mMYe8Y>.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

reminded his writers to tell the truth, even though he understood there were limited amounts of time and sources.<sup>26</sup> Bradlee knew that trust between editor and reporter was necessary for a successful paper. It was because of this belief that he trusted Cooke, who was talented and ambitious, even though she had no sources or record of her claims.<sup>27</sup> There was no way to prove it was false until she admitted to it, and as a result, the *Post* had to return the Pulitzer Prize. This occurrence hurt the credibility of the newspaper under Bradlee's supervision and took the *Post* years to recover. Bradlee made sure there was nothing anyone knew about the Janet Cooke episode that was not first printed in the *Post*.<sup>28</sup>

Throughout his career Bradlee received praise and backlash in equal measure. But there is no denying that he also made historic contributions that would change the meaning of not only investigative journalism, but journalism as a whole. Thanks to those contributions journalists became real contenders. Bradlee stepped down right when the rise of technology, including radio, television, and the internet, began to attract audiences, but refused to believe that those sources would take over print journalism. One of his major concerns, as he stepped away from the newsroom, was that reporters would be distracted from news and focus on other less important topics.<sup>29</sup> Throughout his career, Bradlee maintained high hopes for journalists and wanted to have an influence on the public's perception of journalists. Other than his professional contributions, Bradlee will be remembered for his excessive cursing, his short attention span, his brutal honesty, and his perseverance.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> "Interview with Ben Bradlee.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

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## Pete Seeger and the Turning Season of the US Government

by Jason Brown-Gallindo

### *Introduction*

In 1994, four decades after “America’s tuning fork” Pete Seeger was blacklisted by the House Un-American Activities Committee, President Bill Clinton awarded the Kennedy Center Honor to the once communist-affiliated musician for his life-long musical contributions to American culture.<sup>1</sup> In the bourgeois, tuxedo-filled halls of the gala at the John F. Kennedy Center of the Performing Arts, Seeger modestly accepted his award wearing his father’s suit made in 1922.<sup>2</sup> CBS filmed and broadcast the event nationwide—the same network that had censored Seeger’s performance of his anti-Vietnam song, “Waist Deep in the Big Muddy” in 1967. President Clinton said that Seeger’s seventeen-year ban from television was a “badge of honor” and praised the musician for being “an inconvenient artist who dared to sing things as he saw them.”<sup>3</sup> What had changed? What caused the shift in the U.S. government’s opinion of the protest singer? How did the

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<sup>1</sup> Poet and writer Carl Samberg created the nickname, “America’s tuning fork” for Seeger. It is unclear when and where it first appeared. At the 1959 Newport Folk Festival, radio personality Studs Terkel used the phrase to introduce the musician. *Life Magazine* further popularized the name after using it in a photo spread with Seeger in 1964.

<sup>2</sup> John Pareles, “For Once, Art Bests Politics as the Kennedy Center Honors 5,” *The New York Times*, December 5, 1994, accessed March 1, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/1994/12/05/arts/for-once-art-bests-politics-as-the-kennedy-center-honors-5.html>.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

government's once discordant relationship with the musician transform into one in which they were now his supporting choir?

The genesis of this controversial banjo-playing folk singer is deeply entrenched in the American social climate of the 1930s and 1940s. Seeger was the son of two extremely accomplished scholars and teachers of music, Charles and Constance Seeger. As a young man, Seeger attended Harvard, majoring in sociology while playing music in the banjo tenor society.<sup>4</sup> He joined the American Student Union, which was a coalition of pacifists, communists, and socialists. Seeger sympathized with the communists at school and their positions regarding workers' right, anti-segregation, and World War II. This led him to join the Young Communist League.<sup>5</sup> Shortly before exams in his second year, the young musician dropped out of school and bicycled west across New York State. He immersed himself in the folk music he encountered people playing around campfires and in front of their houses, learning many of the labor songs, written during the workers' struggles of the early twentieth century. In 1939, at age twenty, Seeger moved to New York City where he joined the Vanguard Puppeteers. The group of musician puppeteers travelled and played the majority of their shows for picket lines of dairy farmers. Seeger often stepped onto stage and sang union songs such as, "The Farmer is the Man" and "Seven-Cent Cotton and Forty-Cent Meat, How in the World Can a Poor Man Eat?"<sup>6</sup>

That same year, Seeger met folk-music legend Woody Guthrie (1912-1967) while playing a gig in Manhattan. Seeger later recalled performing "amateurishly" before Guthrie took the stage becoming the star with his backward tilted cowboy hat. The two became close, travelling to perform at labor protests while Guthrie taught Seeger to hop freight trains and sing "well-known

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<sup>4</sup> Alec Wilkinson, *The Protest Singer: An Intimate Portrait of Pete Seeger* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 3.

<sup>5</sup> William Elgen, *Pete Seeger: The Power of Song*, directed by Jim Brown, 2007; New York City, NY: PBS, DVD.

<sup>6</sup> Wilkinson, 55.

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commercial country songs worth a quarter in any Western bar.”<sup>7</sup> Alan Lomax, a coworker of Seeger’s father at the Library of Congress, invited Guthrie to Washington to record for the Archive of American Folk Song. Seeger followed and later that year the two began transcribing and recording folk songs that they felt worth preserving.<sup>8</sup> Both Seeger and Guthrie left the archives after this work, and parted ways temporarily until reuniting in New York City in 1940 to form The Almanac Singers with Lee Hayes, a popular union song compiler, and Mill Lampell. The group primarily performed at workers’ rallies and became popular amongst readers of the communist magazine, the *Daily Worker*.<sup>9</sup> The group’s momentum came to a halt when promoters refused to book them after New York newspapers had red-baited them for being sympathetic toward communism.

The Almanacs disbanded in 1942 when Seeger was drafted into the army. While in Mississippi for training, the banjo-picker became Private First Class Seeger and was trained as a B-24 bomber hydraulic mechanic. Before deploying to Saipan Island, he was held for an additional six months due to Military Intelligence’s suspicions of his political opinions—Seeger had become a card-carrying communist just before the war.<sup>10</sup> While on a furlough in 1943, Seeger married Toshi Aline Ohta whom he had met at a square dance in 1939. Toshi was the daughter of an American mother and Japanese father, who came from a leftist background and had been exiled from Japan for his and his father’s views and writings. Toshi’s paternal grandfather was punished with exile for his translations of Marxist texts, but, under the laws of the Japanese empire, her father had been permitted to take her grandfather’s place in exile, leaving first for Germany and then the United States.<sup>11</sup> Toshi and Pete Seeger were partners in marriage,

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 63.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 57-59.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 69.

<sup>11</sup> Douglas Martin, “Toshi Seeger, Wife of Folk-Singing Legend, Dies at 91,” *The New York Times*, July 11, 2013, accessed February 22, 2015,

music, and activism until her death in 2013, a week before their seventieth anniversary.

After their wedding, Seeger returned to military service, but now, instead of working on aircrafts, he led music workshops and held concerts on the island. While in Saipan, he realized that in order to maximize the power of song as a tool for social change, support from a national organization was needed. In 1945, Seeger created the *People's Songs* quarterly bulletin hoping to bring together socially conscious people to sing labor songs.<sup>12</sup> Following the war, Seeger and his organization, along with a large portion of the Communist Party stood firmly behind presidential candidate Henry A. Wallace (1888-1965) and the Progressive Party's platform against segregation and the powerful corporate influences that had deep roots within the government.<sup>13</sup> Following the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947, which heavily restricted the power of unions, union leaders strayed away from the Communist agenda and supported incumbent President Harry S. Truman. By 1949, the country reelected Truman, Cold War politics were dominant, and *People's Songs* had accrued a debt of \$12,000. Unable to gain sufficient backing to pay rent and its printers, the organization shut its doors.<sup>14</sup>

The dream of a collective group of people singing for the same cause was over, and Seeger took the loss hard. He found little purpose in staying in New York City. With Toshi and their two children, he left and bought a seventeen-and-a-half acre plot of land in Beacon, New York on the Hudson River, seventy miles north of the city. After researching in the New York Public Library how to build a log cabin, Seeger cleared two acres of land and began building.<sup>15</sup> That year, Seeger was invited to perform with

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<http://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/12/arts/music/toshi-seeger-wife-of-folk-singing-legend-dies-at-91.html>.

<sup>12</sup> *Pete Seeger: The Power of Song*.

<sup>13</sup> Allen M. Winkler, *'To Everything There is a Season': Pete Seeger and the Power of Song*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 49-50.

