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Front Cover:
Andres Salles, *Cochinchine, Saïgon, Hôtel de L'Inspection,* n.d.,
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Back Cover:
Jacob A. Riis, *Children pose in a backyard playground at Henry Street Settlement
in New York*, 1890, courtesy of Library of Congress Prints and Photographs
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The *Historical Perspectives* Peer Review Process

Historical Perspectives is a peer-reviewed publication of the History Department at Santa Clara University. It showcases student work that is selected for innovative research, theoretical sophistication, and elegant writing. Consequently, the caliber of submissions must be high to qualify for publication. Each year, two student editors and two faculty advisors evaluate the submissions.

Assessment is conducted in several stages. An initial reading of submissions by the four editors and advisors establishes a short-list of top papers. The assessment criteria in this process, as stated above, focus on the papers' level of research innovation, theoretical sophistication, and elegance of presentation. No one category is privileged over the others and strengths in one can be considered corrective for deficiencies in another. The complete panel of four editors and advisors then votes on the final selections. Occasionally, as needed, authors may be asked to shorten or edit their original submissions for re-submission.

Table of Contents

Introduction

History is not like any other subject that we study in higher education. It is not a series of rules or logic that we create to understand the functions of the world, nor a language or experiment which tests our hypothesis in relation to our predetermined rules. History does not follow rules, nor is it set in stone. Of course, information stays the same, but our understanding and interpretation of historical documents and primary sources change as new information is uncovered and new research comes to light. It is a constantly shifting world of academic perspective and *Historical Perspectives* strives to recognize and represent the work of our next generation of historians. This year saw a series of fantastic submissions from some of our best and brightest young scholars at Santa Clara University, dealing with a variety of historical subjects ranging from racial, labor, and gender disparities, to military organization, the development of the American political parties, and much more.

The Phi Alpha Delta chapter at Santa Clara University proudly honors the hard work of our historians each year and 2023 was no different. In a year marred by war, turmoil, and hardship, it is the hope of this chapter that selections from our students can help us to understand the underlying factors which have contributed to our situation. The theme for this year's publication is 'Alternate Narratives', reflective of the broad range of topics that have flown under the radar since the first issue of *Historical Perspectives*. Throughout its run, past editors of this academic journal have pored over countless submissions to provide the best representation of the academic accomplishments of the History Department. The submissions for 2023 may span a broad range of topics, but each serves as a dramatic reinterpretation of previous scholarship or an exploration of a topic which has been overlooked in the past.

Two of our award-winning papers cover topics situated within the French Colonial period in Vietnam, each exploring the social constraints which colonialism imposed upon the Vietnamese people. Anna Nicolae's "The Open Secret: Male Prostitution, Homosexuality and Pederasty in French Indochina" explores the impacts of French occupation on the male population of Vietnam. She investigates how European gender ideals contributed to a perception of Southeast Asian men as "effeminate", and how this perception led to a culture of abuse. Former editor of *Historical Perspectives*, Bianca Romero's "Encounters: The Geography of Urban Colonial Interactions in French Vietnam" looks at the impacts of French culture in Vietnam, specifically what elements of France became integrated into Vietnamese culture during and after their occupation. Rob Wohl's "Masking Evil: St. Domingan Émigres in the Philadelphian Press, 1789-1793" also explores the negative effects of French colonialism on their subjects, albeit in St. Domingue (modern-day Haiti), with a focus on how French émigrés to Philadelphia participated in a coordinated misinformation campaign against the enslaved insurgents responsible for the Haitian Revolution.

We also have several articles which deal with the landscape of gender equality in the historical realm. Naomi Sneath's "Getting Heated: An Exploration of Women After the Great Seattle Fire" gives a description of the roles of women in the wake of the Great Seattle Fire of 1889, and Hannah Hagen's "We Didn't Want the Boys to Decide About Us: The Women Pioneers of Coeducation in California's Oldest University" discusses gender disparities in higher education at Santa Clara. Nicola Coates paper "Women with and 'Without Virtue'" helps to contextualize the contrast between the experiences of Southern White and Black women during Reconstruction.

Our American history articles include a range of topics with contemporary relevance: Julia Kovatch's "Go Outside and Play: Backyard Playgrounds in New York City During the Progressive Era" deals with documenting the creation of small playgrounds in

iv

the Progressive Era. Former editor of *Historical Perspectives*, Sean Chamberlain's "Roots of the Republican Party in Michigan and Wisconsin" provides context for contemporary US politics, and Nico Sanchez's "The Humboldt Lumber Strike" provides an exploration of unions in early rural California. Ashna Nilawar's "The Myth of Meritocracy" discusses disparities in treatment between Indian immigrants and other immigrant groups in the U.S, and Antonio Vargas' "The Birthplace of the Operational Art" offers an exploration of the creation of the military chain of command. Finally, we have a review of the new Ridley Scott *Napoleon* film by Dylan Ryu.

This year *Historical Perspectives* received numerous great submissions and the decision of which would be included was challenging due to the high-quality work of our students. The cover art of this issue reflects the array of topics included in our historical journal and contributes to this year's theme. It is only appropriate that the cover of this issue reflects the hardships of colonialism and its impacts on society, a theme we see repeated throughout many of the papers in this issue. It is the hope of this journal that readers will take a new perspective on the history which they understand or at the least, learn about a previously marginalized topic.

v

The Myth of Meritocracy: The Indian Caste System's Effect on Indian Immigration and Naturalization in Early 20th Century United States

Aashna Nilawar[*]

At over 3,000 years old, caste hierarchy is one of the oldest forms of social stratification in the world: the community one is born into in places like India, Pakistan, and Nepal designates where they can work, who they can marry, and their social position in society. Even today in South Asia, caste conflict and discrimination remain a potent force in everyday life. In the United States, though, caste tends to be a relatively muted topic despite its consistent and entrenched influence in many aspects of South Asian diasporic life.

Immigration and naturalization were one element of the South Asian immigrant experience that was altered by a deep reliance on the Indian caste system. Caste justified the limited stratums of those who successfully traveled to the U.S. for better economic opportunities. Although the West vehemently rejects Eastern and culturally-based mechanisms of class distinction for its barbarism,[1] America's own sustainment of class prejudice based on economic status proves that their practices and policies are capable of harboring these traditional prejudicial attitudes.

This paper will explore the impact of the Indian caste system on immigration and naturalization in the United States from the 1910s to 1940s. It will examine how the caste system was perceived by the U.S. government and society at large, and how this perception influenced Indian immigrants' experiences seeking naturalization. The paper will also analyze the discriminatory and exclusionary policies aimed at all Asian immigrants, as well as the

[1] Fred Lockley, "The Hindu Invasion: A New Immigration Problem," *Pacific Monthly Magazine*, May 1907.

Historical Perspectives, Series II, Volume XXVIII, 2023

racist attitudes and xenophobic sentiments that contributed to their marginalization. Finally, the paper will explore the lasting legacy of the caste system's impact on Indian-American identity in the United States today. By examining the intersection of the caste system and immigration in the early 20th century, this paper seeks to contribute to a deeper understanding of the challenges and struggles faced by Indian immigrants seeking acceptance in the United States.

Understanding the Caste System

The caste system is a fourfold closed categorical hierarchy extracted from Hinduism, and the primary dimension by which people in India are socially differentiated according to their class, occupation, and access to wealth, power, or prestige. Its pervasiveness impacts not only Hindus but essentially any ethnic or religious group residing within India.

The origins of the Indian caste system are mainly rooted in Hindu mythology. According to the ancient Hindu text Rigveda (or "The Knowledge of Verses" in Sanskrit), the division of Indian society into four categories comes from the omnipotent four-headed, four-legged Hindu deity Brahma's interpretation of needs in Indian society.[2] Also known as the Purana Purush, denoting the most ancient supreme being, Brahma deconstructed his body to create four different varnas (connoting caste, but literally meaning color) plus one added distinction: the Brahmins came from his head, the Kshatriyas from his hands, the Vaishyas from his thighs, and the Shudras from his feet.[3] The last caste known as Dalits— also derogatorily referred to as the Untouchables—is a designation reserved for those deemed irrelevant to the upper and external

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[2] A.L. Basham, *The Wonder That Was India: A Survey of the Culture of the Indian Sub-Continent before the Coming of the Muslims* (New York: Grove Press, 1907), 161-162.
[3] Nicholas B. Dirks, *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 31-52; M.N. Srinivas, *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India* (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 2003). 14-17.

2

workings of Indian society but still kept around to complete odd jobs.[4] "These individuals are not allowed to drink from the same wells, attend the same temples, wear shoes in the presence of an upper caste, or even drink from the same cups in tea stalls as members of the upper castes."[5]

The varna hierarchy is determined by the descending order of the different organs from which they were created[6]: Brahmins, derived from the head of the Purush, are often educators or religious leaders who possess high levels of wisdom and education as a representation of the brain. Ksatriyas, the warrior caste, often became political rulers or soldiers, deriving their fighting strength and capacity to rule from the Purush's arms. The Vaishyas consist of merchants, farmers, and businessmen, building the economic foundation holding up society. And finally, the Shudras tend to do labor-intensive tasks; they are often highly transient in search of reliable employment.[7]

Historically, however, there are conflicting accounts of how the Indian caste system came to be recognized in the region. Despite the insistence of many claiming its religious value and due to inconsistencies in the literary records of the early societies living in the Sindu region (ancient moniker of India), the Aryan invaders are most credited for the introduction of caste. The Aryans, a migratory group hailing from Central Asia, first made contact with the Dravidian and indigenous people of India in 1500 B.C. following the collapse of the Indus Valley civilization.[8] The Dravidians were a relatively advanced agricultural society with a

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[4] Wendy Doniger, *The Hindus: An Alternative History* (New York: Penguin Books, 2010), 5.

[5] Smita Narula, "Broken People: Caste Violence Against India's 'Untouchables," *Human Rights Watch*, 1999.

[6] Célestin Bouglé, *Essays on the Caste System* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1971).

[7] Christopher J. Fuller, *The Camphor Flame: Popular Hinduism and Society in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 90-102.

[8] V. Venkatachallam Iyer, "Mythological Investigation and the Aryan Hypothesis," *The Modern Review* 28 (1920): 588.

rich culture that centered values of totemism and matrilineality. A social epiphet rather than a racial one, the Aryan designation mainly affirmed cultural, religious, and linguistic differences as opposed to highlighting a racial difference as it is understood today,[9] but Indo-Aryan literature reveals a recognition of skin color that often-juxtaposed light-skinned Aryans to darker-skinned Dravidians.

Upon reaching the Sindu region, the Aryans conquered nearly every region in northern India, relegating the indigenous people to the southern regions of India as the Aryan people employed their own principles of social order. Similar to varnas, they would also assign individuals to religious and educational functions, military and political functions, economic functions, and menial functions.[10] Reflecting their ideas of linguistic and cultural propriety, the Aryans bestowed a higher caste status unto themselves while preserving the economic and menial functions for the indigenous people they had conquered. The clear likeness between Aryan practice and contemporary expressions of caste supports this logic of Aryan-origin.

While the parallels between today's and ancient systems of caste differentiation imply a certain endurance, caste and cultural boundaries were actually relatively fluid throughout India's history until the arrival of the Mughals and the British.[11] Within the Mughal state, there was a rise of powerful leaders and priests that affirmed the regal and martial elements of the "ideal" higher castes and reintroduced strict divisions to casteless groups in an effort to systemize their control. With the arrival of the British colonizers, caste organization as well as religion were further cemented as

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[9] Iyer, "Aryan Hypothesis," 589.

[10] Sebastian Velassery, *Casteism and Human Rights: toward an Ontology of the Social Order* (Singapore: Marshall Cavendish Academic, 2005), 2.

[11] Frank DeZwart, "The Logic of Affirmative Action: Caste, Class and Quotas in India," *Acta Sociologica* 43, no. 3 (July 2000): doi:10.1177/000169930004300304; Susan Bayly, *Caste, Society and Politics in India from the Eighteenth Century to the Modern Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 392.

4

critical parameters for social stratification to dictate job assignments and methodize their censuses like reserving high-paying administrative job for Christians of certain castes and classifying the population according to territory, occupation, age, gender, tribe.[12]

The strict adherence to caste-based organization in their census practices developed into a systematic effort to uphold caste stratifications in courts and legislatures in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. For example, in 1873, the Bombay High Court shut down the Satya Shodhak Samaj, a social reform movement in Maharashtra that challenged caste discrimination and sought to uplift the lower castes, for disseminating ideas that were against Hindu religion and custom.[13] The Ilbert Bill Controversy of 1883 arose over a proposed law that would have allowed Indian judges to preside over trials involving European defendants, but European colonists in India vehemently opposed the bill, arguing that it threatened their social status and privileges.[14] In 1908, the Privy Council denied Tamil Nadar women the right to cover their breasts.[15] That same year the Madras Presidency Ryotwari Villages Act of 1908 was passed by the British colonial government, allowing landlords to evict tenant farmers who failed to pay rent, disproportionately affecting lower-caste tenant farmers, who often lacked legal protection and faced extreme exploitation and abuse from their landlords.[16] In a 1911 case, the Punjab High Court

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[12] J.T. Marten, "Female Infanticide," in *Census of India - 1921*, 1924, xviii; J.H. Hutton, "Subsidiary Table I: Caste, Tribe, and Race," in *Census of India - 1931*, 1933, 462-465; M.W.M. Yeatts, "Appendix V: Towns Arranged Territorially with Population by Communities," in *Census of India - 1941*, 1943, 85-94.

[13] Anand Teltumbde, *The Persistence of Caste: The Khairlanji Murders and India's Hidden Apartheid* (London: Zed Books, 2010).

[14] Gyanendra Pandey, "Colonialism, Law and the Formation of Modern Identities in India: A Comparative Study," *Modern Asian Studies* 34, no. 1 (2000): 47-76.

[15] Satya P. Mohanty, "Colonialism, Modernity, and Literature: A View from India," in *Women, Writing, and Resistance: Situating Pandita Ramabai's The High-Caste Hindu Woman*, ed. Mary E. John and Janaki Nair (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 13-36

[16] Mitra Sharafi, *Law and Identity in Colonial South Asia: Parsi Legal Culture, 1772-1947* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

5

upheld the practice of endogamy, or the practice of marrying within one's own sub-caste, declaring that it was an essential feature of the Hindu religion and that any attempt to challenge it was a violation of religious freedom.[17] In 1924, members of the Mahar community, the largest 'untouchables' community in the state of Maharashtra, were found guilty of trying to enter a temple complex by a Nagpur court.[18] All of these examples serve to demonstrate how British colonial courts not only upheld but reinforced the caste system in India, often citing Hindu religion and custom as justifications for their decisions. They highlight how caste-based identities and political mobilization were beginning to emerge as important social and political issues in early 20th century India, setting the stage for later struggles for social justice and equality, even outside of India.

U.S. Sentiments towards Asian Migrants

Many twentieth-century immigration laws in the United States, like the Immigration Act of 1917 and the 1924 National Origins Quota Act, specifically targeted South and East Asian immigrants who were traveling to the Western states in large numbers, seeking better economic opportunities.[19] Attitudes among White individuals in the early 1900s underscored the perceived backwardness of Indian immigrants, particularly when compared to other Asian immigrant groups, as evidenced by the 1920 California State Board of Control report which identified 'Hindu' immigrants as "the most undesirable immigrant in the state [because] his lack of personal cleanliness, his low morals, and his

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[17] S.K. Chaube, "The Indian Caste System: Historical, Social and Psychological Issues," *Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 19, no. 2 (2004): 219-233.

[18] Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, "Gandhi, Ambedkar, and the Poona Pact, 1932," *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 28, no. 2 (2005): 195-209.

[19] United States Bureau of Immigration. n.d. Immigration laws. Act of February 5, 1917; and acts approved; October 19, 1918; May 10, 1920; June 5, 1920; December 26, 1920, and May 19, 1921, as amended, and Act May 26, 1922. Rules of May 1, 1917. Washington, Govt. print. off, 1922, Retrieved from Library of Congress. www.loc.gov/item/22019016/.

6

blind adherence to theories and teachings [make him] entirely repugnant to American principles [and] unfit for association with American people."[20]

Nearly one-third of these immigrants seeking admission to America and British Columbia faced rejection after being assigned to one of three categories: L.P.C., or "liable to becoming a public charge"; D.C.D., or "carrier of a dangerous contagious disease;" or having been proven as violating the alien contract-labor law.[21] Once again, these categorizations reflected the stereotypes held about Asian immigrants as a primitive or unsophisticated community. Driven by these prejudices, the "invasion" of South Asian immigrants was met with race-based limitations in immigration legislation like the 1924 Asian Exclusion Act, excluding people of Asian lineage from naturalizing in America and effectively choking off large-scale immigration for decades.[22]

The first wave of South Asian immigrants to America between 1897 and 1924 consisted of mainly Sikh agricultural workers and farmers from Punjab. These men, often belonging to the lower and middle working classes with low levels of education and compelled to work jobs for cheaper rates than Western workers, initially arrived in the American West with the intention to save and send money to their families and wives back in Punjab and eventually return home.

Since recruitment for jobs in the States was based on labor needs rather than caste or religion, caste did not necessarily affect who immigrated from India to the US in this early period. However, many Punjabi Sikhs belonged to specific castes, and their caste identity influenced their experiences in the U.S. For example, Jatts and Khatris, who were traditionally land-owning castes, were often more economically successful than Dalits—considered to be the lowest caste and subject to discrimination in

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[20] California State Board of Control. n.d. "California and Oriental (Sacramental, 1920)." 101-102.

[21] Lockley, "The Hindu Invasion."

[22] Lockley, "The Hindu Invasion."

both India and the U.S.[23] Although the caste system had minimal influence on the treatment of Punjabi migrants, it did not protect them from discrimination based on their looks and cultural practices. For instance, many faced bigotry due to their beards and turbans, which were integral parts of their identity. As a result, early influential Punjabi politicians and businessmen felt compelled to stop wearing them to avoid persecution.[24]

Seeking Naturalization

As South Asian immigrants faced discrimination and marginalization in the United States in the early 1900s, many sought naturalization as a means of securing legal rights and protection. The main benefit of naturalization was to gain the rights and privileges of citizenship, such as the right to vote and the ability to bring over family members from their home country. While America imposed a ban on family-based immigration for many groups, these early South Asian immigrants were especially harmed as their only alternative was to leave their wives and children behind in a British-occupied India where they would be victim to extreme levels of exploitation. These bans were specifically aimed at preventing the formation of permanent South Asian communities in the country, reflecting the widespread xenophobia and racism that characterized American society at the time, as well as the government's desire to maintain social and cultural homogeneity. Furthermore, the ban was seen as a way to limit the economic competition posed by South Asian immigrants, who were often willing to work for lower wages than native-born Americans. This belief decidedly led to the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924.

Naturalization would also allow South Asian immigrants to better integrate into American society and, in turn, gain greater

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[23] Uma Chakravarti, "The Social Context of Indian Emigration to the United States," *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 8, no. 2 (1999): 196, 203

[24] Amelia S. Netervala, 2015. Oral History Interview -- Part 2, Conducted by Randa Cardwell.

social and economic mobility. But discriminatory immigration policies played a significant role in limiting the naturalization efforts of South Asian immigrants in the early 1900s by creating strong associations between race and eligibility. Most notably, the Naturalization Act of 1906 had established the conditions required to become a naturalized citizen in the U.S. to include "free white persons" and "aliens of African nativity and persons of African descent."[25]

Another approach was to obtain citizenship through marriage to a U.S. citizen. Many South Asian men who had come to the U.S. as laborers or students sought to marry American women in order to gain citizenship. However, this tactic was also met with resistance due to the continuation of anti-miscegenation laws in many states prohibiting interracial marriage. As immigration laws like the 1924 immigration bill were passed and laws catered to Anglo fears of demographic change came to be, Punjabi and other South Asian men were forced to choose between keeping their status and economic progress in the United States or returning to British-occupied India with little to no prospects to fall back on, often choosing to stay in the States. Barred from bringing their wives and children to America with them, many Punjabi men increasingly sought companionship with new marriages, but anti-miscegenation laws dedicated to protecting the sanctity of white women and negative attitudes about 'brown' men seeking white female partners prohibited these relations. For example, in 1918, when a Punjabi cotton farmer B.K. Singh married a 16-year-old white girl, California regional newspaper *El Centro Progress* published an article speculating the lawfulness of the Arizona marriage license and provoked a county investigation into their marriage.[26] In the 1960s, a white man had his Punjabi neighbor Mola Singh arrested when he revealed a past affair with a white woman in the 1920s, after which Singh ended up losing his

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[25] "The Naturalization Act of 1906," Pub.L. 59–338, 34 Stat. 596. 1906.

[26] El Centro Progress. 1918. "Hindu Weds White Girl by Stealing Away to Arizona." April 5, 1918.

9

property.[27] These attitudes coupled with stringent legislation mandating the legality of interracial marriage forced non-white newcomers to seek partners from other racially marginalized communities. Anti-miscegenation laws also impacted other areas of South Asian immigrant life—unable to keep their land, unable to hire white house workers, unable to form relationships with white women, and unable to advance in American society because they were deemed unfavorable owners, bosses, partners, and neighbors.

In spite of these racial requirements to naturalization rights, many sought to circumvent these limitations by arguing that South Asians essentially belonged to the Caucasian race due to their Aryan ancestry. South Asian migrants claimed whiteness for themselves, accepting racialized logics for exclusion to somehow accommodate them as opposed to challenging the racist implications of such an argument.

In 1923, Punjabi Sikh immigrant Bhagat Singh Thind argued to the U.S. Supreme Court that he and other South Asian immigrants had a basis for American naturalization privileges as they were of Aryan ancestry and, therefore, qualified as white. This court case came after Singh filed a petition for naturalization in Oregon in 1919 under the Naturalization Act of 1906. Although his petition was initially granted, U.S. government attorneys-initiated proceedings to cancel Thind's naturalization upon the argument of a flawed or false claim to whiteness.[28] The subsequent Supreme Court case Thind v. United States centered on the issue of whether South Asian immigrants were eligible for American naturalization. At the time, U.S. naturalization privileges were only extended to "free white persons" and "persons of African nativity

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[27] "Interview with Mola Singh, Selma, CA," in Karen Isaksen Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices: California's Punjabi Mexican Americans* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992).

[28] "United States v. Bhagat Thind, 261 U.S. 204." 1923.

or descent."[29] Thind, who had arrived in the U.S. in 1913, argued that based on the contemporary understanding of Aryanism, which held that the Aryan race was a superior race of blue-eyed, white skinned individuals[30] that had once inhabited ancient India and modern-day Indians were descendants of that race, he was also white and, thus, eligible to become an American citizen.

Thind did not challenge the constitutionality of racial restrictions, but instead embraced racial distinctions, attempting to establish a legal precedent that classified "high-caste Hindus" as "free white persons" for they were a "conquering people" with linguistic ties to Europeans with cultural similarities to white Americans. Just one year prior, Ozawa v. United States had decided that the meaning of white people for the Court was people who were members of the Caucasian race.[31] In turn, Thind also argued that he was a white person by arguing that he was a member of the Caucasian race using a three-pronged justification.

First, according to Thind, his people, the Aryans, were the conquerors of the indigenous people of India, claiming a similarity to the history of European and American colonization. Second, he argued that Indo-Aryan languages and European languages found their roots in the same language family, suggesting that they had racial or genetic similarities that granted Indians the same claim to whiteness as it did for Europeans. This linguistic theory melded with beliefs in Nordic racial superiority would later become the

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[29] Mae M. Ngai, "The Architecture of Race in American Immigration Law: A Reexamination of the Immigration Act of 1924," *The Journal of American History* 86, no. 1 (1999): 78.

[30] Stefan Arvidsson, *Aryan Idols: Indo-European Mythology as Ideology and Science* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 43.

[31] Ian F. Haney Lopez, *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race* (New York; London: New York University Press, 1996), 149.

premise of Nazi racial ideology.[32] Last, Thind's lawyers argued that he had an aversion to the idea of intercaste marriage: "The high-caste Hindu regards the aboriginal Indian Mongoloid in the same manner as the American regards the Negro, speaking from a matrimonial standpoint."[33] Thind argued that his disinclination to marry a woman of a lower caste made him sympathetic to anti-miscegenation laws in the United States, linking him to Americans by way of similar convictions and beliefs about social status.

The crux of Thind's argument is based on anthropological texts that asserted that people from Punjab and other Northwestern Indian states were part of the Aryan race, referring to Johann Friedrich Blumenbach's scientific classification of Aryans as belonging to the Caucasian race.[34] Thind contended that although some racial mixing did occur between Indian castes, the caste system was mostly effective in preventing widespread race mixing, and maintained that being a "high-caste Hindu of full Indian blood" made him a "Caucasian" under the anthropological definitions of his time.[35]

Ultimately, the Supreme Court denied his claim to naturalization and held that the words "free white persons" were words of common speech, to interpret "Caucasian" only as it was popularly understood. The Court also concluded that "the term 'Aryan' has to do with linguistic, and not at all with physical, characteristics, and it would seem reasonably clear that mere

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[32] Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 1925. The appropriation of the term "Aryan" and the swastika symbol by the Nazi regime is a well-documented example of cultural co-optation for ideological purposes. Originally used in ancient India to describe a group of people who shared linguistic and cultural characteristics, the term "Aryan" was later misappropriated by the Nazis to support their ideology of racial purity and supremacy. By falsely claiming that the Aryan race was of Nordic descent and superior to all other races, the Nazis sought to legitimize their extremist views and link it to something of historical legitimacy. This religious/cultural appropriation has blighted the symbols in the West.

[33] United States v. Bhagat Singh Thind, 261 U.S. 204 (1923).

[34] Johann Friedrich Blumenbach and Thomas Bendyshe, *The Anthropological Treatises of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach* (London: Anthropological Society, 1865).

[35] Haney. *White by Law.* 149; Georgia Warnke, *After Identity: Rethinking Race, Sex, and Gender* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

12

resemblance in language, indicating a common linguistic root buried in remotely ancient soil, is altogether inadequate to prove common racial origin."[36] Furthermore, the Court argued that the exclusion of non-whites is not to "suggest the slightest question of racial superiority or inferiority…[but] merely racial difference," and as the physical and cultural differences between Indians and whites were so plentiful, the "great body of [American] people" would reject assimilation with Indians.[37] In this manner, the Thind case would become significant in challenging the racial definitions that determined citizenship in the U.S. and had a profound impact on Indian-American identity and belonging in America.

Between 1910 and 1930, there would be tens more local court cases in which Indian immigrants would use their purported Aryan ancestry as the basis of their claim to American naturalization privileges, challenging the limitations of whiteness and embracing the logics of exclusion that defined both racial distinctions in America and caste distinctions in India.

One such case was in Yuba City in October 1913, where Gee Lak Singh argued that as a former subject of Great Britain, he had a legal claim to whiteness and should be recognized as eligible for naturalization in America.[38] Singh's argument was that he was a British citizen, claiming synonymy between legal belonging and whiteness. Singh's argument was rooted in the idea that whiteness was not just a physical characteristic but also a legal status that conferred certain rights and privileges. In the end, he was refused his naturalization papers.

Despite the deep failure of this line of arguing in U.S. courts, British officials actually questioned the legitimacy of such a rejection of rights, especially following the 1923 U.S. v. Thind decision. The Supreme Court's decision in that case not only declared the "Hindus" as not part of the white race, but also

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[36] United States v. Bhagat Singh Thind, 261 U.S. 204 (1923).

[37] United States v. Bhagat Singh Thind, 261 U.S. 204 (1923).

[38] The Sacramento Bee. 1913. "HINDU IS REFUSED NATURALIZATION PAPERS." October 18, 1913, 19.

13

relegated them to the same alien-status as Japanese under the alien land laws of California. The Thind decision had serious consequences for Indian immigrants in the United States, as it not only denied them the right to naturalization but also subjected them to various forms of discrimination and exclusion. However, the decision also had implications for the British government, which had previously encouraged Indian immigration to the United States and had invested significant resources in promoting the idea of a shared Aryan heritage between Indians and Europeans.[39] Under the 1899 Tripartite Convention, "in all that concerns the right of disposing of property, real or personal, citizens or subjects of each of the high contracting parties shall in the dominions of the other enjoy the rights which are or may be accorded to the citizens…of the most favored nation."[40] The British government argued that the U.S. was violating the terms of the convention by denying Indian immigrants the same rights and privileges as other citizens. This argument highlighted the complex international implications of the Thind decision and demonstrated how the legal status of immigrants in the United States could have far-reaching consequences beyond its borders.

In addition to Thind, Jahnde Khan[41] and filmmaker A.K. Mozumdar[42] argued in 1922 and 1923, respectively, that their naturalization cases were being held back without justification because Hindus were members of the Aryan/white race, thus, making them eligible for American citizenship under the 1906 naturalization statute.

By using the concept of Aryan ancestry, these immigrants sought to broaden the definition of whiteness to include

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[39] Sunil Amrith, "Empire, Migration, and Identity in the British World," *The American Historical Review* 118, no. 4 (2013): 1340-1363.

[40] Leo A. McClatchy, "SUPREME COURT DECISION MAY AFFECT HINDUS: England Reported Anxious Over Matter. Treaty May Hold," *The Fresno Bee*, November 21, 1923, 1.

[41] "HINDU ASKS NATURALIZATION." *The Sacramento Bee,* November 1, 1992, 2.

[42] "HINDU NATURALIZATION CASE HEARING TODAY." *Los Angeles Record,* October 15, 1923, 16.

themselves, based on their ancestral ties to the Aryan race, which was considered the progenitor to contemporary Indo-European peoples. However, in doing so, these immigrants also reinforced the caste distinctions that existed in India, where the concept of Aryan identity was closely tied to notions of purity and hierarchy. By claiming Aryan ancestry, these immigrants were also reinforcing the idea that there was a hierarchy of races, with some races being superior to others, which was a central tenet of the caste system in India.

Immigration after 1965

In 1965, the U.S. made sweeping changes to immigration law. As the Cold War pressed America to increase their racial equity for an edge over the Communist movement, an opening of immigration laws allowed many individuals from Asia and Africa to enter the U.S. The new legislation removed preferences for European immigrants, prioritizing instead family reunification and professional skills, elements leveraged heavily by the incoming Asian immigrants.

Due to a deep reliance on a caste-based system to demonstrate where education and job resources were most concentrated, many immigrants from India often belonged to the "upper caste, upper class, privileged, and [were] well suited with their qualifications and skills to meet the needs of the American economy of professionals and technology."[43] The unspoken social preferences for a more educated and more "prepared" migrant population discouraged those from lower castes to seek work outside of India. Between 1966 and 1977, "nearly twenty thousand scientists,...forty thousand engineers, and twenty-five thousand physicians [left India for the United States],"[44] the majority of whom spoke English and came from the upper caste communities.

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[43] Shreya Bhandari, "History of South Asians in America," *Global Journal of Human-Social Science: (D) History, Archaeology & Anthropology* 20, no. 3 (2020): 16.

[44] Vijay Prasad, *The Poorer Nations: A Possible History of the Global South* (London: Verso, 2013), 91.

While the widening of immigration eligibility allowed for thousands of South Asians to seek employment and improved lifestyles in America, this make-up of the South Asian diaspora was representative of only a small portion of India's population—specifically those with the social and economic capital to make the journey and succeed far from home, granting them the capability to build a space of luxury and comfort in American society not afforded to other POC groups.

In the aftermath of the Cold War and the continuous migration of middle-class[45] South Asians to the United States, came the emergence of a new phenomenon in the South Asian diasporic community: "brown flight." A conceptualization of systematic South Asian immigrant mobilization in the 1970's and 80's in Houston, historian Uzma Quraishi uses brown flight to describe the mass migration of Indian immigrants out of central urban areas and into more affluent suburbs shadowing the movement of white communities. White flight, the foundational theory for brown flight, is the mass exodus of white people from areas becoming increasingly racially diverse or ethnocultural, resulting in the creation of exclusive gated communities populated predominantly by affluent White individuals. Similarly, brown flight is a "pattern of well-educated, high-earning South Asians settling in affluent suburban areas"[46] to provide better educational

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[45] While it might be expected that upper caste Indians would automatically become part of the upper socioeconomic class in the United States, the reality is much more complex. While upper caste Indians may enjoy a higher social status in India, it does not necessarily translate to automatic membership in the upper class in the U.S. for several reasons including the high level of economic immobility in the U.S., the differences in social structures between both countries, and the pressure on immigrants to integrate into American society. Additionally, caste and socioeconomic status are fundamentally different measures of one's position in a society. In the U.S., class is primarily determined by economic factors like wealth, income, and occupation rather than social value or the family one is born into like in the caste system, rendering this comparison fallacious.

[46] Manali Desai and Maria I. Rendón, "Racial and Ethnic Identity of Second-Generation Indian Americans," *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 16, no. 4 (2015): 1225-1244.

16

opportunities for their children and maintain communal connections with other Indians. But in moving away from predominantly Black and Latinx neighborhoods to settle in predominantly white areas for their better schools, resources, and higher levels of funding,[47] South Asian immigrants became more insular and limited their interactions with people outside of their communities. In this way, they inadvertently stiffened conceptions of the model minority myth, which portrays them as a highly successful, hardworking, and "obedient" group that has overcome racial barriers via their own merit—viewed as comparatively self-sufficient, contrasting with other racial and ethnic groups who are seen as struggling or dysfunctional. The myth has been used to justify discrimination against other racial and ethnic groups and to deny the existence of racism and systemic barriers faced by Asian Americans and other minority groups, reifying antiblackness.

Discrimination and racial tensions in urban areas played a significant role in driving brown flight. South Asian Americans, like other minority groups, faced discrimination and prejudice in urban areas from White individuals as well as other minorities in the form of harassment, violence, and limited opportunities for employment and education.[48] Brown flight was a response to this discrimination and a desire to find a safer and more welcoming environment for South Asian families. Socioeconomic factors also played a role in brown flight. Many South Asian Americans are highly educated and highly skilled, and like other immigrant groups, often prioritize family, education, and upward mobility. Suburban areas with good schools, high property values, and a

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[47] American Council on Education. 2020. "Race and Ethnicity in Higher Education: 2020 Supplement." 9th ed. American Council on Education. 11-16; National Center for Education Statistics. 2019. "Fast Facts: Racial/Ethnic Enrollment in Public Schools." https://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=14.

[48] Yoku Joshi, "Brown Flight: Racial and Class Geographies of Indians in the US," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34, no. 8 (2011): 1351-1373.

strong job market were, therefore, seen as attractive destinations for affluent families.[49]

       South Asians' rejection of cultural displacement via brown flight was a response to growing dangers for Asian Americans and acted as a safeguard to their own racialization in America. Whereas white flight was characterized by white intolerance of communities of color.

Implications & Consequences/A Bifurcated Identity

Today, there are approximately 4.9 million people of Indian origin in the United States, representing about 1.5 percent of the total U.S. population.[50] 78% of Indian Americans aged 25 years and older hold at least a bachelor's degree, compared to 54% for all Asian Americans and 33% for the U.S. population as a whole.[51] Indian Americans' educational performance also reflects on their median family incomes and careers. The median household income for Indian Americans was $138,418 in 2021, double the median household income for all U.S. households across all races and ethnicities at $69,717.[52] Indian Americans also continue to be overrepresented in several highly skilled professions with 28% working in science, engineering, or technology fields, compared to 6% of the overall U.S. workforce. Additionally, they make up 77%

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[49] Sanjoy Chakravorty, Devesh Kapur, and Nirvikar Singh, *The Other One Percent: Indians in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

[50] U.S. Census Bureau. 2020. "Asian Alone or in Combination with One or More Other Races, and with One or More Asian Categories for Selected Groups. American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates." https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=Indian&tid=ACSDT1Y2019.B02018&hidePreview=false.

[51] U.S. Census Bureau. 2020. "Educational Attainment of the Population 25 Years and Over, by Selected Characteristics: 2019 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates." https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=Indian%20american%20education&tid=ACSST1Y2019.S1501&hidePreview=true.

[52] American Community Survey. 2021. "S0201: Selected Population Profile in the United States." United States Census Bureau.

of H1-B visas,[53] U.S. work permits reserved for various specialty occupations that require a high level of theoretical or technical expertise. Data from the U.S. Department of Labor shows that the top industries for Indians applying for H1-B visas include IT services, consulting, education, computer and software engineering, science, architecture[54]—a continuing reflection of the skill demands for Indian American immigration. The majority of Indian Americans are concentrated in the New York-New Jersey-Pennsylvania tri-state region and San Francisco Bay Area,[55] two areas again characterized by their affluence and high education levels.

     These tight-knit enclaves of South Asian Americans that came about with brown flight reflect the privileges of coming from historically advantaged communities, granting them the ability to isolate themselves within the ultra-privileged white communities in America. The unique position that Indians, specifically, occupy in American society demonstrates the safeguards associated with educational and economic attainment. Many Indians today practice a form of obscurity to protect against growing anti-immigrant, anti-Asian, and anti-Muslim sentiment[56] in the post 9/11 era and

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[53] U.S. Department of Homeland Security. 2021. Characteristics of H-1B Specialty Occupation Workers, Fiscal Year 2021. https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/21_1217_iscb-characteristics-h-1b-specialty-occupation-workers-fy2021_508.pdf.

[54] U.S. Department of Labor. 2022. Selected Statistics on the H-1B Nonimmigrant Visa Program. N.p.: Foreign Labor Certification Data Center. www.flcdatacenter.com/CaseH1B.aspx; U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. 2022. "H-1B Employer Data Hub: 2022 H-1B Employer Data Hub." U.S. Department of Homeland Security. www.uscis.gov/h-1b-data-hub/2022-h-1b-employer-data-hub.

[55] U.S. Census Bureau. 2020. "American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates: Selected Population Profile in United States." https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=indian%20american&tid=ACSDP1Y2020.DP05&hidePreview=false.

[56] Rupal Khandelwal, "Brownness as a Site of Anti-Muslim Racism in the United States," in *Islamophobia in the United States: Placing the Experiences of Communities of Color*, ed. J. Shukla (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2018), 58-76.; Anti-Muslim sentiment comes to affect many South Asian and Middle Eastern communities regardless of whether or not they are actually Muslim based on the tendency to conflate any South Asian/brown

19

particularly in the last six years, with the rise of Trump-led right-wing populism[57]:"The more noise we make, these racists will be awakened, who may never have heard of Hindus and their customs…Fighting them alone may get us under six feet.' The only thing to do…was lie low. Despite all [our] success, and nearly 50 years of living in the U.S., [for many Indians] ...[our] Americanness remains tentative and conditional."[58]

Reliance on this model for success and survival in America has led to the creation of two competing perspectives on the significance of race in their identity. One viewpoint, held primarily by foreign-born South Asian Americans, focuses on the exceptional status of South Asians among other minority groups and advocates for a meritocratic system that ignores racial distinctions, or a "color-blind" approach. The emphasis on education and economic achievement that characterizes the South Asian American community has led many foreign-born individuals to believe that they have achieved success through their own efforts and merit, regardless of their race or ethnicity. This perspective upholds the model minority myth, viewing themselves as a group that has overcome discrimination and prejudice to achieve success through hard work and intelligence.

The other perspective, more common among first and second generation South Asian Americans born in the U.S., is characterized by a rejection of color-blindness and an acknowledgment of the role that race and caste plays in their experiences as these individuals are more likely to have been exposed to racial and ethnic diversity growing up and have a greater understanding of the complexities of race and racism in American society. They view color consciousness among South

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individual with being Muslim based on cues related to spoken language, religious clothing, etc.

[57] Cas Mudde, "The Study of Populist Radical Right Movements in the Social Sciences: The State of the Art," *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 55, no. 2 (2017): 116-118, 121-123.

[58] Arun Venugopal, "Indian Americans Weren't Always Seen as a Model Minority," *The Atlantic*, December 19, 2020.

20

Asians as a means of reclaiming their identity, challenging the model minority myth and, ultimately, "[criticizing] the immigrant community for denying its own 'blackness.'"[59] However, both perspectives are flawed in that they tend to view racial identity as a personal choice, which reinforces American beliefs in self-making and possibility despite its inapplicability in a discussion about caste privilege. In fact, the caste system, which is deeply ingrained in South Asian culture, is often overlooked in discussions of South Asian American identity. This reflects the discomfort that many individuals feel in discussing the topic and the tendency to prioritize other aspects of their identity, such as their educational and economic achievements.

The experiences of South Asian Americans in the United States are complex and multifaceted, with a range of factors contributing to the development of their identity and sense of belonging. Brown flight and the subsequent creation of tight-knit enclaves reflect the privileges associated with historical advantages and economic and educational attainment, but also highlight the discrimination and prejudice faced by South Asian Americans in urban areas. The resulting bifurcated identity and competing perspectives on the significance of race in their identity demonstrate the ongoing impact of racism and color consciousness in American society and the need for continued efforts to promote equality and understanding across racial and cultural lines.