<sup>14</sup> Winkler, 51.

<sup>15</sup> Wilkinson, 24.

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renowned singer, actor, and activist Paul Robeson (1898-1976) to raise money for the Communists' civil rights wing.<sup>16</sup> Although Seeger had recently left the Party, he enthusiastically accepted the chance to play for any cause he believed in. When he arrived to the venue in Peekskill, New York, he met opposition from anti-communist crowds and members of the Ku Klux Klan and the American Legion yelling "dirty Commie," "go back to Russia," and "nigger-lovers."<sup>17</sup> When the performance was over, Seeger and his family left the venue while protestors lined the streets waiting to pelt the musician's car with stones. After making it to safety, he and his family went to a hotel and washed the shards of glass out of their children's hair.<sup>18</sup>

Many in the country were wary of change, and communist ideology was dangerous in post-World War II America. The songs of workers' rights that Seeger had been singing for a decade represented, to some, a counterculture of anti-democracy Soviet sympathizers. Seeger formed a new group, The Weavers, with Fred Hellerman, Ronnie Gilbert, and ex-Almanac member Lee Hays. They played at friends' parties and for left-wing causes, but had little success until 1950 when they recording "Tzena, Tzena" and Leadbelly's "Goodnight, Irene." By the end of the year, the group had sold four million records. It was Seeger's first taste of commercial success but he did not enjoy the fame or the business side of music. In an interview with *Time* magazine, he said "It's not so much fun now," and that playing in clubs made him happier where "we could improvise, sing what we felt like singing."<sup>19</sup> That year, the group was offered their own television show, but the contract was destroyed after a right-wing organization published a pamphlet titled "Red Channels: The Report of Communist Influence in Radio and Television." Among the 151 artists listed, the pamphlet mentioned Seeger thirteen times. Then in 1952, a former member of the *People's Songs* quarterly journal reported

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<sup>16</sup> Winkler, 53.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.

<sup>18</sup> *Pete Seeger: The Power of Song*.

<sup>19</sup> Wilkinson, 70.

that three of the four members of the Weavers were Communists, causing the bountiful well of work to dry up and the group to separate.<sup>20</sup>

The musician's valiant attempt to pioneer a musical avenue for social change was further frustrated when he received a letter summoning him to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) in 1955. Commonly, defendants' cases were dismissed after pleading the Fifth Amendment, but Seeger was reluctant to do so for that the action implied guilt. Alternatively, he could plea the First Amendment that guarantees the freedom of speech. A group of screenwriters and producers (the Hollywood Ten) took this route in 1947 and were charged with contempt, jailed for a year, and blacklisted. Knowing the risk at hand, Seeger still chose this latter option.<sup>21</sup>

During the hearing, the committee relentlessly pressed Seeger to confess his communist ties. When they tried to corner the musician with questions regarding whom he had performed for, Seeger told the committee these were "improper questions for any American to be asked," and offered to tell them about his life and songs.<sup>22</sup> They did not want to hear it and continued to pressure him to answer their questions. Seeger refused and told them he had already given his answer, but never relied on the Fifth Amendment. Finally, the musician told the committee, "I greatly resent this implication that some of the places that I have sung and some of the people I have known, and some of my opinions, whether they be religious or philosophical, or that I might be a vegetarian, make me any less of an American."<sup>23</sup> On March 26, 1957, he was indicted on ten counts of contempt of Congress. In 1961, he was found guilty and sentenced to a year in jail.

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<sup>20</sup> John Pareles, "Pete Seeger, Champion of Folk Music and Social Change, Dies at 94," *The New York Times*, January 28, 2014, accessed March 3, 2015, [http://www.nytimes.com/2014/01/29/arts/music/pete-seeger-songwriter-and-champion-of-folk-music-dies-at-94.html?\\_r=1](http://www.nytimes.com/2014/01/29/arts/music/pete-seeger-songwriter-and-champion-of-folk-music-dies-at-94.html?_r=1).

<sup>21</sup> Wilkinson, 73-75.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 77.

<sup>23</sup> Huac online



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The hearing and Seeger's blacklist restricted what he was able to do in his career in the 1950s and 1960s. He played for school children and for small colleges to earn money for when he left to jail. He later said that the blacklist was a blessing and that he was happy to leave the nightclubs and the commercial spotlight and to be singing back in the environment where he had started.<sup>24</sup> In 1962, the Court of Appeals found that the indictment was faulty, dismissed his case, and he was not required to serve the year in jail. Seeger had single-handedly faced down the HUAC and won. By the mid-1960s, Seeger had fashioned his music into a weapon for the Civil Rights Movement. He sang for demonstrations, voter registration lines, and churches that supported the movement and in 1965, after receiving an invitation from Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Seeger and Toshi joined the now legendary march from Selma to Montgomery.<sup>25</sup>

Although the blacklist was over, and McCarthyism largely discredited as ideological zealotry, by 1967 Seeger had been informally banned from network television for seventeen- years for his social and political activism. Finally, CBS's *Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour* invited the musician to perform. Seeger agreed and played several songs. One of the songs told the story of a platoon in 1942 commanded by their captain to cross a river causing a soldier to drown. The lyrics included, "we were waste deep in the big muddy, and the big fool said to push on." The song was an allegory about Vietnam and the "big fool" was President Lyndon B. Johnson. When the show aired, CBS had cut out Seeger's song.<sup>26</sup> The Smothers Brothers were outraged and told the press that their show was being censored. In 1968, CBS folded under the pressure and allowed Seeger to come back to perform the song. The network aired it later that year.<sup>27</sup>

The performance of "Waste Deep in the Big Muddy" signaled a change for both the folk singer and America. His

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<sup>24</sup> Wilkinson, 85.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 85-92.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 99-100.

<sup>27</sup> *Pete Seeger: The Power of Song*.

uncompromising beliefs that were once part of the country's counter-culture had now become part of mainstream American culture. His tours of colleges and universities, even during his blacklist, helped catapult American folk music into the spotlight, with figures like Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, Simon and Garfunkel, and countless others following his artistic and political lead and owing much to his example. Seeger was also an original board member of the Newport Folk Music Festival, which was first held in 1959, and was the impetus of the folk revival that America experienced in the 1960s. In 1962, Seeger's labor song "If I Had a Hammer" was repurposed and turned into a popular hit by Peter, Paul and Mary. In 1965 the Byrds topped the *Billboard* Hot 100 with their version of Seeger's timeless musical adaptation of a verse from the *Book of Ecclesiastes*, "Turn! Turn! Turn!" Both songs became anthems for world peace.

Aside from advocating workers' rights, civil rights, and an end to the Vietnam War, Seeger became heavily involved in environmental issues in the 1960s. After sailing the Hudson River in 1962, he became concerned with the level of chemicals, oil, and sewage in the river. Just as he had begun from scratch with his log cabin, the musician began reading how to build a replica of the sloops that sailed the river during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Seeger created the Clearwater Festival in 1966 to fund the construction of the sloop, and later to support the Hudson River Sloop Clearwater environmental organization. The hundred-ton boat was built and in 1969 it became an important symbol of environmental consciousness.<sup>28</sup> The Clearwater Festival is still held annually for some 15,000 visitors and continues to help maintain the Hudson River and its tributaries. The remarkable improvement in environmental conditions along the Hudson River came in no small part to Seeger's efforts, following of course on the heightened awareness of these issues brought about by Rachel Carson's 1962 book, *Silent Spring* and other influences.<sup>29</sup> For

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<sup>28</sup> Wilkinson, 103-104.

<sup>29</sup> "The Clearwater Story," The Clearwater Organization, accessed March 15, 2015, <http://www.clearwater.org/about/the-clearwater-story/>.

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decades, from hopping freight cars with Woody Guthrie to headlining folk festivals and countless adventures in between, Seeger delighted audiences with his music, and inspired millions of people who looked to him as an example of integrity, strength, and hope in a troubled world.

While Seeger's seventeen-year ban from television is in some ways a "badge of honor" in Bill Clinton's words, it is also a blighted scarlet letter for the American government and its inability to understand the value of Seeger, his music, and ideas. Seeger's early political opinions were not that of a subversive, dangerous, or Stalinist ideology, but rather an innocent and perhaps naïve form of communism in which he saw hope for deprived and exploited people. In a time when communism was anything but American, Seeger, as a member of the Party, was as much a patriot as one could be. He was Ivy League educated yet he chose to build his log cabin home as though he were a seventeenth-century American pioneer. In his own right, he was in fact a pioneer of music and social equality in the twentieth century. Music was his tool—his hammer that he hammered continuously in the morning, in the evening, and across the land to bring people together and create change. And finally, how did Seeger make his way from the House Un-American Activities Committee to a gala in his honor at the Kennedy Center? Ultimately it was not Seeger who transformed, but the American political and cultural consensus. The official embrace of Seeger, expressed through this honor in 1994, came about because Seeger's notions of improving the human condition were neither radical nor dangerous. They were simply ahead of their time and the government's season had finally turned, turned, turned.

Pete Seeger died at the age of 94 on January 27, 2014.

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# Travels Through History

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## **South Africa: A Study Abroad Experience**

by Blanca Garcia-Barron

In the summer of 2014, I took the opportunity to study and travel in South Africa. I studied at the University of Cape Town for two weeks and had the chance to explore the city and hike its famous landmark, Table Mountain. While in Cape Town, I had a diverse experience that reflected much of the spirit and vibe of the city.

The metropolitan city of Cape Town has as much history as its rich cultural contemporary life. These two components make the city an incredible place to live, to explore, and to learn. The second half of my study abroad experience took me to Johannesburg. Although I did not have the opportunity to explore the downtown area or its cultural life on my own, I did spend a week on excursions. The most significant part of my Johannesburg experience was visiting the township of Soweto. Visiting Soweto challenged my views. It is still an experience that I find difficult to explain because of the complexity of issues, both personal and political, that are often an opposing introspective struggle. Despite that, leaving South Africa was difficult. I did not want my studies or travels to come to an end. I missed my family and friends, but I wanted them to be with me to experience the South Africa that I came to appreciate and ultimately miss.

### ***Cape Town***

Initially, I decided to study abroad in South Africa because I wanted to experience something completely new. As a history

student, studying abroad was a great opportunity to combine both my academic goals and the impulsive tendencies of my personality. Being impulsive often bleeds into my studies, and I frequently find myself struggling to find time to fit in all the history, theory, and ideas that I come across. As a public history major, studying in South Africa was the perfect opportunity to explore how national institutions and citizens deal with a difficult past that is very much contemporary and fresh in memory. Museums, art, dance, food, monuments, languages, communities, and public spaces all compete to become part of the national identity. In Cape Town, these subtle competitions over national identity were very much prominent. The culture clash that I expected as a Westerner took on a different dimension.



**University of Cape Town. Photo by Author.**

It was not that I was any different from most people that I came to meet in Cape Town. The city itself was very much like Southern

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California in winter. I did not feel like I was in “Africa.” That thought made me realize that I had assumptions that I did not want to admit to myself. Like the U.S, South Africa is a country that is incredibly diverse from its western points to its eastern points. A barista at a coffee shop asked me where I was from, and I said California. He replied “Ah, the Cape Town of the West.” This seemingly insignificant exchange is one that I often relate to friends. It took a very small moment like that to make me realize that the culture clash I was preparing myself for was non-existent. Instead, the culture clash that does exist is an intimate one that the city, its communities, and its people struggle with. It is a culture clash of old identities and emerging identities. It is a struggle to reconcile a painful history with a new history that tries to exemplify forgiveness.



**Rhodes Memorial. Photo by Author.**

Being in Cape Town, there are reminders of the old histories and identities all over the city. From the Rhodes Memorial above the

University of Cape Town, to another Rhodes monument in the city's central park, Green Point, Cecil B. Rhodes is an emblematic figure of colonialism and imperialism, a disputed honorary figure. These colonial memories serve as an extension of the oppression and injustice of the apartheid government that took power in 1948. These national monuments share spaces with figures like Nelson Mandela, whose image is prominent all over South Africa, and Steve Biko, leader of the black consciousness movement of the late 1960s and 1970s. These peculiarities prompted me to ask questions about the validity of having physical representations of colonial memory. I simply asked, "Why don't they just take it down?"

It is not so simple to just take things down. I started to realize that it in the U.S it is not simple to take down statues of Confederate generals or demolish antebellum houses with slave quarters. These physical memories are difficult to justify for some, but for others, they are representative of national history. The history they represent is not always the best, but it represents the existence of a history that is important to discuss and analyze. This parallel made me realize that South Africans deal with similar issues that we in the U.S also deal with. Race relations and ethnic/national identity are prominent issues of both countries. Both countries deal with a violent colonial past that influenced their institutionalized and legal racism of the twentieth century. It is these parallels that started to really break down any stark cultural hindrances that I thought would exist between South Africans and myself.





**View of Cape Town from top of Table Mountain**

One monument that cannot be disputed is the majestic Table Mountain. Table Mountain exists beyond colonialism and is part of the identity of Cape Town. Whatever part of the city I was in, Table Mountain was there in every direction. From the colorful Muslim community of Bo-Kaap, to the trendy shopping V&A Waterfront, and even in the distant former prison exile of Robben Island, I could not escape the presence of Table Mountain. I also had a wonderful view of one of its peaks from my dorm room. I had the chance to hike one of its trails and it became a very transformative experience for me. It was a difficult hike as I was not in the greatest of shape, but I was determined to make it to the top. On a personal level, it was as transformative as it was spiritual. Halfway into the hike, I stopped and I absorbed the beauty of the moment and the city below me. This solitary reflection was something that I needed, not just on this trip, but in my life. It instilled a new sense of passion and a reformed drive. Traveling is a very distinctive passion that I never thought I would have the opportunity to experience. Hiking Table Mountain reinvigorated my academic drive. Any insecurities that I had as a

student or writer slowly started to fade away. The hike served as the push I needed to fully embrace my work and goals.



**Bo-Kaap. Photo by Author.**

Other significant places that I visited while in Cape Town were the District Six Museum and Robben Island. The District Six Museum is small and located near the downtown area, parallel to the street vendors of Green Market Street. The museum is situated in the physical space of where the district existed once. District Six was one of the many communities that were demolished, and its residents were forced to relocate as mandated by the apartheid government. The area of District Six was deemed as a white area, and thus had to be demolished to make room for the new white residents. This painful history was retold to my group and me during our visit by a former resident named Noor Ebrahim. The museum houses remnants of the old community, including the street signs that were made into a memorial. It has interesting

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information about the culture and diversity that once existed within the district. It is certainly one of the most worthwhile museums in Cape Town.



**Robben Island Prison. Photo by author**

Robben Island is probably the most popular destination in Cape Town. It exists right outside of the city, about a 30-minute ferry ride, and has an amazing landscape. Its physical beauty does not match the historical significance of it. Robben Island is the infamous prison where Nelson Mandela served most of his jail sentence. His prison cell is on display and draws most of the tourists. However, the prison also held other resistance members and criminals alike. Today, some tour guides are actual former political prisoners.

There were many memorable moments in Cape Town, but it is incredibly difficult to pick and choose. My two weeks in Cape Town certainly exposed me to radically different histories. I always assumed that I was going to pursue European studies. I loved studying the French Revolution, the Enlightenment, western modernity, and philosophy, but studying South African history at Cape Town through its communities, spaces, museums, its archives, and streets showed me a different direction. It served as an informal introduction to public history.

### ***Soweto, Johannesburg***

After staying in Cape Town for two weeks, I flew to Johannesburg for a week. My group and I did not stay at the university this time. The ambiance was certainly different staying at a hotel. Johannesburg was much more different and inland. It did not have the same southern California feel to it. Johannesburg is notorious for its crime and I did not have the same luxury of exploring the city as I did in Cape Town. However, my week in Johannesburg consisted of many excursions to museums like the Apartheid Museum, the Hector Pieterse Museum, the Cradle of Humanity, and trips to a lion preserve, culminating in a safari. The most significant part of my Johannesburg experience was traveling to the township of Soweto.



**Township in Soweto Johannesburg. Photo by Author.**

Soweto is infamous for the student protests of June 16, 1976. This date is commemorated every year in South Africa. In June of 1976, students took to the streets to protest the imposition of the Afrikaans language as one of the official languages of instruction at schools, the other being English. Students organized a demonstration against this new law, but it grew out of control as police instigated the violence that ensued. Hector Pieterse, a 13-year old student, was one of the first victims of the police. The museum in Soweto is dedicated in his name, and is a repository that houses the memory of resistance during the apartheid years.