Conclusion

The use of caste distinctions as a determinant of eligibility for immigration, education, employment, and naturalization privileges has had a profound and enduring impact on the experiences of Indian immigrants in the United States. Throughout the twentieth century, Indian immigrants and their descendants have been forced to navigate complex and often contradictory legal and social

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[59] Susan Koshy, "Category Crisis: South Asian Americans and Questions of Race and Ethnicity," *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 7, no. 3 (1998): doi:10.1353/dsp.1998.0013, 285.

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frameworks that have reinforced or challenged caste-based distinctions in a variety of ways. From the early court cases in which South Asian immigrants used their Aryan ancestry to challenge exclusion from American citizenship to the post-Cold War period when Indian immigration and naturalization policies were shaped by geopolitical considerations and led to the creation of the model minority myth, the history of Indian immigration to the United States is one marked by both resilience and struggle.

On the one hand, the use of caste as a weapon in naturalization cases and as a factor in education and employment opportunities has undoubtedly had negative consequences for many Indian immigrants and their descendants, perpetuating discrimination and exclusion in various forms. On the other hand, the persistence and adaptability of Indian immigrant communities in the face of these challenges has led to the creation of vibrant, dynamic, and diverse South Asian American identities, with some embracing and celebrating their cultural heritage, while others seek to distance themselves from it.

The history of Indian immigration to the United States is one marked by both triumphs and tragedies, adaptations and resistances, and a continual struggle to define and redefine what it means to be South Asian American. Despite the numerous obstacles they have encountered, South Asian immigrants have consistently found ways to survive and flourish by creating new paths and identities in the face of adversity. In light of ongoing debates surrounding immigration, race, and identity in American society, the experiences of South Asian and Indian immigrants offer valuable insights into the intricate nuances of these issues and the ongoing quest for justice, inclusion, and equality.

22

Encounters: The Geography of Urban Colonial Interactions in French Vietnam

Bianca Romero[*]

The deepest problems of modern life flow from the attempt of the individual to maintain the independence and individuality of his existence against the sovereign powers of society, against the weight of historical heritage and the external culture and technique of life.

George Simmel[1]

Today, certain icons are recognized across the world as pillars of Vietnamese culture. For example, pho is a recognizable element of Vietnamese cuisine enjoyed by people far and wide. What some may not be aware of is the imperial roots of these dishes. Born of the ubiquity of Chinese noodle soups with the availability of French beef in Vietnam, Pho is an example of the possibilities engendered by colonial proximity.[2] The encounters of French colonizers and the colonized Vietnamese led to unexpected, though sometimes beautiful innovations. Nevertheless, there is the inescapable shadow of colonial domination wrought with violence, racism, and erasure of indigenous identity that accompanies these interactions. Given these truths, the different encounters between white Europeans and the Vietnamese, both intentional and unintentional, reveal a complex and often contradictory reality in the French colony. How does one explain the mutual integration of certain elements of seemingly irreconcilable cultures?

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[*] Bianca Romero's paper was one of two winners of the Frederick J. Mehl Prize for the best senior thesis in 2023.

[1] George Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life," in Wolff, Kurt (ed.), *The Sociology of George Simmel* (New York: Free Press, 1950).

[2] Erica J. Peters, *Appetites and Aspirations in Vietnam* (Plymouth, UK: Altamira, 2012), 204.

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One framework of examination for the interactions of Vietnamese and French cultures is Mary Louise Pratt's "Art of the Contact Zone." She identifies contact zones as, "Social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power."[3] She argues that colonized groups can actively and on their own terms incorporate parts of the dominant culture to create their own new things. The contact zone as a theory is particularly important because of its emphasis on reciprocity. Both colonized and colonizers are understood in this framework as participating in cultural exchanges in which they consciously integrate choice elements of the other culture. Using this framework, I will examine especially the elements of French culture that the Vietnamese intentionally incorporated into their own. The Vietnamese took the French presence and used their own creative agency to innovate and develop new foods, customs, and ideas. The influence of French culture in these domains evidences the theory of the contact zone in French Indochina and shows the different forms resistance took under French occupation.

In a similar vein, I will draw upon Homi Bhabha's "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial discourse." Bhabha defines mimicry as an "ironic compromise…constructed around an ambivalence."[4] He explains that mimicry is a desire to be perceived as authentic. A project which is ultimately doomed to fail in the trap of "*almost the same, but not white.*"[5] Mimicry is based upon the imposition of culture by the colonists, but it is a paradoxical endeavor. Rooted in his analysis of British colonization, he exemplifies mimicry as the difference between being anglicized and being English.[6] Pratt and Bhabha examine the interactions of colonized and colonizing cultures to examine

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[3] Mary Louise Pratt, "Arts of the Contact Zone." *Profession* (1991) 34.
[4] Homi Bhaba, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse." *October* 28 (1984), 126.
[5] Bhabha, 130.
[6] Bhabha, 130.

24

the ways in which cultural imperialism materializes. Together, these theories allow for examinations of both sides of the story; to see how culture was imposed and the ways that colonized people used their agency under colonial domination.

The article "Imitations of Buddhist Statecraft" by Patrice Ladwig, falls into an adjacent area of scholarship which uses the lens of mimesis and mimicry to examine colonial impositions of power.[7] Ladwig uncovered the French policies which bolstered and refurbished traditional Lao Buddhist statecraft and education. Mimetic governorship, he argues, was a way of maintaining the status quo so as not to interrupt everyday life during French domination. Likewise, it gave the French colonial government heightened credibility with the Vietnamese as though they were benefactors of their cultural development. Ladwig uses the theory of mimesis to "propose that the French colonial system and its ideology of 'association' based its concepts of rule and power on imitative processes, or a variant of "mimetic governmentality" to examine the intentional ways the colonial state integrated and refurbished local cultures. The theory of mimesis argues that governing powers strategically emulate local cultures as a tool of submission. Mimesis draws attention to the unequal power dynamics within the colonial structure and the ways that French control creates an inherently predatory relationship with Vietnamese culture. The French use of these traditions all served a greater economic and cultural project that maintained French domination and argued for their superiority.

Traditionally, we view cultural imperialism as a harsh segregationist and assimilationist policy. My analysis of the two approaches to colonial rule, assimilation and association, and the ways it was subverted by both the French and the Vietnamese will be organized in three case studies of three Indochinese cities: Saigon, Hanoi, and Dalat. The French imperial mission was made

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[7] Patrice Ladwig, "Imitations of Buddhist Statecraft: The Patronage of Lao Buddhism and the Reconstruction of Relic Shrines and Temples in Colonial French Indochina," *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Anthropology* 62, no. 2 (2018): 98–125.

25

up of several competing motivations which fought for dominance in different colonial acquisitions and at different times. The main motivator was inarguably economic. Colonial outposts gave colonizing powers control of raw materials and cheap labor from the native inhabitants. However, France developed the cultural imperialism of their colonizing mission to mean a recreation of the French metropole and the expansion of its powers– politically, economically, and its military– overseas. Foreign minister Jules Ferry remarked in 1884, "I say that this policy of colonial expansion was inspired by. . . the fact that a navy such as ours cannot do without safe harbors, defenses, supply centers on the high seas."[8] Ferry explains the practical benefits of colonial territory to French power in this speech. At the same time, he justified the authority of the French people to seize foreign territories, resources, and people: the civilization mission. If people in the colonies were racially, culturally, religiously inferior, the French were within their right to dominate over uncivilized people. As Jules Ferry declared "the superior races have a right because they have a duty. They have the duty to civilize the inferior races."[9] The French could, in fact, save these people from their own backwards customs and bring them the light of civilization. More specifically, this came to mean that the French needed to make people in their colonies French. Because the French and their culture were so superior, they envisioned global outposts that served as pillars of French cultural excellence.

Underlying the ideas of strict segregation and hierarchy is the question of how colonial cities functioned as spaces that both facilitated cultural exchange and systematically fought to prevent it. The colonial city as a landscape has many layers which serve many purposes and is a terrain in which we can see the themes of contact, mimicry, and mimesis at work. Primarily, the colonies

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[8] Jules François Camille Ferry, "Speech Before the French Chamber of Deputies, March 28, 1884," *Discours et Opinions de Jules Ferry*, ed. Paul Robiquet (Paris 1897), 1.5, pp. 199-201, 210-11, 215-18.
[9] Ibid.

26

were cultural outposts of France to represent the superiority of French culture. On a more practical level, colonies were also economic and political hubs to maintain colonial domination and bring wealth to the metropole. The city serves these main purposes through organization, surveillance, and design. Urbanists had the difficult job of maintaining all of these competing needs on top of instilling French culture through the city without upsetting colonized people. Looking specifically at the question of design and planning, there is a clear conflict between the question of how much French culture to import and how much local culture to maintain. Planning on its own, however, does not take into consideration the unintended interactions and even mixing of French and Vietnamese people and cultures as a result of proximity in the colonial metropolis.

Notable scholars on the subject of colonial urbanism include Gwendolyn Wright. In her works *Politics of Colonial Design* and "Tradition in the Service of Modernity," Wright examines the strategic incorporation of local motifs in French colonies. Architectural appropriation, she argues, was a symbolic way of placating colonized people as well as representing the potential to aspire to European standards. The Hanoi Opera House and the Vietnamese Museum of National History (Figures 1 and 2) are examples of assimilationist architecture and associationism. The opera house recreates French architecture and imagery, while the museum blends French architecture with local motifs to visually represent an imagined collaboration in the colonial mission. The appropriation of traditional elements was a way of maintaining the pre-colonial order and mimicked French Colonial politics which kept local leaders under French watch. Likewise, Eric Jennings' study of Dalat reveals how the French sought to reclaim and re-affirm their power through the creation of a French microcosm in the colony. This development facilitated the power and control of the French government by giving them a strong power base and, in theory, keeping the colonized people in a separate space. These ideas have a long tradition in French empire, dating back to the

27

time of Napoleon, who once said, "My policy is to govern men like most of them want to be governed."[10] Using this scholarship, I have identified a throughline of exchange and the way urban cultural proximity operated unintentionally to bolster political and cultural change. The fight for political, economic, and cultural dominance between the colonizer and the colonized put in tension the various motivations for French colonialism and complicated what is often understood as a simple "civilizing" venture. All these inquiries work together to create an underlying understanding and narrative of one of the more hidden functions and unintended consequences of French colonialism: colonial mimicry and, in turn, creolization.[11]

Figure 1[12]

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[10] Dieufils, Pierre. *Hanoï (début du XXe siècle) : la rue Paul Bert.* n.d. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10111920t/f1.item.r=hanoi%20ville.zoom.

[11] Creolization is a term referring to the mixing of cultures. This often can be understood as the emergence of a third and distinct culture at the site of encounter.

[12] *Hanoi Opera House*, n.d., *Wikipedia*, n.d., https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanoi_Opera_House.

Figure 2 [13]

The French came to Indochina in the hopes of recreating France in a Southeast Asian outpost. Raymond F. Betts' book *Assimilation and Association in French Colonial Theory, 1890-1914* examines the shift in colonial policy from assimilation to association. He explains the ways in which attitudes in the metropole shifted at this time, affecting change in colonial policy to one that was based on greater collaboration with colonized people. French cultural imperialism was bolstered by the idea of French cultural hegemony, which sought to instill a sense of francophilia and expand French cultural influence and dominance. The beginning of French imperial activity in Asia coincided with the second empire and third republic. The loss of Alsace-Lorraine in 1870 created anxieties in the metropole about France's power as a nation leading to a hyper Frenchness and gallicization efforts at home and abroad.[14] The French began conquering Vietnam in 1859

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[13] *Vietnam National Museum of History,* n.d., *Wikipedia*, n.d., https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vietnam_National_Museum_of_History#/media/File:B%C3%A2timents_172.jpg.

[14] Ann Laura Stoler, "Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers," in *Tensions of Empire*, ed. by Frederick Cooper, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press), 198–237

29

when they captured Saigon.[15] Eventually, they ceded enough territories from Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam to create Indochine Française.[16] French colons acquired land, grew rice, created rubber plantations, and manufactured goods to be sold in the colony.[17]

Taking a greater look into colonial policy, there were also intentional appropriations of local customs and culture into French governorship and urbanism. In Vietnam this is visible in Hernest Hebrard's syncretic designs which were European designs adorned with Vietnamese motifs.[18] The French government rebuilt and refurbished Buddhist buildings and bolstered Buddhist education.[19] The French helped develop a romanized writing system for Vietnamese that blended the two languages together. Additionally, the French government maintained the Ngyuen monarchy, although merely symbolically, since the French governors had all the real power, throughout French colonial rule.[20] These carefully calculated approaches can be seen as strategic concessions to appeal to colonized people as a part of indirect rule. The French believed that by maintaining and refurbishing certain elements of traditional culture, they could prevent unrest and revolution. While this was a conflict of interest within the *mission civilisatrice*, their moral imperative for being in the colonies, their concession as a tool of domination was viewed as more important to maintaining French power, rather than lose the riches of Vietnam over the civilizing mission. Consequently, associationist policy came to dominate relationships in French Indochina, leading to innovations

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[15] Sucheng Chan, "French Colonial Rule and Vietnamese Resistance," in *The Vietnamese American 1.5 Generation: Stories Of War, Revolution, Flight, And New Beginnings* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2006), 13.
[16] Chan, 13.
[17] Chan, 15.
[18] See Figure 2
[19] Patrice Ladwig, "Imitations of Buddhist Statecraft: The Patronage of Lao Buddhism and the Reconstruction of Relic Shrines and Temples in Colonial French Indochina," *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Anthropology* 62, no. 2 (2018): 98–125, 98.
[20] Nguyên Thê Anh, "The Vietnamese Monarchy under French Colonial Rule 1884-1945," *Modern Asian Studies* 19, no. 1 (1985), 148.

of culture and ideas in accordance with assimilationist policy and at the same time challenging French colonial domination.

Saigon

I look at the women in the streets of Saigon, and upcountry. Some of them are very beautiful, very white, they take enormous care of their beauty here, especially upcountry. They don't do anything, just save themselves up, save themselves up for Europe…when at last they'll be able to talk about what it's like here.

Marguerite Duras[21]

Figure 3[22]

The capital of Cochinchina, the Southern region of Vietnam, Saigon, current day Ho Chi Minh City, began as the site of various politically significant Pagodas dating back to the 4th century. Under the Nguyen dynasty it grew into a significant settlement with a citadel. It was ceded to the French in 1862, marking the

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[21] Marguerite Duras, *The Lover* (Random House, 1985), 19.
[22] Andres Salles, *Cochinchine, Saïgon, Hôtel de L'Inspection* , n.d., *BnF Gallica* , n.d., https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53198704g/f1.item.

31

beginning of the city's colonial era.[23] It was later split in two: Saigon and Cholon, during the 1930's. Saigon was the European part of the city, while Cholon was an older Chinese holding. Many Chinese occupants were merchants who had fled after the Manchus overthrew the Ming dynasty.[24] They settled in the ports of Southern Vietnam, married Vietnamese women, and catered to the local markets. Unlike the French, the Chinese were not a colonial presence. However, by the time of French colonialism, there was a significant presence of wealthy Chinese who ran businesses, manufactured goods, or controlled development in places like Cholon. Most Vietnamese people lived on the fringes outside the city.[25] This segregation was intentional and divided the various groups as a function of colonialism. Throughout the colonial period, Cochinchina remained primarily Vietnamese with the French making up less than one percent of the regional population.[26] In essence, the white minority controlled and imposed authority upon a body politic whose majority was under foreign occupation.[27] Any large-scale backlash to French governance in all of Indochina threatened their position in the

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[23] This information comes from the Historical Dictionary of Ho Chi Minh City. I cited it from the citation on the Wikipedia page where I found this source. Unfortunately, I was never able to obtain a copy of the book from the library and the pages with this information are not included in the online preview. Justin Corfield, "Chronology," essay, in *Historical Dictionary of Ho Chi Minh City* (New York, NY: Anthem, 2013), xxiv–1.

[24] Peters, 126.

[25] Kim, Annette M. "A History of Messiness: Order and Resilience on the Sidewalks of Ho Chi Minh City." In *Messy Urbanism: Understanding the "Other" Cities of Asia*, edited by Manish Chalana and Jeffrey Hou, 1st ed., 22–39. Hong Kong University Press, 2016.

[26] "Cochinchina's population of 3.8 million was 85 percent Vietnamese, 7.80 percent Cambodians, 4.10 percent Chinese and 0.02 percent Chinese-Vietnamese métis, 0.43 percent Indonesians, 0.26 percent French, 0.04 percent Eurasians, 0.19 percent 'Malay,' and 0.10 percent Indians." Christina Firpo, "Shades of Whiteness: Petits Blancs and the Politics of Military Allocations Distribution in World War One Colonial Cochinchina," *French Historical Studies* (2011), 285.

[27] Marie-Paule Ha, "French Women and Empire," in *France and "Indochina"*, ed. Kathryn Robson (Lexington Books, 2005), pp. 114.

region.[28] Within the two cities, Saigon and Cholon, different groups were relegated to specific spaces, dictating who interacted with whom and the nature of those interactions.

With an average of ten white men to every one white woman, European men in the colonies had to look elsewhere for feminine company, or the government had to do better at importing French women.[29] Due to fears of miscegenation, there was a 77.6 % increase in white women between 1921 and 1930.[30] The expansion of the white female population was in part thanks to improved living conditions in the colony which made it safer for French women. The influx of white women was also a result of increased fear of white degeneration and reflects an evolving governmental fear of mixed race relations.[31] Joseph Chailly Bert, the leader of the Société Française d'émigration des Femmes (SFEF) remarked that without women, there could be no families in the colonies, and without families there could be no future in the colonies.[32] Additionally, founders of the SFEF believed that by increasing the amount of white women in the colonies they could prevent miscegenation.[33]

In the colony, métissage was a "focal point" of debate as "it was seen as a threat to white prestige, an embodiment of European degeneration and moral decay."[34] The government expressed its "disapproval of white participation in métissage and of [other] departures from the traditional family configuration'' as a means of maintaining respectability, prestige, and superiority.[35] The fear of métissage is a theme which influenced the legislation and

[28]Michael G. Vann, "Sex and the Colonial City: Mapping Masculinity, Whiteness, and Desire in French Occupied Hanoi." *Journal of World History* 28, no. 3/4 (2017): 395–435, 419.

[29] Ha, 114.

[30] Ha, 113.

[31] Milkie Vu, "'Ménages Irréguliers': Interracial Liaisons in Colonial Indochina, 1905–1938." *History of the Family*, 158.

[32] Ha, 109.

[33] Ha, 110.

[34] Stoler, 199.

[35] Firpo, "Shades of Whiteness," 296.

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geography of all three cities as it underlies the French moral, cultural, and racial justifications for domination. Such fears explain the creation of the Société Française d'émigration des Femmes in 1897, or the SFEF, whose goal was to recruit white women to go to the colonies. New French women were brought to the colony primarily to mitigate French men's mixing with Vietnamese women, but also to bring French culture and civilization.[36] French fears escalated throughout the colonial mission. With the progression of time, they felt that they needed to transform colonial Indochina into more of a settler colony to better import French cultural mores and succeed in the creation of greater France.

Unfortunately, their goal of improving the moral and cultural fabric of the colony proved fruitless as many of the "cultured" women France wished to send to the colonies did not want to go. As a result, many French women who did move to the colonies were poor and of lower-class backgrounds. They could not uphold the bourgeois standards they were there to instill. Marguerite Duras' semi-autobiographical novel *The Lover* exemplifies the positionality of poor white women in Indochina. The intersections of race, class, and gender on the colonial stage facilitated the liminality of otherwise marginalized identities. Duras' novel specifically offers insight into the geography of interactions between different people and cultures in colonial Saigon as a result of their class, race, and gender. Duras recounts an affair between a poor French girl, the novel's unnamed narrator, with a rich Chinese man in inter-war Saigon. While colonization relied upon the projection of standards and hierarchy, the conventional practices of those colonizers called into question the strict racial hierarchy. White men often entered the Vietnamese or Chinese quarters of Indochinese cities to buy sex and smoke at opium dens. Duras' story exemplifies another even more taboo example of white transgressions into the lives and territory of native and other non-

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[36] Ha, 107.

white people. These interactions exemplify colonists' behavioral nonconformity in the colony, demonstrating the ways white people themselves transgressed the lines of segregation in defiance of structural ideas of superiority through moral degeneration.

The colonial project mapped gender onto the racial binary. Whiteness became masculine while Asian identity was effeminized. Duras' novel explores the colonial transgressions of gendered roles in the relationship between the white girl and her Asian lover. Though the relationship is between a French girl and a Chinese man, the treatment of their race and gender demonstrates the privileging of identities along gender and racial lines between white and non-white people in the colonies. Throughout *The Lover*, Duras rhetorically emasculates her Chinese lover. She writes "there is nothing masculine about him but his sex," and describes him weeping as they have sex. Despite expectations of deference toward one's elders and those of a higher wealth status, Duras' unnamed protagonist enjoys an elevated and mobile position within the colony simply because she comes from a European background. At the same time, the girl takes on a more masculine role in the relationship. Her masculine coding, evidenced partially by the men's hat she wears, indicates her liminality in the colonial space because of her whiteness. Thus, she seamlessly enters Vietnamese, Chinese, and French spaces unaccompanied because of the masculinity granted her via her race.

While her race gives her unique status, as an impoverished character in the colony, the girl's economic status prevents her from fully participating in white life and culture in the colonies. She remarks upon the way she is perceived in the colony as a curiosity: "I'm used to people looking at me. People do look at white women in the colonies."[37] The very limited presence of white women makes them a novelty to both white and Vietnamese men in the colonies, evidenced by the affair the young girl has with

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[37]Duras, 17.

a rich Chinese man. Her lover is a Chinese heir to a fortune made "in Cholon, with the housing estates for natives."[38] Upon meeting her, her Chinese lover remarks, "You don't realize, it's very surprising, a white girl on a native bus."[39] Her mode of transportation, as addressed by the man, points to her unique positionality in the colony. She can enter both French and Asian spaces, despite colonial expectations which might otherwise confine her to spaces only frequented by Europeans. Throughout their affair, she frequents his house in Cholon, even though it is located in a native housing estate. At the same time, she goes to a French high school and lives at a boarding school for mixed race orphans. She is one of two white girls at the boarding house, there for "the sake of its reputation."[40] Although she has very little value within European circles, within colonial spaces the girl is seen as a token of European acceptability for Vietnamese of higher status. The following passage encapsulates her movement between these places, the way her movement is perceived by the greater community, and the geography of her movements:

> It goes on in the disreputable quarter of Cholon, every evening. Every morning the little slut goes to have her body caressed by a filthy Chinese millionaire. And she goes to the French high school, too, with the little white girls, the athletic little white girls who learn the crawl at the sporting club. One day they'll be told not to speak to the daughter of the teacher in Sadec anymore.[41]

As she maneuvers the various spaces and places in Saigon, she becomes white only in a formal sense. The girl takes on the

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[38]Duras, 47.
[39]Duras, 33.
[40]Duras, 71.
[41]Duras, 89.

identity of each space she occupies.[42] Like many white women in the colony, the girl is caught in her prescribed roles of power and authority which "required adhering to a code of social and gender behavior appropriate to a ruling race."[43] However, her liminality as a poor white woman contributes to her declassée status, which lets her move where others cannot.[44] Ultimately, her poverty undermines her authority as a white woman in the colonies and the masculine privileges she is afforded because of her race. Since, she does not truly belong anywhere, she has access and can enter different spaces in a way unique to her position.

The girl is able to have this relationship due to a myriad of colliding factors. First, she is an object of desire to her Chinese lover because of her whiteness. He longed for a French lover while in the metropole, but only ever spent time with French prostitutes whose company he paid for. At the same time, the girl can only be with him because she is lower class and therefore already "degenerate."[45] Among colonial exploits the question of proximity and its influence emerges again and again. The fear of contamination was linked in a practical sense to a fear that Europeans would no longer remain loyal to metropolitan rule.[46] In theory this emerged as a discourse criticizing European men and women who cohabited or married native men and women.[47] Upper

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[42] Timothy Keegan discusses this idea in turn of the century South Africa: "In general, though, when cases of low-class white women entering sexual relations with black men came to court, the courts were inclined to deal leniently with the women, on the grounds that their degraded status mitigated the severity of the crime. They were 'white', as it were, only in a formal sense." Timothy Keegan, "Degeneration and Sexual Danger: Imagining Race and Class in South Africa," *Journal of South African Studies* 27 (2001): 465.

[43] Timothy Keegan, "Degeneration and Sexual Danger: Imagining Race and Class in South Africa," *Journal of South African Studies* 27 (2001): 465.

[44] The term declassee is defined by Margaret Cook Anderson as "women who were born into a social position that they could not maintain," in *Regeneration through Empire: French Pronatalists and Colonial Settlement in the Third Republic*, University of Nebraska Press, 2015, pp. 61–109, 91.

[45] Keegan, 461.

[46] Stoler, 213.

[47] Stoler, 213.

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class French women had a role within the colony to maintain white prestige. While poor French women were also expected to uphold their racial duties, there was less pressure to maintain these rigid barriers and less incentive to do so as well. No matter how white her skin, the girl would never find acceptance of higher status within European circles. The girl and her family benefitted from her relationship with her Chinese lover. So, while she is not exactly a prostitute she takes on a proximate role to sex work in her relationship with her lover. While that line blurs the true nature of their relationship, as well as the problematic age gap, there is an undeniable connection between their various identities that permits this kind of taboo relationship.

Anthropologist Jacobus X describes the first European prostitutes in Saigon in his study "Wanderings in 'Untrodden Fields of Anthropologie.'" This book chronicles his studies of peoples across the colonized world, including French Indochina. The sections on Indochina are particularly insightful for their observations on colonial encounters because of their focus on prostitution. In his study, he includes a section on the first European prostitutes in Vietnam, who, he argues, greatly changed the colonial landscape. "They caused almost a riot" with their arrival in the colony as French colonists and European legionnaires fought for the opportunity to spend time with women from their home continent, the likes of whom they likely had not seen in a long time.[48] Jacobus X explains that, "unless a man possessed an exceptionally strong will, it was difficult to avoid sliding down the slippery paths of vice, in a country where vice was found everywhere."[49] The vice he references includes activities like opium smoking and frequenting brothels. These activities were common among men of all races in the colonies. While one could

[48] Jacobus, X. *Untrodden Fields of Anthropology; Observations on the Esoteric Manners and Customs of Semicivilized Peoples; Being a Record of Thirty Years' Experience in Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania.* Translated by Charles Carrington. 2nd ed. (Paris, France: Librairie de médecine, folklore et anthropologie, 1898), 24.
[49] Jacobus X, 24.

find the same vices in the streets of Paris, the issue of race and interracial relations troubled the colonial hierarchy and motivated movements against vice. Interestingly, the arrival of the white prostitutes after "a score or so of years has sufficed to radically alter the colony, and has caused an immense improvement in morals," Jacobus X wrote. He does not mean that men frequented brothels less, but that they interacted less intimately with native women once they had white women to engage with. There are two possible implications in this statement. First, that the true vice was interracial relationships. Alternatively, he means the arrival of white prostitutes truly impacted every immoral facet of colonial life, literally improving morals purely due to the presence of white women. Scholars agree, "white colonists expressed concerns about interracial intimacy and, more specifically, about the political and social implications of white women's sexual activity on the colonial order."[50] White women's bodies, especially white sex workers' bodies, were regulated differently. Vietnamese women were regulated as an expression of power, domination, and disdain for the colonized population. White women were in the colonies with the expectation that they were there exclusively for the benefit of white men. As a result, "white Europeans could patronize both European and indigenous prostitutes, brothel keepers typically denied indigenous men sexual access to brothels staffed with white prostitutes."[51]

White prostitutes doubtless enjoyed a more elevated status than that of their Vietnamese counterparts: "in the evening these demi-mondaines have their box at the theater, or their seats at the music hall, and are surrounded by a circle of admirers." Caroline Sequin recounts how "French women involved in the sex industry shared the aspirations of their time. Like millions of European men and women, they equated geographic and social mobility. They

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[50] Caroline Sequin, "White French Women, Colonial Migration, and Sexual Labor between Metropole and Colony," essay, in *The Routledge Companion to Sexuality and Colonialism*, ed. Chelsea Shields (London: Routledge, 2021), 257.
[51] Sequin, 257.

39

viewed the French empire as a desirable destination to increase their wealth through their placement in a colonial brothel."[52] Like Duras' girl, who "ate garbage… but the garbage was served by a houseboy,"[53] Many white women in Europe saw the colony as an opportunity to improve their situation in a way that was otherwise inaccessible to them in France. The superiority granted to them by their elevated racial status gave them access to luxuries, but ultimately could not change their lives or status in a substantive way. These women were, and always would be, *les petites blanches*.[54]

Returning to Duras' girl, the contradictions and transgressions of colonial identity are apparent in every element of her story, but especially the spaces she occupies. The girl goes to a French high school. There the girl is an outcast, first for being poor, and secondly for having an affair with an older Chinese man. He lives in a native housing estate She only unites with her lover in the native housing estate where he lives and in Cholon. In Cholon and the native housing estates he is powerful and prestigious. Together they eat at Chinese restaurants and frequent dance halls. While his power is limited to the Chinese quarter, the girl can go where she pleases, yet her power fluctuates in each space. With her lover, she has a powerful role, controlling him emotionally and using him for his money. At school, she becomes an outcast for the exploitation of her power because her actions required diverging from the racial and social norm. She fails to display colonial superiority. The girl transcends the supposedly strict delineation of races, space, and culture to have this affair in direct defiance of the colonial project.

Taking the geographic range of the interactions between the girl and her lover as tropes of colonial encounters in Saigon, the

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[52]Sequin, 260.

[53] Duras, 7.

[54] Term used to describe the poor white settlers. This was a way of denigrating the lower class of white colonists, setting them apart as less superior than other white people in the colony.

unique spatial limits of their relationship becomes ever clearer. Throughout the book she frequents the Vietnamese, French, and Chinese quarters of the city. The narrator lives in a boarding house for mixed race orphans. While the girl is not mixed race, her poverty prevents her from remaining solely in a space that is strictly French. At the same time, as a white girl, her race contributes to the prestige of the boarding house for mixed race children where she lives. There is a mutual reliance between the colonizers and the colonized for their position within the colonial system.

Examining the role of white women in Indochina, specifically in the city of Saigon, reveals the image of Saigon as more western. Michael Vann explains the way that the longer history of France in the South led to a perception of the city as more Westernized.[55] The more "western" conception of Saigon explains the greater concentration of interracial couples in Saigon and the increased presence of white women in Saigonese documents.[56] Milkie Vu in the article "Ménages irréguliers': interracial liaisons in colonial Indochina, 1905–1938" examines Vietnamese perspectives on interracial relationships. She writes that "In Saigon, where the French population was denser and more socially integrated with local Vietnamese, one could even occasionally spot a wedding advertisement for Vietnamese–French couples in daily newspapers."[57] Vann affirms the idea of a more western south, writing, "Saigonese women were thought to be much more attractive, sophisticated, and expensive… they eschewed peasant turbans and lacquered teeth in favor of fine silks and pricey jewelry."[58] In some regards, one could argue that the French imperial mission succeeded in Saigon because it was imagined as more western. Was this merely a result of the longer

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[55] Vann, "Sex and the Colonial City: Mapping Masculinity, Whiteness, and Desire in French Occupied Hanoi," 422.

[56] Vu, 158.

[57] Vu, 158.

[58] Vann, "Sex and the Colonial City," 422.

history of French people in the area, or was the increased presence of white women in the city a factor? While white women in the colony were an important marker of colonial prestige and cultural imperialism, there was the forever unresolved issue of gender disparities in Indochina. As a result, more often than not, colonial encounters were between Vietnamese women and white men. The politics of sex and sexual relations took on an ever-greater importance as the French government sought to regulate and dominate Vietnamese women's bodies in the name of the colonial project.

Hanoi
If we do not know for certain, we can probably conclude that Paris is not more than ten times bigger than Hanoi. But in terms of lust and the number of prostitutes, Hanoi is roughly one-tenth of Paris. Those numbers more than eloquently tell us that we have indeed 'progressed' very fast!

Vu Trong Phung[59]

The city of Hanoi has roots dating back to the 3rd century. Under the Nguyen dynasty the city was named Hanoi, meaning inside the rivers, and it is still known by this name today. It came under French control in 1873 as a part of the protectorate of Tonkin and became the capital of French Indochina in 1902.[60] Governor Paul Doumer, the governor of Indochina from 1897-1902, identified Hanoi as the French imperial capital because he viewed it as more malleable than Saigon.[61] Hanoi's northern location made it harder to access, meaning there was less historical interaction with the French, and more room for him to create the

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[59] Vu Trong Phung, "A Blemish on the City ," essay, in *Luc Xi* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2011), 45–47, 46.
[60] Laura, Victoir. "Hygienic Colonial Residences in Hanoi." In *Harbin to Hanoi: The Colonial Built Environment in Asia, 1840 to 1940*, edited by Laura Victoir and Victor Zatsepine, 231–50. Hong Kong University Press, 232.
[61] The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, "Paul Doumer," Encyclopedia Britannica, 2023, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Paul-Doumer.

city as he pleased. Doumer saw Hanoi as an opportunity to build himself a city to his own standards of coloniality.[62]

When discussing the geography of interactions in Hanoi it is vital to consider the nature of the city's governance. Christina Firpo describes it as a "complicated political geography" because it "was a patchwork of Vietnamese and French rule."[63] Again the "practical necessit[ies] and "political threat" of proximity between Europeans and Vietnamese in the colonies came into play, shaping the colonial city of Hanoi as it became a mix of the two powers and influences, coping with an internal power struggle between local and colonizing forces.[64] Vann characterizes Hanoi's development under Doumer as a "myth of the city as a modernizing gift to the Vietnamese and the urban apartheid that characterized French social policies."[65] The French metropolitan project in general was incredibly self-serving:while everything done in the *outre-mer* territories was done in the name of the civilizing mission, in reality the "gift" of French culture was sequestered to the French in the colonies. As foreigners unaccustomed to the tropical climate, the French recreated European standards of cleanliness and order to support their own lifestyles and fight the "colonial ennui known as le cafard. "[66] Any modernization attempts in the native quarters were motivated by French fears rather than a veritable desire to help the Vietnamese population.[67] The financial undertaking of these kinds of projects, as well as a general lack of care for the native population, limited the expansion of the European city to areas occupied by white

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[62] Michael G. Vann, "Building Colonial Whiteness on the Red River: Race, Power, and Urbanism in Paul Doumer's Hanoi, 1897-1902." *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques* 33, no. 2 (2007): 277–304, 283.

[63] Christina Firpo, "Regulated Prostitution in French-Colonized Northern Vietnam and Its Failures, 1920–1945," essay, in *The Routledge Companion to Sexuality and Colonialism*, ed. Chelsea Shields (London: Routledge, 2021), 185.

[64] Vu, 155.

[65] Vann, "Building Colonial Whiteness on the Red River:, 282.

[66] Vann, "Sex and the colonial city" 433.

[67] Vann, "Building Colonial Whiteness on the Red River", 287.

43

people. Vietnamese people were either cordoned off to "preserved" zones, meaning historic neighborhoods that were not renovated, or forced to live on the outskirts of the city. As a result, the native neighborhoods were subject to flooding and frequent sewage contamination because they lacked public health infrastructure.

Eric Jennings explains, "If hygiene served as the chief register of segregationist policies, zoning emerged as the main instrument for implementing them."[68] The French simultaneously blamed the Vietnamese for being dirty and yet never put sustainable public health systems in place to improve their neighborhoods. Instead, they time and again improved the French quarter and created buffers to further segregate the French and Vietnamese. While the French wished to create distance between themselves and the native population, there was the practical issue of a cheap labor force that they needed to keep close.[69] Proximity allowed the French to have domestic servants, affordable transportation, and an available manual labor force who could work on large scale development projects.

Hanoi was originally a very swampy wetland. In the early years of French colonization, the French colonists imagined the city as a dangerous place that needed to be brought into order and harmony. The French believed " that many aspects of this perilous environment could be controlled."[70] Lisa Drummond writes, "The colonial city was already dangerous enough–hot, humid, with threat of known and unknown disease, exotic, in the early years often under threat from the rebels whom the French always termed 'pirates,' and a space dominated by a strange language most *colons* never learned."[71] In Vietnam's foreign and exotic landscape the French encountered rabid and wild dogs, unknown diseases, heat,

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[68] Jennings, 338.

[69] Vann, "Building Colonial Whiteness on the Red River", 278.

[70] Victoir, 234.

[71] Lisa Drummond. "Colonial Hanoi: Urban Space in Public Discourse." In *Harbin to Hanoi: The Colonial Built Environment in Asia, 1840 to 1940*, edited by Laura Victoir and Victor Zatsepine, 207–30. 219-220, 209.

44

and, of course, local resistance. Terrified by these unknown and unwanted circumstances, French colonists enlisted every tool they could to dominate the people and the landscape of Hanoi. Fear of miasma doubtless impacted the Europeans view of Vietnamese neighborhoods which they often described as smelly. Hygiene became a guiding ideology on both a city-wide and personal scale. Hygiene guides for the colonists "attempted to systematize and rationalize architecture through the lens of science and preventative medicine" to fight disease and discomfort abroad.[72] The corruptibility of the climate and fear of contamination filtered through almost every policy as a framework for the argument in favor of increased segregation. Comfort became a significant motivator and source of pride for the French. While Hanoi was certainly a "grand statement of French urbanity and civilization in the tropics of Asia" the French populations took great pride in the "small increments in the normality of everyday life for the French" such as French butcher shops and laundries.[73]

Hygiene, of course, served another purpose. It took on the mantle of representing European dominance, mastery of reason and nature. Christine Victoir writes, "The rules of living set forth by the tropical hygienists involved a moral paradigm as well: the middle-class benefits of moderation, abstinence, progress, modernity, and rationality were extolled."[74] European standards of development and cleanliness became a part of the colonial mission. The impositions of these standards regardless of their fitness for the climate became a moral imperative because the buildings became embodiments of European rationality, development, and superiority. Europeans were frightened by and disdainful of the native *paillotte*, a thatched roof dwelling.[75] However, their disdain was to their own detriment. Although "the paillotte hut was a hygienic and comfortable form of shelter, as thatch roofing and

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[72] Victoir, 233.

[73] Drummond, 219-220.

[74] Victoir, 233.

[75] Drummond. "Colonial Hanoi: Urban Space in Public Discourse," 214.

thick mud walls insulated the house well from sun and heat, [hygiene guide authors] could not recommend Europeans occupying them."[76] The Vietnamese created an ideal dwelling for the tropical climate, but, because it went against European standards of modernity and cleanliness, the colonists refused to build them and actively persecuted such dwellings, culminating in the banning of paillottes. The general guidelines for the development of Hanoi were first "'sanitized' then 'aligned.'"[77] Demonstrating both an emphasis on hygiene on a perceived dirty landscape as well as the creation of order and imposition of reason on perceived irrational and disorderly populations, urbanism in Hanoi embodied the "loving and loathing" the French felt for almost every aspect of the Indochinese colony. [78]

Sex work in the colony is an obvious site of colonial encounter and a victim of rigorous hygiene-inspired regulation. Given the pre-existing discussion of climate and contamination, sex work became a heavily regulated industry in the interest of public health and, of course, as a way of controlling colonized bodies. There is robust scholarship on sex work in Hanoi thanks mostly to the work of Christina Firpo. She explains the system of regulation established in the 1920's, writing, "The 1921 law, which was based on the metropolitan regulation system, required sex workers to register with the state. The law taxed the sale of sex and required sex workers to submit to regular gynecological examinations; those who tested positive were sequestered in venereal disease clinics until the infection passed."[79] In 1936, Hanoi's red-light district was established, creating official spaces and places for sexual interaction. Firpo explains how the cordoning off of the red-light district did not mitigate sexual interaction or frustration and instead, "provided a "sexscape" where the growing

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[76] Victoir, 241.

[77] Drummond. "Colonial Hanoi: Urban Space in Public Discourse," 223.

[78] Drummond. "Colonial Hanoi: Urban Space in Public Discourse," 225.

[79] Firpo, "Regulated Prostitution in French-Colonized Northern Vietnam and Its Failures, 1920–1945," 181.