Today, Soweto is a diverse community. Like many cities, it has the prominent expensive parts to the poor working class parts, which are evidenced by the types of houses and cars within each sector of the city. I was surprised to find that Soweto had all these different areas. I always thought of Soweto as a blanket of poverty. However, even those who are not considered to live in poverty,

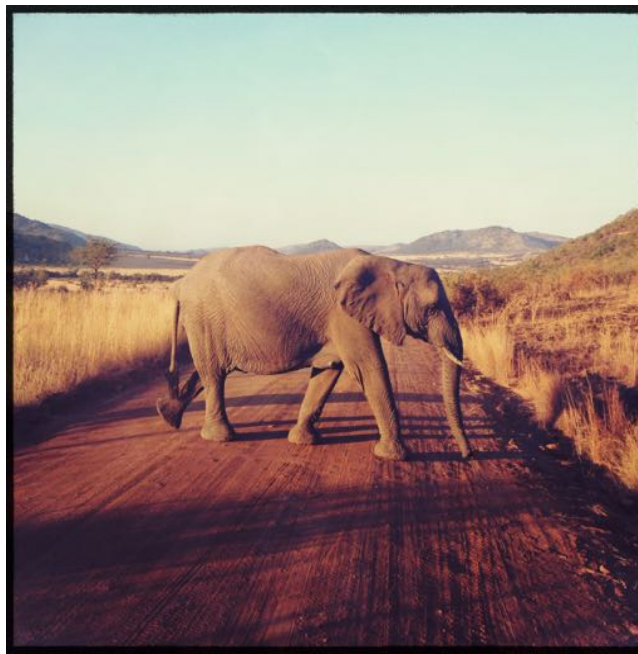
still deal with difficult conditions. Those who do live in poverty, live in the areas of the township that we most associate with township poverty. The image of the overcrowded slum that lacks running water and electricity is very real. It is an image I had never been face to face with.

Walking throughout the Soweto township arose conflicting feelings. In one sense, I became aware of the status of my own privilege. Within that awareness, I also realized that I was not a traveler here, but a tourist. It felt somewhat exploitive to walk around a neighborhood just so that I could see the conditions they live in. It felt exploitative because simply becoming aware to these conditions is not enough to change them. I can feel guilty and sad all day, but not being active in any small way cannot justify those feelings. It is something that I still grapple with because I knew, just as I knew inside the shack of one of the residents, that I would probably not do much activism in the name of this kind of poverty. Being aware is important, and this experience is important, but as a Westerner it felt as though I was part of a complicated system of tourism. The benefit of this kind of tour is that some of the money does go into helping the community. The negative aspect is that not every “tourist” will fully understand the level of aid that is needed, nor the complexity of the politics behind these issues of poverty. I still do not fully understand.

Despite those internal feelings, it was still an educational and important part of my experience. I may not be a committed activist of the township’s particular cause, but it did serve as a way to start thinking about issues in the United States. I may not be fully aware of the same level of poverty that may exist in here in the U.S., but it does not mean they do not exist. Soweto left me with conflicting feelings, as it should have, that are also indicative of the new and emerging identities that are in constant struggle with one another in South Africa.

## **South Africa**

When I got on the first plane en route to Cape Town, I was terrified. I was alone and I had never traveled that far in my life. I did not know what to expect. I had assumptions that I did not even realize I had. Taking this trip was one of the best decisions I made. Apart from the academics, I met great friends. I bonded with people I would have never met in another setting. I got to experience dorm life for the first time ever. I had never shared a room in my entire life. At the University of Cape Town I chose to dorm with another student who became a source of stability when I was feeling overwhelmed by the experience.



**Pilanesburg National Park. Photo by Author**

The people I met in Cape Town were truly inspiring. From scholars to tour guides, they all have had an immense impact on my life. The sights, the smells, the foods, and the fun are things I miss very much. I would absolutely relive this experience. All the



good and all the bad were experiences that made me stronger. What's more, the spirit of forgiveness and the will to move on of South Africa made an impact on my own personal philosophy. Forgiveness is a very strong and difficult trait to maintain, especially coming out of such harsh experiences as the injustices of apartheid. The will of the South African people, and the hospitality of the people of Cape Town impressed me. It has instilled new passions and directions into my evolving public history studies. My only lament was that three weeks was not enough to fully immerse oneself into the history and culture of South Africa, or any place for that matter.



**Cape of Good Hope. Photo by Author.**



## Traveling Abroad in Southern France

by Tristan Murray

I sat back in my airplane chair and waited for the familiar feeling of one's body being pushed back into their chair with the sudden increase of speed. The fans that hover above every passenger began their chorus of changing tunes as power from the main on board batteries were diverted to the jet engines. The lights flickered on and dimmed, and every passenger prepared for the plane's immediate departure. This particular jet was the largest jet I had ever boarded; a double-decker airbus with a few hundred passengers. My eyes were dry and swollen. I wasn't sure if it was because of the cold I was beginning to catch, or because of the tearful farewells to my friends, family, and girlfriend moments before. The drive to the airport was a long, stop and go journey that every citizen of Southern California is familiar with. The day was bright, sunny, and warming up quickly. Again, another familiar June day in Los Angeles.

I had begun my long journey in Riverside, California, a growing metropolis and Inland junction cradled south of the Historic Route 66 in San Bernardino, North of San Diego, and east of Los Angeles. My destination was Aix-en Provence (pronounced Ex-on Provance),<sup>1</sup> France, a small city north of Marseilles in the south of France. As the plane took off and began its long ascent into the sky, I could feel my head cold being pushed from my throat and into my ears. This was going to be a long flight, with a stop in Chicago, Frankfurt, Germany, and finally Marseilles, before busing it from Marseilles to Aix. I had 14 hours to think about the friends and family I had left behind, and I had 14 hours

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<sup>1</sup> Make sure to use that Nasal French sound when pronouncing this. It just doesn't seem right unless it's pronounced as if you have a major head cold.

to ponder the next ten months of living abroad in France. What adventures would I find myself in? Who would I meet? While the first embers of my future life began to trickle into my mind, I could feel, and hear, the congestion from my horrid cold simultaneously trickle into my inner ear. Little did I realize that my first few weeks in Aix were going to be in relative silence. I could hear very little, as the elevation incline in combination with a cold, would bring me into France with a double ear infection. Yes, this was going to be a long flight, and a long start to my new life as an American in France.

I arrived in Marseilles around 4 pm (GMT+1) along with about fifty other American students enrolled in the same study abroad program. I was exhausted. The other students were, on average, about eight years younger than my twenty-eight years. The difference was stark. These young explorers had a lot more energy after a long and arduous journey than I did. But, then again, I was also half deaf, hungry, and sick. But this did not detract from my first impressions of France.

Southern France is green. Not forest green like Oregon. Not jungle green like Panama. But a yellow red green, reminiscent of folk legends. Fields of knee high flowers of white and yellow blew in wavelike patterns in the wind. Staring down at us and sprinkled across small red hills were old ruins, farms, and forts from ages long ago. These buildings dated back some four, five, or even six hundred years ago. Some were even older than that. But this had not done anything to satiate my curiosity about Europe. Europe was still an unknown entity to me. While I had done much in regards to research about Europe, I had yet to experience its beauty for myself. Before being able to digest anything else, we were shuffled out of the airport and onto a bus. We were surrounded by France. A new country, a new place, and a whole new culture to explore for myself. I selfishly thought about how this experience was going to be mine, and mine alone. None of my friends or family back home would have this to share with me. I was going to have France all to myself.

The bus ride to Aix was another experience worth

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describing. How these bus drivers managed to get these large buses around on those tiny two lane roads is something best experienced firsthand. One cannot explain the amount of finesse these drivers must have. Sharp turns overhanging steep drops were handled at a frightening speed. Motorcycles passed the bus as it wove through hills and turns. We drove through hills of red, green, and yellow. Grass waved knee high length in all directions and we passed many more ruins and farms. It was a sight and experience to behold.

We arrived in Central Aix about an hour after first arrival. Central Aix is old. It was originally established by the Roman Empire some 100 B.C.E. as a central hub for Roman troops in the region. It grew from a troop center to a small town and later, a hub for transport, food, and trade. It is approximately 40 kilometers north of Marseilles, France's major southern port into the Mediterranean. One of the most prominent and well-known features of Aix is its central enormous fountain. Beyond description, I provided a picture of it here.



**Fountain in Aix. Photo by Author.**

During Christmas time, the inhabitants of Aix would empty this enormous fountain and place lights all around it. They would also dangle lights up and down their equivalent to “main street,” Cours Mirabeau. All along Cours Mirabeau were fancy and expensive cafes, restaurants, small bars, and various outdoor vendors of the normal tourist things. While walking from our large bus to the hotel where we would reside for the next two weeks, I could hear a stereotypical sound of the accordion wheezing sweetly down the tiny corridors and alleys of this new unfamiliar city.

As the first day blended into the second day, the other students and I began to prepare for our new life in Aix. There would be hardly any time for a break, and my double ear infection was getting worse. Luckily, France has one of the highest rated health care systems in the world. My first French experience would be visiting the doctor. This doctor knew a little English, and I barely knew a few phrases in French. Through our mutual attempt at sign language and Franglish, we were able to figure out my problem and I was soon placed on antibiotics to remedy the infection. With the sudden anxiety over my health situation deteriorating, I found I was able to enjoy the sights, smells, and the muffled sounds of Aix much better. On our fourth day in France, we were given a quick tour of Aix and its history.

Aix was a small military outpost. Its history replicates the turmoil of Europe. The whole of Aix is small in comparison to modern American cities, being built prior to the Industrial Revolution, when things were generally smaller. The cobblestone roads are tiny, apartments are small, and the many cafes and restaurants house half of their clients outside under umbrellas as protection from the warm Southern French sun. The colors of Aix were much like the colors of its surrounding countryside. Most buildings are earth tones: browns, tans, reds, yellows, and greys. The buildings were tall and narrow. My first few weeks were slightly claustrophobic as I had to adjust to not being able to see the horizon in any direction while in Centre-ville. This feeling quickly subsided as I adjusted to the cozy French lifestyle

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particular to citizens of La Provence.



**Buildings and Roads of Aix. Photos by Author.**

Another interesting feature of Aix, and to most European cities, is that as you travel from the center of town, the town literally gets younger. The oldest parts of the city, those built somewhere around the fall of the Roman Empire are closest to the center. One can walk from the beautiful fountain in the center of town and watch the architecture change and get younger the farther you walk. The buildings in the center of town are smaller, clumsier, and most have a lean much like an elderly man who has walked too far and seen too much. The tiny windows gaze out like a statue with a withered, tired look. A few streets out, the windows begin to get larger, the buildings less burdened by the weight of age.

The decorations become more elaborate once you reach the buildings constructed in the seventeenth century, where windows become excessively large, to the extent that many windows are simply walls shaped like windows. Windows were a symbol of status, and those who could not afford large windows simply made alcoves the shape and size of windows and placed shutters over them. Large statues often decorate the exterior of the seventeenth century apartments, and the doors are extremely elaborate, heavy, and large.



**(Left to right) Street décor and Statue of Saint. Photos by Author.**

On just about every other street corner is a statue of one of the many Catholic Saints. Through a historical tour on our fourth day, we were informed that these small statues were placed on the streets during the Black Death of the thirteenth century. The churches were so overrun with the sick and dying that priests began placing these statues across the town so that believers had a place to pray outside of the church. Again, Aix replicates the turbulent past of Europe very well.

While Aix was certainly a historical experience, it was another trip that left a larger imprint on my mind. I had the opportunity to visit a place I had longed to visit since I was a high school student. The beginning of November hosts the Christian holiday of “All Saints Day,” and with it, most of the populace of France gets a weeklong holiday to spend how they please. I utilized that time to take a trip with another California student to Normandy, which is located in the North-Western coast of France. While there, I explored many different places that involved the American invasion of France during World War II. The Americans would participate in the largest ocean-to-land invasion on the coast of Normandy on June 6<sup>th</sup>, 1944. With it, thousands of Americans would perish alongside French, Canadian, Australian, and other

troops representing many nations around the world. My experience in Normandy was very powerful, and much of the imagery has been imprinted on my mind forever. I also made many small museum visits through the area, but the most mesmerizing and harrowing spectacle of Normandy was the American cemetery at Omaha Beach.



**American Cemetery at Omaha Beach. Photo by Author.**

With its thousands of wounded and killed, seeing the American Cemetery puts the casualty figures into sharp perspective. My later visit to Auschwitz near Krakow would further imprint the total pain, sorrow, and loss experienced through the largest war to date.

The Normandy beach itself is walking distance from the cemetery. Bunkers, barriers, and many other relics of the fighting on D-Day are still present. The history of this beautiful beach mixed with the casual French citizenry lazing about and enjoying the sun was surreal. Knowing so many died in one spot is hard to wrap my brain around while watching windsurfers along the horizon. Also worth noting is how large the beachhead was. The total width of Omaha was close to four and half miles. This was a considerable amount of space in one single beachhead. Books and films such as *Saving Private Ryan* do little to illustrate the length



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that the invasion had to utilize.



**Omaha Beach. Photo by Author.**

We were considerably lucky that day. Normandy has a reputation for its large amount of rain. A sunny day at the beach in late October is a rare occurrence. We weren't so fortunate the following day.



**Sign Outside Pegasus Bridge. Photo by Author**

The next stop would be Pegasus Bridge, the first bridge taken during the D-Day invasion. The beach landings were preceded by

airdrops the night prior. Pegasus Bridge was a strategically important bridge that linked Sword beach to the city of Caen. It was doubly important because there was a German armory located in the city. Capturing the bridge meant protecting the flank of Sword beach from German counterattacks. The mission was led by a British airborne glider infantry. Unlike the majority of the airborne landings, this mission went spectacularly well.



**Weaponry at Pegasus Bridge. Photo by Author.**

The gliders landed near their intended drop zone and they managed to surprise the small company of German troops holding the bridge. This was also the spot of the first death from enemy fire on the allied side during the D-Day invasion. Fred Greenhalgh would die attempting to capture the bridge from a German Infantry round. With little casualties, the British Airborne managed to capture the bridge in 10 minutes. The mission was a rousing success, and the rest, as they say, is history.

My experiences in north France were very special to me. I got to connect to my own history in a small way. Being of European descent really created a past reality I could now physically connect with. The real life struggles of those from the past really magnified and placed into perspective my own struggles. My grandfather was a sonar man on a destroyer during the war, and his struggles and survival were just as real as those fighting in the foxholes of Normandy.



**Memorial Marker. Photo by Author**

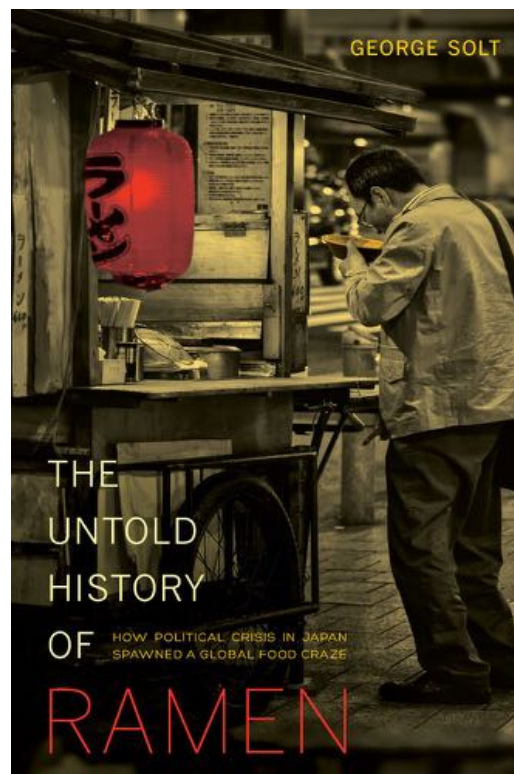
I would explore many other places, learning much about myself and others as I experienced Europe's past. I would come home with a fifth grade level understanding of the French language, a deeper appreciation for others from other cultures, a deep love of France and French culture, and a new French family. My French host mother was just as tender and loving as my real mother. It was clear that just my first impressions of this new place were mesmerizing and grand. I couldn't wait to sink my teeth deeper into the European experience. My ten months in France continue to mark one of the greatest accomplishments of my life. To learn about another culture, history, and lifestyle breeds a deep level of respect and love for another culture that I cannot begin to describe. If there is one thing I recommend for every human being, it is to live in another place for a long time. Because of this experience, I live every day of my life hoping to once again travel and live abroad. Someday, I will once again experience the smell of fresh bread and baguettes in the morning as I walk through the crisp cold air of Southern France. One day, I will be back to embrace the friends I hold so dearly from across the Atlantic.