46

population of white European men—whether colonial administrators, sailors, soldiers, or other colonists—could indulge their erotic desires."[80]

The Annamite brothel is described in detail by anthropologist Jacobus X[81]. He explains the different types of Annamite sex workers, what they did, and where they could be found. He describes "the woman who prowls about the town [who] has generally been in the 'bamboo," the word he uses for a brothel, who "like the marmite of Belleville, she has her *sounteneur* (pimp), who protects her from the police officers. These policemen are natives, for, in the hottest hours of the day, it would be dangerous for a French-man to be out on the streets; they can be easily bribed to shut their eyes."[82] He draws a comparison between French and Vietnamese prostitutes and at the same time points to the racial delineations in sex work, surveillance, and policing. He draws attention to the similarities between prostitutes in France and Vietnam, hence his allusion to Belleville. However, the added layer of race shows who works in that industry as well as the people accountable for keeping and maintaining prostitution and those in charge of enforcing imperial law. Again, weak or corruptible European moral fiber is blamed upon the tropical heat. The very climate, he argues, makes them vulnerable to bribery and vice. The rhetoric of contagion gets applied to sex work, as well, as the French attempted to control the physical health of their colonial agents and their morality. The temptations present in Hanoi were framed as contaminating to remove European weakness from the discussion and align with the existing beliefs around the climatic influences of the tropics. Sex work then became the perfect venue for the application of hygienic policies and guidelines evidenced by the dispensaries and vice squads which came to regulate prostitution in Indochina. Common venues for clandestine

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[80] Sequin, 257.

[81] Annamite is a term referring to the Vietnamese in the colony. It is a derivative of Annam which is the central region of present-day Vietnam.

[82] Jacobus X, 22.

47

prostitution included a dao singing houses and dance halls. While both spaces were known venues of clandestine prostitution, a dao singing houses faced stricter regulations because they were a Vietnamese cultural space. As a result, Vietnamese spaces were pushed further to the margins of the city and often outside its limits to evade hypocritical French regulation. Prostitution, both clandestine and legal, thus proved to be permissible on French terms.

Dance halls, as spaces of European origin, were common places of interaction for diverse groups in the colonies:

> Vietnamese and Chinese youth joined European and Foreign Legion soldiers on the dancefloor, laughing, chatting, and holding their bodies close as they danced to the beat of the music. With their European music, decor, cocktails, and cigarettes, dance halls provided a familiar cultural environment for homesick soldiers from France and other European countries. As such they became one of the main venues for European–Vietnamese social and romantic inter-actions. [83]

Located in the city they were accessible to the diverse urban population of Hanoi. As a European styled space, colonists felt most at home in dance halls and spent leisure time there. This was a site of interaction, both romantic and sexual. These interracial interactions facilitated by the European dance halls are emblematic of the contradictory struggles and motivations of the French government. Needing to appease their French and foreign legion workers, they kept dance halls open and limited their regulation even though they were sites at which their anti-miscegenation agenda was being undermined. Ultimately, the "cultural familiarity" of the dance halls made them less threatening to

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[83]Firpo, "Regulated Prostitution in French-Colonized Northern Vietnam and Its Failures, 1920–1945," 184.

48

colonial authorities than foreign and exotic singing houses and led the French to undermine their own mission of racial superiority in order to keep the peace among colonial actors.[84]

Nevertheless, dance halls were clear gateways to the interracial relationships and children which the French tried so ardently to prevent. They were one of the few social spaces permitted to people of all races, creating a unique space for interracial interactions. As Firpo explains, dance halls became a perfect cover for clandestine prostitution because they were viewed favorably by the authorities. When compared with the dao singing houses, however, another popular venue for clandestine prostitution, there was a clear double standard. Morality and interracial interactions within European spaces were less regulated because they placated the French officers' need to maintain French domination. All of this was, of course, permissible to maintain peace within the colony. All in all, both of these spaces exemplify the geography of interaction between people in the colonies, especially on sexual grounds. Increased regulation pushed clandestine sex work to the suburbs. There, sex work and its management could be done on the terms of the Vietnamese women who ran these institutions without fear of persecution from the French government.

Taking a closer look at the geography of interracial marriages in Hanoi cannot be done without consulting Vu Trung Phung's *Industry of Marrying Europeans*. Vu Trong Phung was born in Hanoi and worked as a journalist and writer known for his social realism and satire.[85] This work is an investigation by Phung into the temporary unions between Vietnamese women and foreign legionnaires. His book *The Industry of Marrying Europeans* should be understood as a "documentary narrative that embodies a great

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[84]Firpo, "Regulated Prostitution in French-Colonized Northern Vietnam and Its Failures, 1920–1945," 185.

[85] Thuy Tranviet, Introduction, *The Industry of Marrying Europeans*. Ithaca, NY: Southeast Asia Program, 2006, 10-11.

49

deal of truth, but not without a blend of fiction."[86] The book's title is inspired by a woman on trial who "states that her profession is marrying the Europeans."[87]

Jacobus X also discusses the topic of interracial marriages in Indochina. He provides anthropological evidence of the unions in the colony. While some unions were marriages in the true sense, many, like the ones described by Jacobus X and Vu Trung Phung, were transactional in nature and bore a striking resemblance to sex work. Jacobus describes the union of European men with Annamite women in a section titled "Annamite Mistresses of the Europeans." He explains, "the European, disgusted with the 'bamboo,' and the daylight whores, often prefers to have a woman for his special use…she will sham virtue before your European friends and acquaintances.'"[88] His tone portrays a hint of the general disdain these unions incurred from the European perspective.

Within the colonial project, temporary unions, or marriages between French legionnaires and local women during their time abroad, were supported by the state because they were viewed as pragmatic in a public health sense and were less motivated by vice than frequenting a brothel. In the *Guide Pratique de l'Européen dans L'Afrique Occidentale*, Dr. Louis Barot explains part of the rationale behind temporary unions: "For those who lack the moral strength necessary to endure two years of absolute continence, only one line of conduct is possible: a temporary union with a well-chosen native woman."[89] This policy is interesting because while it acknowledges the sexual needs of men it also acknowledges a weakness in men's countenance.

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[86] Vu Trong Phung, Introduction, *The Industry of Marrying European*. Ithaca, NY: Southeast Asia Program, 2006, 11.
[87] Phung, 25.
[88] Jacobus, X. *Untrodden Fields of Anthropology; Observations on the Esoteric Manners and Customs of Semicivilized Peoples; Being a Record of Thirty Years' Experience in Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania.* Translated by Charles Carrington. 2nd ed. Paris, France: Libraire de médecine, folklore et anthropologie, 1898.
[89] Dr. Barot, "Colonisation Through the Bed," *France and West Africa,* n.d., 206–9, 207

50

Figure 4[90]

Phung examines the peculiarities of temporary unions in *The Industry of Marrying Europeans.* He opens on an idyllic image of a respectable mixed-race family. The wife is dressed in Western clothing and speaks in French. He describes the interactions within the family: "Elderly Frenchman in Vietnamese wooden clogs… his wife… talk[s] to her mixed-race children in a jumble of Vietnamese and French." [91] This opening image of a French man immersed in Vietnamese culture as represented by his shoes, accompanied by his wife speaking a mix of French and Vietnamese, illustrates the deepest fear of the French government. Phung provides a satirical commentary from his Vietnamese perspective, remarking, "A scene like that would almost make us proud, that a woman–from a country that is still considered 'barbaric'-- still manages to maintain her dignity, even though she

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[90] Andre Salles, *Tonkin, Hanoï. Une Habitation Française*, n.d., *BnF Gallica*, n.d., https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b530131629.
[91] Phung, 24.

51

has been married to a colonialist."[92] Here, Phung uses "us" to mean the Vietnamese. He ironically writes that the Vietnamese should be proud that one of their countrymen could ascribe to French standards of acceptability. He draws on one of the key paradoxes of the assimilationist agenda to show that this woman can never truly be French because she is not white. Additionally, Phung adds the Vietnamese perspective commenting on the woman's dignity even though she has married a colonist. The novel's opening commentary shows a model union, however, there is an underlying sinister image of temporary unions in the colony and the implication of Vietnamese status in the colonial hierarchy. The wife speaks French and wears Western clothing. Despite her acclimation to Western standards of civility, as Phung writes, she cannot escape the barbarity inherent to her Vietnamese identity.

When Phung ventures into the suburbs to investigate other women in "the industry," he discovers this occupation is transactional, not like the loving images he describes above, and they are often dangerous for the women. In fact, the nature of these unions appears almost indistinguishable from sex work. Phung writes, "While the woman thinks about money, the man thinks only about physical pleasure."[93] Phung examines the ways in which Vietnamese women and European men opportunistically took advantage of temporary unions. These relationships were built upon an inherent imbalance of power and disposability. For white men, temporary unions were a sexual adventure that allowed them to explore the exoticism of the colonial landscape. Similarly to characters in *The Lover*, Phung's gender is mapped onto his racial identity. He becomes a more feminine, or at the very least, an unthreatening masculine character who is able to enter the intimate dwellings and relationships of foreign legionnaires and their Vietnamese wives. Phung talks with both the women and the men

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[92]Phung, 24.

[93] Phung, 48.

to examine the transactional nature of these relationships on both ends.

Some women entered these unions willfully to take advantage of the opportunity to improve their life and economic situation. I imagine this is similar to the reasons many women entered sex work around the world, because it paid well compared to other jobs. Temporary unions were often unsuccessful and there was a great deal of unfaithfulness among the men and the women. Phung argues "if the supply had not been more than the demand, the number of unfaithful husbands would not have been high."[94] On the other side, Jacobus X argues that Vietnamese wives flirted with every other man when their husband was not around. Based upon these sources, and the majority of scholarship, temporary unions, one of the most direct interactions between Europeans and Vietnamese, were not mutual or romantic. These kinds of intimate relationships became microcosms of the same colonial power dynamics at play in the larger imperial system.

One of the most compelling and dynamic characters in Phung's journalistic account is the mixed-race woman, Suzanne, who acts as a liaison to the women in the industry. She is herself a product of this industry and a product of colonial encounters. The narrator and Suzanne share several emotional exchanges where she expresses her distress at not belonging in the colonial hierarchy and how her own existence challenges the strict boundaries the French sought to draw. As a result, she and many other mixed-race individuals experience persecution within the system which often compromises their happiness and wellbeing. She exclaims amidst a conversation with Phung, "The Europeans don't respect us entirely, the Annamites won't love us fully. In the respectable Western society, a drop of Annam blood is a disgrace, and to the noble European society, a drop of French blood is not quite an honor either."[95] Suzanne is an interesting character within *The Industry of*

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[94]Phung, 27.

[95] Ibid.

53

Marrying Europeans because she is an unintended product of the industry. In her conversations with Phung she explains the misfortune of having a mixed race child, and perhaps the even greater misfortune of being mixed race in the colonial system. The French feared that Eurasian children would resent their ambiguous position in the colonial hierarchy.[96] At the same time, fears of population disparities between whites and Vietnamese in the colonies compelled many French citizens to "protect" these children and ensure they grew up as French citizens. During the interwar period, when French control was seen as waning, mixed race children were seized and put in orphanages where they would be saved from the corruption of their mother's culture. With the progression of time, mixed-race people began to enjoy more and more of the privileges of white identity, but they were never fully acknowledged as white. Just as assimilated individuals could never fully achieve Frenchness, mixed-race children would never be fully white.

Around 1930, the French citizenry became increasingly concerned with the wellbeing and cultural upbringing of mixed-race children. While "abandoned"[97] children were already removed from the Vietnamese milieu and raised in orphanages, the first world war marked a shift in French mindset. They began to consider one drop of French blood enough to be considered French in the colonies.[98] Mixed race children began to be moved to the mountain city of Dalat, which was developed to be a completely French environment, in order to be better immersed in French culture.

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[96] Firpo, "Crises of Whiteness", 587.

[97] "Abandonment" was a term coined by French citizens in Indochina, referencing Eurasian children raised by their Vietnamese family. Usually, Eurasian children had Vietnamese mothers and French or European fathers (Stoler 204).

[98] Firpo, "Crises of Whiteness," 606.

Figure 5[99]

Dalat

Dalat, la perle des stations d'extrême orient… (Dalat, the pearl of hill stations in the orient).

- Petit Guide Illustré de Dalat
[100]

Dalat, located in the Lang Bian region, was identified by the French as an ideal location for a colonial hill station.[101] Nineteenth-century science "led to the development of hill stations to which the Europeans repaired from their delta cities during the hot seasons." [102] Dalat was identified by the governor general Paul Doumer as the perfect location for a sanatorium for the colonists to escape the troubles and discomforts of colonial life.[103] Due to its

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[99] Pierre Dieufils, *Hanoï (Début Du XXe Siècle) : La Rue Paul Bert* , n.d., *BnF Gallica* , n.d., https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10111920t/f1.item.r=hanoi%20ville.zoom.
[100] *Petit Guide Illustré de Dalat* (Indochine Française, 1930), 17.
[101] Neighboring British and Dutch colonies also featured colonial hill stations. Sinla in British India is the most famous example and the French tried to emulate it through Dalat.
[102] Drummond, 215.
[103] *Petit Guide Illustré de Dalat* (Indochine Française, 1930), 5.

55

altitude, the Lang Bian peninsula has a temperate climate that was seen as less disruptive to the European physique than the tropics.[104] The hill station and its sanatorium served both political and medical purposes. Historian Eric Jennings writes, "The hill station itself was built on a medico-segregationist model, which dictated that colonial rule be conducted, and colonial life be regulated, from a climatically temperate and French dominated 'safe space' rather than from the existing centers of Vietnamese power in and around lowland deltas."[105]

Towards the end of the empire, French colonial forces desperately tried to maintain their power over Indochina. In the early 20th century, especially in the aftermath of World War when anxieties around population were high, the French equated "population numbers with political and military might."[106] The French minority saw their small population as a source of anxiety amidst other threats, such as a rising Vietnamese nationalist movement. Some French people believed that if they moved their capital to a more suitable climate, somewhere more like France, they could maintain their power over the colony and resist *le cafard*. They could eat milk and vegetables like in Europe there.[107] The *Petit Guide Illustré de Dalat* describes how "Les oeillets et les roses donnent à l'Européen l'illusion qu'il est de nouveau au pay natal, "meaning they could grow familiar foliage to fully give the fatigued French colonist a taste of home. [108] The homesick Europeans could even visit a place of European medicine, practiced by Europeans, taught at a school reserved for Europeans.[109] Dalat localized health retreats which had previously shipped patients away to Japan.[110] Dalat offered the tropic-fatigued

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[104] *Petit Guide Illustré de Dalat* (Indochine Française, 1930), 9.

[105] Eric T. Jennings, "Đà Lạt, Capital of Indochina: Remolding Frameworks and Spaces in the Late Colonial Era." *Journal of Vietnamese Studies* 4, no. 2 (2009): 1–33, 2.

[106] Firpo, "Crises of Whiteness," 593.

[107] *Petit Guide Illustré de Dalat* (Indochine Française, 1930), 13.

[108] *Petit Guide Illustré de Dalat* (Indochine Française, 1930), 13.

[109] *Petit Guide Illustré de Dalat* (Indochine Française, 1930), 14.

[110] Vann, "Sex and the Colonial City," 425.

European a temperate respite. Gradually, the French decided that they needed to establish their rule from a place that was more like France so that the climate would not inhibit their capacity to rule.

Not only was the climate suitable for the French temperament, but they could grow the foods they missed and could not enjoy on the coasts. Oftentimes French colonizers wanted to create "a little piece of France in Indochina."[111] The mountain city of Dalat, according to Jennings, provides an excellent example of the varied colonial projects which determined colonial spaces and places and which include "home sicknesses, rivalry, and competition."[112] Dalat, he argues, though far from the main political cities of Hanoi and Saigon, exemplifies the nuances of colonial projects and their execution. French colonists sought, "an island of home in Southeast Asia"as their grip on the colony became weaker and weaker.[113]

There were five master plans created for Dalat by urbanists including Louis-Georges Pineau, Leon Garnier, Ernest Hebrard.[114] In its initial construction, hygiene was the paramount guiding principle. As a result, buildings were electrified, had indoor plumbing and concrete was the main building material.[115] Hebrard was "the advocate of an associationist architecture capable of integrating and respecting local forms, and was also a strong proponent of zoned planning."[116] The recurrent issue of creating a completely segregated French space, while reliant upon Vietnamese labor, put French planning ideology at odds with the administrative reality.[117] Hebrard initially envisioned

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[111] Eric T Jennings, "From Indochine to Indochic: The Lang Bian/Dalat Palace Hotel and French Colonial Leisure, Power and Culture." *Modern Asian Studies* 37, no. 1 (2003): 159–94, 160.

[112] Jennings, "Indochine to Indochic," 161.

[113] Jennings, "Indochine to Indochic," 165

[114] Eric T Jennings, "Urban Planning, Architecture, and Zoning at Dalat, Indochina, 1900-1944." *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques* 33, no. 2 (2007): 327–62, 329.

[115] Jennings, "Urban Planning, Architecture, and Zoning at Dalat,"333.

[116] Jennings, "Urban Planning, Architecture, and Zoning at Dalat," 333.

[117] Vann, "Building Colonial Whiteness on the Red River," 278.

administrative, European, and Vietnamese districts. His successor Pineau believed that cities should be highly livable, prioritizing the preservation of nature, expanding greenspace, and an architectural eclecticism.[118] The Vichy government and planner Jean Lacquet envisioned Dalat as the future "de facto summer capital."[119]

Jennings writes that the ratio of Vietnamese to French was "more favorable," compared to other cities, but was not the strictly French town many wanted it to be. Planners like Hebrard were uncompromising in their designs and razed local markets and homes to build settlements for both the Vietnamese and French according to his vision.[120] Hebrard's plans served as "the fulcrum of colonial segregationism" in accordance with his associationist philosophy.[121] His segregationist argument supported one of the many ideas to make Dalat the summer capital or alternative federal capital and a pillar of white survivability and perenniality.[122]

Le Domaine de Marie à Dalat[123]

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[118] Jennings, "Urban Planning, Architecture, and Zoning at Dalat," 334.
[119] Jennings, "Urban Planning, Architecture, and Zoning at Dalat," 335.
[120] Jennings, "Urban Planning, Architecture, and Zoning at Dalat," 338.
[121] Jennings, "Urban Planning, Architecture, and Zoning at Dalat," 340.
[122] Jennings, "Dalat Capital of Indochina," 5-13
[123] *Le Domaine de Marie a Dalat. FOEFI*. Accessed June 5, 2023. http://foefi.net/DalatG.html.

58

Despite this goal, the strict segregationist philosophy behind Dalat faced many challenges. One such challenge was brought on by the French themselves. During World War I, French humanitarian organizations worked to relocate "abandoned" Eurasian children in schools in Dalat.[124] As a European escape nestled in the highlands of Indochina, Dalat was viewed as the perfect place to raise mixed-race children to become upstanding French citizens. Away from the corrupting culture found in the culturally and architecturally Vietnamese spaces outside Dalat, mixed-race children could be brought up in the next best environment to the metropole. Dalat was envisioned as a European counter to the chaotic and older Vietnamese cities.[125] If the French had it their way, there would likely have been no native inhabitants of the city. However, as in every other settlement, they needed a labor force to build the city and to fill most of the jobs. As a result, there were native neighborhoods. Naturally, "Europeans would enjoy large plots, Vietnamese dwellings could double as sardine tins. …Hebrard's Dalat plan served as the fulcrum of colonial segregationism."[126] Unfortunately, Hebrard's lofty plans for Dalat took ample time to implement. Though he sought to segregate the city, the time it took to implement his plan brought more and more Vietnamese to Dalat.[127] The 1920's marked a shift as, "the Vietnamese aristocracy was manifestly exempt from segregationist zoning [and] Emperor Bao Dai's decision to erect a summer palace in Dalat was in fact well received by French Dalatois."[128] Soon the Vietnamese bourgeoisie too began to buy and develop land in the European quarter.[129] Contrary to Dalat's original intent, to be a European sanctuary in Indochina, it soon became a desirable

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[124] Firpo, "Crises of Whiteness," 594.

[125] Jennings, "Urban Planning, Architecture, and Zoning at Dalat," 354.

[126] Jennings, "Urban Planning, Architecture, and Zoning at Dalat," 340.

[127] Jennings, "Urban Planning, Architecture, and Zoning at Dalat," 342.

[128] Jennings, "Urban Planning, Architecture, and Zoning at Dalat," 341.

[129] Jennings, "Urban Planning, Architecture, and Zoning at Dalat," 342.

destination for all wealthy people in the colony. Dalat demonstrates the power of the emergent Vietnamese bourgeoisie and the problems they posed to the colonial hierarchy given their increased economic power.

Ultimately, Dalat became nothing more than a "Mediocre product of French suburbia."[130] The many urbanists responsible for its construction failed to ascribe to a unified design and cultural policy. Slowly, the non-aristocratic Vietnamese elite encroached more and more upon the space, preventing Dalat from being the French escape it was envisioned to be. Of course, it was impossible for it to really have been 100% French. The French were and would always be dependent upon the Vietnamese labor force. While Dalat was certainly testimony to French grandeur, in the end the city failed to authentically become a French city. The mismatching of European designs and the increasing presence of Vietnamese elites proved that the French could never truly separate themselves in the colony. The futility of recreating France in Vietnam became like the colonizing mission itself, impossible to achieve: Vietnam was not France and it never would be.

Conclusion

The Vietnamese people have been dragged into an atrocious self-defense war by the policy of violence and aggression of the representatives in France in Indochina.

Ho Chi Minh[131]

The culmination of French associationist policy can be seen in the emergence of the Vietnamese bourgeoisie around the 1920's. The Vietnamese bourgeois were newly well off, educated, and well versed in French culture. After years of pressure to consume French goods, well-off Vietnamese became connoisseurs of French

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[130]Jennings, "Urban Planning, Architecture, and Zoning at Dalat," 355.

[131] Ho Chi Minh, "Letter to the French Government, Assembly, and People," essay, in *Ho Chi Ming on Revolution* (Signet, 1967), 165–66, 165.

60

cuisine.[132] Some hosted extravagant dinner parties where they served French and Vietnamese food to the shock of their French guests. The cosmopolitan savvy of the Vietnamese bourgeoisie frightened the French who insisted that their attempts were always short of true Frenchness.[133] The Tonkin Free School evidence the effects of French linguistic imperialism.[134] Interactions with the French challenged Vietnamese scholar communities, inciting a discourse upon the Vietnamese language itself.[135] Constantly told that they were not only a backwards people, but that they could never achieve the respectability and cultural sophistication of the French, the educated Vietnamese rose to the occasion, exemplifying the theory of the contact zone, to articulate Vietnamese ideas of the individual and society. The interaction of French republican ideals with Confucian tradition spurred new literary and intellectual movements as a form of resistance. French-trained Vietnamese architects graduated from the *Ecole des Beaux-Arts d'Indochine.* They were trained by architects like Hebrard to create buildings in the tradition of associationist architecture. They went on to develop the suburbs of Southern Hanoi for the emergent bourgeoisie. The new indigenous quarter in Hanoi was the stage upon which French and Vietnamese architects "integrated two seemingly irreconcilable architectural systems into a robust housing type that remains, to this day, highly appreciated by Vietnamese urbanites."[136]

French architecture remains a valued part of Hanoi. An article from 1996 calls for the preservation of the French, arguing it "can help coming generations to understand the societies and

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[132] Peters, 197.
[133] Peters, 198.
[134] Dutton, 2009.
[135] George Dutton, "'Society' and Struggle in the Early Twentieth Century: The Vietnamese Neologistic Project and French Colonialism." *Modern Asian Studies* 49, no. 6 (2015): 1994–2021, 1998.
[136] Labbé, 268.

61

cultures that Hanoi has been a part of."[137] The call for the quarter's restoration as a site of cultural interaction affirms the observable legacy of associationist policy. Colonial mimesis, mimicry and the contact zone intersect to this day in the cultural and physical legacy of French colonialism. The intentional appropriation of culture by both the French and Vietnamese are emblematic of the way that the tools of oppression can be used as an act of resistance and the unintended consequences of colonial domination.

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[137] Nguyen Ba Dang. "Preservation of the French Colonial Quarter in Hanoi, Vietnam." *Ambio* 25, no. 2 (1996): 115–17, 117.

"Go Outside and Play!":
Backyard Playgrounds in New York City During the Progressive Era

Julia Kovatch[*]

"*Go outside and play*!" is a phrase familiar to children growing up in the United States, uttered by parents in need of time and space to get work done without the distractions of children playing. Yet, just over a century ago, outdoor play was dangerous and inaccessible to many children living in urban areas like New York City. For working-class children living in crowded tenement buildings at the turn of the twentieth century, the street was often the only option for getting out of the house and meeting with peers outside of school, if they went to school at all. There, they were subjected to the poor conditions of low-income, congested neighborhoods: raw sewage, dead animals lining the streets, and dangerous traffic. Amid these circumstances, a new progressive reform effort sought to create urban parks and playgrounds where children could safely play together and reap the benefits of orderly, directed recreation. While the parks and playgrounds movement included the fight for public parks, there was also a subset of the movement in New York City in the 1910s that proposed a different solution: backyard playgrounds.

There is ample literature examining the development of public parks and playgrounds throughout the twentieth century. Galen Cranz's *The Politics of Park Design* offers a useful overview of the history of urban parks in America, identifying four key periods of park development since 1850. One of these is the "reform park," which emerged in the first three decades of the twentieth century in conjunction with the wider progressive movement.[1] Progressives promoted wide-ranging social and

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Historical Perspectives, Series II, Volume XXVIII, 2023

political reforms to address the effects of rapid industrialization, immigration, and urbanization in the United States. Julie A. Tuason's "'Rus in Urbe:' The Spatial Evolution of Urban Parks in the United States, 1850-1920" provides a close analysis of the shift in focus from large, landscape parks to smaller parks and playgrounds, noting that "unlike the large landscape parks, which figured prominently in the built environment and are well-documented, the small playground parks are too numerous and too anonymous, as it were, to merit detailed recognition (or even a mere mention) by urban historians."[2] As a result, "less is known about the spread of small playground parks at the turn of the twentieth century," and even less about backyard playgrounds in New York City's tenement buildings.[3] This paper makes use of articles published in *The New York Times* from 1898 to 1921 to uncover this lesser-known aspect of urban history in the United States, revealing the context within which urban reformers in New York City made efficient use of the few resources available to them to bring the benefit of small parks and playgrounds to working-class tenement neighborhoods.

The parks and playgrounds movement emerged around the turn of the twentieth century in response to the challenges brought about by rapid industrialization and urbanization. Professor of landscape architecture Alan Tate argues that "for most of their history [...] the provision of urban parks resulted from a critique of – and as an antidote to – the perceived ills or shortcomings of urban areas."[4] Whether as a reaction to the polluted physical environment of cities or their "immoral" character, urban parks were intended to improve cities and their residents in one way or another. It is for this reason that Maureen A. Flanagan notes that historians "have viewed these progressives [who promoted parks

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[2] Julie A. Tuason, "'Rus in Urbe:' The Spatial Evolution of Urban Parks in the United States, 1850-1920," *Historical Geography* 25 (June 1997): 136.
[3] Ibid., 124.
[4] Alan Tate, "Urban Parks in the Twentieth Century," *Environment & History* 24, no. 1 (February 2018): 83-84.

64

and playgrounds] as being elites who wanted to build these areas to remove children from the streets and thereby control them better. [...] But, the urban industrial world of the Progressive Era was a difficult and often chaotic one for children as well as adults," so reformers had good reason for their concerns.[5]

The primary reason many progressive reformers began to promote the development of parks and playgrounds was the demonstrated danger of crowded city streets. For children who lived in tenement buildings, there was not enough physical space indoors to play, so most of them would spend their days roaming the streets. Figure 1 illustrates the dirty, dangerous conditions in which children played in New York at the beginning of the twentieth century due to a lack of robust municipal services. Even more alarming to many reformers was the introduction of automobiles, which became more accessible to the middle class in the 1910s.[6] In a 1917 article in the *New York Times*, Laura Fay-Smith raises this concern: "During 1916, 664 persons were killed and 23,820 were injured on the streets of this city; of those killed, 267, or nearly 41 percent, were children under 16 years old."[7] It is not clear how many of these casualties were the direct result of automobiles. Still, these statistics reveal the dangers faced by children who played in the streets of New York City at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The call for urban parks coincided with a broader movement for the rights of children in the Progressive Era. Flanagan asserts that "organized recreational facilities for children [...] were to serve a preventative purpose but were also being defined as a democratic 'right' for children" as awareness of public health and education

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[5] Maureen A. Flanagan, *America Reformed: Progressives and Progressivisms, 1890s-1920s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 67-68.

[6] Laura Fay-Smith, "Backyard Playgrounds: Suggestion For Giving Children Benefit Of Areas Behind Houses," *The New York Times*, Jul 17, 1916, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

[7] Laura Fay-Smith, "Back Lot Playgrounds For City Children," *The New York Times*, Oct 28, 1917, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

65

rose.[8] In her article on Jacob Riis' promotion of small urban parks, historian Adrienne deNoyelles explains that "public-health and housing activists hailed [playgrounds] as 'safety valves' that relieved crime and high mortality in surrounding areas; settlement workers welcomed them as extensions of their 'common ground' approach, where immigrant children could forge hyphenated American identities through play."[9] Proponents of urban playgrounds thus had several motivations for getting children off the streets and into a safer, more controlled environment. One concerned citizen wrote to the editors of the *New York Times* in 1904, "as ex-Mayor Hewitt once said (when commenting upon the lack of small parks and playgrounds in our city,) 'boys must amuse themselves in the streets or nowhere at all. They are kept in fear of the police, as enemies, and not as protectors. The whole influence of such a state of things is bad, and children grow up with an antipathy to good government.'"[10] Keeping children out of trouble with the law and fostering greater respect for the government were key goals of many progressive reformers concerned with children's development. The same letter even urged New York's mayor to slow the building of new public schools to devote more resources to parks and playgrounds, framing it as a matter of public health.[11]

Calls for smaller parks and playgrounds were met by the founding of the Playground Association of America (PAA) in 1906. This national organization aimed to gain public support for the creation of public playgrounds and aid organizations in building them.[12] Playground reformers "challenged the idea that a park should be a carefully sculpted site of middle-class leisure such

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[8] Flanagan, 68-69.

[9] Adrienne deNoyelles, "'Letting in the Light': Jacob Riis's Crusade for Breathing Spaces on the Lower East Side," *Journal of Urban History* 46, no. 4 (2020): 780-781.

[10] Sidwell S. Randall, "Need For More Play Grounds: Health For Children And Freedom From Street Dangers Of First Importance," *The New York Times*, Dec 20, 1904, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Henry S. Curtis, *The Play Movement and Its Significance* (New York: Macmillan, 1917), 15; Tuason, 137.

66

as New York's Central Park, Chicago's Jackson Park, or Boston's Commons," instead promoting smaller parks, constructed on expensive inner-city plots of land, "designed for active play rather than for passive contemplation of scenery," and intended for use by "the children and youth of the working-class tenement neighborhoods."[13] Tuason notes that most early public playgrounds "were initially established and operated by private, nonprofit associations and social reform organizations, not by the city itself," illustrating the key role that the PAA played in bringing playgrounds to urban areas.[14] The PAA was by no means without fault; in *The Play Movement and Its Significance*, PAA founder Henry S. Curtis, who claimed to be "a believer in the negro and in democracy," advocated racially segregated playgrounds, "for the reason that there is often prejudice on the part of white parents against having their children, especially the girls, play with colored children, and because the colored children are very apt to form a clique by themselves, and to be an unassimilable element within the playground."[15]

Despite the goal espoused by settlement workers of assimilating certain immigrant groups through play, it is clear that children of color would still be excluded from the public facilities intended for white children due to the deeply imbued racism of adults who sought to maintain segregation at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Cities later became more involved in creating small parks and playgrounds, with departments such as New York's Parks Department eventually taking on the management of smaller parks despite initially being created only to manage Central Park. However, in the 1910s, the city was still lacking the resources needed to create and maintain a large system of smaller parks. In her 1917 *New York Times* article, Laura Fay-Smith lamented that the city provided "recreation facilities for only one-third of the

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[13] Flanagan, 67; Tuason, 134-135.
[14] Tuason, 137.
[15] Curtis, 85.

67

children" in Manhattan.[16] The rising cost of land in Manhattan made it difficult for the city to purchase privately owned plots to turn into public parks, especially in light of the billion-dollar public debt in the city government.[17] The small number of underfunded public playgrounds were run down and at times even dangerous. In 1921, a three-year-old was killed when an unhinged gate fell on top of him, prompting his father, William Flynn, to remark to a reporter, "I guess I'll have to let my boys play in the street now."[18] Clearly, parents felt the need for safer places to send their children to play outside the home. The city's Recreation Committee requested an increase in their budget to $10,000 per year in 1920 to make improvements to the city's existing forty public playgrounds, but in the meantime, private organizations and individual reformers acted on their own to address the lack of playground space for Manhattan's 463,000 children.[19]

Each of these factors culminated in an effort to create a new type of space where children could safely play outdoors. In January of 1917, the Police Commissioner of New York approved a plan to collaborate with tenants living in tenement buildings to tear down the fences separating their small yards, primarily used for storage, to create large, communal spaces for children to play under the supervision of a trusted adult.[20] It was estimated that it would only cost about sixty dollars to clean up each yard and equip them with modest playgrounds, a price which could be shared among residents of the tenement building or was often covered through charity.[21] This idea was pioneered by Mrs. Robert C.

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[16] Fay-Smith, "Back Lot Playgrounds For City Children."

[17] Ibid.

[18] "Gate Kills Child In "Safe" Play Ground: Father Had Taken Five Boys To Park Because The Street Was Dangerous," *The New York Times*, Aug 22, 1921, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

[19] "Seeks More Funds For Playgrounds," *The New York Times*, Oct 10, 1920, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

[20] "Back-Yard Playgrounds. Tenement Owners Co-Operate With Police In Providing Them," *The New York Times*, Jan 29, 1917, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

[21] Ibid.

68

Clarkson, a member of New York's high society who had previously engaged in other forms of charity work.[22] The New York Parks Department and the Tenement House Committee of the Charities Society had already been encouraging tenement builders to use open metal fencing between backyards to let more air and light into the tenement yards, but Clarkson established the Backyard Playgrounds Association to aid in the creation of shared backyard playgrounds for the children of the tenements.[23]

To accomplish this, Clarkson "[ingratiated] herself into the good-will of the janitors of the tenement houses and [gained] their aid in the project," no small feat considering the ire many tenement janitors had for children who frequently got into trouble in the neighborhood for lack of a better place to play.[24] According to *The New York Times*, "mothers of the tenements were vastly grateful for the improvement, which made it possible for them to keep an eye on their Tonys, Jimmies, Carmelas, and Marys," illustrating the key benefit of backyard playgrounds – that parents could keep a watchful eye on their children while they played outside without needing to leave their homes.[25]

The backyard playgrounds were created, funded, and maintained by middle and upper-class women like Clarkson, who were part of existing charitable organizations aimed at aiding working-class children. The *New York Times* proclaimed that "these young women were voluntary workers, daughters of some of the better-known families of the city," and that some of the mothers in the tenements "began going to the young women in charge of the work to ask for advice about domestic and medical problems."[26] However, the relationship between the reformers and the tenement residents was not one-sided; Flanagan asserts that in

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[22] "Society Notes," *The New York Times*, Dec 04, 1898, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
[23] Cranz, 84; Fay-Smith, "Back Lot Playgrounds For City Children."
[24] "Playgrounds in Tenement Backyards," *The New York Times*, Nov 30, 1919, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.

the building of public parks, "residents of working-class and immigrant neighborhoods demanded that these areas be constructed in specific ways that they wanted and then they used their neighborhood parks much as [Mary Parker] Follett had envisioned them doing in school social centers."[27] The same likely occurred in the creation of backyard playgrounds, as tenement residents had to agree to give up their small, albeit private, yards to create shared spaces.

By October of 1917, only a few months after the plan was approved by the Police Commissioner, there were fifteen backyard playgrounds in Manhattan created under the auspices of the Backyard Playgrounds Association.[28] In a profile on a neighborhood on the Lower East Side of Manhattan, a reporter for *The New York Times* described one such space: "Though the block is in a congested district, it happens to be one which has a backyard playground in the hollow of it [...] entered by a tunnel through the basement [...] The sensation of coming out of this tunnel, not into a dark areaway full of broken bottles, with the sky above it darkened by the flapping clothes strung on pulleys from every window, but into a large open space, is one of surprise and relief."[29] One can get a sense of these playgrounds from the photograph in Figure 2, a sharp contrast to the play spaces available to children just a few decades earlier. Of course, not all tenement residents approved of the backyard playgrounds, and some complained about children making too much noise, but these spaces were a vast improvement on the alternatives of playing in the dangerous streets or crowded, dilapidated public parks.[30]

These spaces evolved into much more than simple playgrounds as the female reformers who created them expanded their influence throughout the neighborhoods. They "rented the

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[27] Flanagan, 68.

[28] Fay-Smith, "Back Lot Playgrounds For City Children."

[29] "Inventory Of An East Side Block," *The New York Times*, Jun 15, 1919, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

[30] Ibid.

70

ground floors in some of the tenement houses and turned them into clinics and clubrooms," providing services ranging from healthcare to organized recreational activities for children.[31] Two such centers were opened in the Kips Bay neighborhood on the Lower East Side in 1920, and one was even part of a project to engage Columbia University students in "practical community work under the direction of experts."[32] These community centers took on aspects of the settlement house movement to bring more well-to-do New Yorkers into contact with the working class to employ new forms of expertise to improve their conditions.

In 1917, Laura Fay-Smith, who had previously advocated for safer playgrounds in *The New York Times*, praised the efforts of Clarkson and the Backyard Playgrounds Association. She wrote, "What a lesson in practical philanthropy is here! And how much greater in the scope of its beneficence than the futile grasping after ballots and political privileges, which are obsessing the minds and taxing the resources of hundreds of women, who won't know what to do with the franchise when they get it!"[33] Fay-Smith's opposition to women's suffrage here may be surprising to some, but it is reflective of the fact that the progressive movement was composed of a wide variety of reform efforts that did not always align with each other. In an earlier letter to the editor, Fay-Smith explained, "One of my own reasons for opposing suffrage is this: If men who have been studying the art of government for ages cannot yet discover it, but only attempt to do so, how can women, who have not made a study of political economy and practiced politics, hope to do any better?"[34] Her stance against women's suffrage but in support of the Backyard Playgrounds Association reflects the shared belief among many middle and upper-class women in the

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[31] "Playgrounds in Tenement Backyards," *The New York Times*.

[32] "37th Street Centre Proves Big Success," *The New York Times*, Nov 14, 1920, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; "Kips Bay Playground Opened," *The New York Times*, Oct 20, 1920, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

[33] Fay-Smith, "Back Lot Playgrounds For City Children."

[34] Laura Fay-Smith, "Futility of the Ballot," *The New York Times*, Mar 07, 1915, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

71

Progressive Era that civic engagement could best be practiced through direct charitable action, and that women had a duty as the nation's moral uplifters to do so.

Backyard parks were not unique to tenement buildings, and even some members of the higher echelons of New York society took to the idea. A 1902 *New York Times* article details how the residents of one Madison Avenue block combined their backyards into a shared community space, complete with flowers, a fountain, and electric lighting so that it could be enjoyed even after sunset.[35] The article calls the project "a Parisian scheme, which is worked satisfactorily also in London," suggesting that inspiration for the shared garden came from some residents' travels in Europe.[36] The motivations for developing such a space were surely different from the playgrounds created by the Backyard Playgrounds Association, but the cooperative back garden illustrates the broad applicability of a similar concept to bring neighbors together at a time when some worried that city living would degrade the morals of Americans.

A century later, few backyard playgrounds created by Clarkson's organization remain as tenement buildings were eventually torn down and replaced with more modern accommodations. The number of small public parks in New York City has grown, beginning in the early 1930s, as the Parks Department took on a greater role and gained the resources to maintain more parks. The concept of backyard playgrounds shared among tenants did not disappear, however, as evidenced by the Burdick building, a public housing project in the Nolita neighborhood of Manhattan. Named for Thelma Burdick, a key figure in the fight for affordable housing in the Lower East Side in the 1960s, the Burdick building was home to an open space and

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[35] "A Co-Operative Back Garden," *The New York Times*, Aug 31, 1902, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

[36] Ibid.

72

playground beloved by its tenants for over thirty years.[37] However, in 2012, the backyard land was purchased by a group of wealthy real estate investors and became the site of a luxury boutique hotel, ironically named Public.[38] The residents of the Burdick were promised other improvements to their building in exchange for losing the backyard space. However, by the time *The New York Times* covered the story in 2018, they were "still waiting on a playground."[39] The authors of the photojournalism piece wrote, "this was about disenchantment, that feeling of belonging and then loss that has gripped pockets of New York City as waves of wealth stream through communities, moving poorer people to the fringes."[40] The story of the Burdick building serves as an unfortunate example of the reversal of progress made by reformers during the Progressive Era.