*History in the Making*

## Reviews

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**Book Review: *The Untold History of Ramen: How Political Crisis in Japan Spawned a Global Food Craze* by George Solt. Fi Berkley: University of California Press, 2014.**



**“Ramen cart in Ueno, Tokyo.” Photograph by Danny Chong Kim Nam.  
Cover Design by Lia Tjandra.**

In *The Untold History of Ramen*, George Solt explores how something as simple as ramen noodles can be transformed from humble beginnings as a Chinese dish to what is now recognized as a symbol of Japanese culture. Solt shows how the introduction of one simple ingredient can have broad implications not only when it comes to dietary preferences, but in politics and culture as well. While it has been referred to by many names, this review, like Solt's work, will use its current and most common name, ramen.

There are many different and divergent histories of modern ramen, and Solt offers three of the most popular origin histories. The first version includes Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628-1701), a popular *daimyo*, or great lord, and second in line to be *shogun*, or effective ruler of all of Tokugawa Japan. In this version, he was, above all else, an avid ramen fan, and had a Chinese adviser who suggested adding savory Chinese seasoning to his noodles. The second version coincides with the opening of Japan during the age of American imperialism in the second half of the nineteenth century. This version sees the introduction of the wheat-based noodle coinciding with the influx of western supplies, like wheat, along with a surge of Chinese workers who brought along their culinary preferences. Finally, there is the history of the Rai-Rai Ken, the first Chinese food restaurant that was owned by a Japanese national of that name.<sup>1</sup>

Instead of serving traditional noodle dishes, Rai-Rai Ken preferred to serve soy sauce based dishes with pork, fishmeal cake, spinach, and seaweed. Ken then gained attention for providing quick, cheap, and tasty ramen for the burgeoning population of wage workers in the Asakusa district of Tokyo. While Solt shows that the origin stories are different, they are all similar in how they connect the present to the past, the only difference being the details that are emphasized. Each can be credited with part of the story of ramen's rise in popularity.

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<sup>1</sup> George Solt, *The Untold History of Ramen: How Political Crisis in Japan Spawned a Global Food Craze* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 19.

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Solt sets the stage for the popularity of ramen in the interwar era of the 1920s and 1930s by explaining how the industrialization of Japan in the late 1890s, along with the Sino-Japanese (1895) and Russo-Japanese (1905) wars, increased the industrial production of Japan. Solt specifically notes that during World War I, Japan's industrial output had risen from 1.4 billion Yen to 6.8 billion.<sup>2</sup> With this manufacturing and industrial growth came the surge of workers needed to support these industries. These workers provided the foundation for the popularity of ramen as a source of cheap, tasty "stamina food."<sup>3</sup> Despite the popularity of ramen from the 1890s to the 1920s, the mobilization for war in the 1930s brought about a cultural and governmental change in policies, which banned items considered luxurious and frivolous. Ramen fell into this category, as it was considered "wasteful and self-indulgent."<sup>4</sup> It was not until the end of World War II and during the American occupation (1945-1952) that this perception began to change.

The offices of the Supreme Commander of Allied Powers (SCAP) chose to retain the ration system that the Japanese had in place during the war. Furthermore, SCAP-issued memos created a ration discrepancy between Western foreign nationals, who were ordered to receive a ration of 2,400 calories, and East Asian nationals, who were to receive a ration of 1,800 calories. This latter group would often receive no more than 800 calories worth of rations, despite receiving three times the bulk amount of food aid from the American occupation authorities. The food aid came mostly in the form of American wheat, which would often be routed into the black markets of Japan, where it was used to create many of those carbohydrate-rich "stamina foods" *ramen*, *gyoza* (pork dumplings), and *okonomiyaki* (savory pancakes).<sup>5</sup> It was in this context that the desire for ramen would spring up again, as the availability of rice declined while American wheat became more

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 47.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 51.

prevalent.

As Solt outlines, direct food aid to Japan was part of the U.S.'s plan to curry favor with the Japanese population. This was done in the face of growing political pressures of Communism after Japanese soldiers held in China and Russia were repatriated back to Japan. The beginning of the Cold War created a unique problem when it came to Japan. American occupation policy began with the aim to disarm Japan so there would be no future threat from them; however, after the escalation of the Korean conflict (1950-53), American policy switched gears in what has become known as the "reverse course," and began encouraging Japan to partially rebuild its military with infusions of U.S. aid and support. Solt points out a very similar course of action when it came to the policies concerning food aid and distribution. The United States abandoned its policies that expected the Japanese government to provide for itself and instead took a direct role in encouraging the industrial and infrastructural sector. The United States provided loans to the Japanese government to purchase wheat, as well other materials used in the economy, to rebuild the sectors vital to making Japan a viable military ally in the burgeoning Cold War. This massive influx of American wheat in turn led to the increased availability and popularity of wheat-based foods like ramen.

Even though this is a book on the history of ramen, Solt's choice to investigate the political aspect gives a larger insight as to how something as simple as Japanese cultural food preferences is connected to the U.S.'s Cold War policies of maintaining an export market for American wheat to fight communism abroad. The exportation of wheat eventually became less about battling communism, and more about changing the cultural mindset and dietary preferences of the population to secure a foothold for the wheat trade. Solt carefully details how the United States deliberately constructed an image in which wheat was superior to rice with the intent of changing the perception of the Japanese populace. The United States supplemented the school lunch programs in Japan with a diet of wheat, dairy, and meat, and further cemented these ideas by using native governmental



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departments to promote their agenda. The offices of Civil Information and Education validated the American agenda issuing leaflets on how, “protein is a body builder. Wheat flour contains 50% more protein than rice.”<sup>6</sup> When the U.S. pushed for the rebuilding of the infrastructure of Japan, it revived a worker influx to the cities, and this is the point where Solt sees a revitalized urban labor force powered by ramen made with American wheat.

Later chapters of the book show the transformation of ramen from a traditional Chinese dish to an engine of cultural identity for Japan in the 1950s, when instant ramen was born. In 1955, a company released an instant ramen by the name of Aji Tsuke Chuka Men (Flavored Chinese Noodles), but since the inventor failed to secure a patent, the honor of being recognized as the creator of the first instant ramen fell to Nissin Food Corporation, with the powerful Taiwanese-Japanese businessman, Ando Momofuku (1910-2007), at the helm. Ando took advantage of being in the right place at the right time, by having access to abundant American wheat and providing a cheap food to the domestic market, as well as supplementing the school lunch programs with instant ramen.<sup>7</sup> Solt points out that the story of Nissin Foods is “remarkable due the scale of growth and the uniqueness of its product.”<sup>8</sup> Solt foreshadows how far reaching Nissin Foods became when it was given permission by the government to be marketed as a “special health food” in 1960. Furthermore, through a successful marketing plan that spanned decades, Nissan was able to sponsor television, radio, cinema, and at one point even create its own theme park.

By the late 1990s and early 2000s Japan would see a resurgence of ramen shops. These ramen shops would not be like the traditional shops of the 1950s, but instead shed the Chinese design and features such as the traditional red and white signs that adorned the storefronts, and took on a distinctly Japanese décor. Solt explains there was a movement amongst many popular chefs

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 63.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 95.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

like Sano Minoru, also known as the Demon of Ramen,<sup>9</sup> which called for sticking with purely domestic ingredients. Minoru had a reputation for being stubborn and rigorous in both his ingredient selection and punishment of subordinates. It was this push for a domestic purity that led to a strong national identity affiliated with the product, much like how the “Made in the U.S.A.” motto resounds amongst American buyers. In recent years, the rise of the internet allowed for ramen to evolve even further in popularity, as customers used it as a means to rank and evaluate shops. Shop owners, in turn, have begun to borrow popular elements from other shops.

Solt concludes on the note that ramen in Japan is a food of contradiction: it was a Chinese dish made with American wheat, popularized and then claimed by the Japanese. It was made by Chinese chefs and taught to the Japanese despite its popularity during a time of great violence and animosity between the two nations. To further emphasize this theme of transformation, Solt points out that ramen was once sold by pushcart vendors and western eateries tailored to manual laborers, immigrants, and other displaced groups. In the last few decades, however, it has become something of a trendy food popular among the younger generations, and likened to “fine French and Italian cuisine.”<sup>10</sup> Solt’s most important note was that the “exceptional fact” about ramen was how it provided a means of studying historical interrelatedness of so many different areas of social organization.<sup>11</sup>

Solt’s narrative of ramen provides a fresh outlook on Japanese and global history. Often history is recorded as a timeline of experiences, events, and dates – it rarely includes information about something as intimate as food and how it relates to the “traditional” historical narrative. The role of ramen against the backdrop of large themes in history is entertaining, and the book provides a delightful window for readers familiar with the role of the United States in the occupation of Japan, the Cold War, and the

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 158.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 180.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 186.

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Marshall Plan. Solt's narrative momentum falters in several of the later chapters, as the book slows down to explain the post-occupation rise of ramen. While the information is pertinent to the overall history of ramen, the change of pace leads the author into what the non-expert might consider minutiae or trivia. However, Solt recovers in the conclusion as he explains the interrelatedness of the history of ramen with other areas. This book can serve as inspiration to many aspiring historians, encouraging them to branch off with their own research based on certain aspects of Solt's narrative.

**Daniel Stolp**

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## Exhibit Review: the Apartheid and District Six Museums, South Africa

During my summer abroad in South Africa, I spent almost a month visiting museums in Cape Town and Johannesburg. Although it was an exhausting task given the constraints of time, it helped me construct a different dimension of South Africa through their interpretation of their own complex history. The unifying memory of South Africa is the oppressive system of apartheid. Most, if not all, the museums that I visited were exclusively dedicated to the memory of a system that in historical terms is still quite fresh. Because a democratic South Africa is only twenty years old, the memories of conflict, injustices, and oppression are very much alive. In this context, it is interesting to analyze the country's interpretation of their historical memory.

Two museums stand out in my own memory, the District Six museum, "an ordinary people's place"<sup>1</sup> in Cape Town, and the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg. Both museums deal with the subject of apartheid in distinct ways. The District Six Museum deals exclusively to the memory of the demolished community of District Six during apartheid in the 1960s. Their exhibitions and style are solely rooted in the personal and communal, and are juxtaposed with local art and oral histories. The Apartheid Museum is what I would call a textbook museum, rich with information, artifacts and visual media. The personal is not reflected; rather the historical foundation of apartheid takes precedence.

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<sup>1</sup> Valmont Layne, "The District Six Museum: An Ordinary People's Place," *The Public Historian* 30, no. 1 (February 1, 2008): 53–62,

**Apartheid Museum, Johannesburg, South Africa**



**Apartheid Museum Entrance. Photo by Author**

My first impression of the Apartheid Museum was one of awe. I had never been impressed by a museum with a historical, photographic, and artifact collection like the Apartheid Museum. It stood out as one of the most worthwhile museums during my visit. It is impressive in its collection and aesthetics that cannot be denied. Its history, however, is a bit peculiar as far as traditional museums go. The Apartheid Museum was born not out of a necessity to memorialize the past, but from a required stipulation on casino entrepreneurs.<sup>2</sup> The Gauteng Gambling Act of 1995 required casino owners to give back to the community as a

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<sup>2</sup> Chana Teeger and Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, "Controlling for Consensus: Commemorating Apartheid in South Africa," *Symbolic Interaction* 30, no. 1 (February 1, 2007): 57–78.

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competitive incentive to acquire gambling licenses.<sup>3</sup> The casino entrepreneurs decided to give back to the community in the form of a museum. When the licensing committee accepted the museum proposal, the next step was on deciding the location of the museum. Today it stands on the outskirts of Johannesburg, right outside the downtown core.



**Apartheid Museum Ticket. Photo by Author.**

When visitors purchase their tickets, their stubs randomly designate them a race. Visitors are either “non-white” or “white.” Entrance to the museum is segregated according to the visitor’s stub. The effect is intended to resemble the arbitrary race designation imposed on South African citizens under the Population Registration Act of 1950. Race classification under the

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

apartheid government could legally change a person's race from "white" to "black." As the visitor walks towards the entrance, they pass alongside a barbed wire fence lined with the registration documents of numerous South Africans before entering the exhibition space.

The museum's permanent exhibits are in chronological order and begin with a film about the history of South Africa from colonial times to 1959; the idea being that the visitor will walk through each decade, as apartheid becomes the dominant political system of South Africa. Academically, the information is substantial. An impressive photograph collection supports the information on display. The interior of the museum resembles a prison complex with brick walls and metal bars separating the different sections of the museum. The first sections rely on photographs and text to establish the chronology and history of everyday life under apartheid. The photographs introduce visitors to the different realities that existed between South Africans as designated by their race. Images of white South Africans enjoying leisure activities are juxtaposed against images of forced demolition of communities, like District Six and Sophiatown.

One of the more shocking sections of the museum is the political executions area. Hung on the ceiling of the room are a number of nooses representing the political activists who lost their lives at the hands or commands of the apartheid government. The names of and the method of their execution are inscribed on the walls. Directly following this haunting scene is a replica of the solitary confinement cells that many tortured prisoners endured. Visitors can step inside the cell, and inside they hear mumbblings of prisoners on broadcast that give an eerie sensation of claustrophobic whispers in the enclosed space.





**Memorabilia in Apartheid Museum. Photo by Author.**

Further along in the complex, memorabilia, political posters, and artifacts supplement the historic events. Towards the end of the museum, the anxiety of the post-apartheid years are on display on television screens that loop constant footage of the instability and conflict following the release of Nelson Mandela and the abolition of apartheid. At the very end, there is light at the end of the tunnel, quite literally. As visitors make their way to the last section, the walls are lined with photographs and memorabilia of the first democratic election where Mandela was elected president. Visitors are left with a positive and hopeful view of the future, and at the end, visitors are faced with the spirit that encompasses South Africa's vision; printed on the exit walls are the words "Freedom, Equality, Responsibility, Democracy."

As impressive as it is, the Apartheid Museum fails to connect visitors to a deeper experience or understanding of

apartheid. The aesthetics and the academic tone do not embody a community; rather it seeks to become an authority on national and historical memory. The location of the museum further speaks to its disconnect. The extent of information on the panels draws those who are academically inclined to read further. As a student, I found myself skipping many of the text on the panels and walls. As a visitor, they simply do not capture my attention, yet the photographs and the exhibit aesthetics do command my attention. In its design and architecture, it is very effective and interesting to shape it as if I were walking through a prison complex. However, in my recollection, I can say that there was something significant missing from the Apartheid Museum. The museum is like a history documentary filled with rich information, yet boring and flat in its direction. The sense of community and humanity is devoid within the walls of the museum.



**Apartheid Museum Exit**

**District Six Museum, Cape Town, South Africa**



**Inside District Six Museum. Photo by Author.**

In contrast to the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg, the District Six Museum in Cape Town is much smaller, but community rooted. I was not particularly impressed by the aesthetics of the museum (I thought it was too cluttered) but the story and the importance of the history of the demolished community took precedence. The idea to create a museum started in the 1980s as part of a social justice community group founded on the hope to restore and preserve the memory of District Six. The museum is exclusively rooted in community, social justice, and personal stories. It continues to be an active presence in the community today.<sup>4</sup>

The District Six Museum is fundamentally more effective than the Apartheid Museum. Since it is smaller, it is more

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<sup>4</sup> Layne.

concentrated in its history. It is not overwhelming in its historical timeline or space. The most significant dimension of the museum is the incorporation of actual District Six residents. When I visited the museum, a man named Noor Ebrahim who was a child when the apartheid government demolished his entire community, led my group and me. Ebrahim recounted his story as our group sat around him like kindergarten children. The most poignant part of his story was his father's pigeons that were kept as pets. The pigeons somehow "knew" that his home in District Six was their home as well. When the government demolished Ebrahim's home to rubble, the pigeons were let go, but his father went back to salvage anything he could. What his father found were his pigeons back in the spot where their home had been.



**Noor Ebrahim from District Six. Photo by Tiffany Jones.**

Noor went on to say that many people's pets returned to the rubble that were once their homes,. This element of oral history and personality added a very distinct and intimate dimension to the memory of apartheid. Interacting with Ebrahim and hearing his story invokes a deeper sympathy because the visitor can identify

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with basic human emotions rather than academic text. What's more, the fact that the museum is located in the immediate vicinity of District Six gives it not just shared authority, but legitimizes its authenticity. The District Six Museum is directly connected to South Africa's memory and identity.