Today, older generations frequently lament that children don't go outside to play anymore, and instead spend their time indoors on their smartphones or playing video games. It is worth considering whether modern technology is truly to blame, or if we might need to critically examine how accessible outdoor play is today. A century after the Progressive Era, children no longer risk coming across a dead horse in the street, but they do face new difficulties in playing outside as a result of the urban development of the United States since the middle of the twentieth century. The concern raised by reformers in the 1910s about automobiles in cities has been exacerbated by the design of modern cities, which prioritize cars over pedestrians and make walking outside the home hazardous in some areas. Perhaps it is time for a new backyard playground movement to make outdoor, communal play safer and easier for our nation's children.

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[37] Nikita Stewart, Sarah Blesener, and Sergio Peçanha, "How a Garden for the Poor Became a Playground for the Rich," *The New York Times*, October 19, 2018. https://nyti.ms/2IvX4rA.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid.

73

The New York Times' coverage of the backyard playground movement that took place in 1910s New York City provides a new and deeper understanding of the broader parks and playgrounds movement of the Progressive Era. It serves as a prime example of the civic engagement methods used by middle and upper-class women to improve conditions in working-class tenement neighborhoods and shows how private citizens and organizations carried out reform efforts on their own when city government fell short. Backyard playgrounds provided children with a much-needed escape from the perils of city streets where they could remain under the supervision of trusted adults. Beyond their primary purpose, backyard playgrounds also grew into thriving community centers that provided additional social services and brought neighbors together. Even though our cities look much different from how they did at the beginning of the twentieth century, much can still be learned from the backyard playgrounds of New York City about community building and collective action to improve our neighborhoods.

74

Figure 1. Children play on a New York City street near open sewers and a dead horse around 1900.[41]

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[41] Byron (Firm: New York, N.Y.), publisher, "The close of a career in New York," Photograph, Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, ca. 1900-1906, From Library of Congress: *Detroit Publishing Company photograph collection*, https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2016794664/.

Figure 2. Children pose in a backyard playground at Henry Street Settlement in New York, photographed by well-known progressive social documentary photographer Jacob A. Riis.[42]

[42] Jacob A. Riis, photographer, "Backyard playground in nurse's settlement, Henry Street," Photograph, Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, ca. 1890, From Library of Congress: *Miscellaneous Items in High Demand*, https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2002710290/.

"We Didn't Want the Boys to Decide About Us": The Women Pioneers of Coeducation at California's Oldest Jesuit University

Hannah Hagen[*]

Today, women make up only 21% of the United States engineering field in the United States, making it the field with the biggest national gender gap. Interviews with some of the women who broke ground in this sphere in the 1970s - when this figure was lower than 1% - reveal that the 'boys club' mentality in engineering still exists. "Progress is slow," one retired chemical and environmental engineer responded when asked if she noticed changes in the challenges she faced over time. Another senior project engineer reflected optimistically that now, "it's easier [for women] to get their foot in the door [because] younger male engineers are also used to working with women because they went to school with them."[1] Her comment astutely draws the connection between women pioneering in academics and then trailblazing in their professional fields.

This academic year (2022-2023), women comprise 48% of Santa Clara University's undergraduate enrollment - 60% of the College of Arts and Sciences, 42% of the Leavey School of Business, and 29% of the School of Engineering. Santa Clara[2] currently boasts the largest percentage of women engineering faculty in the United States at 30%. Women in engineering remain in the minority in academics, yet these statistics represent a gradual but consistent influx into a traditionally male-dominated subject. When Nancy Streuter graduated as the first female student from

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[*] Hannah Hagen's paper won the Giacomini Prize for the best researched and written paper based on primary sources in 2023.
[1] Laura Ettinger, "Trailblazing Women in Engineering Field Reflect on What Has (and Hasn't) Changed," The Washington Post, November 14, 2021.
[2] Throughout this paper, I refer to Santa Clara University as "Santa Clara" instead of abbreviating its title. Santa Clara University (SCU), as it is currently named, used to be University of Santa Clara (USC) until 1985.

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Santa Clara's School of Engineering in 1968, she was the only female engineering student in her class.[3] Only seven years prior, the very notion of women in any undergraduate course at Santa Clara spurred controversy among its historically all-male student body. When President Patrick A. Donohoe, S.J., announced the decision to "go coed" in 1961, the *Santa Clara* school newspaper reported it with the sensational headline "TRADITION SHATTERED." in all capital letters and featured a slew of op-eds from agitated male students complaining about women encroaching on what they viewed as their territory.[4] Exploring the experiences and contributions of women undergraduates in their first years at Santa Clara reveals the resilient ways in which women gain acceptance and achieve success in academia as a historically marginalized group.

Most of the scholarship on the history of coeducation focuses on structural and institutional changes, as well as discrimination faced by the newly matriculated women. Leslie Miller-Bernal and Susan Poulson's *Going Coed: Women's Experiences in Formerly Men's Colleges and Universities, 1950-2000* explores the transition to coeducation at a wide variety of higher learning institutions from Ivy League to historically black universities, with a chapter focusing specifically on Catholic colleges. That chapter formed the foundational context for my research, along with an article co-authored by Poulson and Loretta P. Higgins: "Gender, Coeducation, and the Transformation of Catholic Identity in American Catholic Education." These sources provided insight into trends specific to this transition at Catholic institutions, as well as the barriers and discrimination faced by women at newly-coeducational universities in general. While the extant research

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[3] "Facts & Figures: Enrollment," Santa Clara University Institutional Research, Last updated Fall 2022; "The Women of Engineering," Santa Clara University School of Engineering; "History: Engineering with a Mission," Santa Clara University School of Engineering, 2012.

[4] "TRADITION SHATTERED: Girls To Shatter 110-Yr. Tradition." *The Santa Clara* 29, no. 16 (22 March 1961): 1, SCU Archives and Special Collections.

gives important historical context and draws attention to the sexism faced by women during the transition to coeducation, not much research exists on the perspectives of the women themselves, in particular how they negotiated this sexism to make a place for themselves and future generations of women. My research — based on primary sources such as yearbooks, school newspapers, and interviews — delves into the sexist structures and attitudes during the university's transition to coeducation but gives equal attention to accounts from women on the receiving end of these attitudes.

The Origins of Coeducation at Catholic Institutions of Higher Learning

The 19th century saw a burgeoning coeducation movement beginning in the Midwest. Oberlin College in Ohio opened its doors to both men and women in 1833, making it the first coeducational higher learning institution in the nation. Following the 1862 Morrill Act, which set aside federal land on the frontier for public colleges, a number of coeducational colleges opened throughout the Midwest in the 1860s.[5] Over the next forty years, hundreds of other institutions followed suit. By 1902, there were 330 coeducational universities nationwide, constituting over two-thirds of all universities.[6] Catholic institutions, however, lagged many decades behind, with most avoiding the switch to coeducation until the 1960s. The Church's deeply-entrenched traditions regulated gender norms and encouraged women's education only to the extent that it prepared them for marriage, motherhood, and - at most - traditionally feminine careers like teaching. The first Catholic college for women, the College of

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[5] Claudia Goldin and Lawrence F. Katz, "Putting the 'Co' in Education: Timing, Reasons, and Consequences of College Coeducation from 1835 to the Present," *Journal of Human Capital* 5, no. 4 (Winter 2011): 389.

[6] Susan L. Poulson and Loretta P. Higgins, "Gender, Coeducation, and the Transformation of Catholic Identity in American Catholic Higher Education," *The Catholic Historical Review* 89, no. 3 (July 2003): 490.

79

Notre Dame in Maryland, opened in 1895, a full century after the establishment of men's Catholic colleges in the United States.[7] Much debate occurred in the Church over women's education in general -- access to college could encourage women to pursue professional careers which threatened traditional Church society and family structure. However, when women responded to this restriction by seeking secular college alternatives throughout the 19th century, the Church recognized that it would be better for women to protect their faith at a Catholic college than weaken their faith by seeking education elsewhere. The Church feared secularized women more than educated ones, so "concerns about the piety and morals of Catholic women who might attend Protestant or secular institutions created an [...] incentive for the establishment of Catholic women's colleges."[8] The compromise of Catholic women's colleges furthered the tradition of sex-segregated education, as the Church granted women access to higher education in regulated, faith-based environments that reinforced gender roles.

These women's colleges were restrictive in many respects, offering a limited selection of degrees and lacking the funding received by Catholic men's colleges from donors and higher tuition. Most suffered financial struggles and weak academic programs. Many also reinforced gender roles with narrow curriculums that prepared women only for housekeeping and traditionally feminine careers. Catholic women's colleges placed "emphasis on vocational training in traditional, low-paying occupations such as nursing, library science, and domestic science."[9] The notoriously low-quality, underfunded, restrictive status of most women's colleges gave a bad reputation to even the

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[7] Leslie Miller-Bernal and Susan L. Poulson, *Going Coed: Women's Experiences in Formerly Men's Colleges and Universities, 1950-2000* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2004): 27.

[8] Miller-Bernal and Poulson, *Going Coed*, 27.

[9] Miller-Bernal and Poulson, *Going Coed*, 27.

higher-ranking women's institutions.[10] Women's colleges therefore lacked the prestige and respect of men's colleges, regardless of their quality. The concept of Catholic coeducation, however, remained out of the question for many years.

At the turn of the twentieth century, no coeducation existed within Catholic institutions of higher learning due to gender roles and purity concerns. In 1906, a clerical critic stated, "if our Catholic women are to retain their sweetness and refinement, they must be educated by women in schools for women and along the lines demanded by women's nature."[11] Their statements captured mutually exclusive ideas: Women have a different inherent 'nature' than men, but that inherent nature is so easily influenced that it must be protected and cultivated in a gendered environment. As late as 1929, Pope Pius XI perpetuated warnings about the dangers of coeducation in his papal encyclical, calling it "false also and harmful to Christian education" and "founded upon confusion of ideas that mistakes a leveling promiscuity and equality for the legitimate association of the sexes."[12] This certainty of inevitable promiscuity echoed the critics of coeducation at Protestant and even secular universities in earlier decades. However, Catholic institutions held onto this fear for much longer due to the Church's assertion that only sex segregation could adequately protect the religious virtue of women's purity. Coeducation, one critic wrote, is "equivalent to bringing high explosives closely together and expecting them to fuse. Traditionally, education was always conducted on a basis of segregation, except for the elementary years and graduate and professional schools."[13]

By 1940, forty-six of seventy-four Catholic colleges admitted women to some part of their institution, but this was usually limited and/or highly-segregated admittance, such as to a nursing

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[10] Miller-Bernal and Poulson, *Going Coed*, 28.

[11] Quote in Miller-Bernal and Poulson, *Going Coed*, 29.

[12] Pius XI, Divini Illius Magistri: Encyclical on Christian Education, Sec. 68, 1929, Vatican website.

[13] Quote in Miller-Bernal and Poulson, *Going Coed*, 29.

81

school or part of a summer session. Fewer than ten Catholic colleges were fully coeducational.[14] Catholic colleges were faster to accept women into graduate programs than undergraduate because women's age was seen as a factor in their risk for promiscuity. Older women applying for graduate school were viewed as more mature and in control of themselves, "mitigat[ing] fears about moral offenses stemming from immaturity."[15] Accordingly, some Catholic institutions allowed women limited enrollment in select graduate programs but not full matriculation into the undergraduate classes.

Tom Jablonsky, a history professor at Marquette and author of Marquette's history, explained, "the question was never whether women were taking specialized courses somewhere within a Jesuit university's property (usually at a separate site, often in a segregated classroom environment). The question is when did a Jesuit university allow women to sit alongside men in the same regular classrooms with the goal of attaining a Bachelor of Arts degree."[16] Jablonsky specified Bachelors of Arts degrees because Jesuits were more closely associated with arts education than science or business. Most Catholic institutions admitted women in some limited capacity decades before becoming fully coeducational because the latter remained taboo.

Sex segregation in religious orders further perpetuated single-sex colleges, since these colleges' educators were mostly priests and nuns who were products of not only sex-segregated education but entirely sex-segregated lifestyles. Zacheus Maher, S.J., remarked in 1940, "We Jesuits are not qualified educators of women. It is not our profession, nor are we trained for it. The

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[14] William P. Leahy, S.J., *Adapting to America: Catholics, Jesuits, and Higher Education in the Twentieth Century (*Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1991): 76.

[15] Leahy, S.J., *Adapting to America*, 75.

[16] Thomas J. Jablonsky, 2009, internal email correspondence with Department of Special Collections, provided by Katie Blank of Marquette University Special Collections and University Archives.

education of men, which is our real work, is hampered by the presence of women."[17] Maher was assistant to the Superior General of the Jesuits, Wlodimir Ledochowski, at the time of this quote and previously served as Santa Clara's seventeenth president between 1921 and 1926. His view captures a few of the prevailing notions in the Church: Women's pursuit of education was frivolous and undeserving of support from the priesthood, and besides, a priest who spends most of his life and all of his academic career in the company of men simply would not know how to handle a woman in the classroom. The prevalence of these attitudes exposes the pious concerns over women's virtue as a cover for concerns rooted in sexism and lack of exposure to women.

In the summer of 1909, Marquette University was the first Catholic university to become fully coeducational.[18] Coeducation expanded gradually, but it remained the exception rather than the rule throughout the mid-century. Only ten percent of Catholic institutions were coeducational by 1941 which paled in comparison to the 71.3% of all higher education institutions in America.[19] During Ledowchowski's time as the Superior General of the Jesuits between 1915-1942, he remained vehemently opposed to coeducation and denied several universities permission to adopt it. Ledowchoswki maintained this position even during Great Depression enrollment declines, including "when officials at Spring Hill College [in Alabama] pleaded in 1938 that the college must admit women students to survive, Ledowchowski told them to close."[20] The vast majority of Catholic universities continued to avoid undergraduate coeducation at all costs, even bankruptcy, throughout the early 20th century.

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[17] Susan L. Poulson, "From Single-Sex to Coeducation: The Advent of Coeducation at Georgetown, 1965-1975," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 13, no. 4 (Fall 1995): 119.

[18] Leahy, S.J., *Adapting to America*, 75.

[19] Poulson, "From Single Sex to Coeducation," 118.

[20] Leahy, S.J., *Adapting to America*, 79.

83

In the 1960s, however, this opposition thawed due to nationwide cultural shifts. The women's liberation movement increased personal freedom for women throughout this decade. Such changes directed the nation away from traditional thinking concerning women's roles.

Hence, attitudes became more favorable towards women in the context of college campuses and academia. Campus opinion polls captured these cultural shifts as well. One 1960 study at a private New York university asked male students whether the school's recent shift to coeducation impacted its reputation, admission standards, or class quality. The results found that most survey respondents did not have these concerns, demonstrating increased open-mindedness and even desire for coeducation among all-male university students.[21]

When institutions faced renewed financial challenges again in the 1960s, the nationwide cultural shift prompted a different response from Catholic universities than in prior decades. Coeducation seemed like a better option than shutting down schools, and it now prevailed as a financial strategy because it "enabled these popular institutions to expand and increase the academic quality of their student bodies" instead of lowering academic qualifications to expand the single-sex student body.[22] By 1984, all but one Catholic institution founded for the education of men had gone fully coeducational.[23] Remarkably, over half of these institutions made the switch in under a decade, between 1967 and 1975.[24] Santa Clara University beat the curve by six years when it began admitting women in 1961.

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[21] Miller-Bernal and Poulson, *Going Coed*, 9.
[22] Goldin and Katz, "Putting the 'Co' in Education," 494.
[23] Leahy, S.J., *Adapting to America*, 85.
[24] Goldin and Katz, "Putting the 'Co' in Education," 395.

84

Coeducation at Santa Clara University

Father Gerald McKevitt's account of Santa Clara University history credits "the reforms within the Jesuit order and the Catholic Church resulting from the aggiornamento of Pope John XXIII" for Donohoe's freedom to "introduce changes [that] were the most dramatic that the university had experienced in a hundred years."[25] According to McKevitt, however, Donohoe decided to admit women not to spearhead social change, but primarily "for financial stability and academic proficiency" and "to increase its enrollment."[26] This motivation is worth noting because it underscores that women's presence on campus was tolerated as a means to increase revenue, rather than an acknowledgment of their rightful place within the academic community. The university lacked a sincere commitment to equal treatment and inclusion. Therefore, the opportunity to enroll - and pay equal tuition - did not guarantee equal treatment on campus.

The edition of *The Santa Clara* that announced Donohoe's decision captured the gritted teeth with which many of Santa Clara's all-male student body reacted to the news. Underneath the "TRADITION SHATTERED" headline, the article made sure to mention that "Fr. Donohoe cited as a reason for the move 'terrific [financial] pressure on Santa Clara'"[27]In the op-ed section, one student editor stated outright, "The staff of *The Santa Clara* regrets that the administration has been forced to make this decision."[28] Both of these comments frame women's admittance as not a celebration of progress in the eyes of the student body and administration, but a regrettable necessity. Because coeducation was accepted as a lesser-of-two-evils strategy to avoid financial

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[25] Gerald McKevitt, S.J., *The University of Santa Clara: A History, 1851-1977* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1979): 284.

[26] McKevitt, S.J., *The University of Santa Clara*, 285.

[27] "TRADITION SHATTERED: Girls To Shatter 110-Yr. Tradition," 1, SCU Archives and Special Collections.

[28] P.A.C., "Editorial: End of an Era" in "TRADITION SHATTERED: Girls To Shatter 110-Yr. Tradition," The Santa Clara 29, no. 16 (22 March 1961): 2, SCU Archives and Special Collections.

85

and academic degradation, women's presence was endured rather than celebrated.

While *The Santa Clara* editors maintained a hostile tone, not all the coverage aligned with this attitude. The front-page article mentions that "Father Donohoe termed co-education as progress. 'There is no virtue in age, or tradition itself. There is no virtue in an exclusive school for men for that reason. Catholic lives involve two sexes.'"[29] Other quotes from Donohoe demonstrate his attempts to assuage anticipated criticisms, promising that Santa Clara would not lower its admission standards nor would it accept transfers from nearby Catholic women's colleges.[30] The latter promise was made to protect College of Holy Names, College of Notre Dame, Belmont, Lone Mountain College for Women, and Dominican College from a sudden decline in enrollment if a large percentage of their student bodies opted to attend Santa Clara.[31] Concerns and criticisms generally overshadowed the occasional optimistic rhetoric, revealing the specific fears that Santa Clara students harbored about the decision. Most of the critics alluded to Santa Clara's strong "masculine" tradition and mourned what they viewed as its untimely demise. Students lowered the flag on campus to half-mast.[32] This perceived masculine tradition is never clearly defined, but several editors elaborated on how they predicted that femininity would ruin it. One male student was horrified that "*The Santa Clara* eventually may have a female editor" because women will write with "lace borders and pink." A month later, another argued that "the absence of feminine influence on the campus gives Santa Clara the reputation of complete manliness, untouched by frills and softness" and "the invasion of the 'co-ed' state will destroy this reputation" by decorating the

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[29] "TRADITION SHATTERED: Girls To Shatter 110-Yr. Tradition," 2, SCU Archives and Special Collections.

[30] "TRADITION SHATTERED: Girls To Shatter 110-Yr. Tradition," 1, SCU Archives and Special Collections.

[31] "TRADITION SHATTERED: Girls To Shatter 110-Yr. Tradition," 1-2, SCU Archives and Special Collections.

[32] Scott Brown, "O Pioneers!" *Santa Clara Magazine* (Spring 2008).

86

University with "lace curtains."[33] Critics anticipated a lowering of academic standards despite Donohoe's promises, with one providing a scathing satirical piece about "what will happen with the advent of real life girls as official members of the student body," including "The College of Engineering [...] preparing such courses as Fundamentals of Washing Machine Repair and Basic Vacuum cleaning."[34] Men weren't the only ones expressing agitation at the upcoming change. Janice Coleman in Richmond, California felt so scandalized by the news from fifty miles away that she wrote that any woman who enrolled in the institution "should not be considered a member of the feminine sphere!"[35] These hostile opinions foreshadowed the negative attitudes with which the upcoming first class of Santa Clara women contended when they arrived at campus. These women faced the challenge of making space for themselves in an environment where many of their male peers - and even other women looking from the outside - viewed them as invaders and destroyers.

This begs the question of why eighty-five women in 1961 sought their education at an institution that disparaged their presence.[36] That September, sixty-three women entered the Freshman class, sixteen as Sophomores, five as Juniors, and one - Mary Somers - as a Senior.[37] Patricia O'Malley from Phoenix, Arizona led the way as the first female applicant to Santa Clara's undergraduate program. In May 1961, *The Santa Clara* university newspaper published an interview with O'Malley, drawing attention to her physical appearance under the headline "Blonde

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[33] S.K., "Essay" in "TRADITION SHATTERED: Girls To Shatter 110-Yr. Tradition," *The Santa Clara* 29, no. 16 (22 March 1961): 2, SCU Archives and Special Collections.
[34] S.K.,"Essay" in "TRADITION SHATTERED: Girls To Shatter 110-Yr. Tradition," 2.
[35] Janice Coleman, "Letters to the Editor...Coed," *The Santa Clara* 39, no. 19 (27 April 1961): 8, SCU Archives and Special Collections.
[36] This figure comes from counting the women listed in The Redwood 1961-1962 yearbook. Secondary sources gave conflicting numbers for this statistic, most stating 75 for the number of women. Perhaps additional women transferred in throughout the 1961-1962 school year.
[37] Santa Clara University, *The Redwood*, 1961-1962 yearbook (Santa Clara, CA: 1962), 52-143, SCU Archives and Special Collections.

87

Phoenician Visits SC Campus." In this interview, O'Malley explained, "I didn't especially want to go to an all-women's college, yet I wanted the Catholic education. Now that Santa Clara is co-ed, everything worked out wonderfully."[38]

By "co-ed", O'Malley referred to the full matriculation of women into the undergraduate class. O'Malley was technically not the first woman to apply or graduate from Santa Clara. In the 1940s, Santa Clara opened up some graduate courses - albeit not graduate degrees - in engineering, science, and management to women. The first degree-seeking women arrived in the post-war years, when they were admitted to the business school's evening program. Later, in 1956, Santa Clara partnered with nearby O'Connor Hospital, at that time a Catholic-affiliated hospital, to offer nursing courses.[39] These changes signaled a thaw in opposition to women's academic presence, but the notion of full matriculation into the undergraduate schools remained controversial throughout the 1950s. This trend of limited entrance followed by full matriculation of women in these decades puts Santa Clara on the same timeline as most Catholic institutions in their switch to coeducation. Not surprisingly then, the experiences of Patty O'Malley and her female peers are similar to stories of inaugural coeducational classes at other Catholic colleges throughout the nation.

For some, like O'Malley, the reasoning was as simple as desiring a Catholic education without attending an all-women's college. Perhaps O'Malley's desire was influenced by the lack of prestige and funding at these women's colleges, or perhaps she simply wanted diversity in her academic experience. Other women in her class cited the following reasons for attending Santa Clara: family legacy at Santa Clara, its reputation as an esteemed Jesuit institution, and, often, the same logistical considerations that factored into men's choice of university, such as proximity and

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[38] Stephen Kent, "Poolside Interview: Blonde Phoenician Visits SC Campus," *The Santa Clara* 40, no. 20 (4 May 1961): 1, SCU Archives and Special Collections.
[39] Brown, "O Pioneers!"

scholarships. Suzanna Russell Hanselaar always wished to attend the same university as her father, but reluctantly accepted the reality that she would likely need to attend a women's college to attend a Catholic university because Santa Clara remained closed to women at the start of her senior year of high school. When she saw Patty O'Malley's photo in the newspaper, however, she recalls, "my father was so excited, and I couldn't believe the adventure I was about to have!"[40] *The Santa Clara* interviewed four women in September 1961 for an article titled "I Answer That …': Why Did You Choose SC?" Pat Pepin explained that her "pioneering spirit was awakened" at the announcement of Santa Clara going coed, and Rosette Girolami similarly mused, "I liked the idea of being one of the first girls to complete a college education at the University of Santa Clara." It seems that the task of forging a path for women in new territory was an attraction, rather than a deterrent, for some of these determined women. In fact, two of these women listed an ample man to woman ratio as a benefit in and of itself, presumably for dating prospects. Lindie Frisbie listed "boys, boys, boys!!!" as an enticing factor, and Junona Jonas also surmised, "I guess the boy-girl ratio had a lot to do with it." In a time when rigid patriarchal structures barred women from even opening credit cards in their own name, a male partner often provided valuable financial security that a degree alone could not offer. Practicality also played a role in women's desire to attend Santa Clara. Both Girolami and Jonas looked for colleges close to home with reputable math departments, and Santa Clara fit those qualifications. Notably, all four women cited the desire for a Catholic education at a reputable Jesuit institution as their primary reason.[41] Despite admonishments from coeducation critics, these women saw themselves as worthy as any male student of a quality Jesuit education that fit their practical criteria, and some viewed the pioneering opportunity as an excitement and an

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[40] Brown, "O Pioneers!"

[41] Jim Bunker, "I Answer That ... Why Did You Choose SC?" *The Santa Clara* 40, no. 1 (21 September 1961): 10, SCU Archives and Special Collections.

honor. These convictions would carry these women through the challenges that awaited them when they arrived at campus.

Several male students met the arrival of women at Santa Clara with outward hostility. During the first few weeks, women heard chants like "Two, Four, Six, Eight, We don't want to integrate!"[42] This anti-integration chant carried other problematic connotations due to its racist origins. Protestors notoriously shouted 'two, four, six, eight, we don't want to integrate" at six-year-old Ruby Bridges, the first black student to attend William Frantz Elementary School in 1960.[43] A *Santa Clara* article unconvincingly hastened to present such discrimination in a positive light, calling "good-natured" booing a sign of disgruntled men exiting their first stage of grief. The author explained, "in order to needle a girl you have to speak to her. And in speaking to her, you have to look at her."[44] The harassment continued even a year later in the winter of 1962, when "it snowed and the boys invaded the Villa [women's housing], throwing some coeds into the pool, while house prefect Mr. Williman ran around blowing his whistle, trying to round them up."[45] The adversarial newspaper articles did not stop either. Gaby Miller, Class of 1965, remembers that "there were concerted efforts on the part of some guys to alienate the women. One guy in my class - his name was Joe Tinney - was always criticizing the coeds in the newspaper."[46] There was one arena, however, in which men accepted women more readily. Another alumna recalls: "they threw water balloons at us and wouldn't allow us in the cheering section at basketball games and football games, but they would date us! (Except of

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[42] Santa Clara University, "Graduation Press Release" (1965), SCU Archives and Special Collections.

[43] "'Two, four, six, eight, we don't want to integrate': The 60th anniversary of Ruby Bridges and desegregation," *Penn Live Patriot News* (14 November 2020).

[44] "A Needle Breaks the Ice," Newspaper clipping featured in *Tradition Shattered: 1961-1986* (1986): 6, SCU Archives and Special Collections.

[45] "Recollections and Reminiscences," T*radition Shattered: 1961-1986*, 25th Anniversary of Coeducation Collection, 1986, 5. SCU Archives and Special Collections.

[46] Gaby Miller, Interview by Hannah Hagen, 12 June 2023.

90

course, Joe Tinney, who wouldn't go near a coed)"[47] The men initially viewed their new peers two-dimensionally, as threats to the masculine tradition of their territory or objects of desire.

The same trends appeared at other Catholic universities across the nation as male college students, many of them products of a lifetime of sex-segregation, struggled to know how to conduct themselves with women suddenly in their midst. At Boston College in the 1950s, "the student weekly newspaper published a number of sexist articles in the 'How to Date a Co-ed' series, [in which] the beginner was advised to begin with a 'not-too beautiful specimen' and progress to prettier ones as basic skills improved."[48] The "co-eds" in question were Education and Nursing school students, since Boston College did not become fully coeducational until 1970, yet these articles demonstrate desperate attempts to assuage the male sexual anxieties about sharing a campus with women. Greg Givvin, who graduated with the second-to-last male-only class at Santa Clara in 1960, surmised that male students' opposition to a coeducational campus stemmed from their insecurities in the presence of women: "It may have something to do with the fact that your appearance and manner of speech would have to be much more appropriate and in-line" than in an all-male environment. Givvin elaborated, "Quite honestly, I would have an 8 o'clock class, and I would put pants on over my pajamas, and a jacket on over my pajamas. I don't know if I would even brush my teeth because there were no women at all anywhere."[49] Miller noted that sexism was worse among the earlier classes, in part for that very reason: "The men in my class didn't treat us poorly, but the ones in earlier classes - who previously thought they were going to an all-men's college - they were a grungy bunch of guys, let me tell you. They were used to going to class in their pajamas."[50] Some male students therefore resorted to outward

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[47] "Recollections and Reminiscences," 5, SCU Archives and Special Collections.
[48] Miller-Bernal and Poulson, *Going Coed*, 203.
[49] Gregory Givvin, Interview by Hannah Hagen, 20 February 2023.
[50] Miller, Interview by Hannah Hagen.

displays of disdain toward their new female peers to compensate for anxieties, reinforced by cultural dating norms, about how to behave around the opposite sex.

Even some faculty members added to the hostility with snide remarks. In 1986, over twenty years after her graduation, one Santa Clara woman mentioned "Jim Sweeters' Logic class" in an anonymous Class of 1965 reunion interview, recalling that "the professor claimed he accepted coeducation and loved coeds but didn't believe women could be logical enough for this class."[51] Another anonymous quote from this reunion revealed that Sweeters made this comment in a class with forty male students and only one female student, making it not only a damaging generalized statement but also a targeted and personal one.[52] Sue Henderson confirmed this story for *Santa Clara Magazine* in 2008 when she mentioned a logic professor declaring "there is no such thing as a logical woman."[53](It is unclear whether one or both of the 1986 quotes were from Henderson or another woman in a different class section, but either way, Sweeters' objectionable comment left a decades-long impression.) The sexist attitude voiced by Sweeters was not unique to him and was reflected in other professors' treatment of their female students. Gerri Beasley, formerly Gerry Ferrara, recalls her experience with a professor's reluctance to call on women to answer questions in class: "One day, one of the Jesuits saw my name on his attendance sheet and said, 'Gerry Ferrara, would you tell us the first cause of being?' I stood up. And he said, 'Oh, not you. Thought you were a guy.' So I changed the spelling of my name to Gerri."[54] This discrimination was not universal among faculty, as Gaby Miller recalls, "My teachers were very supportive."[55] However, some of these women

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[51] "Favorite, Least Favorite Classes," Newspaper clipping featured in *Tradition Shattered: 1961-1986* (1986): 11, SCU Archives and Special Collections.
[52] "Recollections and Reminiscences," 5, SCU Archives and Special Collections.
[53] Brown, "O Pioneers!"
[54] Beasley, "TRADITION SHATTERED."
[55] Miller, Interview by Hannah Hagen.

92

faced not only intimidation from their male peers, but also belittlement and rejection from those in positions of authority. They also encountered very minimal female representation in the faculty -- only two out of 120 faculty members, and only one in a teaching position. Ethel B. Meece taught biology, while Peggy Major was the News Director.[56]

Women encountered obstacles within Santa Clara's infrastructure as well, since, for the first century of its operation, the university built and organized its residence halls, restrooms, and other facilities without them in mind. In preparation for the matriculation of women, administration made some updates, but they were limited and last-minute. Initially, Santa Clara did not plan any housing accommodations for women, but "it became apparent that more than half of those applying for admission were not within commuting distance and would therefore need boarding facilities."[57] This initial oversight is telling considering that the first applicant hailed from Phoenix, Arizona. To compensate, the university acquired a two-story apartment building, called Park Lanai, four blocks away to convert into a living space for seventy-four Santa Clara women. Each four-person unit featured two bedrooms, a bathroom, a study and lounge area, kitchen, brick fireplace, and patio. However, one drawback in otherwise "sumptuous accommodations" was that Park Lanai only offered one phone for all of its residents, creating "traffic jams."[58] *The Santa Clara* article covering this issue mentions that "more phones will be installed later," suggesting that this dilemma resulted from an initial lack of forethought. One alumna recalls a similar predicament on campus because "the campus only had one women's restroom!!"[59] The physical placement of Park Lanai on

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[56] *The Redwood* (Santa Clara, CA: 1962): 9-25, SCU Archives and Special Collections.

[57] "Co-eds Thrive in Lush Lanai," *The Santa Clara* 40, no. 1 (21 September 1961): 9, SCU Archives and Special Collections.

[58] "Because Gals Have Only One: Studies or Not, Phone Stays Hot," newspaper clipping featured in *Tradition Shattered: 1961-1986* (1986): 13, SCU Archives and Special Collections.

[59] "Recollections and Reminiscences," 4, SCU Archives and Special Collections.

the periphery of campus, several blocks away, symbolized the metaphorical space that women were expected to hold. Their needs were treated as an afterthought, and their presence considered largely on the margins of campus life.

Double standard expectations seeped into every aspect of university life for women at Santa Clara due to its adherence to the *in loco parentis* system typical of Catholic institutions. This Latin phrase translates to "in the place of parents" and refers to a system in which institutions of higher learning acted as parental figures for their students with strict behavioral regulations. The regulations differed to enforce gendered expectations, and hence, women encountered stronger sanctions. In general, in loco parentis regulations for women required greater cleanliness, modesty, and sexual restraint.[60]

The official *House Rules and Regulations For Women Students Living at Park Lanai* reveal that the residents were not permitted to leave their apartments during four-hour long study periods four nights per week, leave their apartment overnight without parent permission, or entertain male guests. Additionally, room checks for cleanliness were performed four days per week.[61] By the time that Marie Elena Barry, class of 1968, attended Santa Clara, women's dorms existed on campus, but she recalls that strict rules carried over, including a 10:30 PM lights out time with no exceptions for studying. These rules created not only social but academic restrictions for women with less flexibility in their study schedules. It was not until 1970 that Santa Clara's Board of Review approved reform of women's residence hours and made sign-out sheets a voluntary safety precaution. A *Santa Clara* issue from 1970 revealed that Assistant Dean of Students, Patricia McCarthy, "regards the abolition of hours as a positive step,

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[60] Poulson and Higgins, "Gender, Coeducation, and the Transformation of Catholic Identity in American Catholic Higher Education," 503.

[61] Santa Clara University, "House Rules and Regulations for Women Students Living at Park Lanai," *Broncos Handbook: Student Directory 1961-1962* (1961): 2, SCU Archives and Special Collections.

94

freeing the prefects from paperwork," with, significantly, no mention of the decision as a positive step toward liberating the women subjected to those hours.[62]

Meanwhile, men's housing regulations were nearly as flexible as they are today. Givvin recalled that with respect to strict rules in men's dorms, there were "zero, absolutely zero! We came and went anytime we chose, and we didn't check in with anybody."[63] Men's dorms in Givvin's time used a Resident Assistant system similar to the one used in both men's and women's dorms today. In his Freshmen dorm, "there were male upperclassmen that were designed to keep things in order more or less," but adult house prefects had little to no presence. While the *Redwood* yearbooks after 1961 do not mention hall prefects, the page dedicated to them in the 1960-1961 edition corroborates Givvin's account. It shows eleven student resident assistants outnumbering seven priests, with O'Connor Hall having only one priest prefect compared to four student ones.[64] Givvin was amazed to learn that the women admitted a year after his graduation faced strict restrictions because "it was my experience in those days that women were so much more mature, so much more capable of managing themselves than we were. We had no clue, absolutely no clue." Givvin spoke from his own personal experiences, so his views cannot represent those of every male student at Santa Clara in the early 1960s. However, his response at least demonstrates that the conservative *in loco parentis* values perpetuated by Santa Clara's administration were not universally supported by the male student body.

Despite these challenges, individual women's experiences were mixed. There is also evidence of a relative softening in men's attitudes toward their female peers within the first few years of

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[62] Carrie Kalb, "Board of Review Approves Reform of Women's Hours," *The Santa Clara* 48, no. 18 (30 January 1970), SCU Archives and Special Collections.

[63] Givvin, interview by Hannah Hagen.

[64] Santa Clara University, *The Redwood*, 1960-1961 yearbook (Santa Clara, CA: 1961): 27, SCU Archives and Special Collections.

their presence on campus. The same alumna who remarked about the dearth of bathrooms remembered "how the sophomore male students initially disliked us," but "after the first year, we were friends." She also noted that "Seniors, Juniors, and frosh were more accepting" from the beginning, implying that Sophomore men were the main issue, although other accounts do not make this distinction.[65] Berry, the woman who recalled the 10:30 PM lights-out time, when asked if she had any "disagreeable experiences" on account of her gender, stated "no, not at all." She acknowledged that "some individuals may have been disenchanted with women on campus. Yet, no one was overly ugly or awful," and, overall, "everyone was so very open, considerate [and] understanding of student backgrounds" when it came to race, culture, and religion.[66] Berry herself was a woman in the Class of 1968, arriving only three years after the first class of Santa Clara women. Her perceptions of widespread open-mindedness suggest that progress was made during that time. Berry recalls that her now-husband, Douglas, "confirmed that some of the early Santa Clara women heard some slurring remarks. In fact, he told me 'how easy I had it!'"[67] Douglas was just two years older than Marie, so a noticeable change was achieved in only a few years' time.

Poulson and Bernal's *Going Coed* reveals that this pattern of softening attitudes within the first few years of coeducation was in fact common to newly coeducational universities, whether Catholic or secular. Rutgers University women reported a similar trend of the men warming up to them within a year of their public university becoming coeducational in 1972. One female Rutgers student reported in a 1973 *New York Times* article, "Last year, when you walked on campus, the fellows eyed you. Now, you can walk around without feeling like they're grading you." Another

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[65] "Recollections and Reminiscences," 4, SCU Archives and Special Collections.
[66] Norman F. Martin, S.J., "SCU Oral History Transcript - Interview with Marie Elena Barry, Class of 1968," 26 SCU Archives and Special Collections.
[67] Martin, S.J., "Interview with Marie Elena Barry," 26, SCU Archives and Special Collections.

student corroborated, "Last year, the men would hardly say hello to a woman on campus. This year, they are friendly and less defensive. It's a lot more normal."[68] This trend does not mean that sexism completely disappeared at these universities after a few years. In fact, Berry acknowledges several times in her interview that just because she did not personally experience what she considered to be sexist attitudes, that doesn't mean they didn't exist. Overall, reactions from Santa Clara men ranged from condescending and hostile to friendly and supportive, with the latter becoming increasingly common in a few years' time.

Accounts from the early women that pioneered female presence at Santa Clara reveal that, just like the range of male attitudes they encountered, their strategies for gaining acceptance were diverse. Women at Santa Clara were pressured to achieve academic excellence but to also adhere to gender roles in their academic pursuits. They sought to disprove stereotypes about women's incompetence, a task that was magnified for women studying concentrations that defied gender roles. Most of the early Santa Clara women majored in humanities with the aim of being teachers. Women who majored in traditionally masculine fields faced more isolation and backlash. One alumna recalls that "as one of only three women in the Business School, classes were very difficult" because "several professors took great pains to put me 'on the spot' regularly. Our skills had to be perfect, or we were embarrassed because 'why would a girl want to be in Business?' It was not her place."[69]

Regardless of their academic field of study, however, women rose to the challenge of proving themselves by high academic performance. When reminiscing about a Logic class, presumably the same course taught by the professor who did not believe in female logic, one alumna said she felt that "I had to get an 'A' in class to show Female logic."[70]Women responded to sexist notions

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[68] Quoted in Miller-Bernal and Poulson, *Going Coed*, 230.
[69] "Recollections and Reminiscences," 5, SCU Archives and Special Collections.
[70] "Recollections" and "Reminiscences," 5, SCU Archives and Special Collections

97

by using them as motivation to disprove them, although this created a disproportionate amount of pressure for women in the classroom environment. They faced the task of not only performing well for themselves and their own futures but also as representation for all women and the future of women at Santa Clara. The alumna from the Business School recalls that "every day was a challenge and I hope we paved the way for women's success in that college."[71] Women's performance at Santa Clara fit with the national trend of women outperforming men at newly coeducational institutions, as "the initial group of women had academic qualifications that were significantly higher than the men and achieved on average a higher GPA in their first year."[72] Women at Santa Clara and across the nation subverted male expectations that their presence would lower academic standards by instead raising them.

Women also subverted expectations in the area of active involvement and participation in extracurriculars, both co-educational and single-sex. *The Redwood*, the Santa Clara yearbook, shows women assimilating into most clubs soon after matriculation - theater, yearbook, academics, even class officer positions. The vast majority of clubs and organizations welcomed women in 1961, with the only exceptions being fraternities, the Block Sweaters club for Varsity athletes - there were no Varsity women's sports at Santa Clara until 1986 - , Glee Club, and the BAA for men interested in business. In their first year, women trickled into just over a quarter of the twenty-four clubs available to them. They joined the *Redwood* yearbook committee, the Mendel Society (a club for those interested in health-related careers), the Forensic Society (a debate club), the IRC (a club that discussed problems and solutions in world affairs), the Archaeology Society, and the Clay M. Greene theater club which put on two productions. In these clubs, women comprised 24% of

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[71] "Recollections and Reminiscences," 5, SCU Archives and Special Collections.
[72] Goldin and Katz, "Putting the 'Co' in Education," 505.

membership on average, an impressively high proportion considering the low ratio of women to men (one to fifteen) on campus, which made them only 6.67% of the student body.[73]

Involvement nearly doubled the following year, with women participating in over half of the twenty-six clubs available to them. New additions to their clubs of choice included the Chemical Society (a chemistry club), Math Club, the Society for Advancement of Management (a business club), *The Owl* (a student-run literary magazine), the Catechetical Society (a faith-based volunteer organization for working with children), Hawaiian Club, Irish Club, and Ski Club. That year, they comprised roughly 28% of club membership on average, a slight increase from the year previous. Much to the probable chagrin of the student who lamented the potential of a female *Santa Clara* editor, the school newspaper had two female editors - and six out of the fifteen Santa Clara student staff members were women - by 1962. By 1965, nearly two-thirds of clubs had women participants, including Physics Society and political groups like Young Democrats, and Young Republicans, and the Catholic's Interracial Council (Catholics against Jim Crow). In each of the sixteen clubs with female presence, women comprised an average of 33.8% of membership.[74] Contrary to one male student's prediction that "I don't think there will be a great influx at once" of women's participation in extracurriculars, and "they will not assume positions of leadership in campus organizations for some time," the yearbooks show that early Santa Clara women did not shy away from making space for themselves alongside the men both inside and outside the classroom.[75]

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[73] *The Redwood* (Santa Clara, CA: 1962): 176-205, SCU Archives and Special Collections. In the absence of recorded data, I calculated these statistics on women's club involvement by counting the women listed/pictured in each organization in the yearbooks. These figures may not be exact in cases where the yearbooks incorrectly listed or omitted information.

[74] *The Redwood* (Santa Clara, CA: 1965): 52-89, SCU Archives and Special Collections

[75] P.A.C., "Editorial: End of an Era" in "TRADITION SHATTERED: Girls To Shatter 110-Yr. Tradition," 2, SCU Archives and Special Collections.

99

Women met the challenge of integrating themselves into the informal social sphere as well, building friendships with men. The 1965 Graduation Press Release that reflected on the first four years of coeducation explains that the women "did many things then to try and win the boys over" with one woman graduate reflecting that "We felt we had to be active at every level. We didn't wait for the boys to decide about us. We baked cookies for them at Christmastime and caroled outside their dorms. When we saw a fellow who was chairman of some campus activity, we would go up to him and ask if we could help in some way."[76] Women took it as their responsibility to make "peace offerings" and extend social graces to the men to win their favor. This power imbalance also manifested in men viewing their existence as a privilege for the women to enjoy. One *Santa Clara* article noted that "the co-eds get to eat their meals in the campus cafeteria with the men and have refreshments with them at the snack bar in the Bronco Corral." Female students "also find they enjoy a ratio of one woman for every 15 men," implying that women were lucky to experience the disproportionate male presence on campus due to the larger dating pool that it provided.[77] The women themselves recall more mixed emotions about integrating themselves into social spaces. One alumna described that "the first 'days of the coeds' was rather tense times … but also very exciting. The Bronco Corral was the place to meet."[78] This ambivalent emotion stemmed from the fact that social experiences for women doubled as social tests to prove themselves.

Elements of Santa Clara remained sex-segregated, with a few women-only spaces existing in athletics and residence life. These spaces were vital to fostering a sense of community and belonging

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[76] Santa Clara University, "1965 Graduation Press Release," SCU Archives and Special Collections.

[77] "Because Gals Have Only One: Studies or Not, Phone Stays Hot," newspaper clipping featured in *Tradition Shattered: 1961-1986* (1986): 13, SCU Archives and Special Collections.

[78] "Recollections and Reminiscences," 5.

for the women. Critics against coeducation included supporters of Catholic women's colleges who feared that coeducation would put them out of business. While, sometimes, desire to preserve all-women universities came from conservative purity or gender role concerns, they also came from those who recognized the importance of women-only spaces for female empowerment. Elizabeth Tidball, a physiologist and strong advocate for women in academia, conducted studies in the 1970s to prove that female graduates of all-women undergraduate programs were twice as likely "to receive their doctorates, enter medical school, or become recognized leaders in their fields" than female graduates from coeducational colleges.[79] Tidball and other researchers in her field pointed out that all-women's colleges offered more role models of successful women in teaching and administrative positions, more leadership opportunities for female students, and overall more supportive environments for women. These benefits allowed women to reach their full potential without the hindrances of daily discrimination.[80] Although these studies took place a decade or two after women's admittance to Santa Clara, their findings are relevant in highlighting the potential drawbacks for women who chose Santa Clara over a Catholic women's college. There were likely some women's rights advocates who felt dubious toward this Santa Clara milestone for its potential to have a regressive effect, bringing women to an environment where they would struggle for equal opportunities. It could also reduce the prestige of nearby women's universities where these opportunities remained accessible for them. These worries were validated to an extent by the discriminatory attitudes and actions that early Santa Clara women faced, but all-female spaces on campus offered female solidarity, respite from misogyny, and some of the easier access to

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[79] Leslie Miller-Bernal, "Single-Sex versus Coeducational Environments: A Comparison of Women Students' Experiences at Four Colleges," *American Journal of Education* 102, no. 1 (November 1993): 24.
[80] Miller-Bernal, "Single-Sex versus Coeducational Environments," 26.

101

the kinds of leadership positions afforded at all-women's universities.

In general, Santa Clara did not offer female-only clubs. Upon admission, women were automatically enrolled in the Women Student Society, a society that "was founded to provide those services and activities which cannot be carried out by previously existing organizations," according to its description in the 1963 yearbook.[81] This was the only club exclusive to women offered between 1961 and 1965, and no further information about its accomplishments or activities is available. There were, on the other hand, a handful of clubs exclusive to men during those years, whether by rule or by their nature. Glee Club and the BAA business club were explicitly called "men's clubs" in their yearbook descriptions. Other clubs indirectly excluded women simply because they based their membership on larger male-only spheres. The Block Sweater Club for Varsity athletes and Sanctuary Society (for students assisting at the altar during Mass, an activity reserved for men in Catholicism) exemplify this. Hence, aside from their residence building, very few female-only spaces existed on campus for women to seek solidarity with one another and respite from the male-dominated environment. The most prominent women's organization on campus, the Women's Recreation Association (WRA), granted women access to athletics years before Title IX and decades before the establishment of women's varsity teams at Santa Clara in 1986.[82] The Santa Clara chapter of this organization began in 1963, two years after the first women undergraduates arrived. Miller recalls that, before then, "they had nothing for women athletically. We could stick our toes in the pool at the Villa Maria [another name for Park Lanai], and that was it. The pool on campus was restricted for women because

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[81] Santa Clara University, *The Redwood*, 1962-1963 yearbook (Santa Clara, CA: 1963), 177, SCU Archives and Special Collections.
[82] "Santa Clara University Archives & Special Collections, "About this Collection: Women's Recreational Association Scrapbooks."

the men often swam naked."[83] The WRA changed this, and its competitive sport offerings garnered campus-wide attention due to their success within the WRA's first decade of operation.[84] They provided female athletes an opportunity to break the mold of femininity, make themselves visible, and garner the respect of male peers by winning competitions against other universities. The WRA offered five intramural sports (volleyball, basketball, softball, bowling, and tennis) and three intercollegiate sports (volleyball, basketball, and tennis).[85] In its first year of operation, the intercollegiate women's teams placed second in a tennis tournament in Ojai, California and took fifth place in a national swim meet.[86] Women's success in the sports sphere translated to their empowerment in other spheres because "women's participation in the institution [of sport] disrupts gendered power relations" and challenges conventions of femininity and masculinity.[87] Women could translate their confidence to other arenas such as university classrooms or society at large. In this way, the WRA facilitated an atmosphere that taught women to balance assertiveness, confidence, and cooperation instead of socializing women to develop passive traits for the sake of male company.

Outside of organized activities, women leaned on one another in informal social situations. During the first few weeks, one alumna reminisced, "we were so scared" that "we used to band together to walk to the dining hall. It must have looked like a

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[83] Miller, Interview by Hannah Hagen.

[84] Segments about the WRA (pages 26-27 of this essay) also appear in an article I wrote and published: "Tradition Shattered: How Women's Recreation at SCU Aided the Acceptance and Assimilation of the Santa Clara Woman,"" *Historical Perspectives: Santa Clara University Undergraduate Journal of History*, Series II, Vol. 22 (December 2022): 6-22.

[85] Marygrace Colby, *Women's Recreational Association Scrapbook 1, 1963-1972* (1973): 72. SCU Archives & Special Collections.

[86] Marygrace Colby, *Scrapbook 1* (1973): 13, 93, SCU Archives and Special Collections.

[87] Cheryl Cooky and Michael A. Messner, "No Slam Dunk: Gender, Sport, and the Unevenness of Social Change," *Athlete Activism: Contemporary Perspectives* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2018), 81.

103

parade."[88] In this tense environment, the women developed fiercely loyal friendships with one another that helped them through difficult times. Their small numbers and concentration in a single residence hall fortified this social network. Sue Henderson recalls with gratitude the support from her friends after her husband, whom she met at Santa Clara, died in Vietnam while she was pregnant with their child and still studying at the university. Henderson remembers that "'afterward, the ladies just came to my apartment and didn't leave," with one friend, Linda Biber Triplett, moving in with her permanently and driving her to the hospital three months later when her daughter was born. Henderson's tragedy garnered support from unexpected sources as well: "The first person at my door the day my husband died? The Jesuit who told me there were no logical women."[89] The tight-knit female community provided a silver lining, as Patricia O'Malley mentioned that whenever she asked herself "'Why am I here?'" she remembered that "I loved the other women. We managed to have a lot of fun sticking together. And if we didn't break the mold, who would?"[90]It seems these women did find a way to enjoy the one-to-fifteen ratio of women to men -- not because of the quantity of men but because it intensified the quality of their relationships with other women. This solidarity helped them feel less isolated and "othered" in an environment where peers viewed them as invaders, fostering the resilient attitudes necessary to resist and subvert the sexist attitudes surrounding them. Mary Somers Edmunds, the first woman to graduate from Santa Clara after transferring for her senior year, demonstrated this resilience at the 1962 graduation ceremonies. When 250 of her male classmates offered to pay her one dollar each to not walk at graduation because they felt

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[88] Santa Clara University, "1965 Graduation Press Release," SCU Archives and Special Collections.
[89] Brown, "O Pioneers!"
[90] Brown, "O Pioneers!"

embarrassed to share the stage with a woman, she refused, stating, "I worked too hard for this."[91]

Female enthusiasm, humor, optimism, and determination pervaded the Santa Clara class of 1965. Despite their male peers' best efforts at ostracism and intimidation, these alumni look back fondly on their college years, recalling more excitement than fear. Leanne Karnes Cooley said, "the road less traveled was very exciting," while Patricia Dougherty (formerly "Pat Pepin") recalled, "we liked that it was going to be hard to get." Dougherty adds, "plus, we had great senses of humor" to cope with discrimination and hardship. Even though these women were treated as though they did not belong at Santa Clara, they made space for themselves by knowing their right to that space and carrying themselves accordingly regardless of external opinions.

It took a pioneering spirit for these women to apply to an all-male institution in the first place, but they left the experience with that spirit strengthened. According to Gerri (formerly Gerry) Beasley, "Santa Clara made me a stronger person spiritually, academically, and socially. Certainly as I raised four children and saw their educational and other opportunities, I could encourage them to press into areas that other people hadn't gone before." Gerri's statement exemplifies her multifaceted success on both traditional and nontraditional life paths as a woman. She highlights her childrearing experience as one of the important facets of her strength, implying that for her, education and a career were not mutually exclusive with her role as a mother.

Notably, the professor who refused to call on Gerri to answer questions failed to stifle her sense of belonging in male-dominated environments. Beasley notes that, in her professional career, "I had no qualms about walking into a room filled with male doctors and telling them to put out their cigarettes and pay attention, so we could get to work planning the next medical conference."[92] Gerri

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[91] Brown, "O Pioneers!"
[92] Beasley, "TRADITION SHATTERED."

was one of many women in her class who went on to achieve career success. A *Santa Clara Magazine* article from 2008 reported that these women became "bank presidents, homemakers, corporate executives, social workers, educators, volunteers, real estate agents, department heads, artists, actresses, lawyers, entrepreneurs, ranchers, contractors, and flight attendants, to name a few."[93]

In a Catholic environment that deeply valued traditional gender roles, the resistant attitudes and structural barriers to coeducation at Santa Clara University placed responsibility on the newly matriculated women to earn space for themselves in the eyes of their male peers and faculty. Women met this challenge by either exceeding expectations in academics, athletics, and extra-curriculars or appeasing their male counterparts in the social sphere by appearing to internalize prescribed gender roles. Mixed experiences reveal a variety of assimilation strategies and resilient attitudes from the women who pioneered female presence at the university.

Today, women comprise half of the undergraduate student body and half of the faculty at Santa Clara University. They are represented in every major, virtually every campus organization, and ten varsity sports teams. The especially successful Santa Clara women's soccer team became the university's first women's team to attend an NCAA tournament in 1989, and they have remained undefeated in every tournament for the past eleven years.[94] In September 2022, the university inaugurated Julie Sullivan as the first female president in its 171-year history. Still, there is progress yet to be made, as evidenced by the extant low ratio of women to men in the School of Engineering, a statistic in line with the nationwide trend of women's slow but steady advancement into this field.

[93] Scott Brown, "Tradition Shattered," *Santa Clara Magazine* (Spring 2008),
[94] WCC, "The Staying Power of the Broncos," *West Coast Conference Sports News*, 11 November 2022.

In 1990, women received 15% of engineering bachelor's degrees in the United States, a figure that rose to 22% by 2018, the most recent year for which data is available.[95] Although coeducation is widely accepted at both religious and secular institutions now, male-dominated disciplines like engineering pose similar adversities to the male-dominated campuses of yesteryear. Likewise, women continue to "shatter traditions" in response to these barriers. In interviews for the Washington Post, women trailblazers of engineering recently offered advice to younger generations of women in the field. A retired aerospace engineer said, "You can do the job, [but] it takes strength and perseverance to do so while ignoring the naysayers." Another returned nuclear engineer advised using "the 'Old Girls' Network' — it does exist. . . . Don't isolate yourself. You are not the only one with your issue."[96] These pieces of wisdom echo the experiences of the pioneers of women's education at Santa Clara University. Women at Santa Clara in the 1960s made the most of their "Old Girls' Network" through strong bonds with one another and spaces like the WRA. There is no need to become "one of the boys" to achieve success. While there is no single, foolproof solution to overcoming sexist attitudes in male-dominated environments, progress is grounded in women's resilience and recognition of self-worth.

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[95] The Conversation, chart made from National Science Foundation and Engineering Workforce Commission data, "Only about 1 in 5 engineering degrees go to women," *Technical.ly* (2 March 2023).

[96] Ettinger, "Trailblazing women in engineering field reflect on what has (and hasn't) changed."

Class of 1965 Women
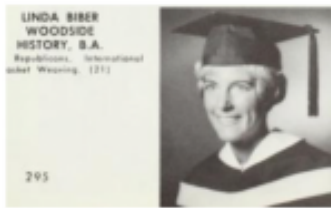
Linda Biber Triplett, mention on pg 29

Gerry (now Gerri) Ferrara Beasley, mentions on pgs 17, 30

Lindie Frisbie, mention on pg 13

Rosette Girolami, mention on pg 13

Mary "Sue" Jertson Henderson, mentions on pgs 16, 29

Leanne Karnes Cooley, mention on pg 30

Gaby Miller, interviewee, mentions on pgs 15-17, 27

Patricia "Patty" O'Malley, first woman applicant, mentions on pgs 12, 13, 29

Patricia "Pat" Pepin Dougherty, mentions on pgs 13, 30

Suzanna Russell Hanselaar, mention on pg 13

All photos are from *The Redwood* yearbooks in SCU Archives and Special Collections. Some Class of 1965 women did not have senior photos, so headshots are from various *Redwood* editions between 1961 and 1965. I encountered many name spelling variations, even within the same yearbook edition.

Other Notable Santa Clara Women

Mary Somers, B.A.
San Jose, California
Owl.

Mary Somers Edmunds, Class of 1962, first woman to graduate Santa Clara's undergraduate program, mentions on pgs 11, 29

Ethel B. Meece
M.A., Biology

Peggy Major, B.A.
News Director

Ethel Meece and Peggy Major, the only female faculty when women undergraduates arrived in 1961, mention on pg 17

Marie Elena Racioppi

Marie Elena Berry, Class of 1968, mentions on pgs 19, 21

Nancy Jane Streuter, Class of 1968, first woman to graduate from Santa Clara's School of Engineering, mention on pg 1

Yearbook Photos of Men Mentioned:

Greg Givvin, Class of 1960, Interviewee, mentions on pgs 15-20

Gregory Louis Givvin, B.S.C.
Los Angeles, California
Redwood Ed.; Delta Sigma Pi.; Intramurals; B.A.A.; Social Chairman; Sr. Class; Comm.; Intramural, Football.

James "Jim" Sweeters, Logics Professor, mentions on pgs 16, 17

James E. Sweeters
S.J.
M.A., S.T.L.,
Alma College
Philosophy
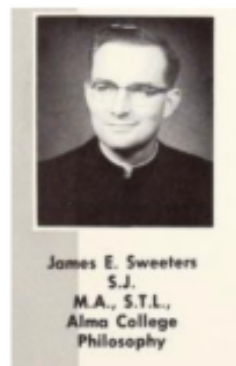
Joseph "Joe" Tinney, Class of 1962, mention on pg 15

Joseph Corbett Tinney
B.A. English
San Francisco, Calif.

109

From the Archives
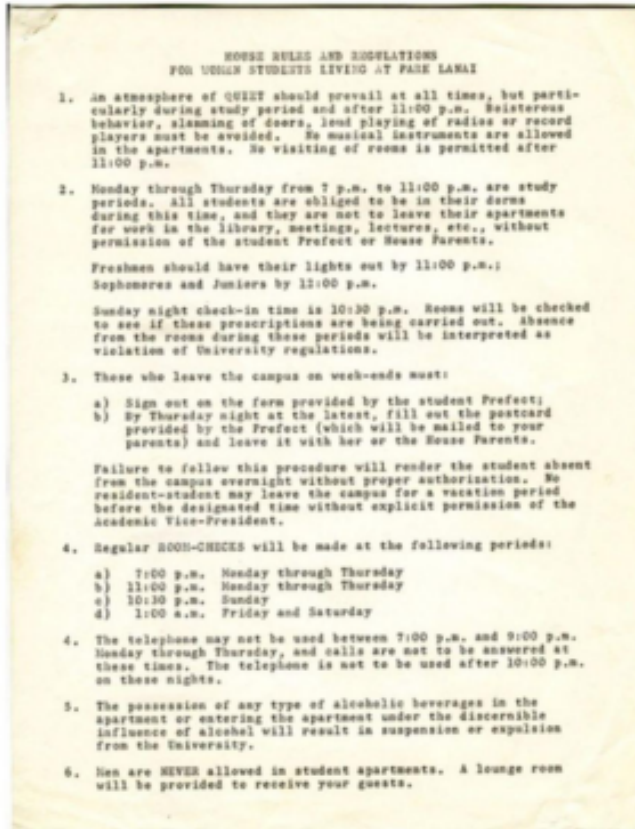
"House Rules and Regulations for Women Students Living at Park Lanai," 1961 pamphlet, SCU Archives and Special Collections

Park Lanai (AKA "Villa Maria"), four blocks from campus, where 74 Santa Clara women lived until undergraduate housing was arranged for them.
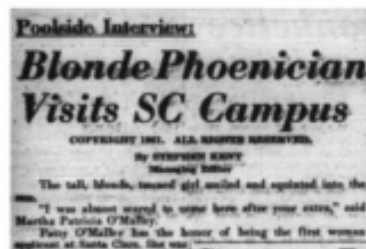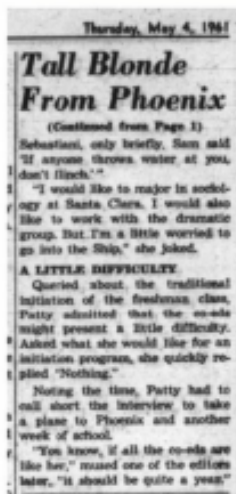
The Santa Clara newspaper articles on Patty O'Malley's first visit to campus as the first female applicant to the undergraduate program

110

Patty O'Malley holding the "Tradition Shattered" newspaper that announced the arrival of women undergraduates

Mary Somers celebrating her accomplishment of becoming the first woman to earn an undergraduate degree from Santa Clara

A group of women walking to class together

Yearbook photo of *The Santa Clara* newspaper team which included a female staff member by 1962

The WRA women's basketball team holding first place trophies, with Director Marygrace Colby on bottom right, 1964

All photos are from the SCU Archives and Special Collections

111

Women With and "Without Virtue": The Contrasting Experiences of Southern White and Black Women during Reconstruction

Nicola Coates

Following the United States' Civil War, northern Union leadership attempted to reconcile with the secessionist Southern states. Named the Reconstruction period, the main aspects focused on how to reunite the North and South, to incorporate formerly enslaved people into society, to amend the Constitution to define citizenship and voting rights, and to outlaw the use of slavery, except for criminals. The rights of Black men increased during Reconstruction, including access to voting and possible land ownership, but both Black and white women made fewer gains, despite their various sacrifices during the Civil War. Following the defeat of the Confederacy, both white and Black women joined women's organizations and the workforce in greater numbers, and both races had to face and uphold cultural prescriptives about what it meant to be a woman; however, white women had a comparatively safer and more pleasant experience. Black women faced racial discrimination and harassment from male and female white supremacists and were relegated to lower social status. For these reasons, Black and white women were unable to form a powerful coalition to oppose the gender discrimination that all women faced during the Reconstruction period.

One main similarity between the experiences of both Southern Black and white women is that their role outside the home increased significantly. During the 1800s, gender prescriptives under the Cult of Domesticity encouraged white women to embrace their designated role as homemaker and stay in the household cooking, cleaning, and looking after their children.[1]

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[1] Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (1966): p. 151.

Historical Perspectives, Series II, Volume XXVIII, 2023

The Cult of Domesticity privatized women's sphere to the home, and encouraged women to be pure, pious, submissive, and domestic civilizing representatives in society. But when the Civil War broke out and their husbands, brothers, and fathers left to join the Confederate army, white women had to take on a larger share of the male sphere. They began managing household finances and the education of their children, which they did successfully.[2] The more wealthy white women even used the war as a way to "fight for the white home as an inviolate sanctuary" to distinguish themselves from Black families, while poorer white women struggled to support the Confederacy, as the "disproportionate demands" on them physically and economically made support for the South "untenable."[3] Contemporary authors wrote about the importance of women's efforts for the Confederate side, and the mothers' sacrifice was lauded in songs and poetry.[4] Conversely, enslavers considered enslaved women as their property and had assigned different roles to them. The Confederacy heavily relied on the survival of enslaved mothers because "as long as women of reproductive age could be held in bondage, slavery would be perpetual."[5] Despite the ongoing war, enslaved women had to continue to follow orders on the plantation and work for their enslavers' financial success. They were not afforded the same level of respect or identity that white women were granted during the Civil War.

Prior to and during the Civil War, enslavers tore apart Black families by selling children and relatives to the highest bidder. After the war, many Black women struggled to find their sons and

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[2] John Patrick Riley, "'I Love Country but I Love Family and Self Much Better': The Emotional World of Civil War Family Men," *Civil War History* 67, no. 4 (2021): pp. 255-284, https://doi.org/10.1353/cwh.2021.0036, 4.

[3] Thavolia Glymph, *The Women's Fight: The Civil War's Battles for Home, Freedom, and Nation* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2022), 58.

[4] Alice Fahs and Joan Waugh, *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 5-7.

[5] Leslie A. Schwalm, "US Slavery, Civil War, and the Emancipation of Enslaved Mothers," *Slavery &Amp; Abolition* 38, no. 2 (March 2017): pp. 392-407, https://doi.org/10.1080/0144039x.2017.1317043, 401.

113

daughters.[6] The white Southern population deeply valued the image of the perfect, successful, loving white family, yet did not acknowledge the hypocrisy of their contribution to breaking up families of formerly enslaved individuals. This demonstrates that gender roles for both Southern Black and white women were dependent on race, and that they were reinforced and challenged during the Civil War. Following the Civil War, more Southern women participated in wage labor than in the prior decades. For the poor Southern white women (most of whom were left widowed, in poverty, and/or in debt), wage labor in fields such as agriculture, domestics, and laundresses, was "more and more necessary."[7] Middle-class white women became teachers or writers for pay.[8] As A.D Mayo proclaimed in 1870, "teachers…are doing more good work for less pay" than any other profession.[9] Black women, too, found work outside the home. Those who sought paid labor moved to the cities, as they were not allowed to rent farmland in the rural areas.[10] Black women also had a significantly higher labor participation rate compared to married and unmarried white women during the 1870s but received much lower compensation.[11] While white women could return to the home later in their life, Black women had to continue working as a way to supplement the earning power of their husbands.[12]This had a different impact on black and white families: white women returned as leaders of the family, Black women had to continue working to put food on the table. There were some shared

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[6] Schwalm, "US Slavery, Civil War, and the Emancipation of Enslaved Mothers," 400.

[7] James M. Campbell and Rebecca J. Fraser, *Reconstruction: People and Perspectives* (Santa Barbara, Calif: ABC CLIO, Inc, 2008), 31.

[8] Campbell and Fraser, *Reconstruction: People and Perspectives*, 31.

[9] A.D Mayo, "The New Education in the New South | Library of Congress," Library of Congress, accessed November 16, 2022, https://www.loc.gov/resource/rbaapc.18600/?st=gallery, 7.

[10] A.D Mayo, "The New Education in the New South | Library of Congress," 7.

[11] Claudia Goldin, "Female Labor Force Participation: The Origin of Black and White Differences, 1870 and 1880," Industrial *Wage Work*, 1993, pp. 164-185, https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110969450.164, 92-97.

[12] Goldin, "Female Labor Force Participation" 99.

114

characteristics. For example, the rate of Black and white Southern women workers who were the head of household (as widows) was relatively equal, demonstrating that some white and Black women became the sole providers for their families.[13]

     After the Civil War, gendered perceptions of labor did not prevent Black and white Southern women from working outside of the home. However, racist wage negotiation practices prevented Black women from being compensated equally as white women. While newly freed Black women were no longer subjected to the brutality of slavery, they were limited to domestic service jobs during Reconstruction and had fewer job alternatives. Wealthy white women hired Black women as domestic servants but struggled to reassert the same "supremacy" they had over their enslaved laborers and resented that Black women could now bargain for their terms of employment, their wages, or even quit if their needs weren't met.[14] Instead of accepting Black women's status, Southern white women began to craft racially targeted images and stereotypes, such as the "mammy" stereotype, to demean them and undermine their abilities in the workplace. Employers even abused or killed Black female workers for trying to bargain with their employers.[15] For example, Eliza Jane Ellison was a Black domestic employee who was shot by her employer after she asked for increased wages to compensate for additional work.[16] This was justified by society because as historian Claudia Golden explains, "Black women had been 'conditioned' to labor for wages, whereas it was typically unaccepted or stigmatized for white women."[17] While Black and white women became more prominent figures in the labor force in the South, Black women had to deal with racism and mistreatment in the workplace.

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[13] Goldin, "Female Labor Force Participation" 99.

[14] Campbell and Fraser, *Reconstruction: People and Perspectives*, 36.

[15] Campbell and Fraser, *Reconstruction: People and Perspectives*, 36.

[16] Campbell and Fraser, *Reconstruction…*, 37.

[17] Goldin, "Female Labor Force Participation," 99

115

The increasing investment into women's education was another shared experience among Black and white Southern women. During Reconstruction, there was a greater value placed on improving public schools and giving women access to higher education. One important factor behind the emphasis on education was the need for the South to catch up, and even compete, with the level of education in the Northern states. Colleges and professional schools that once excluded women were now opened up to them, and there were growing opportunities in trade and business.[18]Another reason that led to this improvement in the South was the belief that "the great mass of white people…will respond most readily to good educational efforts" even if they are "of the poorer classes" because of their allegiance to the South.[19] Proponents of education even included Black children in their discussions. But school administrators treated Black students more harshly, as they were viewed as being "far behind the white child" when it came to understanding American civilization and its values, and the Christian religion.[20] Government and local communities denied African Americans equal access to public education, so it became a "grassroots economic enterprise" where African Americans provided financial support for schools despite their low wages and higher taxes.[21] The Black community valued education as a way to guarantee freedom and to advance their position in society, while the white community saw its purpose as a way to empower the South. Regardless of the reasons for education reform, both white and Black women benefited.

Additionally, white and Black Southern women used the Reconstruction period to expand their civil rights and fight for

[18] Mary A. Livermore, "What Shall We Do With Our Daughters" excerpt in *Voices of Freedom: A Documentary History*, Vol 1 Third Edition edited by Eric Foner (W.W Norton, 2011), pp: 289-292.

[19] Mayo "The New Education in the New South," 6.

[20] Mayo "The New Education in the New South," 7.

[21] Dionne Danns and Michelle A. Purdy, "Introduction: Historical Perspectives on African American Education, Civil Rights, and Black Power," *The Journal of African American History* 100, no. 4 (January 2015): pp. 573-585, 575-576.

political authority. Working as a nurse during the Civil War, Northern woman Mary Livermore developed a deep resentment seeing and experiencing [white] women's lack of legal and political rights. In 1883, she decried the "unjust laws and customs" that relegated women without political existence and without an ability to "think and act for themselves."[22] It was thus important for women to advocate for a life where "no opportunity for knowledge or effort will be denied them on the score of sex."[23] Similarly, Southern Black women were activists and suffragists in their communities. Freedwomen joined Black political organizations like the Loyal League to debate political platforms and candidates, and, after attending political rallies and meetings, served as messengers and interpreters to their communities.[24] Southern Black women threw parades, painted signs, and used the Freedmen's Bureau to help fight for their financial and civil rights in court, showcasing their ability to be "a viable and active constituency…exercising meaningful political role[s]" in the South.[25] One example of these female activists were Ida B. Wells-Barnett, a Black journalist, who later brought the lynching crisis against African Americans in the post-Reconstruction period to a national audience.[26] She countered the effort by white supremacists to protest Reconstruction and remove Black people from holding political power in Memphis by drawing attention to the crisis in newspaper editorials, boycotts, and by participating in protests.[27] Formerly enslaved women refused to allow Southern society to leave them without rights and privileges. Instead, their political

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[22] Livermore, "What Shall We Do With Our Daughters," 301.

[23] Livermore, "What Shall We Do With Our Daughters" 301.

[24] Beth Kruse et al., "Remembering Ida, Ida Remembering: Ida B. Wells-Barnett and Black Political Culture in Reconstruction-Era Mississippi," *Southern Cultures* 26, no. 3 (2020): pp. 20-41, https://doi.org/10.1353/scu.2020.0038, 27.

[25] Kruse et al., "Remembering Ida…" 30.

[26] David M. Tucker, "Miss Ida B. Wells and Memphis Lynching," *Phylon (1960-)* 32, no. 2 (1971): p. 112.

[27] Tucker, "Miss Ida B. Wells and Memphis Lynching," 113.

117

agency and community activism demonstrated Black women's ability to fight for change in the South.

Still, white and Black Southern women derived political authority in different ways through either education, or through work in the home and in politics during the Reconstruction period. White supremacy "was central" to white women's activism, whereas Black women got involved in Reconstruction politics to achieve full emancipation and freedom, and to oppose racism and sexism.[28] Enduring racism prevented white women from forming a coalition with Black women to champion for civil rights and suffrage. Historian Catherine Jones suggests that "the insertion of the word 'male' into the Fourteenth Amendment" and their embrace of white supremacy were "both a product of the zero-sum logic of national citizenship that made the exclusion of some the foundation of appeals for inclusion of others."[29] Suffragist Susan B. Anthony in her "Appeal to the Women of the United States" instructed (white) women that they were entitled by the Constitution to the right to vote.[30] But Jones argues that Susan B. Anthony's "consistent advocacy for educated suffrage" and her "racial logic … undergirded [white suffragists] reform vision."[31] Elizabeth Cady Stanton, one of the leaders of the National Woman Suffrage Association, protested the 15th Amendment because it excluded women. The 15th Amendment had extended voting authority to African American men. She believed that white women deserved to get the vote before Black men. Stanton said that if "anyone was deserving of the vote, it was 'educated' white women" because "African Americans were ignorant" of the US

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[28] Catherine A. Jones, "Women, Gender, and the Boundaries of Reconstruction," *The Journal of the Civil War Era* 8, no. 1 (2018): pp. 111-131, https://doi.org/10.1353/cwe.2018.0005, 114-117.

[29] Jones, "Women, Gender, and the Boundaries of Reconstruction," 119.

[30] Susan B Anthony, "Appeal to the Women of the United States," American History, 1493-1945, accessed November 16, 2022, http://www.americanhistory.amdigital.co.uk.libproxy.scu.edu/Documents/Images/GLC06 861/1, 2.

[31] Jones, "Women, Gender, and the Boundaries of Reconstruction," 119.

118

political system.[32] In response, Black activist Frances Ellen Watkins Harper used the conditions she saw in the South to criticize white suffragists' strategies that utilized stereotypes of Black women to emphasize that the right to vote was for white women only.[33] She felt that in failing to advocate for Black women's rights, white women jeopardized the safety of Black women in the South, delaying their right to protect themselves from "white vigilantes in the South," and improving their economic opportunities.[34] Even though there were Black and white suffragists advocating for the vote in the South, racist viewpoints among the white women suffragists against black suffragists prevented them from forming a powerful coalition to petition the government for equality. Women did not get the right to vote in the United States until 1920. It is possible that because there was no unified, dominant group applying pressure to the government, Congress had little incentive to pass legislation that would grant women the right to vote. Instead, Congress allowed the suppression of Black voters, including women, to continue after the ratification of the 19th amendment.

While there were clear parallels between Black and white Southern women's experience in education, labor, and the formation of political organizations, Black women encountered more difficult and unsafe social situations in the Reconstruction era. The same year that the Civil War ended, many of the southern states quickly implemented Black Codes as a way to prevent formerly enslaved people from achieving true emancipation. While they were short-lived because of the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and

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[32] "Why the Women's Rights Movement Split over the 15th Amendment (U.S. National Park Service)," National Parks Service (U.S. Department of the Interior), accessed November 17, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/why-the-women-s-rights-movement-split-over-the-15th-amendment.htm.

[33] C. C. O'Brien, "'The White Women All Go for Sex': Frances Harper on Suffrage, Citizenship, and the Reconstruction South," *African American Review* 43, no. 4 (2009): pp. 605-620, https://doi.org/10.1353/afa.2009.0056, 607.

[34] O'Brien, "'The White Women All Go for Sex'" 608.

119

the ratification of the 14th Amendment enacting greater citizenship rights for African Americans, the Black Codes were still harmful, as they set a precedent for post Reconstruction Jim Crow segregation. In the Mississippi Black Codes of 1865, for example, it was prohibited "for any white person to intermarry" with a Black person, and Black people were forced to sign and fulfill labor contracts or else be arrested "and carr[ied] back to his or her legal employer."[35]

While the Black Codes affected Black men and women equally, Black women struggled with additional forms of discrimination. For example, Black women faced unique pressures about their appearance. Advertisements such as Laird's "Bloom of Youth" claimed its skin whitening serum would "beautify" the complexion and skin.[36] This reflected how white supremacy and pro-white ideology was embedded in Southern culture. From portraits taken during the Reconstruction period, Black women focused on displaying virtues like class, purity, and restraint, which were virtues tied to white women. In a photograph of Anna Wright, a Black woman, she wears a white dress and "tasteful jewelry" and is nicely groomed to convey her "moral character and acceptable Christian values.'"[37]These photographs demonstrated that cleanliness and morality were tied to white women, but black women could fit in by mirroring white women's appearance and dress rather than cultivating or embracing their own style and values. The Reconstruction era began with laws designed to relegate formerly enslaved people back to lower class status, and companies took advantage of the similar white supremacist

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[35] "The Mississippi Black Code (1865)" excerpt in *Voices of Freedom: A Documentary History* Vol. 1 Third Edition edited by Eric Foner. New York: W.W. Norton, 2011: 310-314.

[36] "The Best Article in the World, Laird's Bloom of Youth, or Liquid Pearl for Preserving & Beautifying the Complexion & Skin," Library of Congress, January 1, 1863, https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/90706991/.

[37] Earnestine Jenkins, "Elite Colored Women: The Material Culture of Photography & Victorian Era Womanhood in Reconstruction Era Memphis," *Slavery & Abolition* 41, no. 1 (February 2020): pp. 29-63, 37.

ideology to attack the appearance of Black women. Being beautiful was tied to whiteness, thus denigrating Black women to be portrayed as "ugly" beings, and therefore inferior to the "beautiful" white women.

The main social struggle that middle-to-upper class Southern white women had to deal with during Reconstruction was the continuing Cult of Domesticity. These women were pressured to be pious, pure, domestic, and submissive to their husbands and family. But rather than turning inward to the home and focusing on private life, white women used these prescriptives to form organizations and clubs to improve Southern society. The Temperance movement in the South began prior to the Civil War and is often tied to white evangelical communities.[38] However, this was not limited to white communities; some of the most vocal proponents of the Temperance movement were newly freed Black men and women. For some, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) created some of the first opportunities for white and Black women (through racially segregated chapters) to take their gendered prescription and purify society.[39] In the South, white people paraded the image of the "drunken African American" and the fear of "imaginary drunken mobs" to advocate for temperance and to protect white communities.[40] White women in the South used the Cult of Domesticity to expand their role outside of the home through purifying organizations like the WCTU but twisted the white, gendered prescriptives to target Black men and women as threats to their household. Even though some white women felt suffocated by the need to be submissive and perfect to maintain the family image, many Southern women

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[38] Mark Lawrence Schrad, "The Forgotten History of Black Prohibitionism," *POLITICO*, accessed November 19, 2022, https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2021/02/06/forgotten-black-history-prohibition-temperance movement-461215, 1.

[39] Schrad, "The Forgotten History of Black Prohibitionism " 1.

[40] Schrad, "The Forgotten History of Black Prohibitionism " 1.

121

had no issue continuing to perpetuate denigrating stereotypes of the Black population.

Arguably the most damaging hurdle was the sexualization of Black women, causing an uptick in lynchings and violence in the South. When a formerly enslaved woman named Mrs. King took her rapist and former enslaver, Mr. Mullins, to court in 1867 to get the state to recognize her as a victim of rape, Mr. Mullins defended himself by representing her as "a woman without virtue, one who could not be raped" because she had had multiple sexual partners.[41] Denying a Black woman certain rights and privileges based on her sexual history was a common occurrence in the Reconstruction-era South and allowed white male perpetrators of sexual assault to get away with their crimes. In response to the degradation of Black woman's reputation in Southern society, freedpeople put forth the image of Black women as "family members" and respectable "citizens" and called the violence what it was: sexual violence and rape.[42] This reflects the agency of newly freed men and women; they were not going to let white society dictate their life and hold their freedom or identity hostage. Unfortunately, white people valued maintaining the racial hierarchy over justice, allowing Black women to be viewed as non-citizens, sexual objects who could not be violated because of their race and social status. This allowed Black women to become frequent targets of violence and rape.

On the contrary, society infantilized Southern white women of all social classes. White supremacy became commonplace as Black men gained more rights in the South, and as society moved further and further away from its slaveholding past. In particular, white supremacy utilized the infantilization of white women, surrounded by the notion that white women had no agency in who they chose as a sexual partner, to control the South. This shift

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[41] Hannah Rosen, *Terror in the Heart of Freedom: Citizenship, Sexual Violence, and the Meaning of Postemancipation South*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolnia Press, 2009),223.

[42] Rosen, "Terror in the Heart…" 227.