The District Six Museum does not seek to become an authority over national memory or identity. Community is not a construct here. It is a snapshot of a painful memory exhibited through the objects and personalities of a community that signify the resilience and reconciliation of a post-apartheid South Africa. It exposes visitors to hidden and local histories that are often dismissed or simply not acknowledged in the larger context of historical studies. The District Six Museum is rooted in a need to commemorate pain and to expose harsh realities, but the lively personalities and the community aspect of the museum gives it a much more organic feel than the Apartheid Museum, thus making it a more effective exhibition of a difficult history.



**District Six Today. Photo by Author.**

**Blanca Garcia-Barron**

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## Film Review: *Selma* (2015)

Critics and audiences view biographical films with an assumption of historical accuracy and authority. When biographical films fail to factually portray the events and people that we have come to know during our formative years, either through History Channel specials, and reading numerous books and textbooks, those films are harshly criticized. There are many films based on seminal events and people that have both failed and succeeded in bringing to life familiar narratives in American society's collective historical memory. Many audiences fail to recognize that a historical film is not a source of authority. The medium of film is a collective of different artistic expressions; it blends the art of writing, acting, cinematography, and direction. The art of the biographical film is to combine all these artistic elements and to animate the collective historical memory in a way that does justice to facts and the people portrayed. Some of the most successful biographical films, or biopics, that come to mind are *Gandhi*, *Malcolm X*, and *Schindler's List*, but even those artistic endeavors are not free of flaws. We tend to hold the aforementioned biopics in high regard because the acting, the writing, and the direction are elevated to the realm of true artistic expression; the stories, rooted in factual events and people, are stripped of their mythical elements and portrayed as universal struggles carried on the shoulders of flawed human beings.

Over the past couple of years, the genre of the biographical film has experienced major artistic and commercial revival. Nevertheless, films like *Mandela: Long Walk to Freedom* and *Cesar Chavez* were ambitious endeavors that collapsed under the immense weight of their subject's historical significance. The foremost critique is that these films failed to blend all the diverse artistic elements of film, and because of this failure, the stories of these amazing leaders in film does not capture the impact that they had in history.

*Selma* successfully portrays an emblematic snapshot of the civil rights movement. It does not detail the life of Dr. Martin Luther King from beginning to end, but demonstrates the personal within the political. The personal was political, not just for Dr. King, but for many of the activists involved in the movement. *Selma* conveys the civil rights movement as a struggle of collaboration. It was a struggle of diverse opinions, personalities, and ideologies within the movement itself. It was a struggle of bringing all these components into one unified and coherent idea. It was a struggle for the right to vote without the arbitrary restrictions imposed on the black population. The film captures these elements in a compassionate and eloquent way.

The Edmund Pettus Bridge unites the diversity of personalities in *Selma*. The bridge, in the context of the film, is representative of a conflicting narrative, and how a community challenged the evolution and shape of that narrative. The violent clash that came to be known as “Bloody Sunday” on March 7, 1965 on the Edmund Pettus Bridge was broadcast on national television. Through this platform, the force and violence used against the peaceful protesters became a call for social justice for many. The bridge, named after a KKK leader, became a contested space where the past, represented by the authorities, tried to desperately cling on to their dominant status by any means necessary. In the film, the bridge is represented as a Rubicon, or the point of no return,<sup>1</sup> in the civil rights movement. Symbolically, crossing the Edmund Pettus Bridge is to triumph over an entire sector of oppressors. It’s these subtle elements within the film that elevate it to artistic quality.

The performances by David Oyelowo who played Dr. King, and Stephan James, who played John Lewis, deserve special accolades. Their relationship transitions from Lewis’s perception of Dr. King as a heroic figure, to Lewis’s disappointment and frustration over Dr. King’s plans. The portrayal of the interactions between these two characters is very human and relatable. The film

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<sup>1</sup> The crossing of the Rubicon River by Julius Caesar.



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portrays Dr. King as a flawed individual, and brings his mythical narrative down to real human qualities. This is most explicitly portrayed in Dr. King's relationship with Coretta Scott King, played by actress Carmen Ejogo. Jealousy, infidelity, and stress abound in the King family. The film handled these elements in a sensitive way and both actors were convincing in their roles. In the larger context, these elements within the King family were not portrayed to expose their unfortunate reality, but as the realities that social and political leaders often face.

One of the primary criticisms that *Selma* has received is the portrayal of President Lyndon B. Johnson's resistance to the Civil Rights Movement. Tom Wilkinson plays the part of the hesitant and sometimes difficult President Lyndon B. Johnson. Joseph Califano, former White House Aide under President Lyndon B. Johnson, has raised several questions over director Ava DuVernay's portrayal of the former president. Califano paints a very different picture of the historical events, reporting that President Johnson was not only the man behind the *Selma* protests, but that he was more integral to the movement than Dr. King himself. In this instance, it is the critique itself that is flawed. One of *Selma*'s greatest accomplishments is its introspective look into the humanness of its characters. President Johnson was a very complicated man. He turned against many of his Southern allies and passed the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1964 and the Voting Rights Act in 1965. He also forced the Federal Bureau of Investigation director J. Edgar Hoover to dismantle the Ku Klux Klan. He was not a terrible person, but he was not always a great one either. The film does a phenomenal job of presenting President Johnson as a human being and not just as a historical figure.

President Johnson's role in the film has been greatly misinterpreted. President Johnson's support for Dr. King's plan to mobilize in *Selma* was initially limited. At the beginning of the Selma marches, President Johnson was determined to pass the War on Poverty bill. This interfered with his support for the Voter's Rights Act. The film also showed the impact that the Selma protest had on President Johnson. His character changes throughout the

film. He is portrayed in the beginning as a politician who is out of touch with the needs of the people. It takes Dr. King to push President Johnson to address the injustice within voting rights. He was a strong enough leader to realize when to correct wrongdoings and to reform.

Another wrongly criticized facet of President Johnson's portrayal in *Selma* is that of his relationship with Dr. King. Akin to the criticisms that President Johnson was grossly misrepresented, the film has received backlash over the strained relationship the men have in the film. Dr. King and President Johnson were two very different men with very different responsibilities and agendas. President Johnson was president of a country that was deeply marred by social instability, a war in Vietnam, and the overwhelming threat of communism. For President Johnson, Dr. King was a political activist who was rocking an already teetering boat and Dr. King, an impassioned civil rights leader, was frustrated and fed up with the racial inequality of the 1960's and the government's slow reaction to this injustice. President Johnson did not understand the importance and the necessity to take quick action. The idea that the two men would have been compatible with each other all of the time is unrealistic. Again, the tension between President Johnson and Dr. King displayed in the film reflects the humanity of both men.

The timing of the release of *Selma* was strategic in that it would honor the fiftieth anniversary of the Selma marches. Without a doubt the film incorporates 2015's Black Lives Matter Movement, but *Selma* also has the overarching theme of promoting human rights and justice. This is arguably done most explicitly through the song "Glory," written and performed by musical artists John Legend and Common. After winning Best Original Song at the 2015 Grammy Award ceremony, Common stated in his acceptance speech: "The spirit of this bridge connects the kid from the South Side of Chicago, dreaming of a better life, to those in France standing up for their freedom of expression, to those in Hong Kong, protesting for democracy... This bridge was built on

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hope, welded with compassion and elevated with love for all human beings.”

This message is reiterated throughout the film, beginning with the opening scene of the innocent murder of four black female children during the 16th Street Baptist Church bombing in 1963. The Selma marches are portrayed as coinciding with the church bombing when in truth these events took place almost two years apart.

Another scene that portrays the disparity of the value of human life follows the murder of James Reeb, a white Unitarian minister who joined the Selma marches following King’s call to American clergy members. The murder of Reeb by white supremacists prompted an outcry against the brutality of white supremacist organizations and the trial and conviction of four men accused to Reeb’s murder. The director of *Selma* juxtaposes this scene to the scene in which King advocated for President Lyndon B. Johnson to advocate for justice to be brought to the state trooper who murdered Jimmy Lee Johnson, a young black Baptist deacon who had participated in the Selma marches. At no point in time does Dr. King minimize the tragedy of the murder of Reeb, instead King pleads for Johnson’s murder to be taken just as seriously.

*Selma* attempts to encapsulate the complexities of the Civil Rights Movement through the fight for black voters’ rights through the marches in Selma, Alabama of 1965. This biographical film offers an artistic interpretation of the life of Martin Luther King Jr. DuVernay uses drama to engage audiences to tell the story of the men and women who advocated for equality and justice and to wrestle with the complex relationship Americans still have with this country’s bitter racial history.

**Moriah Schnose, Casey Lee, and Blanca Garcia-Barron**





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