122

focused "the taboo of sex between white women and Black men with a new urgency" and reached "an unprecedented level of intensity" – leading to terrorism and lynchings of Black men, often by members of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) and other white terrorist groups, that were reminiscent of the violence and hatred felt and incurred by formerly enslaved individuals.[43] The Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, Nathan Bedford Forrest, demonstrated this infantilization of white women: "Ladies were being ravished by some of these [Black men]."[44] Southern society judged and evaluated the character of white women, which would impact how they treated women for sexual impropriety. These were typically labeled low-class "tramps" who cohabitated with a Black partner.[45] But many white women were more than just passive participants in the racist violence in the South. While they were not allowed to join the KKK, some white women encouraged their husbands to participate in raids and provided false allegations to get KKK members to attack Black men.[46] While Southern white women were rarely targets of Reconstruction-era racism, Southern men in power viewed them as a purity test for a post-Confederacy world; if white women abided by the rules of segregation, than they believed the South was moving in the "right" direction.

The Southern white women's experience during the Reconstruction is often not seen in parallel with that of the newly freed Black women. Women were greatly affected by the Civil War and Reconstruction. Many white women experienced food shortages and life as a refugee, sacrificing their safety and security while their husbands and brothers fought. Comparatively, the majority of Black women were enslaved, their children and family ripped away from them in the domestic slave trade. Following the

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[43] Martha Hodes, "The Sexualization of Reconstruction Politics: White Women and Black Men in the South after the Civil War," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 3, no. 3 (1993): pp. 402-417, 403.

[44] Hodes, "'The Sexualization of Reconstruction Politics" 410.

[45] Hodes, "The Sexualization of Reconstruction Politics" 410-411.

[46] Hodes, "The Sexualization of Reconstruction Politics" 409.

123

war, white and Black women continued to face immense difficulties in society, readjusting to life under Reconstruction. Each group experienced gains in the labor force and expanded access to education and grappled with their (lack of) political and civil rights, after the end of the Civil War. While both white and Black women faced similar struggles when it came to authority, voting rights, and their own identity and femininity, it would be unfair to claim that their lives were comparable. Black women had a much more violent and oppressive experience than their white counterparts. Newly passed Black Codes in the South rendered Black men and women back to second-class status, and the rise of terrorism at the hands of the Ku Klux Klan meant that daily life was not stable or safe. As white women were pressured to conform to the submissive ideals of the Cult of Domesticity, Black women were tasked with both appearing presentable and clean in public, and to strive for whiteness if they wanted to be seen as beautiful. No matter how they tried to assimilate into white society, Black men and women were still the targets and victims of white supremacy.

Despite Black and white women having contrasting experiences from 1863 - 1880s, it is still important to study their Reconstruction-era lives alongside each other. Understanding why white and Black women did not unify and protest for greater expansion of women's rights (such as suffrage) demonstrated the value white people placed on maintaining a racial hierarchy in the South. Even though a widespread coalition of women of all races would have applied more pressure on the government to enact progressive changes to the traditional women's sphere, most white women perceived Black women as their competition in the labor force or saw them as lesser-than. Lastly, highlighting the similarities between white and Black women counters the notion during the Reconstruction period that women were satisfied with their role and treatment in society. White and Black women organized as a way to advocate for access to higher education and voting rights, showing that they demanded more of a public role

that they had not been given leading up to the Civil War. But because not all white and Black women organized within their communities, this reflected on how internalized the gender sphere was in Reconstruction. Despite racial differences, white and Black women were both recognized and marginalized in the Reconstruction-era South. As long as it used white supremacy as a guiding principle, the South simply recreated slavery and inequality under a different name. There is one lesson that can be drawn by contrasting these two experiences: if women want to enact change in society, they need to expand their coalition beyond just members of the same race and work alongside other intersectional identities.

Getting Heated: an Exploration of Women After the Great Seattle Fire

Naomi Sneath

In the warmth of the 1889 spring, Seattle sprawled across the edge of the Puget Sound. Wooden buildings, at most only a few stories high, congregated around the middle of the city and around the bay. Seattle was an up-and-coming new city; Washington was hurtling towards statehood, and businesses were thriving. Seattle's population mirrored many other frontier towns; prospective businessmen, women of all characters, Chinese immigrants, and Native Americans all lived in the city. But Seattle's growing affluence met disaster on June 6th, 1889, when woodworker John E. Back left a glue pot heating unattended, which started the worst fire the city had ever seen. For the duration of the day, Seattle's business district burned. Over sixty blocks and fifteen million dollars' worth of buildings went up in the conflagration.[1]

In this essay I want to explore how women were marginalized through their tacit compliance in their domestic roles after the Great Fire, as well as exploring what their active role in the reconstruction of Seattle was. The newspapers spoke highly of the public forums organized by men to fulfill the sudden increased demand for strength-based labor, the beautiful buildings the male architects designed, and the hard work of the Seattle City Council and mayor.[2] I want to analyze what spheres the women occupied; were they serving their beloved city in roles of domesticity, or were they utilizing the systemic chaos of the fire to push the boundaries of their dutiful expectations? Through conducting this

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[1] Kent R. Davies, "Sea of Fire: The Day Seattle's Waterfront Business District Turned into a Smoke-Shrouded Inferno," *Columbia: The Magazine of Northwest History* 15, no. 1 (2001.

[2] Jeffrey Karl Ochsner and Dennis Alan Andersen, "Meeting the Danger of Fire: Design and Construction in Seattle after 1889," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 93, no. 3 (2002): 115–26.

Historical Perspectives, Series II, Volume XXVIII, 2023

research, I conclude that while there were many impassioned women, there was not a great social change for women in the aftermath of the Great Seattle Fire, and those who were already of lower socio-economic status remained in that class.

Playing with Fire

Established in 1884, five years before the fire, Seattle's fire department was new and vulnerable. The inexperienced men were no match for a fire of this size. Only four years before the blaze, the department did not have a way to transport the water and asked for a water wagon in a letter from 1885.[3] But, after the fire, the department used the devastation to demand new safety measures, such as adequate water access and wider distance between buildings.

The fire was hot and slow, burning everything in its wake, and the small fire department was overwhelmed. To make matters worse, the fire captain, Josiah Collins, was away at a fire safety conference in San Francisco, leaving the present firefighters unorganized until the arrival of Tacoma's fire chief.[4] Images of the day showcase people crowding the streets to see the devastation, watching as the intense fire burned, and the smoky haze blew over the waterfront.[5] Some hoped that the fire would end as it reached

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[3] Charles Baker et al., *Petition of Charles Baker, et al.*, Letter, Seattle Municipal Archives, File 990083, General Files, 1802-04, Seattle; W. G. Latimer et al., *Petition of Fire Company #4*, Letter, Seattle Municipal Archives, File 990642, General Files, 1802-04, Seattle, January 16, 1885

[4] Davies, "Sea of Fire: The Day Seattle's Waterfront Business District Turned into a Smoke-Shrouded Inferno."

[5] *Great Seattle Fire at 1st and Union, June 6, 1889.* 1 cabinet card photographic: b&w; 4.5 x 7.5 in. MOHAI: Museum of History and Industry. 1889. https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/imlsmohai/id/9284/rec/75 *Great fire, Seattle, June 6, 1889.* 1 lantern slide: color; 2 1/4 x 3 1/4 in. MOHAI: Museum of History and Industry. 1889. https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/imlsmohai/id/1514/rec/74 *Great Seattle Fire burning at waterfront, June 6, 1889.* 1 photographic print mounted on cardboard: b&w; 4.5 x 7.75 in. MOHAI: Museum of History and Industry. 1889. https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/imlsmohai/id/9536/rec/76

127

the bay, but unfortunately, the fire prevailed.[6] Additional volunteers supported the department by creating lines of water bucket brigades, and the mayor ordered buildings to be blown up in an optimistic attempt to stop the inferno.[7] Ultimately, the fire burned out in the evening around Elliot Bay.[8]

Archival materials tell an alarming story of the heat; the fire was so hot it melted marbles and dishes into almost unrecognizable glass and porcelain blobs.[9] Additionally, people were homeless, businesses were destroyed, and the city was left with the daunting prospect of rebuilding. Surprisingly, there were zero recorded deaths. Some historians speculate that this could have been incorrect due to poor recordkeeping (there are rumors of at least one individual dying from associated complications from the fire), but newspapers from the following days did not report any massive physical losses.[10] Still the devastation was profound; ashes covered the land where there had once been buildings, the remnants of the fire smoking in the evening light. Seattle had to rebuild their entire industry, yet left with the depressing sight of rubble, it would not have been a surprise if the city had frozen in shock and slowly disappeared from the map. However, the next day, men met to decide on Seattle's future, and the work of the people transformed Seattle from a little northwestern town into a booming city.

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[6] Davies, "Sea of Fire: The Day Seattle's Waterfront Business District Turned into a Smoke-Shrouded Inferno."

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Melted pile of marbles from the Great Seattle Fire, 1889, (ca. 1880), MOHAI, 2013.14.1, Museum of History & Industry, Seattle (MOHAI), Seattle. https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/imlsmohai/id/14740/rec/31 Stack of dishes melted in the Great Seattle Fire, 1889. (1880s), MOHAI, 1985.93, Museum of History & Industry, Seattle (MOHAI), Seattle. https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/imlsmohai/id/14215/rec/62

[10] Davies, "Sea of Fire: The Day Seattle's Waterfront Business District Turned into a Smoke-Shrouded Inferno."

128

Women in Politics?

While this is a generalization, a woman's political status can reveal much about how the rest of their society views them. Therefore, it is important to explain the complicated path to female suffrage feminists undertook in Washington. In 1883, Seattle gave women the right to vote, marking the first step in a back and forth discussion of women's political rights in the region.[11] A few years later, in 1887, women lost and regained the right to vote due to a legal technicality.[12] However, when the territory became a state in November of 1889, only a few months after the fire, women were officially written out of the constitution, and were excluded from the vote until 1910.[13]

Like many western frontier cities, Seattle had a diverse female population, with women who each had different political ambitions and levels of interest. There were suffragists, outspoken temperance activists, prostitutes, businesswomen, and quiet Christian wives. This complicated back and forth of political rights, however, can largely be attributed to the temperance movement. Widely active throughout the late 1880s, the Women's Christian Temperance Union worked to prohibit the use and sale of alcohol in the Pacific Northwest. The success of the movement suggested that there was a large sector of women who were not happy to be complacent with the society as it was. With the support of the temperance movement, they were hoping to protect women from abusive marriages, decrease overall street violence, and increase social morality.[14] The women joined the Christian Temperance Union Movement as a way to "tame the wild frontier," fighting their deep fear of being a religious woman

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[11] Kate Dugdale, "Suffrage: Washington's Complicated Journey," *Columbia: The Magazine of Northwest History* 33, no. 3 (Fall 2019): 16–19

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Dale E. Soden, "The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in the Pacific Northwest: The Battle for Cultural Control," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 94, no. 4 (2003): 197–207

129

entering the so-called wild west.[15] There was activism of many kinds: "female suffrage, birth control, prison reform, and fair treatment of prostitutes and other women in the courts."[16] This temperance movement reveals the many women in Seattle who already had a passion for social justice, and therefore, suggests a female population inclined to charity and social work after the devastation of the fire.

Women's Work in the Aftermath

Immediately after the devastation, charities and city officials began to organize to redesign and rebuild Seattle; both in city spirit and infrastructure. In the following days after June 6th, newspapers began publishing headlines stating that there was food and work for all.[17] This was not an exaggeration; work and food could be found for both men and women alike. Women, if one chooses to scour through the newspapers, are hidden in the footnotes of larger articles, helping with food distribution, offering aid, and nursing any of those impacted. These women were "noble ladies of the relief committee, who [bent] every energy to serve equally all who come for meals."[18] These women were likely middle or upper class, as they were referred to as ladies, and therefore were not a part of the working class. Their traditional labor would have been community service work, hosting social events, and domestic tasks, and this was the role they assumed in the days following.

Whereas men were celebrated in their work, women were subjugated to the task. Men were expected to work if able-bodied and received food as payment. According to the newspapers, if a man showed up looking for food but would not work, he would face punishment.[19] Conversely, women were requested by the mayor to supply meals and support the newly homeless, but there

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[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

[17] "Food and Work For All," *Seattle Post Intelligencer*. June 10, 1889.

[18] "Work of the Women," *Seattle Post Intelligencer*. June 10, 1889.

[19] "Work of the Women," *Seattle Post Intelligencer*.

130

is no mention of repayment.[20] These ladies were tasked to work tirelessly out of the goodness of their own hearts, and were praised for their kind dispositions while doing so; the opposite of the expectation for men. This inequality in response to gendered charity efforts could be due to the fact that men were expected to be the primary economic caregiver for all of those in their household, and women were not. Men had to receive an income and food so that they could care for others and stimulate the recently decimated Seattle economy. Women were viewed as inferior because they were seen as unable to do manual labor so the government prioritized men in need.

This was class-based discrimination. Where some women were cast aside, others took a new place of value in the community. Men relied on women to do domestic tasks on a city-wide level, which gave them an opportunity to influence the rebuilding process. The Seattle mayor requested that women station themselves in the armory and volunteer their services to prepare meals for the National Guard.[21] The mayor also publicly thanked the women for being first responders after the fire.[22] Women brought attention to the needs of the people by asking for assistance and supplies in the *Seattle Post Intelligencer*. This same newspaper advertised that a shipment of dairy was arriving for the ladies soon and enabled them to make even more delicacies.[23] Women had a traditional role to play, but it was an essential one. More than making any form of political statement or taking advantage of the situation, women were ready to take care of their city and do so to the fullest extent.

Women also offered the essential domestic task of basic healthcare, and those who volunteered their services to provide food were also called upon to give care to the sick. The *Seattle Post Intelligencer* names several sick women who had been going

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[20] "Notice," *Seattle Post Intelligencer*. June 7, 1889.
[21] "Notice," *Seattle Post Intelligencer*.
[22] "Notice," *Seattle Post Intelligencer*.
[23] "Work of the Women," *Seattle Post Intelligencer*.

131

"without food or shelter… who need more comfortable arrangements than they have at present" as they were currently staying in the armory.[24] Nettie Williams, one of the ladies mentioned, was a 29 year old with at least six children, married to a B.K. Williams, who had recently moved up to Seattle.[25] Another named woman in the newspaper was Mamie Anderson, who records indicate was the 16 year old daughter of Elizabeth and J.S. Anderson, the youngest of four siblings.[26] Her records suggest she was living in King County in 1892, three years after the fire, linking her to the same woman mentioned in 1889. Both of these women needed care, likely because of possible injury or shock from the chaos of the fire. Healthcare services were recorded to have been practiced by volunteer women, with the mayor praising all the women who dedicated their time to the makeshift hospital in the armory.

This is where the answer to the question of women's role in the aftermath gains some complexity. While upper-class women were praised for their work, women were ignored if they were of low socio-economic status. Other than the general calls for those in need, no support for poverty-stricken women is included in any of the newspapers. Nettie and Mamie's records suggest that the state only wanted them to be removed from public care. Women in the upper or middle class performed work that was deemed valuable, and this work was received with enthusiasm from the public. But all social classes of women were marginalized: Around 20% of lower-class women were employed and needed assistance in

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[24] "Work of the Women," *Seattle Post Intelligencer*.

[25] "Washington, U.S., State and Territorial Censuses, 1857-1892: Nettie Williams," Ancestry, Ancestry.com Accessed March 1, 2023. https://www.ancestry.com/search/categories/cen_1890/?name=Nettie_Williams&event=_seattle-king-washington-usa_65561&event_x=_1-2&location=2&name_x=1_1&priority=usa

[26] "Washington, U.S., State and Territorial Censuses, 1857-1892: Mamie Anderson," Ancestry, Ancestry.com Accessed March 1, 2023. https://www.ancestry.com/search/categories/cen_1890/?name=Mamie_Anderson&gender=f&location=2&name_x=1_1&priority=usa&record_f=_50

132

finding new employment, but were ignored by the government.[27] Upper class women were expected to fulfill the role of dutiful wife and host, and were not given a voice to decide how they could help the city.

Illicit Affairs: Female Professions in Seattle

For the women who were already prosperous, the Fire was just as much a business opportunity for them as it was for successful men. Lou Graham, one of the most notable madames and a German immigrant was one of these women. Her prostitution business thrived before and after the fire.[28] Girls in Madame Graham's establishment were a part of nearly 25,000 prostitutes that Seattle housed, many of whom were Chinese-American.[29] Prostitution was illegal, but not covert (there is a suggestion that prostitutes called themselves seamstresses if booked into the county jail). Nevertheless, Graham still had huge success.[30] Her business catered to the wealthy, keeping girls who could entertain the men both in speech and in physical acts.[31] She was a talented businesswoman who would frequently engage in carriage rides with her prostitutes, showing them off around Seattle to increase demand and lust in those who could afford her services.[32]

Graham's business exploits, unlike other women, did not end with the devastation of the fire. After the fire demolished her business, as it did with many other prostitution houses, Graham rebuilt it into an even larger, extravagant, and fine brick building.[33] She is rumored to have financed other building investments across

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[27] Dugdale. "Suffrage: Washington's Complicated Journey."

[28] Richard E. Miller, "Lou Graham's Sporting House," HMdb.org, accessed March 17, 2023. https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=22499

[29] J. Kingston Pierce, "Eccentric Seattle: Ballad of Lou Graham," Seattle Channel, October 8, 2004, 5:01. https://www.seattlechannel.org/eccentric-seattle?videoid=x26675

[30] Hanna Brooks Olson, "Lou Graham, Seattle's Misunderstood Madam," SeattleMet, August 2, 2022,. August 2, 2022. https://www.seattlemet.com/news-and-city-life/2022/08/lou-graham-brothel-madam-seattle-history-underground-tour

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Miller. "Lou Graham's Sporting House."

133

the business district, both of her own land and of others. Her clients continued to be high ranking Seattle officials, whom she had extensive influence over. When she was arrested in 1891, the jurors quickly (the newspaper records the jurors deliberation time of three minutes) found her not guilty to a crowd of well-respected gentlemen known to frequent her services.[34] After her death in 1903, Graham's inheritance was absorbed by the city and used by the Seattle public school system.[35] This was mostly because Graham had failed to leave a will and was not a naturalized citizen, so the city took control.[36] Despite her lasting legacy on Seattle, she left only a small paper trail, making finding official documentation of her life extremely difficult. One male gossip journalist has written predominantly about her, but many of his "facts" appear to be false after a look through public records. Nevertheless, her business pursuits were fundamental to telling the story of female success in Seattle; women were building businesses and entertaining important officials, both under and over the table. Graham's story, embellished or not, is an example of how the Seattle Fire was not an instrument of change for the social status of women. Some women were able to be financially successful, such as Graham, but many were not, and this was not impacted by the fire. Where men took the fire as an opportunity to start afresh, women business owners were left with the daunting task of recreating their industry without widespread societal approval.

Immediately following the fire, a variety of domestic positions are advertised in the newspapers for female workers. Some were brief and provided little description as to the terms of employment, but all asked for traditionally female work.. One from June 11, 1889, reads "A girl wanted at once. Apply to P. Sengerman corner Tenth and Washington."[37] Another from June 10th reads "Wanted - Housekeeper. Protestant, a middle-aged or

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[34] "Ankeny Wins Out." *The Seattle Star.* April 24, 1903.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.
[37] "Smoke of the Fire," *Seattle Post Intelligencer.* June 11, 1889.

older, for widower on a farm. One that wants a good home, more than big wages. Address Housekeeper, Post Intelligencer."[38] Listings from five years prior and after advertise the same working conditions. Even after being recognized as essential workers in the rebuilding of Seattle, women were not granted new job opportunities. There are certain roles that were acceptable for women to occupy, and these did not change from before or after the fire, even though women proved they had more worth than what had formerly been given to them.

While domestic roles offered continuous female employment, for other women, the fire ended their business pursuits. Managed by Mrs. L.C. Harmon in 1881, The New England Hotel was a thriving hotel business located just outside of modern-day Pioneer Square. Mrs. L. C. Harmon advertised her hotel as "newly built, [with] hardwood floors, and first-class in every respect."[39] Unfortunately, the fire demolished the hotel, and there is no record of a rebuild. The fire ended Mrs. L. C. Harmon business endeavors. From speculation, this could be because she had no way to recoup her losses, or because the city chose to prioritize male businesses, or because the general process of restarting a company as a woman was too difficult. Mrs. L. C. Harmon's hotel is an example of how the city was an excellent business opportunity for male proprietors, but women were not able to find a welcome place to start anew. In the rebuild, women were excluded from the business district, even as men took the chance to start new careers with the city of Seattle aching from the disaster.[40]

Three years later, a few women are recorded using the fire as a business advantage. Found in the advertisements under "clairvoyants," Florence Marvin claims to have predicted the fire,

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[38] "Work of the Women," *Seattle Post Intelligencer*.
[39] "New England Hotel #1, Pioneer Square, Seattle, WA," Pacific Coast Architecture Database (PCAD), Alan Michealson. Accessed March 1, 2023. https://pcad.lib.washington.edu/building/16513/
[40] Norbot McDonald, "The Business Leaders of Seattle, 1880-1910," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 50, no. 1 (1959): 1–13.

and was available for further future advice at the Brunswick Hotel.[41] She advertised her services daily, with special evening hours on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays.[42] She was an example of a woman who either experienced or heard about the fire, and decided to utilize her business skills to create a narrative that would bring her further success. Just as men heard about the fire and took it as a business opportunity to move or establish a new business, women did the same, although they were fewer in number and chose to occupy more traditionally female employment. Women needed to be shrewd in order to engage in business, and Marvin's advertisement hints at the creativity women needed to have in order to successfully engage in the man's world of business. This was true before and after the fire; as the subordinate gender women needed excellent business skills to survive.

Women as Consumers

Outside of the need for labor, women were needed as consumers to re-strengthen Seattle's economy. Advertisements for women's clothes can be found alongside a notice alerting the women that their stores had been relocated due to the destruction of the fire. One advertisement reads "Ladies wishing [to buy] the MME McCare corset can find the same at 216 Lake Street."[43] Another post advertises that they still have "women's underwear and silk garments made to order," promoting their business.[44] While these advertisements seem luxurious in the context of a city-wide disaster, they tell the story of businesses trying to stay profitable despite the current hardship. Without female consumers, these businesses would not have been able to survive. Seattle could have felt the consequences of the fire for much longer; however, due in part of the support of the female sector and were ready for the economic rush during the Klondike Gold Rush, only a few years

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[41] "Clairvoyants," *Seattle Post Intelligencer*. October 30, 1892.
[42] Ibid.
[43] "Advertisements," *Seattle Post Intelligencer*. June 11, 1889.
[44] Ibid.

after the fire.[45] The Seattle Fire did not change how women were viewed as consumers. They were still important figures in capitalist society, and this did not increase or decrease due to the fire.

Other women engaged in the economy more unconventionally, like through thievery. It should also be noted that criminal activity was high enough to warrant the National Guard being called in to provide martial law while Seattle was in limbo, suggesting crime increased during the rebuild.[46] One newspaper writes an entire segment on a woman who committed food theft: in an article published June 11, 1889, a woman is recorded wheeling what she believed to be a barrel of flour to her house.[47] Upon cooking with it, it was discovered that the flour was actually building plaster.[48] The newspaper scorned her, and joked that it likely made for an upsetting loaf of bread.[49] This woman goes unnamed, but it is possible that she could have been drawn to criminal activity because of a need to provide for her family. Especially as the city government was prioritizing male labor (as seen from the extensive headlines advertising work for men), single women, both with or without further dependents, needed to find a way to survive.

Conclusions: Women 1890 and Onwards in Seattle

Unfortunately, while women were recognized publicly numerous times for their work efforts cleaning up after the fire and rebuilding Seattle, their social status did not change. This can be partially measured by women's right to vote in Washington. In the

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[45] *Museum Exhibit: Klondike Gold Rush.* Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park. Visited February 21, 2023.

[46] Keith Kosik, "Washington National Guard History: The Great Seattle Fire of 1889," United States Military, September 15, 2022 https://www.army.mil/article/260299/washington_national_guard_history_the_great_seattle_fire_of_1889

[47] "Smoke of the Fire," *Seattle Post Intelligencer.*

[48] "Smoke of the Fire," *Seattle Post Intelligencer.*

[49] "Smoke of the Fire," *Seattle Post Intelligencer.*

137

following months of the fire, women were stripped of their right to vote, and did not regain it until 1910.[50] This exclusion from power signifies that women continued to be marginalized in Seattle and there was no social change after or due to the fire. Women were an instrumental part of rebuilding Seattle in the fire's aftermath, and recognized as such, but were granted no additional rights from their contributions.

Six years later, Seattle residents reflected on the consequences of the fire. In 1890, reconstruction was ongoing, and Seattle's skyline was still flattened due to the fire. But by 1895, Seattle residents looked back on the process of rebuilding fondly, proud of the strength of Seattle.[51] It was a collective effort to rebuild: the men needed the women and vice versa. Despite this interdependent need for each other, women continued to be placed in subservient roles that did not spark social change.

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[50] Dugdale. "Suffrage: Washington's Complicated Journey."
[51] "Carey in the 'Seattle Star'," *Seattle Post Intelligencer*. February 13, 1895.

138

The Open Secret:
Male Prostitution, Homosexuality, and Pederasty in French Indochina

Stephanie Anna Nicolae[*]

The French empire's expansion into Southeast Asia prompted fears that sexual promiscuity, both hetero- and homo-sexual, was symptomatic of deteriorating colonial control and white masculinity. This essay will argue that male prostitution was commonplace between Native men and their French clientele, especially within large cities and their outskirts. Male prostitutes, most commonly referred to as *boys*, were easily identifiable. Still, due to a lack of laws regarding the male sex trade and fear of degeneration, the French Indo-Chinese government could not directly charge guilty parties without compromising colonial authority.

Homosexuality and the Empire's Virility

As France solidified control of Tonkin in the 1880s, the looming threat of venereal disease elicited a series of ordinances regulating female prostitution.[1] Even so, in the approximately 60 years that France controlled Indochina, there remained no legal action regulating male prostitution. In the Metropole, sodomy had been decriminalized since the fall of the *ancien regime*. Consequently, most indictments regarding homosexual men were charged as public indecency under the Napoleonic penal code 330, making queer relationships technically legal if done within the privacy of a

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[*] Stephanie Anna Nicolae's paper won the Redwood Prize for the best essay on a historical subject in 2023, awarded to any student in a history class.
[1] Christina E. Firpo, "Regulated Prostitution in French-Colonized Northern Vietnam and Its Failures, 1920–1945", *The Routledge Companion to Sexuality and Colonialism*, 2021, 180–87.

Historical Perspectives, Series II, Volume XXVIII, 2023

home.[2] This lack of legislative recognition led to a completely unregulated and scantily documented sex trade.

Despite its decriminalization, the topic of homosexual relationships was controversial amongst the French. It was believed that acts of sodomy "drained the body of vital fluid and left the mind unfocused and distracted and thus incapable of fulfilling its productive and reproductive function," driving formerly capable masculine French officials into a state of degeneracy.[3] Female prostitution, however, was an essential and supposedly sterile act between a man and a woman. This legally sanctioned sex displayed the French empire's masculine control over the feminine natives. Beyond prostitution, this gendered dynamic displayed itself in the practices of concubinage and marriage—all of which pushed women into submission and, by association, the entire colony.[4] By partaking in the market of *boys*, an appropriated English word used to describe both male prostitutes and houseworkers, the colonial man compromised the image of his nation's virility.

Much like the introduction of women into the colonies, sex between native and European men threatened to subvert the pre-established metropolitan social order. This practice created a "mixture of social 'classes,' 'races,' nationalities, and an inversion of gender and sexual roles" among the French colonizers; to lie with another man in any way was to run the risk of assuming a feminine role.[5] Acknowledging the presence of pederasty, sodomy, or homosexuality on any legal or journalistic platform would be to

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[2] Antony Copely, *Sexual Moralities in France 1780 - 1980; New Ideas on the Family, Divorce, and Homosexuality; an Essay on Moral Change* (Routledge, 1988), 24.

[3] Carolyn J. Dean, *The Frail Social Body: Pornography, Homosexuality, and Other Fantasies in Interwar France* (University of California Press, 2000), 133.

[4] Isabelle Tracol-Huynh, "Between Stigmatisation and Regulation: Prostitution in Colonial Northern Vietnam", *Culture, Health & Sexuality,* no. 12, 2010, 84.

[5] Régis Revenin, Homosexualité et prostitution masculines à Paris, 1870-1918, L'Harmattan, 2005, 82.

admit to both other European powers and the Metropole that the colonies were a breeding ground for depraved, untrustworthy, and morally tainted officials resulting in most of these behaviors being quietly swept under the rug of secrecy.

The Con Gai and the Effeminate Man

The Con Gaies, Indochinese women, were antithetical to the feminine ideal of the Metropole. At the turn of the Twentieth century and well into the 1930s, French women, under the guidance of magazines, physical education pamphlets, and books, strived to emulate the demure, romantic, and smooth shapes of "classical antiquity." [6] Pale, with tiny waists and soft curvatures of the breast and hips, it was the duty of attractive French women to imitate art. Upon their arrival to the colonies, French men were met with native women who did not exemplify the ideals of their homeland. Anthropologist Paul Roux described the women of Cochinchine as overly muscular and sexually underdeveloped creatures.[7] His work cited dark skin, toned bodies, and what he considered to be small breasts as anti-feminine and, therefore, undesirable features.

Unlike the disgusted and racist tone of anthropological journals, French orientalist literature toasted the allure of the empire's Con Gaies. The 1928 novel *Sao L'Amoureuse Tranquille* promised even the most insignificant and unattractive men of the metropole a beautiful native mistress.[8] American author Harry Hervey's 1925 *Congai: Mistress of Indochine* describes on the very first page of his novel the "beautiful savages" of the country.[9] Despite their characterization as exotic lovers, French colonists were perturbed and possibly disappointed by the look of native women. Oliver De Raison called them "creatures with lacquered

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[6]Mary Lynn Stewart, *For Health and Beauty: Physical Culture for French Women, 1800s to 1930s*, Johns Hopkins University Press 2001, 37.

[7] Paul Roux, *Contribution à L'étude Anthropologique De L'Annamite Tonkinois*, 325.

[8] Henri Casseville, *Sao L'Amoureuse Tranquille*, Kallash 2010, 113.

[9] Harry Hervey and Harlan Green, *Congai: Mistress of Indochine*, Datasia Inc. 2014, 1.

141

teeth" and "disgusting flesh," robbing his subjects of their humanity and their beauty in his description.[10] It is unsurprising that some legionnaires turned to what this essay will later discuss as attractive and effeminate Indochinese men to satisfy their sexual urges.

Relations with Con Gaies were seen as a 'necessary evil' with potentially hazardous consequences.[11] The women provided a valuable political connection with the rest of the native population and served as a method to exercise masculine empirical control physically. Sex with women, however, ran the risk of producing mixed-race children, a sore topic for the metropole. French government loathed mixed race children when it was convenient to blame them for the failures of the Empire and took care of them when they served to remediate France's aging population.[12] Self-proclaimed sexologist and surgeon Jacobus X claimed that many men "took the road to Sodom" to avoid the women. In contrast, others "addressed themselves to the *nays* and *boys*, who offered themselves readily." [13] Sex with male prostitutes, although not seen as a "necessary evil," provided colonists with sexual respite while avoiding the possibility of fathering a child, a concept that likely appealed to many officials and legionnaires.
In avoiding the 'unattractive' and 'masculine' Con Gai, colonists turned to what they saw as an attractive, inherently feminine, and youthful market of *boys*. The prevalence of male prostitutes in

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[10] Olivier Diraison-Seylor, *Amours de Extrême-Orient*, Charles Carrington, Libraire-éditeur,, 1905, 83.

[11] Carolyn J. Dean, *The Frail Social Body: Pornography, Homosexuality, and Other Fantasies in Interwar France*, 135.

[12] Christina Firpo, Shades of Whiteness: *Petits-Blancs* and the Politics of Military Allocations Distribution in World War I Colonial Cochinchina, *French Historical Studies,* 34:2, 279-297, 2011.

[13] Jacobus X, *Untrodden Fields of Anthropology, Observations on the Esoteric Manners and Customs of Semicivilized Peoples; Being a Record of Thirty Years' Experience in Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania*, Translated by Charles Carrington, 2nd ed, Librairie de médecine, folklore et anthropologie, 1898, 163.

142

Vietnam was credited to an "undifferentiated physiognomy" of native men and women. This was heavily explored by anthropologists at and around the turn of the century, before the large-scale introduction of European women into the colonial scheme.[14] In his 1905 book, *Les Civilisés*, Claude Farrère famously stated: "Men and women are so alike that the colonist is at first tricked and eventually, they pretend they are wrong." [15] Several documents written by anthropologists codified the Vietnamese man as inherently feminine: lacking body hair, having slender features, and dressing similarly to what the French saw as an overly masculine and physically perturbing Vietnamese woman.[16] In the words of Frank Prochan, "If Vietnamese women lacked femininity, that deficit was more than compensated for in the bodies of Vietnamese men and in their techniques du corps." [17] The exchange of oral sex likely furthered the prevalence of male prostitution. *Boys* were described to be by "preference a 'sucker of the dart'" and given the absence of an act of sodomy, along with the apparently 'feminine' qualities of male prostitutes, it was easy to claim that one had been 'tricked' into an act of homosexuality[18]. In the mind of the racially biased colonists, how could one claim with certainty that they had defiled themselves with a male prostitute if there had been no indication that the prostitute was, in fact, a man?

Venereal Disease

Due to the legal recognition of sexually transmitted diseases amongst female prostitutes in Colonial Indochine, many colonists

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[14] Frank Proschan, "'Syphilis, Opiomania, and Pederasty': Colonial Constructions of Vietnamese
(And French) Social Diseases", Journal of the History of Sexuality 11, no. 4, 2002, 436.
[15] Claude Farrère, *Les civilisés: Roman* (Librairie Paul Ollendorff, 1905), 4.
[16] Paul Roux, "Contribution à L'étude Anthropologique De L'Annamite Tonkinois", *Bulletins et
Mémoires de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris* 6, no. 1, 321–50, 1905, 337.
[17] Frank, Proschan, *Syphilis, Opiomania, and Pederasty*, 454.
[18] Jacobus X, *Untrodden Fields of Anthropology,* 114.

mistakenly turned to *boys* to avoid infection. Artist, author, and anthropologist Pierre Garnier recorded a possible conversation between himself and a recently returned young French officer. The youth complained of not being able to sustain an erection, possibly due to a sexually transmitted infection, despite desiring to, assuming that his pederastic tendencies during his time in Indochina now prevented him from doing so. Describing the women in Indochina as "dirty," the man "sometimes us[ed] the *boys*" as a precautionary method." [19]

Although colonists saw male prostitutes as a 'cleaner' method to relieve their sexual urges, sexually transmitted diseases still ran rampant across the trade. The stigmatized nature of homosexual sex stunted potential conversation on the phenomena as a health issue, leading to a gross under-report of the frequency of venereal disease amongst the colonists and their *boys*. In a 1905 edition of the *Bulletin Général de Thérapeutique Médicale et Chirurgicale*, physician Michaut commented on what he saw as a disease epidemic, stating:

> However, we can say that in Tonkin, as in Cochinchine, the prostitution of boys is much more dangerous, from a public health point of view, than the prostitution of women. This prostitution has become part of colonial mores. Strange as this proposal may seem, it is so true that a hygienist would have the first duty to demand the establishment of a men's dispensary and medical surveillance for male prostitutes.[20]

Michaut's statement was one of the sparse instances in which homosexual relationships and their dangers were mentioned, a statement left largely unread by the general public. To be infected by venereal disease undermined the strength of colonial power, and

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[19] Pierre Garnier, *Anomalies Sexuelles Apparentes Et Cachées Avec 230 Observations*, Garniers
Frères, 1889, 551.
[20] Michaut, "Syphilis Et Pédérastie, Fumeurs d'Opium Et Climat", *Bulletin général de thérapeutique médicale et chirurgicale*, no. 124, 1893, 274–79, 278.

the French fell to the same biological warfare that other Europeans in the past had used to conquer native populations.

A Recognizable Trade

A vital characteristic of the Vietnamese male sex trade was its recognizability. Jacobus X described the dress and categories of male prostitutes in his 1898 medical novel *Untrodden Fields of Anthropology*. He separated these prostitutes into three primary categories: Vietnamese *nays*, *boys*, and Chinese immigrants. *Nays*, whose name means basket in Vietnamese, were identified by the baskets they carried and ranged in age from 7 to 15.[21] *Boys* were most often former *nays* who were either recruited by " clandestine brothels which were referred to as "*maisons de boys*" or organizers, or in some cases, simply continued sex work and could be recognized by their "little jacket[s], buttoning down the front, and white cotton, wide pantaloons, with a belt of red silk, the end of it hanging down in front."[22] In an 1893 medical bulletin these *boys* were also referred to as "lantern-holders" a fact that X corroborated by citing legislation increasing the number of street lights as a method to curb prostitutes .[23] In illuminating the streets, the Indochinese government forced male prostitution further into the shadows and away from highly trafficked areas without having to acknowledge pederasty as the source of the legislation.

People of Chinese origin, especially houseworkers and theater actors, many of whom partook in male prostitution as a supplementary income, were seen as a competing market to Vietnamese prostitutes. The practice of Chinese opera, where young *boys* were recruited to play female roles, was heavily fetishized by several European travelers. X described exhibitionist "domestic" sex taking place after theater performances in which

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[21]Jacobus X, *Untrodden Fields of Anthropology*, 225.

[22] *Ibid,*227; Isabelle Tracol-Huynh,"Prostitution in Colonial Hanoi, (1885–1954)", *Selling Sex in the City: A Global History of Prostitution 1600s-2000s*, 2017, 538–66, 544.

[23] Michaut, Syphilis Et Pédérastie, Fumeurs d'Opium Et Climat, 227; Jacobus X, *Untrodden Fields of Anthropology,* 157.

"the Chinese actors who play the women's parts, come in their costumes, and assume the character of a modest virgin, afraid of losing her virginity… the scenes of the first night of wedded life are represented without any shame" in front of Older French officials.[24]

The accounts of Jacobus X, along with the majority of medical and anthropological sources, must be analyzed with heavy suspicion. With the publication of Darwin's *The Origin of Species* in 1859, the idea of scientific racism was catapulted into the colonial forefront. The humanity of people other than Europeans had been questioned since the early colonial era and the slave trade. In the same way that religious institutions had used religion to invalidate what was seen as heretical behavior, the emergence of what empires believed was scientific proof allowed white colonists to justify their racism with science. Several medical writings of the time, including the ones of Jacobus X, aimed to exonerate the French of their 'sexual deviance.' Unnatural sexual promiscuity was attributed to the evolutionary history of Vietnamese natives, who, according to X, were once a great power that had degenerated into a "vicious race." Any Frenchmen who disagreed with this notion were dubbed Annamitophiles.[25] The belief that native men and cultures had tainted the Metropole with thoughts of pederasty and homosexuality is not exclusive to Indochina and appears primarily in documents regarding the Algerian war and cases of French soldiers raping natives in both of the aforementioned colonies.[26]

Police Response

In addition to their readily distinguishable attire, the location and prevalence of male prostitutes, both in brothels and on the streets of large cities, were well-known to police and the general public. Nays advertised their services in the streets, a standard line of

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[24] Jacobus, X. *Untrodden Fields of Anthropology*, 125.

[25] *Ibid,* 109.

[26] Robert Aldrich, *Colonialism and Homosexuality,* 1st ed. Routledge, 2007, 127.

146

invitation cited as "M'sieur captain! Come to my home—me a very dirty titi!".[27] To control this open prostitution along with the number of *boys*, late nineteenth-century officials restricted the number and types of people who could live in Saigon and required said residents to carry an identification card. Should a native "not possess such a card, and who has no trade by which he gains his living, [was] arrested if the medical examination shows that he is a sodomite, he [was] sent to the; Penitentiary at Poulo Condore." [28] This indirect prosecution allowed the colonial authority to lessen public pederasty without acknowledging its existence and compromise the nation's image of virility.

Heavy restrictions slowly pushed prostitutes out of large cities and into the surrounding suburbs. Drinking, gambling, and opium-smoking houses, along with the occasional *Maison de boys*, were known as pederastic hotspots, where officials could engage in behavior heavily restricted by the social norms of the Metropole .[29] Another scientist of the time, Dupouy, claimed that the majority of opium smokers exhibited homosexual behaviors, but contrary to popular belief did not attribute opium as the cause.[30] He instead blamed "a constitutional psychic imbalance and the influence of the environment" for both vices, insinuating the Metropole had been sending unfit officials to Indochina, who readily fell victim to the colony's temptations.[31] Jacobus X described the precaution taken "to throw the French police off the scent" of one such Opium house, the "illicit brothel" indistinguishable "from an honest house." [32]

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[27] J.-J. Matignon, *Superstition, Crime Et misère En Chine*. 4th ed., A. Maloine, 1902, 189.

[28] Jacobus, X. *Untrodden Fields of Anthropology*, 157.

[29] Isabelle Tracol-Huynh, "Prostitution in Colonial Hanoi (1885–1954)", 544.

[30] Dupouy Roger, *Les Opiomanes, Mangeurs, Buveurs Et Fumeurs D'opium; étude Clinique Et médico-littéraire*, Alcan, 1912, 166.

[31] *Ibid*.

[32] Jacobus X. *Untrodden Fields of Anthropology*, 108

147

There is evidence of French officials flaunting their *boys*, as is in the case of one such official who "openly displayed male connections even in the street and walked in full inspection his two intimate *boys* Ba and Sao ".[33] This behavior, although not unheard of, was not the norm. More often than not, native male prostitutes would blackmail their clients, extorting them for money and "threaten[ing] to report the European for compromising his virtue."[34] It is worth noting that the accounts of Frenchmen and their *boys* were written in highly erotic accounts by anthropologists who likely exaggerated their findings to display an illicit oriental tale to a French Metropole unaware of colonial debauchery.

Conclusion

Fueled by the French empire's fear of losing the masculinity that gave them the right to their colonies, pederasty, homosexuality, and male prostitution both flourished and were violently suppressed in French Indochina. Scientific racism, along with the idea of the feminine native, created an image of *boys* that was exotic and alluring to colonists looking to indulge themselves in sexual behaviors that would have been criticized in the Metropole. These repressed desires, in combination with a rampant fear of venereal disease and non-eurocentric displays of femininity, allowed for pederasty to encroach itself heavily into the Indochinese social sphere, especially before the turn of the century and the introduction of women into the colonies.

It is important to note that the primary sources of information regarding these practices are personal accounts, novellas, and anthropological/medical summaries of the observations of Frenchmen. These personal and literary accounts often contradict one another. Some focused on telling lurid, scandalous tales to entertain the metropole with tales of colonial debauchery. Others concealed the unsavory image of the empire, romanticizing

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[33] Claude Farrère, *Les civilisés: Roman*, 239.
[34] Robert Aldrich, *Colonialism and Homosexuality,* 1st ed., 18.

colonial endeavors and blaming 'backward,' promiscuous natives for the problems in French control. In comparison to the hypersexualized and fanciful tales of sex in the aforementioned accounts, medical and anthropological journals relied on pseudoscience, inaccurate social surveys, and significant assumptions regarding the sexual trade of male bodies. Unlike in the instance of the Vietnamese Con Gai, there are no concrete legal cases, administrative scandals, or personal accounts from Vietnamese natives regarding male prostitution, leading to a history almost entirely reliant on biased French accounts. Ultimately, France's progressive legislation decriminalizing sodomy was integral to Vietnamese male prostitution. To recriminalize, it would openly admit both to the French public and other world powers that French soldiers were engaging in unmanly and immoral actions that essentially put them equal to the colonized and compromised the ruling authority. Thus, without legal recognition but under the pressure of intense social stigma, pederasty became Indochina's well-known secret pleasure.

149

Masking Evil: St. Domingan Émigrés in the Philadelphian Press, 1789-1793

Rob Wohl[*]

French St. Domingue, or colonial-era Haiti, was the most brutal slave society that existed in the New World. Despite encompassing only the Western half of Hispaniola, the colony was the world's foremost exporter of sugar, coffee, and indigo.[1] This profitability shaped its social structure. By the 1780's, French Hispaniola was "the single main destination" of the Atlantic slave trade.[2] A tense tripartite racial division consequently developed on the island between whites, blacks, and a mixed-race population known as the *gens de couleur* ("people of color").[3] St. Domingue's delicate web of racial animus exploded in a massive 1791 slave revolt now called the Haitian Revolution.

The Haitian Revolution was emblematic of broader tensions underpinning the Early Modern Atlantic. It unfolded shortly after the American Revolution and concurrently with the French Revolution. Like these aforementioned events, it was justified with language of natural rights, republicanism, and abolitionism. Yet the American and French Republics did not react positively to it. Americans feared the spread of the slave revolt to their Southern plantations, and, while some Frenchmen supported abolitionism, many bemoaned the loss of their most profitable colony. The Haitian Revolution highlights hypocrisies within American and French revolutionary thinking and is therefore a fruitful subject of inquiry for students of American history, imperial history, and the history of black emancipation.

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[*] Rob Wohl's paper won the SCU Hoefer Prize for Excellence in Undergraduate Writing, a prize open to all students at Santa Clara University, in 2023.

[1] David Geggus. "St. Domingue on the Eve of Revolution." 3-20 in David Geggus and Norman Fiering, *The World of the Haitian Revolution*. (Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 2009). 3.

[2] Ibid, 3.

[3] Dominique Rogers. "On the Road to Citizenship: The Complex Route to the Integration of the Free People of Color in the Two Capitals of Saint-Domingue." 65-78 in Geggus and Fiering, *The World of the Haitian Revolution*. 65-67.

The paper trail of white St. Domingan émigrés highlights tensions between the American and Haitian revolutionary experiences. As the Haitian Revolution unfolded, the already-small white St. Domingan population scattered across the Atlantic. Many settled in America. While cities up and down the East Coast offered refuge to St. Domingans, Philadelphia developed a particularly large émgiré population. Some white émigrés took advantage of Philadelphia's robust printing culture to align the public opinion of the "city of brotherly love" with their class interests. Using Philadelphian newspapers as a case study, I demonstrate that St. Domingan émigrés were conscious of their class interests, experienced organizing around them, and used these skills in America to manipulate public opinion against black insurgents, the *gens de couleur*, and in favor of the reassertion of white supremacy in St. Domingue. While they were ultimately unsuccessful, they nonetheless exhibited astute consciousness of their age's historical questions and contradictions within America's revolutionary ideals. The Early Modern Atlantic was a firestorm of ideology, revolution, and change, and these machiavellian exiles were at its center. Their documentary output sheds light upon the three epicenters of Atlantic revolution—America, France, and Haiti—and the capacity of pragmatists to navigate their murky waters.

A Historical Profile of St. Domingan Émigrés

The French St. Domingans that arrived in Philadelphia came from a wholly different world from both France and America. As mentioned above, their colony was home to a tense tripartite racial division between whites, a free population of mixed-race *gens de couleur*, and enslaved blacks. White Frenchmen numbered roughly 30,000 on the island and were composed of two groups: *petits blancs* ("little whites") and *grands blancs* ("big whites").[4] The *petits blancs* primarily worked urban jobs around port towns. The *grands blancs*, meanwhile, owned massive slave plantations and often lived in France. Both cared about the maintenance of white supremacist legal institutions, though this was a far more

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[4] Geggus, "Saint-Domingue on the Eve of the Haitian Revolution," 3.

151

valuable source of political power to the poor *petits blancs* than the wealthy, distant *grands blancs*. *Gens de couleur* constituted a roughly equal population to that of whites and were generally the offspring of white fathers and enslaved black mothers.[5] They were educated, wealthy, and politically literate. Many owned slave plantations themselves.[6] As a group, they were committed to securing racial equality with whites, but, being members of the colonial elite, rarely supported emancipation.[7] Enslaved blacks, meanwhile, numbered well over 400,000.[8] By far the largest group on St. Domingue, they were from a diverse array of ethnicities, faiths, and cultures. Because St. Domingue grew rapidly in the 18th century, most were born in Africa and recently forced to the New World.[9] They carried parts of their native culture with them to enslavement.

Accounts from the colonial era of St. Domingue allow us to explore the social beliefs these émigrés carried to Philadelphia. Visitors to the colony in the 1780's describe a culture of materialism, decadence, and racial animus. One French military officer, writing during the American Revolutionary war, described how "in [St. Domingue], expenses are exorbitant. Meals are lavish … heavy gambling is a major passion."[10] Colonial "fathers and mothers spoil their children … as [children] often see [slaves punished] they become hardened and come running up to watch a poor black get whipped … after that it is very difficult for their hearts to be moved by pity."[11] *Gens de couleur* women were hypersexualized by their contemporaries. The same officer describes how "mulatto and quadroon women … have competed with

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[5] John D. Garrigus. "Saint-Domingue's Free People of Color and the Tools of Revolution." 49-64 in Geggus and Fiering, *The World of the Haitian Revolution*. 56.

[6] Garrigus, "Saint-Domingue's Free People of Color," 55.

[7] Notable exceptions exist to this, including Vincent Ogé, a *gens de couleur* planter who launched a failed slave rebellion in 1790.

[8] Geggus, "Saint-Domingue on the Eve of the Haitian Revolution," 6.

[9] Ibid, 8-9.

[10] Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, Ms. 3453, "Remarques sur la colonie de Saint-Domingue," by lieutenant-colonel Desdorides. Found in David Geggus, "The Haitian Revolution: A Documentary History." (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing, 2014) 3-4.

[11] Ibid, 3.

white women for the hearts of white men, and they have won."[12] White St. Domingans were raised in an environment of material gain, licentiousness, and institutionalized racial subordination, and had internalized these values by the time of the revolution.

St. Domingan slavery was especially brutal, something that bled into the beliefs of whites. A former plantation manager described how "St. Domingue colonists put more care and effort into overseeing their slaves than do the English or Dutch" to the point of being "excessive."[13] Echoing Montesquieu, he adds that "in such a hot country this [activity] can only be attributed to the desire to get rich."[14] There existed immense tension between the *petits blancs* overseers and African slaves. The manager describes how the overseers are "a thousand times worse off than a shepherd's dog" and "even more worse off, if he is sensitive to the treatment of the blacks."[15] The overseer quickly learns that "if [he] wants to get on in life, [he] must give up all those European feelings [of toleration] when [he] comes to the Tropics."[16] St. Domingan whites, then, were incentivized to see only enemies in their black and mixed-race peers, and had internalized a hardened morality inimical to European values.

This is reflected in the political history of the colony. By 1788, St. Domingan whites had successfully installed a regime of apartheid that afforded them legal privileges over the *gens de couleur*.[17] This legal discrimination was called into question after the French Revolution in 1789 and promulgation of creeds like the Declaration of the Rights of Man. Julien Raimond, a mixed-race indigo planter, made a 1791 address to the National Assembly in Paris wherein he advocated for *gens de couleur* racial equality by offering a historical account of their origin. His argument sheds light upon their relationship with St. Domingan whites.

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[12] Ibid, 3.

[13] Charles Malenfant, *Des colonies et particulièrement de celle de Saint-Domingue* [Paris, 1814]. Found in Geggus, "A Documentary History," 4-6.

[14] Ibid, 5.

[15] Ibid, 5.

[16] Ibid, 5.

[17] Geggus, "Saint-Domingue on the Eve of Revolution," 14-15.

153

According to Raimond, the *gens de couleur* were the product of "single [European] men burning with a desire to succeed [in the newly-established colony]" marrying "African women, who cared for them all the more attentively because they hoped freedom would be their reward."[18] The mixed-raced children produced by this union established themselves in the colony and became prosperous. As more whites emigrated from France to St. Domingue, however, the mixed-raced population was soon subject to prejudice due to "jealousy" of their "talent, character, sophistication, and knowledge"—especially from social-climbing white women.[19] He ultimately justified the mixed-race pursuit of racial equality by way of distancing them from slaves: "the basic idea of everything [stated here] is that the majority of the free colored class was born free, of free parents, and in legitimate marriage"[20] and, implicitly, that they constituted the true genteel elite of colonial society instead of the whites.

Raimond's defense of the *gens de couleur* elucidates the economic interests that underpinned St. Domingan racial tensions. Raimond advanced his argument for racial equality by arguing that mixed-raced St. Domingans were a "free"[21] population that was more refined and older (on St. Domingue, at least) than the whites. In his address (and real life), they constituted a well-educated, well-bred, and well-off slave owning elite of a similar size to the white population and had been a key fixture of St. Domingan society since the colony's foundation.

Missing from his address, however, is a call for the universal equality of blacks, whites, and *gens de couleur*. This may seem strange to American observers. Americans generally experience "blackness" and "whiteness" as categorically separate distinctions. America did not have a free mixed-race population of comparable size or self-consciousness to

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[18] Julien Raimond, "Observations on the Origin and Progression of the White Colonists' Prejudice against Men of Color," penned in 1791 for the National Assembly. Found in Laurent Dubois and John D. Garrigus, *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean, 1789-1804: A Brief History with Documents*, (Boston, MD: Bedford/St Martin's Press, 2016), 79.

[19] Ibid, 79-80.

[20] Ibid, 81.

[21] It is clear that Raimond intended to separate the *gens de couleur* from their enslaved black ancestry and used "free" as a dog-whistle for this.

154

St. Domingue during or after slavery. But, to Raimond and his mixed-race peers, *gens de couleur* interests were not synonymous with those of black St. Domingans. Emancipation would endanger their economic wellbeing. *Gens de couleur* were educated, prosperous, and slave-owning. They were content with legal equality with whites; advocating for anything further only exposed them to an undue degree of risk. *Gens de couleur* would, eventually, support general emancipation as the Haitian Revolution progressed. But, in this early period of the revolution, their interests can be understood as broadly bourgeois and tepid concerning general equality.

Like Raimond and the gens de couleur, white St. Domingans were familiar with jostling for power in the metropole. Extensive private correspondence documents their political machinations. During the buildup to the French Revolution, St. Domingue sent a delegation of whites to the Estates-General. This delegation was present for the third estate's Tennis Court Oath, and subsequently enjoyed representation in the National Assembly as formal representatives of St. Domingue. Fully aware that their interests contravened the values of the revolution, the delegates hid their reactionary politics from the public eye.

One telling letter, dated to August 12, 1789, captures growing political consciousness amongst white planters in the early days of revolutionary euphoria. It reveals intense fear amongst the colonial delegates surrounding the ideas discussed in the National Assembly. Nearly a month after the July 14th storming of the Bastille, one unnamed white St. Domingan delegate bemoaned the creation of the 'Society of the Friends of the Blacks' by Jacques Pierre Brissot (the later leader of the Girondin faction): "A society of enthusiasts who have taken the title Friends of the Blacks openly writes against us. It awaits a favorable moment to explode against slavery."[22] Indeed, Brissot's organization motivated the planters to organize into the "Massiac Club" (named after the Hotel Massiac in Paris, in which they regularly convened) as a

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[22] "August 12 Letter from the St. Domingan delegates to Port-au-Prince." Found in Anna Julia Cooper, *Slavery and the French Revolutionists (1788-1805)*. Translated with a Foreword and Introductory Essay by Frances R. Keller. (Queenston, Ontario: Edwin Mellen Press, 1988). Letter wholly transcribed in 73-76.

counterweight.[23] Evidently frightened by the idea of St. Domingue's massive slave population rising up against its comparatively tiny white ruling class, the author bemoans his powerlessness against Brissot: "It might suffice for us merely to open our mouths to make it possible for them to seize the opportunity to demand the emancipation of our Negroes."[24] He felt that any slight movement, even by the planters themselves, could lead to his class's destruction.

He therefore advocates a policy of extreme intentionality surrounding the use of language, something the planters maintained in Philadelphia. The author cautions his fellow colonial whites against speaking and "[arousing] the enemy," instead imploring them to "watch, and, once again, watch, watch, for the National Assembly is too busy with internal affairs of the kingdom to be able to concentrate on us."[25] Revealing counterrevolutionary attitudes, the author tells his allies to "seize all the writings in which the word liberty is even mentioned; redouble the guards at your residences, in the cities, in the towns; confine colored people [*gens de couleur*] everywhere; distrust those whom come from Europe."[26] He associated the word "liberty" with both the European continent and threats to the physical security of him and his fellow planters. This prompted a machiavellian policy of farcical agreement with revolutionary proceedings to avoid bringing scrutiny upon the slave-owning St. Domingans from freedom-minded Parisians. The French Revolution was a source of intense worry for these planters. *Liberté*, *egalité*, and *fraternité* were inimical to their way of life. The St. Domingan colonial elite was not only conscious of this, but capable of coordinating complex political behavior around it.

One St. Domingan delegate named Gerard wrote with greater lucidity than typical of planters in a postscript to the same letter. He disagreed with the first author and instead argued that whites should ally with the *gens de couleur*: "it seems … that the best way to assure tranquility and peaceful existence in the colony is to attract the colored

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[23] Cooper discusses the history of the letter's authors in Ibid, 73.
[24] Ibid, 73.
[25] Ibid, 74.
[26] Ibid, 74.

people to our cause. They would surely ask no more than to mingle their interests with [ours]."[27] Again, with pragmatic wisdom, Gerard states that "it is therefore only a question of your [white planters] being just toward them, and of your treating them better [than has hitherto been the case] … that solution [is] the true road to the safety of the colony."[28] Gerard was a lone voice advocating for toleration amongst whites (even if only as a pragmatic political maneuver). For him, toleration was a necessary concomitant of transforming the shared economic interests between whites and *gens de couleur* into a cooperative relationship that transcended race. If only the planters could look past skin color, they might survive the French Revolution having only given minor concessions to their mixed-race peers while maintaining slavery.

Indeed, this was a real possibility at the beginning of the revolution; the whites and *gens de couleur* shared economic interests. Had they heeded Gerard's advice, their destruction may not have been so complete. But the white planters were maximalist reactionaries. They were used to a status quo wherein they enjoyed exorbitant fortunes and thought nothing of the immense suffering upon which they prospered. They were addicted to power, opulence, and the legalized white supremacy that brought surety to both. If the French revolutionaries were, in one planter's words, "drunk on liberty,"[29] the white St. Domingans were drunk on wealth. They falsely expected that they could continue to gorge themselves on profits from coffee, sugar, and every other ill-gotten fruit of St. Domingan slavery as the tyrant-kings of France's foremost colony. This intransigence would be their undoing, leaving them adrift in a hostile Atlantic. To live in the post-revolutionary world, they would have to adopt masks. Whether republican or royalist, liberal or conservative, bourgeois or aristocratic, St. Domingan émigrés changed these masks to fit into new environments. America was but one of their destinations, and the masks they adopted in the early republic tells scholars much about historical narrativization in the 18th century Atlantic.

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[27] Ibid, 75.

[28] Ibid, 76.

[29] Ibid, 74.

157

St. Domingans and Philadelphia

Americans had extensive economic ties to St. Domingue well before the Haitian Revolution. It was far and away France's most profitable colony. U.S. traders routinely traveled to Cap-Français, Port-au-Prince, and Les Cayes to trade for plantation-grown sugar and coffee. Indeed, trade between the United States and St. Domingue was so profitable that some men made their living simply by transporting goods between the two. One such man was Joseph Vesey, the one-time master of the 1822 slave revolt leader Denmark Vesey. A slaver, his paper trail reveals clues about trading habits between St. Domingue and the United States. *Affiches Americaines*, a St. Domingan periodical from the colonial era, reported his 1784 arrival in Cap-Français with African slaves.[30] The Charleston-based *Gazette of The State of South Carolina* reported his 1783 arrival with imported slaves.[31] Another Charleston-based newspaper, the *South-Carolina Gazette and General Advertiser*, reported further 1783, 1784, and 1790 arrivals with both African slaves and St. Domingan coffee.[32] Having concluded a prosperous career as a Caribbean trader, he retired in Charleston in 1796, keeping his slave Denmark in bondage until 1799.[33]

Bilingual, Vesey was one of many Franco-American traders that facilitated relations between St. Domingue and the United States. Whether from Charleston, New York, or Philadelphia, Americans up and down the Eastern seaboard were familiar with St. Domingan

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[30] "Le Navire la Patience, de Saint-Thomas, Capitaine Joseph Wesey [sic], est arrivé dans ce Port la 23 de ce mois avec une très-belle cargaison de Negres de la Côte-d'Or, à l'adresse des Sieurs Lory, Pombard & Compagnie" (Aboard the vessel "the Patience", of Saint-Thomas, Captain Joseph Vesey arrived in this port on the 23rd of this month with a very fine cargo of [enslaved Africans] from the Gold Coast). *Affiches Américaines*, April 24th, 1784. Located in Douglas R. Egerton and Robert L. Paquette "The Denmark Vesey Affair: A Documentary History," (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2017), 1.

[31] Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, Wednesday, September 24, 1783. Located in Egerton and Paquette, "A Documentary History," 3.

[32] South-Carolina Gazette, and General Advertiser, Saturday, September 27, 1783. Saturday, March 13, 1784. Saturday, May 8, 1784. Thursday, July 1, 1790. Located in Egerton and Paquette, "A Documentary History," 3-4.

[33] Egerton and Paquette, "A Documentary History," xx.

158

exports. The fact that a man like Vesey could make a career trading slaves and coffee internationally (and eventually settle in the U.S. with his Caribbean-born slaves) is a testament to the interconnectedness of the Early Modern Atlantic. The fact that his island-hopping slave trading directly precipitated the 1822 Vesey Rebellion, too, is a poetic testament to this trade's ultimate fragility. Slave revolt hung like the Sword of Damocles over America and St. Domingue alike—both were topped by a slave-owning white elite that ruled over a subordinated caste of black laborers. This sword simply spared the former and decapitated the latter. Despite explicit attempts at self-distancing, American perceptions of St. Domingue were forever colored by this uncanny familiarity.

White St. Domingans emigrated from Hispaniola in steady waves after the Haitian Revolution began. The initial 1791 slave revolts were largely relegated to the Northern plain surrounding le Cap-Français and rendered many planters destitute and homeless. However, many still held out hope for the eventual reestablishment of white supremacy on the island and saw the slave revolts as a merely temporary crisis. White emigration would increase as the revolution progressed, increasing rapidly after the 1793 battle of le Cap.

Philadelphians had heard of St. Domingan whites before emigration, however, through newspapers. Federalist and Republican periodicals alike dedicated long portions of their biweekly installments to updates from the Caribbean. Spanish Cuba, British Jamaica, and French St. Domingue were afforded columns of equal size to their metropoles.[34] The Caribbean was dominated by European empires, so awareness of Caribbean politics was vital to American financial and security interests. If the Caribbean was seen as a Europe-in-miniature, St. Domingue was seen as a France-in-miniature.[35] While American opinion would later divide about the desirability of the French

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[34] For an example of this, see "Gazette of the United States and daily evening advertiser. (Philadelphia [Pa.]), 27 Oct. 1794." Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress.

[35] James Dun. "Dangerous Neighbors: Making the Haitian Revolution in early America." (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016). 27.

Revolution, prior to 1793 it was broadly unified in support for it.[36] St. Domingan émigrés had an uphill battle ahead of them, as Philadelphian reporting was unkind to their cause. Chafing between St. Domingue and its metropole made the white colonist class appear as self-interested counterrevolutionaries opposed to French and American revolutionary values. In 1792, Port-au-Prince's whites seized gunboats and blockaded the colony's ports to protest a decree from the National Assembly granting political equality to the *gens de couleur*. This reflects the colonial white distaste for the National Assembly documented in the Massiac Club's private correspondence. Reporting on this incident in Philadelphia captures the negativity that underpinned early American attitudes towards the colonists.

In 1792, Philadelphians read in the National Gazette that "advices from Cape Francois, and other parts of French Hispaniola, are as unfavorable as ever … a spirit of discord seems to have taken possession of all [whites] … [which] has nearly ensured the total ruin of the colony."[37] This discord arose from the intransigence of St. Domingan whites in the face of a Parisian push for racial equality: "[St. Domingan whites] refused to accept the decree of the National Assembly, granting certain privileges to the mulattoes and free negroes. At Port-au-Prince … [they] prevented supplies from being carried into any of the out-ports" with illegally seized "gun-ships."[38] The article concludes by describing how "on the 24th, in the afternoon, was heard a very heavy cannonading … from which it was probable that the total destruction [of Port-au-Prince] had taken place."[39] The whites of St. Domingue appeared, to Philadelphian readers, as intransigent reactionaries opposed to the revolutionary regime in Paris, to which Americans were generally sympathetic. Further undermining the St. Domingan cause was this article's physical position in the newspaper; it immediately followed an

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[36] Ashli White. *Encountering Revolution: Haiti and the Making of the Early Republic*. (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 91.
[37] National gazette. (Philadelphia [Pa.]), 25 July 1792. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.

update on the military successes of Lafayette in the revolutionary wars, whom Americans regarded as an honorary founding father. The contrast between the hero of two revolutions and treasonous white plotting only further predisposed Americans towards disapproval of the St. Domingans. These opinions would have been common throughout the eastern seaboard, as another 1792 report from Baltimore offers a similarly incendiary account of the incident (which was republished in New York): "[St. Domingan] whites will not accept the Decree of the National Assembly [mandating racial equality] … at Port-au-Prince, they fitted out five cruisers to [enforce a blockade]."[40] Philadelphians—and Americans at large—knew St. Domingan whites principally as opponents to liberty, and therefore their own values.

Conscious of this, planters directed the organizational skills they had learned in the revolutionary metropole towards wooing the American public. The savviest among them was named Claude-Corentin Tanguy de la Boissière. Tanguy was a planter from Les Cayes who fled to Philadelphia in 1793 after the battle of le Cap, instigated by competition between colonial governors.[41] The first faction of governors, Léger-Félicité Sonthonax and Étienne Polverel, were liberals sent to govern St. Domingue by the Girondin government who allied themselves with the *gens de couleur*. Sonthonax was the politically dominant of the two, and (correctly) viewed St. Domingan whites as royalist reactionaries opposed to the authority of the National Assembly.[42] He would later liberate all St. Domingan slaves to shore up his influence against the Spanish-aligned Toussaint Louverture (to whom he would later lose in a power struggle for mastery of the colony). François-Thomas Galbaud du fort, meanwhile, was a governor sent by Revolutionary Paris after Sonthonax and Polverel who grew sympathetic to the plight of St. Domingan whites.[43] The battle of le Cap was Galbaud's failed attempt to seize power in the colony over Sonthonax

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[40] Gazette of the United-States (New-York [N.Y.]), 25 July 1792. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress.
[41] White, *Encountering Revolution*, 95.
[42] Ibid*,* 100-101.
[43] Ibid, 101-102.

161

and Polverel. Many whites, seeing his 1793 defeat as the death of their life in St. Domingue, subsequently fled to America.[44] Tanguy was one such white émigré and, in the words of one scholar, was one of Galbaud's "minions."[45] He used his background in journalism to advance the cause of St. Domingan whites in Philadelphia.

Tanguy was a charlatan with a penchant for deceit. In an address to the St. Domingan government, Tanguy stated that he had lived in the colony for 23 years.[46] He framed himself as the humble "father of a family living on his cabbages and carrots on a mountain called Les Platons twenty miles from the town of Les Cayes," though neglected to mention that he both owned a plantation and was incarcerated in France from 1775 to 1778 on a libel charge.[47] His stay in Philadelphia was brief, but productive. A member of a larger white St. Domingan diaspora across America's Eastern seaboard, Tanguy was bilingual and acted as a cultural ambassador for émigrés in America. He got hold of a publishing company, and his output offers valuable insight into the mechanisms through which St. Domingans identified and exploited cracks in early American political culture.

During his Philadelphian exile, Tanguy authored a proposal for an English-language newspaper periodical: "Journal of the Revolutions in the French Part of St. Domingo."[48] He had briefly published a French-language version of this periodical during his time in Cap-Français ("*Journal des Révolutions de la partie français de St Domingue*") but was forced to emigrate by Galbaud's bloody engagement with Sonthonax and Polverel.[49] This proposal, while unsuccessful, contains a partisan account of the history of St. Domingue that demonstrates intentional tailoring of the émigré cause to the attitudes of Tanguy's Philadelphian audience.

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[44] Ibid, 102.

[45] Ibid, 103.

[46] *Adresse de Tanguy Laboissière à la Commission nationale civile de Saint-Domingue,* March 29, 1793. Found in Marie-Thérèse Labossière Thomas, "A Haitian Tale of Diasporas and Revolutions in the Atlantic World," 2016.

[47] Ibid, 2.

[48] White, *Encountering Revolution*, 95.

[49] Ibid, 96.

Conscious of American history, Tanguy framed St. Domingue as a colony founded by hardworking republican Protestants. He begins his account with Columbus's 1492 voyage, recounting how "Spanish avarice, superstition and cruelty soon snatched [the Taino] from [their] native soil" and replaced them with an indolent population of Catholics.[50] A wave of Huguenot French colonists supposedly arrived in the colony after fleeing Louis XIV's revocation of the Edict of Nantes: "Those Frenchmen [who founded the colony], on the eve of being sacrificed in France upon the sacred altar of religion … by their priests and kings … sought an asylum in the island of St. Domingo."[51] Huguenot Protestants never constituted a significant minority on the island, much less the supposed plurality of its founding generation.[52] The white population of St. Domingue were mostly Catholics who had only been on the island for one or two generations.[53] In advancing a fake narrative about a Protestant flight to the new world to escape the medieval barbarities of throne and altar, Tanguy made a heavy-handed allusion to the American colonial experience. The United States traces its origins to Puritans fleeing an increasingly hierarchical Anglican church and landing on Plymouth rock. Tanguy traced St. Domingue's origins to Huguenots fleeing an increasingly oppressive Catholic monarchy and landing on the Isle de la Tortue off the north coast of Hispaniola. The most notable point of divergence between America and Tanguy's St. Domingue is over the question of independence. Where Americans wanted independence from the British monarchy, Tanguy framed white St. Domingans as loyal citizens of the French republic. This divergence, however, only furthers Tanguy's cause by framing Americans and St. Domingans as fellow republicans. Tanguy conveniently ignores the fact that St. Domingan whites openly discussed independence in the early stages of the French Revolution. St. Domingue was neither Protestant, nor liberal, nor particularly loyal to

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[50] Excerpt located in Thomas, "A Haitian Tale," 2.
[51] Excerpt located in White, *Encountering Revolution*, 96.
[52] White, *Encountering Revolution,* 97.
[53] White, *Encountering Revolution,* 96.

France; Tanguy instead grossly contorted historical memory to pander to American self-perceptions.

He juxtaposes the hardworking Protestant spirit of St. Domingue with the comparative laziness of the Catholic Spanish. The Huguenots supposedly worked land "which had remained uncultivated under the hand of the inactive Spaniards, who seem to have invaded America only to deprive others of it."[54] This, too, appealed to American industry. The reliance of St. Domingan industry upon slavery is only obliquely mentioned by Tanguy. In reality, French Hispaniola was cultivated by way of the mass importation of enslaved Africans (in Tanguy's words, "the unknown brutes and savages of the torrid zone"[55]). Again ignoring the brutal reality of St. Domingan history, Tanguy states that enslaved Africans enjoyed France's "utmost concern" in their transportation to the new world and paternalistic supervision by whites.[56] While he was correct that the French transformed St. Domingue into a lucrative colony ("It is partly to the colony of St. Domingo that France owes the astonishing encrease [sic] of her maritime towns, the prosperity of her trade, and her superiority in the European markets"),[57] the true work upon which this prosperity rested was done by black hands instead of white ones. Tanguy's attempt to associate St. Domingue's prosperity with a Protestant work ethic is beleaguered by the fact that almost all work on the colony was done by slaves.

Tanguy completely ignores the *gens de couleur* population, never mentioning them in his account of St. Domingan history.[58] The mixed-race elite of St. Domingue was perhaps the social quality that most greatly distinguished its society from that of the United States. By ignoring it, Tanguy sidestepped basic incongruence in the two's histories while simultaneously politically stymying *gens de couleur* who had taken refuge in the United States (with whom the white planters had competed since prior to the French Revolution). The experience of *gens*

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[54] Excerpt located in Thomas, "A Haitian Tale," 2.
[55] Ibid, 2.
[56] Ibid, 3.
[57] Ibid, 3.
[58] Ibid, 3.

164

de couleur émigrés is beyond the scope of this essay, but they did not generally enjoy a happy transition to American society. Amidst binary Anglo-American conceptions of "blackness," they enjoyed less clout as exiles than as an independently powerful colonial elite back in St. Domingue.[59] Tanguy abused these differences between American and St. Domingan culture to advance the interests of his own planter class and politically marginalize the *gens de couleur*. His account contrasts sharply with Julien Raimond's account of the origins of St. Domingue. Both attempted to lay claim to ownership of St. Domingue's founding on the part of their respective ethnic groups. While Tanguy took far more egregious liberties with truth than did Raymond, the existence of these two competing narratives demonstrates that St. Domingans looked to history to both explain their political troubles and justify impossible futures wherein their class enjoyed unfettered dominance.

Despite the sophistication of propagandists like Tanguy, Philadelphians were generally unreceptive to the planter cause. Even in 1793, in the midst of intense bickering between Federalists and Republicans, both viewed St. Domingan whites unfavorably. After the radical phase of the French Revolution began, Federalists reacted strongly against France's example and culture in general. They were eternally paranoid about domestic subversion and saw St. Domingan whites as possible agents of revolution. They believed that the 1791 slave revolts were caused both by St. Domingan whites driving slaves too hard for profits and France's ideas bringing chaos to her colonies.[60] They wanted nothing to do with the French-speaking planters whose mother culture seemed to bring devastation to everything it graced.[61]

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[59] White, *Encountering Revolution*, 80-86.

[60] White, *Encountering Revolution,* 110.

[61] As the 1790's progressed, Federalist paranoia surrounding French influence would only grow. One telling example from a 1799 Federalist newspaper captures this sentiment (which was nascent during the time period covered by this essay): "look on Frenchmen with the eye of suspicion, and prepare to meet them as enemies, with the sword: and BEWARE OF FRENCH EMIGRANTS." While Federalists and St. Domingan émigrés were both generally conservative, Federalist xenophobia proved an insurmountable challenge for the ruined planter class of French Hispaniola. Quote from Independent Chronicle, April 8, 1799.

Republicans, meanwhile, saw the planters as counterrevolutionaries who betrayed the National Assembly.[62] They saw the French cause as similar to their own, calling each other "citizen" in the manner of Frenchmen. Republicans naturally followed the bickering between colonial whites and Parisian authorities over racial equality quite closely. The St. Domingan whites now jockeying for American approval had not too long ago discussed the treasonous possibility of a British takeover of their island to reimpose slavery. These were enemies of America's sister republic, not fellow citizens of an enlightened Atlantic. If they professed republican virtues, it was only a farcical contrivance. They resembled an aristocracy in all but name. Tanguy had anticipated these charges by framing planters as liberty-loving patriots who would never want independence from the French republic.[63] These despairing efforts, however, would come to no avail. Philadelphians, and Americans at large, were not charmed by the planter class of St. Domingue. The émigrés never gained a serious degree of political influence.

Conclusion

The story of the St. Domingan émigrés is somewhat anticlimactic. Most faded into obscurity, known to the historical record only through a slight increase in the number of Catholic wills in American mortuaries at the turn of the 19th century.[64] American foreign policy was unaffected by their machinations, with the Adams administration supporting Toussaint Louverture during the quasi-war by enforcing a naval blockade on French ships sailing to Haiti. The Jefferson administration restored

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[62] Ashli White offers numerous examples of these kinds of opinions in *Encountering Revolution*, 108-115.

[63] Tanguy wrote that "like those sons, the more respectful, the more attached to a deceived mother, as she seems to load them with despotism and motherly injustice; in like manner nature and the French blood, which flows in our veins, will cry aloud to us that we are Frenchmen—French republicans, and friends to true equality." Located in White, *Encountering Revolution*, 97.

[64] White, *Encountering Revolution,* 96.

166

friendly relations with France, by then led by Napoleon. As for the émigrés' once-profitable island, hopes of the reassertion of French control became increasingly distant as Louverture established a precedent for Caesarism that Haitian leaders continue to imitate. The policy favored by Tanguy, Galbaud, and the planters—the maximalist reimposition of white supremacy on the island—was undertaken by Napoleon with the doomed Leclerc expedition. Having attempted what was by then impossible, however, St. Domingue quickly descended into a mutually genocidal ethnic conflict between whites and now-allied *gens de couleur* and blacks. Jean-Jacques Dessalines executed St. Domingue's last remaining whites in 1804 and declared the independence of the black republic of Haiti that same year. His regime fell with his 1806 assassination, dividing Haiti into two countries until being reunited as a democratic republic in 1820 under Jean-Pierre Boyer. St. Domingue ended the 18th century as a slave society in flames, and began the 19th as the Republic of Haiti, a living testament to black liberation. If any white émigrés were still alive to watch these events from Philadelphia, they observed with the tired eyes of aged exiles. They had failed, and their once-lavish lifestyles were now embers flickering amongst the ashes of empire; even the name "St. Domingue" was replaced by the pre-Columbian "Haiti," so that only they themselves would remember the lofty heights of their excesses.

The St. Domingan émigré engagement with American culture, however, demonstrates that they were conscious of commonalities between their own historic experience and that of America. They had been trained in advancing class interests during the French Revolution by way of the Massiac Club and applied those lessons to America after emigration from St. Domingue. The fact that machiavellians like Tanguy were able to author plausible (if heavily doctored) parallel histories of St. Domingue and America is a testament to the two's ugly shared origins as slave societies run by white oligarchies. Per documents from Paris, Port-au-Prince and Philadelphia, white St. Domingans viewed the interpretation of history as relevant to their political cause and exhibited a fierce form of class consciousness that highlighted tensions in the Early Modern Atlantic. The Haitian Revolution continues to be relevant

<div align="center">167</div>

to students of American history, as it involves major historical questions that America continues to grapple with: a colonial past, slavery, revolution, and incompletely-observed enlightenment ideals.

The Birth of the Operational Art:
The Formalization of the Political-Military Relationship in the United States in the Civil War

Antonio Vargas

Maneuver, lines of operations, and calculated risk are all aspects of the operational art that General Ulysses S. Grant developed in the Civil War that birthed modern warfare.[1] Modern warfare is stereotypically characterized by large armies, joint operations, and an attacking mindset usually associated with World War II or the Gulf War. But this style of warfare was derived from the American Civil War. In the Eastern Theater during the first half of the Civil War, battles were more defensive-minded following Jominian theory. But during the course of the war joint operations and the operation art replaced the defensive-minded Jominian theory of war. This change in military operations, in addition to political influences and good leadership, played a crucial role in the Union's victory. President Abraham Lincoln was the first President in American history to actively enforce his duties as commander-in-chief guiding national policy and military strategy. In the beginning of the war his objective was the preservation of the Union, but as the war progressed, it became clear that this was a weak goal. To solve this problem Lincoln published his Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation in the fall of 1862. This created a moral buy-in for soldiers giving them purpose but also a clear indication to his generals to attack the enemy to enforce this proclamation. This created an environment for generals to be more creative, and General Ulysses S. Grant rose above the others with the creation of the operational art. The formalization of the political-military relationship and creation of a definitive purpose of the war through the Emancipation Proclamation created a conducive environment for the birth of the operation art, the birth of modern warfare.

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[1] Department of the Army. Planning and Orders Production. FM 5-0, (Washington, DC: Department of the Army, 2022), https://armypubs.army.mil/epubs/DR_pubs/DR_a/ARN36775-FM_5-0-001-WEB-3.

Understanding how war evolves, along with a willingness to adapt, is important because the lessons learned can foreshadow patterns of the next war. For example, when Confederate General Robert E. Lee couldn't defeat Grant, during his Overland Campaign, Lee entrenched his army around Petersburg, which led to a nine-month stalemate. This pattern of entrenchment foreshadows the horror of trench warfare that defined World War I. It is important for historians to understand that there are many influences that directly impact military success. By focusing solely on the social, political, or economic ramifications of war is to lose sight of the importance of how warfare evolves. The formalization of the political-military relationship and the creation of the operational art are the components that define modern warfare, and the main reason why the Union won the war.

Before Lincoln took the oath of office on March 4, 1861 the Confederacy attempted to legitimize and secure its power. The Confederacy's first object was seizing federal forts and buildings in order to secure its borders. But the important forts for the Confederacy to seize were those along the rivers and coastlines. In the last few months of James Buchanan's presidency, his administration promised the authorities in Charleston, South Carolina that the federal government would not reinforce these forts in order to maintain the status quo in the area. However, Major Robert Anderson, originally stationed at Fort Moultrie, moved his troops to the more secure Fort Sumter after misinterpreting orders from the War Department on December 26, 1860.[2] This action was applauded in the North, but the Confederacy's military leadership responded by not letting any ship near the fort. By March 5, 1861 Fort Sumter was running out of supplies and Major Anderson updated President Lincoln on his current situation. President Lincoln had two options: surrender the fort and withdraw his troops or reinforce the current garrison at the fort. The first option displeased Lincoln as this would go against his inaugural promise to occupy federal

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[2] James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2003), 265.

property.[3] The second, however, Lincoln approved but instead of reinforcing the fort with military personnel, the ships would only be carrying supplies, mainly food. This convoy was scheduled to arrive at Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861, and President Lincoln sent a letter to Governor Pickens of its planned arrival. Once notified of the incoming shipment the key leaders of the Confederacy gathered and ordered General P.G.T. Beauregard to not allow the shipment to reach the fort.[4] On the morning of April 12, 1861 at 4:30 am the Confederate batteries opened fire. With very little supplies and their artillery volleys ineffective at damaging the Confederate batteries, Anderson surrendered on April 14th.[5] Even though militarily President Lincoln suffered defeat, politically he achieved a victory. By having the Confederacy fire the first shots of the war, it was they who initiated conflict, galvanizing the Union to fight back. This provided Lincoln with volunteers who would fight to keep the Union whole.

At the beginning of the war Lincoln's administration made the primary purpose of the war the preservation of the Union. This meant keeping the Union together as it was before the South decided to secede. To achieve this goal Lincoln was willing to allow slavery to persist to preserve the Union but inhibit its expansion, a key component of the Republican Party platform. In a letter written in 1855 to his friend Joshua Speed, an enslaver from Kentucky, Lincoln stated "I also acknowledge *your* rights and *my* obligations under the Constitution, in regard to your slaves…" however, "I do oppose the extension of slavery."[6] This understanding of constitutional obligation was key in Lincoln's attempt to preserve the Union during his presidential campaign. Lincoln argued that if he was elected president the South should not fear the eradication of the institution of slavery due to its

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[3] Abraham Lincoln, "First Inaugural Address" (1861), in *Abraham Lincoln, Slavery, and the Civil War Selected Writings and Speeches*, ed. Michael P. Johnson. (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's), 66.
[4] McPherson, 273.
[5] McPherson, 273-274.
[6] Abraham Lincoln, "Letter to Joshua F. Speed" (1855), in *Abraham Lincoln, Slavery, and the Civil War Selected Writings and Speeches*, ed. Michael P. Johnson. (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's), 21-22.

Constitutional protections. As president his obligation was to faithfully execute the duties of his office and abide by the laws enshrined in the Constitution and those passed by Congress. His obligations did not include changing the laws of the United States, that was the responsibility of Congress.

Although Lincoln attempted to ease the fears of the South, his personal views undermined his message of preservation. Lincoln criticized slaveholders stating that "… in politics, they dictate the course of all of you, and are as completely your masters, as you are the masters of your own negroes."[7] Lincoln understood that the South and its culture was intertwined with the institution of slavery and that the South would always demand its continuation and expansion. In one of his most well-known speeches, *A House Divided*, Lincoln stated and understood that "this government cannot endure, permanently half *slave* and half *free*."[8] This dichotomy of internal separation, as Lincoln understood, was the cause of Union's political strife, but he was uncertain which path the country would follow. Publicly, however, Lincoln primarily focused on trying to bridge the relationship between the North and South to keep the Union together.

However, Southerners interpreted Lincoln's election as president as a direct attack to the very heart of the South: the institution of slavery. Their goal was to keep the institution of slavery strong and continue its expansion westward. During the 1850s Southern politicians attempted to create more slave states out of the western territories. In the end, both the Compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 allowed some western territories the ability to decide whether to become either a slave state or free state through popular sovereignty.[9] One crucial legal

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[7] Lincoln, "Letter to Joshua F. Speed" (1855), 23.

[8] Abraham Lincoln, "'House Divided' Speech" (1861), in *Abraham Lincoln, Slavery, and the Civil War Selected Writings and Speeches*, ed. Michael P. Johnson. (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's), 32.

[9] Popular Sovereignty at its core was the ability for territories to freely choose whether to be admitted into the Union as either a free state or a slave state. This caused friction between the North and the South as well as violence in the Kansas-Nebraska territory. In what's infamously called Bleeding Kansas, the territory was the focal point of violence to sway the vote. For further reading see James McPherson's *Battle Cry of Freedom* Chapter 5 "The Crime Against Kansas"

172

and political victory that helped this goal was the Dred Scott Decision on March 6, 1857.[10] The Supreme Court decision ensured that African Americans were not eligible for citizenship and that the Missouri Compromise of 1820 was unconstitutional. Therefore, the expansion of slavery was no longer confined to the Southern half of the Union. But Lincoln, and therefore the Republican platform, were against the expansion of slavery., If they won the election of 1860, even if Lincoln upheld his campaign promise to strictly adhere to the Constitution on the issue of slavery, Southerners knew they faced critical opposition to slavery's expansion. Thus, various southern states seceded, the Confederacy formed, and after the attack on Fort Sumter, the war began.

During the first year of the war, the question of enslaved individuals who ran away became a point of tension and concern for President Lincoln. Lincoln needed to convince the South that the Republican Party would take away their slaves in order to keep channels open for a peaceful resolution with the South in order to reach his goal of preserving the Union. But the questions of slavery and the conduct of Union generals made Lincoln's task nearly impossible., In July 1861 General Benjamin Butler received three enslaved individuals who fled from Confederate lines to Fort Monroe. Their enslaver, a Confederate colonel, asked for their release under the Fugitive Slave Law. Butler stated that these individuals were contraband since Virginia claimed to be out of Union and thus the Fugitive Slave Law did not apply. On July 30, 1861 Butler asked for clarification of the administration's stance on the issue.[11] This issue created debate in Congress, who, with grievances from many Democratic Congressmen, ultimately passed the Confiscation Act.[12] The reservations regarding the Confiscation Act

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or Allen Guelzo's *Fateful Lightning* "Chapter 2 "A Game of Balances" for more information and social context.

[10] The Dred Scott Decision was a Supreme Court decision from the *Dred Scott v. Sanford (1857)* case which stated that enslaved people could never become citizens. For further reading, see the transcript of the document on the National Archives Website linked here: https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/dred-scott-v-sandford.

[11] McPherson, 355.

[12] McPherson, 356.

173

gave Lincoln a clear indication that it was necessary to tread lightly if his goal was to only preserve the Union.

Although Congress answered questions regarding the status of the institution of slavery, numerous generals acting as military governors overstepped their given authority. One of these commanders was General John C Frémont. On August 30, 1861 Frémont declared martial law announcing the death penalty for any guerillas sabotaging the Union and freed those enslaved by all Confederate activists in Missouri.[13] This overstep of authority appalled Lincoln, who in turn removed Frémont from command. Additionally, he overturned Frémont's declaration of martial law and stance on freeing those enslaved in Missouri. Lincoln received fierce political backlash for removing Frémont from command from the abolitionist population in the Republican Party, but Lincoln understood that advocating for the abolition of slavery would not be fully supported at this time.[14] By balancing the political attitudes in Congress and the home front, Lincoln created conservative approach to the purpose of the war to gain public support.

Militarily, the goal of preserving the Union was not achievable. Lincoln, as president, was the commander-in-chief of the navy and the army, and was the main authority to guide national strategy by giving his generals his commander's intent.[15] However, by stating his desire to preserve the Union, Lincoln provided an incomplete commander's intent. This created various problems for Lincoln's generals. First, this intent had no clear actionable objectives. Typically, when given the commander's intent from the president, the top generals then create an overall plan to achieve a desired endstate within the commander in

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[13] McPherson, 352.

[14] Lincoln understood that the Confiscation Act was debated fiercely in Congress and passed the Senate 24-11 (senate.gov) and avoided talking about emancipation in his annual address to Congress on December 3, 1861.

[15] The Commander's Intent is composed of three key components: purpose, key tasks, and endstate. The purpose answers why the war is being fought, the key tasks give the next steps and restrictions, and the endstate describes the state in which the war should conclude. Regarding the war, Lincoln's endstate was the preserve the Union or keep the Union together.

chief's intent. This plan is called the national military strategy.[16] However, by only providing the endstate without a purpose or key tasks, as Lincoln did, his goal created ambiguity that inhibited the creation of an effective national strategy. Additionally, this limited information did not place any restrictions upon his generals. With limited understanding of how Lincoln wanted to approach the war, generals struggled with how to plan military campaigns.

Despite his lack of military experience, Lincoln utilized presidential powers that had not been used by any of his predecessors in guiding the action of his generals. Previous presidents during wartime never took an active role in the military decision-making process. They delegated these responsibilities solely to their subordinate generals. Lincoln, by being active in the military decision-making process, created the template for the role of commander-in-chief. Over the course of the war Lincoln learned how to lead his generals, but the initial desired endstate of preserving the Union was only good for creating political ambiguity rather than providing any clear direction. This ambiguous endstate of the war did not create any political avenues for the North and South to mend its relationship, it barely created any moral purpose for soldiers who joined the army. Using the preservation of the Union as the primary endstate of the war without guidance about his purpose nor specific tasks on how to preserve the Union, ultimately created a weak and unachievable goal.

For the first year of the war the national strategy sought to advance the Anaconda Plan created by General Winfield Scott. The Anaconda Plan at its heart was to sever the economy of the South and avoid large military confrontations. The goal was to bring the South back into the Union, not to destroy them. With this in mind, Scott initially created two main military objectives to achieve this goal: a Union blockade that would guard all southern ports limiting their importing and exporting ability and controlling the Mississippi River, which would economically

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[16] FM 5-0 states that the National Military Strategy expands upon the (National Security Strategy and National Defense Strategy, but in the Civil War it was Lincoln's goal to Preserve the Union) by defining national military objectives (ends), how to achieve these objectives (ways), and addresses the military capabilities (means) required to execute the strategy.

sever the South into two. Theoretically, this strategy would have minimal impact on the Southern way of life and limit Union casualties. Additionally, Congress called for a march onto Richmond, which became the Confederacy's capital in early 1861, to forcefully bring the South back into the Union. President Lincoln accepted this addition and gave the order to execute the Anaconda Plan. This exponentially increased the size of the US Navy and gave birth to what would be a two-theater war: the Western Theater and the Eastern Theater.[17]

Knowing that Lincoln wanted to keep diplomatic channels open for the newfound Confederacy to rejoin the Union, Scott created the Anaconda plan which inherently was more defensively minded. This possibly led to generals to be hesitant during the early battles and campaigns: McDowell at Bull Run and McClellan during the Peninsular Campaign. Both generals moved forward with caution, taking minimal risks to preserve combat power, and they committed to an attack only when the chances of victory were high.[18] The problem with this philosophy was that Lincoln's early generals failed to understand that in order to preserve the Union, the Union had to win. By mid-1862, President Lincoln understood this truth and took steps to change the national strategy.

Before the Civil War, the Union Army was a frontier army. Its main purpose was to assure the safety of travelers moving westward from indigenous peoples and maintain the various forts on these routes. But when the Civil War began the old frontier army needed to become a professional army. During the initial stages of the secession crisis, the Union Army had around 16,000 soldiers, and by the end of Civil War, the Union Army stood at 1,000,000 soldiers across two separate theaters.[19] There were three early changes that turned the frontier army

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[17] A Theater is defined as any region or space where war is fought. For example, in World War II, there were two main theaters from the United States perspective, the Pacific Theater and the European Theater. In the Civil War, there were two theaters, the Eastern Theater and the Western Theater.

[18] Combat power has eight elements: leadership, information, command and control, movement and maneuver, intelligence, fires, sustainment, and protection

[19] Gary B Griffin, "Strategic-Operational Command and Control in the American Civil War," (US Army Command and General Staff College, 1992), 5.

into a professional army: unit restructuring, the creation of a military culture, and the creation of a staff system. These changes created a more disciplined fighting force, a decentralized command structure, and increased the army's combat effectiveness.

In the first Battle of Bull Run, General McDowell personally commanded twelve divisions with little help from his division commanders. This led to him being personally overworked and unable to coordinate with each division to effectively execute large scale maneuvers. When McClellan took over, he reorganized and trained the men of McDowell's Army to form the Army of the Potomac. McClellan used the regiment as the base unit when he created the Army of the Potomac and worked up through the echelons of command.[20] There were two to four Regiments per Brigade and two to four Brigades in a Division.[21] Each infantry division had an attached artillery battery and cavalry brigade. This made divisions more independent and allowed division commanders to adjust their units, based on the current battlefield situation, without the explicit permission of the army commander.

Additionally, McClellan needed to create a new military culture for the Army of the Potomac. Using his experience as an observer of the Crimean War, he used extensive drilling and training to transform the army of recruits into the Army of the Potomac. He created discipline through the ranks and increased the morale of those in Washington by showing off the troops in marches across the capitol. The increase of discipline and professionalism to create a new military culture in the Army of the Potomac was one of McClellan's greatest achievements and success of the war.[22]

Although the initial restructuring of the Union army and creation of a new military culture were important at the tactical level, the need for a staff system for overall campaign planning was apparent. Before

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[20] This means the most maneuverable or lowest tactical combat effective unit.

[21] Griffin, 5.

[22] It is important to note this culture change was only in the Eastern Theater, there were different military cultures in the Eastern and Western Theaters of the war. This became apparent when Gen. Grant became General in Chief and the perceptions of professionalism differed.

177

the first Battle of Bull Run, General Irvin McDowell was the commander of the newfound army full of recruits and had the difficult task of training new Volunteers using the limited supply of Regulars who were embedded in his army.[23] Simultaneously he had to draft plans of moving south to meet the enemy and oversee the whole logistical operations. With the lack of delegation, the army moved slowly and ultimately failed in the first Battle of Bull Run. When Lincoln replaced McDowell, McClellan reformed the staff system that would be used throughout the rest of the war. Each staff had head chief of staff that oversaw the entire staff, and each staff had three main sections the General Staff, Staff Department, and Special Staff. The General Staff communicated orders to subordinate commanders, collecting and validating received intelligence, keeping reports of the war, and assuring the arrangements were made for "quarters, precautions against surprise, movements, and battle."[24] The Staff Department explicitly focused on the conduct and logistical sides of running an Army: beans, bullets, intelligence, pay, and discipline. Lastly, the Special Staff focused on the Army infrastructure of the Army: transportation, communication, and combat capabilities. The creation of this staff gave Army Commanders more flexibility and freedom to focus on the big picture of the battle while the staff focuses on the small details of the operation. This staff system, by the end of the war, was the most complex until Prussian General von Moltke created the modern staff system. Army Commanders in the Civil War became more managers of individuals than directly leading soldiers in battle, creating the tradition of a decentralized command structure that still persists in the United States military today.[25]

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[23] The Volunteers were soldiers recruited through their state directly, and not in the Regular (Federal) Army.

[24] Griffin, 9-14.

[25] The argument here is that the Union Army was becoming more decentralized, an article titled, "The United States Army's Secret to Success Capitalizing on the Human Dimension to Enhance Its Combat Capabilities" states that in modern times planning is centralized, execution is decentralized. In the Civil War, the higher echelons planned each operation, but it was the lower-level commanders, Colonel and lower, even noncommissioned officers (NCOs), executed these plans.
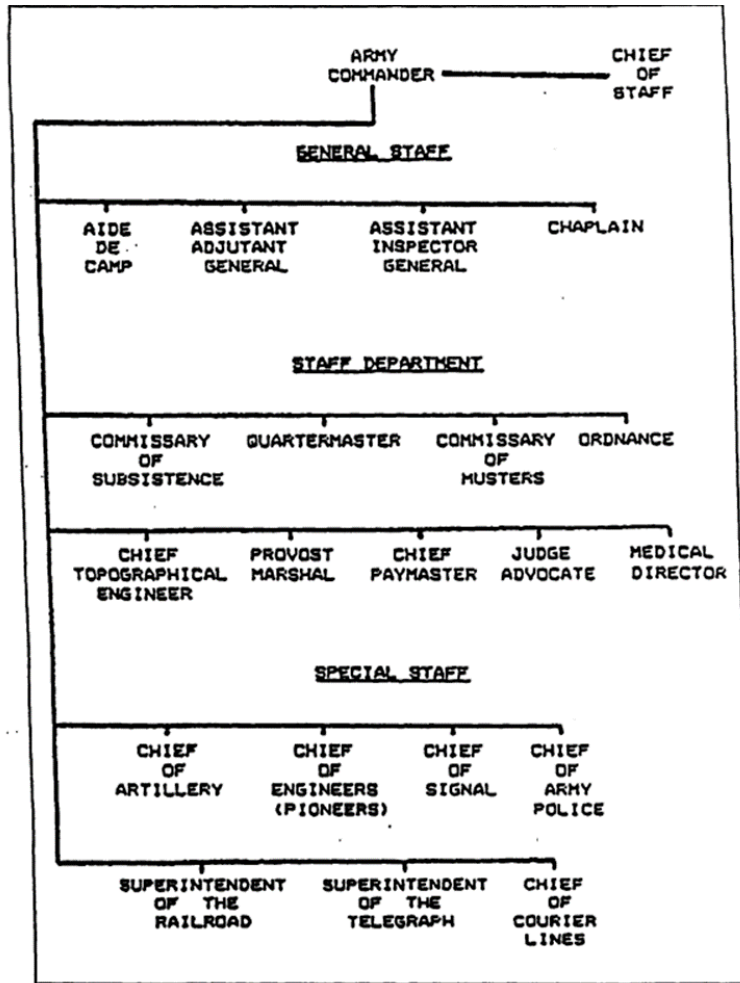
Figure of the Staff System[26]

After the failed Peninsular Campaign, in July 1862, McClellan needed to create better command and control within the Army of the Potomac, so he added another echelon of command, the corps. There were two to three divisions in each corps, and all artillery was consolidated at the corps level. The calvary had their own divisions and were attachments to the infantry corps. By the time General Meade took over the Army of the Potomac, there were seven infantry corps with an attached artillery brigade and a cavalry corps. By June 1863, the estimated total of personnel in the Army of the Potomac was 85,500 men.[27] With the influx of soldiers coming into the Union Army, the

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[26] Griffin, 13.
[27] Griffin, 7.

basic unit structure of the army changed to help commanders maintain command and control over their subordinates.

Although McClellan administratively forged the Army of the Potomac, his military decision making was rooted in his West Point education of the Jominian style of warfare. In the early nineteenth century, there were two main individuals who influenced the military theory taught at West Point: General Antoine-Henri Jomini and Professor Dennis Mahan. Antoine-Henri Jomini served in the French Army during the time of Napoleon and his treatise of warfare, *The Art of War*, describes the Napoleonic style of warfare. Using various concepts of interior lines and geometric angles on lines of defense, Jomini described the importance of massing troops at a decisive point to achieve victory. Additionally, Jomini warned that war was not a science, it was an art, and that only a minimum necessary force should be used to minimize casualties.[28] This theory correlated very well to the Eastern Theater of the Civil War. The Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia fought using these principles in various battles: Gettysburg, Seven Days Battle, and Fredericksburg. The best example of the Jominian art of warfare is the Battle of Gettysburg. On the second and third day of the battle, Meade used the natural terrain around Gettysburg to create his famous 'fish hook', this shape embodies the geometric and defensive style of warfare of Jomini. This fish hook shape created interior lines for the Army of the Potomac that allowed them to shift troops to various points in the line to strengthen their defense in a timely manner. This ability to amass forces quickly at any given location allowed Meade the flexibility to focus his forces at the "decisive point" to achieve victory wherever the opportunity arose. Professor Mahan, a military instructor at West Point, supplemented the Jominian framework with further instruction of the defensive art of warfare and fortifications. This defensive framework of war described by Jomini and Mahan would heavily influence McClellan's military decision making during the Peninsular Campaign.

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[28] Antoine-Henri Jomini, *The Art of War*, trans. W.P Craighill and G.H Mendell (West Point, NY, 1862), https://www.gutenberg.org/files/13549/13549-h/13549-h.htm, 321.
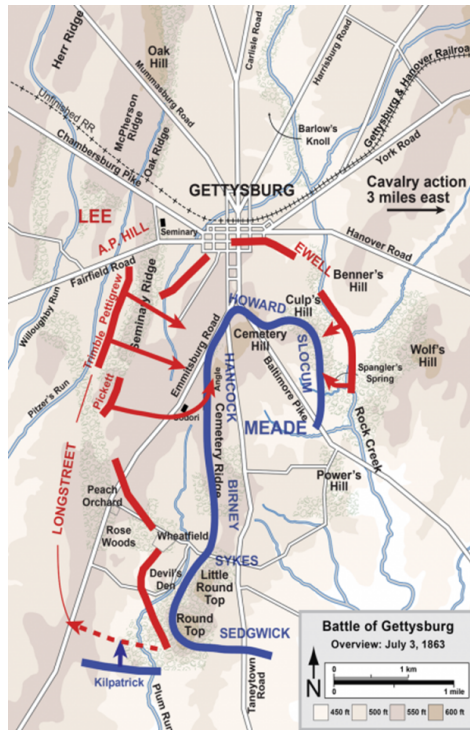
Meade's Fish Hook at Gettysburg[29]

Professor Mahan, a military instructor at West Point, supplemented the Jominian framework with further instruction of the defensive art of warfare and fortifications. Since West Point, at its founding, was an engineering school, the curriculum was primarily focused on this aspect of warfare. This engineering focus of early nineteenth century West Point played an important role in the second half of the war. With the Confederacy losing ground to the Union Army in 1863-1865, the Confederate Army fortified their defenses further at key locations to stall and hopefully outlast the will of the Union Army, like the battles of Vicksburg, Atlanta, and Petersburg. These long defensive sieges were the product of the theoretical combination of the geometric style warfare of Jomini and the engineering focus of Professor Mahan. This initial theoretical framework of both Antoine-Henri Jomini and Professor Mahan influenced the early conduct of the war, but as the nature of warfare changed, so did its tactics. However, it is the leadership and

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[29] "Battle History," Gettysburg PA, accessed December 8, 2022, https://www.gettysburgpa.gov/history/slideshows/battle-history.

181

tactical ability of the military commander to implement and adapt these tactical theories to achieve victory on the battlefield.

In recent Civil War historiography, traditional military history is discussed very little, especially the topic of command and generalship. However, this topic is important because individual generals, their personality, leadership, and ability, influenced the outcomes of battles that shaped the social and political landscape of the home front. An exception to the lack of military history in recent scholarship is Andre Bledsoe's 2019 article, "Beyond the Chessboard of War: Contingency, Command, and Generalship in Civil War Military History." He creates a framework to analyze how effective each general was at commanding using four distinct categories: politics, personality and leadership ability, military culture, and battlefield performance.[30] I use this framework to analyze McClellan in an attempt to understand why he was not able to adapt to the changes of warfare during the first half of the Civil War.

A military officer, in the 1860s as well as today, is an individual who is supposed to provide their subordinates with purpose, direction, and motivation. McClellan achieved these three goals during the formation of the Army of the Potomac, in which he trained recruits on the art of warfare, constantly drilled them to establish discipline, and personally motivated his troops to continue to improve. Soldiers in the Army of the Potomac became very loyal to McClellan and were proud to be a part of his army. One soldier noted that the Army of the Potomac was always McClellan's until Gen. Grant's Overland Campaign in 1864.[31] By giving his subordinates a shared understanding of the purpose of the war, to bring the Confederacy back into the Union, McClellan created a moral buy-in, albeit a weak one, that motivated soldiers to want to fight.

In addition to creating a buy-in for new recruits, McClellan's administrative ability helped modernize the Army of the Potomac to make it more combat effective. As previously discussed, McClellan

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[30] Andrew S Bledsoe, "Beyond the Chessboard of War: Contingency, Command, and Generalship in Civil War Military History," *The Journal of the Civil War Era* 9, no. 2 (June 2019): pp. 275-301.
[31] McPherson, 728.

restructured the Union Army and was the first to introduce corps into the Union Army's structure, he laid the foundation for the Civil War Staff system, and his logistical ability to train an Army from scratch are all worthy achievements and deserve recognition. As a leader, McClellan's logistical and administrative skills were his strength and it helped laylaid the foundation for the Union's victory in the years after Lincoln removed him from command of the Army of the Potomac.

However, McClellan had a large ego and outward bravado. In one of his most famous letters to his wife Mary, he states that he could become dictator due to his popularity.[32] This belief permeated his entire being and altered his perception and was one of the main reasons for the tear in Lincoln and McClellan's relationship. McClellan believed that it was the political institutions and his superiors that were holding him back and placing restrictions upon him that undermined his success. However, this could not be further from the truth. President Lincoln wanted McClellan to attack the Confederacy and make a move toward Richmond, but McClellan kept delaying. To force his hand, President Lincoln published War Order No. 1 that forced McClellan to initiate movement.[33] Additionally, during the execution of the Peninsular Campaign McClellan stalled outside of Richmond. He stated that he could not attack because he didn't have the necessary personnel to take the city.[34] While McClellan was prone to not take risks, he also overestimated the enemy's actual strength. McClellan's ego and lack of will altered his perception of the battlefield, and combined with President Lincoln's conservative goal for the war, McClellan became hesitant and defensively minded.

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[32] Ethan S. Rafuse, "Abraham Lincoln and George B. McClellan," Abraham Lincoln's Classroom (The Lehrman Institute), accessed December 8, 2022, https://www.abrahamlincolnsclassroom.org/abraham-lincolns-contemporaries/abraham-lincoln-and-george-b-mcclellan/.

[33] Abraham Lincoln, "Executive Order-General War Order No. 1," The American Presidency Project (UC Santa Barbara), accessed December 8, 2022, https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/executive-order-general-war-order-no-1.

[34] Lincoln sent this letter in response to McClellan's plea for troops and reestablishment of a land supply route. Abraham Lincoln, "Letter to George McClellan (October 13, 1862)," Lincolns Writings, accessed December 8, 2022, https://housedivided.dickinson.edu/sites/lincoln/letter-to-george-mcclellan-october-13-1862/.

McClellan's administrative leadership created the foundation for his successors to succeed in winning the war, but his lack of will undermined his ability to accurately perceive the necessary steps to achieve victory. McClellan's battlefield performance was a litany of failures. In his two largest engagements, the Peninsula Campaign and the Battle of Antietam, he failed to take the initiative to achieve a tactical victory. McClellan was hesitant, slow, and defensive, allowing the enemy to have freedom of maneuver, and the ability to prepare the battlespace that was conducive to victory. The lack of aggressiveness to attack the enemy was the downfall of McClellan in both of these engagements.

McClellan's lack of initiative was not just in combat but became apparent during the planning process for the Peninsular Campaign. Lincoln asked McClellan many times for a campaign plan, but McClellan only delayed. In response, Lincoln issued General War Order No. 1 forcing McClellan to move against the enemy no later than the 22nd February 1862.[35] After moving the Army of the Potomac south via navy transportation, McClellan stumbled upon a Confederate force at Yorktown. Instead of attacking the lesser Confederate force, McClellan settled for a siege. This gave the Confederate Army time to prepare defenses around Richmond and mass their forces to counter McClellan. After delaying McClellan for a month, the Confederate force at Yorktown to Richmond's established defenses. McClellan called the capture of Yorktown a victory, but instead it was a calculated decision by the enemy to trade space for time.[36] His lack of aggressiveness or willingness to take the initiative came again when he pushed the Confederates back to the Richmond defenses. Instead of taking risks to start defeating the enemy, he halted and prepped a defensive position because he believed the enemy had greater numbers. This backfired when Gen. Robert E. Lee took over the Army of Northern Virginia and aggressively attacked Gen. McClellan forcing him to withdraw back to Washington. His lack of aggression in the Peninsula Campaign

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[35] Lincoln, Executive Order-General War Order No. 1.
[36] FM 3-0 defines Retrograde as a type of defensive operation that involves organized movement away from the enemy (ADP 3-90) to either delay the enemy, withdraw, or retire.

highlighted his strict adherence to military theory attempting to keep a Jominian geometric shape. This lack of adaptation in combat was his downfall in this campaign.

At the Battle of Antietam, McClellan applied the lessons learned from the Peninsula Campaign and took the initiative by attacking Lee while Lee's armies were separated. But during the battle itself McClellan had a difficult time coordinating his troops in the fog of war: his armies never massed an attack on a decisive point, they all attacked at different times, and the terrain at various locations was not suitable to attack. The culmination of these various issues led to the Battle of Antietam to be the bloodiest day in American history with a casualty count around 23,000 killed, wounded, or missing.[37] McClellan's true failure at the Battle of Antietam was not pursuing Lee after the battle, allowing him to escape across the Potomac River to reconsolidate his forces. McClellan did not understand that he needed to be aggressive to defeat the Confederacy, but given Lincoln's goal of preserving the Union, McClellan was hesitant as he did not want to destroy the Southern people.

General McClellan as Commander of the Army of the Potomac created a combat effective army through training and discipline as well as providing soldiers with purpose, direction, and motivation. His administrative skills in updating unit structure and reorganizing the staff laid the foundation for the future success of the Army of the Potomac. However, his tactical failures, partially due to Lincoln's initial conservative approach and the president's goal of preserving the Union, inhibited McClellan from achieving victory against the Confederacy. McClellan's lack of initiative in attacking was his downfall as an army commander, but this skill shined in other generals, namely Ulysses S. Grant.

By mid-1862 President Lincoln realized the Confederacy would not come back into the Union willingly, and the morale of the Union was dropping. With various military defeats in the Peninsular Campaign

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[37] "Antietam National Battlefield (U.S. National Park Service)," National Parks Service (U.S. Department of the Interior), accessed December 8, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/anti/index.htm.

185

and the Second Battle of Bull Run the administration was losing the confidence of the people. This reflected the lack of a strong moral purpose for the war. Additionally, the Confederacy gained legitimacy abroad and started receiving assistance, for example, Britain supplied the Confederacy with several warships to break the Union blockade.[38] Understanding the domestic and international political situation President Lincoln issued his Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation after the draw at Antietam.[39] The action had four purposes. The first was to give an ultimatum to the Confederacy: either rejoin the Union and the proclamation will have no legal effect or continue to fight and if the Union won, then those enslaved in the rebellious states "shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free."[40] The Confederates continued to fight and subsequently Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1st 1863. Second, this proclamation signaled to various nations and the American people the shift in the moral purpose of the war.[41] Third, it helped boost the numbers in the Union Army as shortly after the Emancipation Proclamation was signed, Congress passed legislation to allow African Americans to join the Union Army. Finally, this use of executive war power provided a legal foundation for the Confiscation Act passed in 1861 by stating that all those enslaved in the rebellious states were free.[42] President Lincoln was assertive in his position as

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[38] Allen C. Guelzo, *Fateful Lightning: A New History of the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 292-293.

[39] Although it is debated, the Battle of Antietam was a military draw because no side gained any advantage or beneficial outcome from the battle. Gen. Lee was able to flee with the remainder of the Army of Northern Virginia and resupply his army. Gen. McClellan had an opportunity to capture Lee's army and failed. However, the Battle of Antietam was definitely a Union political victory.

[40] Abraham Lincoln, *The first edition of Abraham Lincoln's final emancipation proclamation*. Washington, D. C., January 1, 1863. Pdf. https://www.loc.gov/item/scsm001016/.

[41] Allen Guelzo in Fateful Lightning and James McPherson in Battle Cry of Freedom discuss the British perspective of the American Civil War, and talks about the political aspect regarding Britain giving the Confederacy military Aid. The British government did give the Confederacy a few warships early in the war, but after the release of the Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation the British public started to turn against Britain's policy of aiding the Confederacy with warships.

[42] Guelzo, 184-185.

186

commander-in-chief by continually readjusting national goals to reflect the realities of domestic politics and the war.

Militarily, the Emancipation Proclamation gave Union commanders the freedom to conduct offensive operations to "practically restor[e] the constitutional relation between the United States, and each of the States, and the people thereof, in which States that relation is, or may be, suspended or disturbed."[43] By stating that the military would be the enforcement mechanism of ensuring the mandates of the proclamation, Lincoln gave Union commanders the official authority over refugees, as well as ensuring that all people enslaved in the rebellious states were set free. This meant that the Union Army had to attack and invade the South to meet these objectives. After the publishing of the proclamation this attitude shift within the Union Army was noticeable.

In the Eastern Theater General Ambrose Burnside attacked Fredericksburg in December 1862 and General Joseph Hooker attacked Chancellorsville in April-May 1863. Although both of these generals lost their respective battles, their actions reflected the changed strategy compared to McDowell and McClellan because they took the initiative by attacking the enemy force to achieve Lincoln's goals. In the Western Theater, General Ulysses Grant took a large risk during his Vicksburg Campaign and was ultimately victorious.[44] When news of his victory reached Washington, D.C the public celebrated. This was a different reaction than his victory at Shiloh the previous year that horrified the public.[45] The Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation in September 1862 and the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863 fundamentally shifted the national strategy of the war by creating an

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[43] Abraham Lincoln, *Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation*. 1862. Pdf. https://www.loc.gov/item/scsm000950/.

[44] Dec 29 1862-July 4, 1963

[45] McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 414-415. In short Shiloh was a battle fought at Pittsburg Landing between the Union Army commanded by Gen. Grant and the Confederate Army commanded by Gen. Albert Sydney Johnston. For two days, April 6-7 1862, the two armies fought and in the end the Union were victorious. However, the casualties were estimated to be around 20,000. This is the first time in American history that these high casualty numbers were ever produced.

attacking mentality within the Union Army and within the Union populace to create a shared understanding to preserve the Union, the Union had to win the war. However, to oversee this transition into attacking warfare, the upper echelon of the military structure needed to readjust their positional responsibilities.

When General Henry Halleck succeeded McClellan as general in chief, the main responsibility of the position was to coordinate and oversee the execution of the national strategy. But as the war continued, there was a need to separate some of these responsibilities. When Grant became general in chief, Halleck became Army chief of staff, whose responsibility was to oversee the logistics of war for the entire Union Army as well as being a liaison to Lincoln on behalf of Grant. This played into Halleck's strength as an administrator and political savvy. Halleck in this role, not only helped logistically, but kept Lincoln informed about the status of ongoing military operations. Additionally, Halleck helped Grant understand the intentions of Washington since Grant was embedded within the Army of the Potomac conducting military operations. The separation of responsibilities formalized the political-military structure and also set a precedent that the Army chief of staff is the administrative head of the entire US Army.

While Halleck focused on the administration of the Army, Grant as general in chief focused on the combat operations of all the Union Armies. In his 1864 Campaign, Grant used the various armies to hit key strategic objectives to stretch the already limited resources of the Confederacy. Using the technological advantages of the Union Army, Grant used the telegraph to communicate with all the Armies underneath his command to clearly communicate his intent as well as effectively coordinating the timing of military operations. This combination of coordination and communication was the deadly blow for the Confederacy as their resources were stretched too thin to cover the entire front. All the Confederacy could do was dig in at key strategic points like Petersburg and Atlanta and hope they could outlast the Union. But with Halleck overseeing the administration, and Grant's coordination with the other armies, the Union increased the military pressure against the Confederacy. Grant, in his role as general in chief, laid the

foundation for what would be the modern-day combatant commander, as he controlled all the Union Armies within the United States with the primary focus of defeating the Confederacy.

To adapt to Lincoln's new approach to the war, military commanders needed to be more creative while attacking. In the first half of the war, commanders in the Eastern Theater fought in the "traditional" style of warfare, but in the Western Theater commanders began testing new tactics and theories of war that would birth joint operations and the operational art. John Keegan in his book, *The Civil War: A Military History*, argues that the early development of these tactics in the Western Theater was due to the natural topography in the area with its dense woodlands, swamps, and interconnected system of rivers.[46] Terrain played an enormous role in the military decision-making process as commander's had to logistically plan the movement of their army but also how to attack a given objective. It was his ability to read topographic maps, understand the surrounding terrain, his determination, and creativity that allowed Grant to mainstream both joint operations and forge the operational art. These tactical developments allowed Grant to achieve crucial victories in the first half of the war, but he also provided a template to use all available assets jointly to creatively defeat the Confederacy. However, it was the shift in national strategy, not just terrain, that allowed Grant to continue developing these tactics as the Union populace were now willing to bear its cost.

Additionally, the lack of a key engagement made the creation of the operational art necessary to achieve battlefield success. In the traditional Jominian style of warfare, wars were won in one key engagement, for example, the Battle of Waterloo. The American Civil War has no such battle. Some Confederates thought that the first Battle of Bull Run was one such victory, but that optimism didn't last long. Battles in the Eastern Theater in the first half of the war were disjointed with no clear objective after a large engagement, like the Peninsular

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[46] John Keegan, *The American Civil War: A Military History* (London: Vintage Books, 2010), 69-73.

189

Campaign, due to the initial conservative approach taken by the Lincoln administration. However, with the new moral purpose from the Emancipation Proclamation, the public was willing to bear the cost of Grant's forged a new style of warfare which ultimately eliminated the need for a key engagement.[47]

Militarily, joint operations are defined as any operation coordinated between two or more military branches or agencies. During the Civil War, the two main military branches were the Army and the Navy. Grant first operated jointly with the Navy in his victory at Fort Henry and Donelson in February 1862. Using the ships under Flag Officer Andrew Foote, Grant transported his Army toward the forts and disembarked outside the range of the Forts guns. The ships of Flag Officer Foote then shelled the forts allowing Grant's infantry to maneuver around the fort more freely. This use of joint operations produced swift victories and helped secure the Cumberland River for follow on operations down the Mississippi River.

The most well-known joint operation of the Civil War was Grant's Vicksburg Campaign in 1863. Working alongside Admiral Porter, Grant moved his forces south of the Mississippi River capturing Port Gibson on May 1, 1863. This allowed Grant to bypass very restrictive terrain that he failed to march through in his earlier attempt at capturing Vicksburg in the Fall and Winter of 1862. Grant then disembarked his Army and moved eastward toward Jackson, where he eliminated the combat effectiveness of General Sidney Johnston at Jackson on May 14, 1863 before pushing General John Pemberton into Vicksburg and laying siege between May 18-July 4, 1863. While sieging Vicksburg, Grant had Admiral Dixon Porter shelled Vicksburg from the river while he shelled the city by land. The Navy helped Grant's Army stay supplied, ease transportation in restricted terrain, and helped apply military pressure on Pemberton's forces. The Joint Military Historical Collection states that

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[47] Grant had already begun to forge this new style of warfare before the publishing of the Emancipation Proclamation, but it was only due to its publication giving the war a moral purpose that he was allowed to continue its development as the public was more willing to bear its cost.

the Vicksburg Campaign was one of the foundational operations that birthed modern day joint operations.[48]

With the capture of Vicksburg on July 4, 1863, the Union practically controlled the Mississippi achieving one of Lincoln's strategic objectives using creative attacking tactics. This template of joint operations and the operational art achieved battlefield success, and Lincoln took notice. After this victory, Lincoln wrote a letter to Grant for the first time on July 13, 1863 stating that, "…I never had any faith, except a general hope that you knew better than I… I now wish to make the personal acknowledgment that you were right, and I was wrong."[49] This letter demonstrated that Lincoln was not only grateful for Grant but started placing trust in Grant's ability to achieve victory. After Vicksburg Lincoln with his newfound trust in Grant placed him as commander of the Division of the Mississippi, a conglomerate consisting of the Department of the Cumberland, Ohio, and Tennessee. With this responsibility Grant continued achieving victory and secured Tennessee with the victory at Chattanooga and Missionary Ridge. Lincoln took notice of Grant's tactical success and in March 1864 Lincoln made Grant general in chief with the goal of winning the war.

The military definition of operational art is armies engaging in a series of clashes, ideally under the guise of a campaign plan, to destroy the enemy incrementally instead of in a single decisive battle.[50] This can be clearly seen in Grant's 1864 Campaign, also called the Overland Campaign. In the Overland Campaign Grant fought in several large engagements: Wilderness, Spotsylvania, Hannover Junction, Cold Harbor, and the initial attack on Petersburg from May 5 through June 16. During this time Grant wore down Robert E. Lee's Army incrementally in each engagement forcing them closer and closer to Richmond. Grant, unlike previous generals who retreated after losing an engagement,

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[48] Joint Chiefs of Staff. *Joint Military Operations Historical Collection*, (Washington, DC: Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1997), https://www.jcs.mil/Portals/36/Documents/History/Monographs/JMO.pdf

[49] Abraham Lincoln, "Letter to General Ulysses S. Grant," Abraham Lincoln Online, accessed December 8, 2022, https://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/grant.htm.

[50] Griffin, 8.

191

always moved forward to outmaneuver Lee.[51] Grant's focus was not the acquisition of territory but defeating the organized armies of the Confederacy to diminish their combat power and combat effectiveness. Grant knew that the other Union Armies had to act "in concert" with his movements so he delegated specific military objectives to his Army Commanders.[52] Grant's ability to delegate is demonstrated in a communication to a staff officer during the planning stages of the Overland Campaign.[53] He wrote, "When I have sufficient confidence in a general to leave him in command of an army, I have enough confidence in him to leave his plans to himself."[54] Grant placed a large amount of trust in his subordinates, and it is this trust that allowed Grant to delegate significant authority to his Army Commanders that made their armies more independent. Grant's practice of delegating to subordinates laid the foundation for implementation of the newfound operational art and the birth of modern warfare.

In short, the Civil War was a war of transition. Politically, the war went from the preservation of the Union to creating a moral purpose of abolishing slavery in those states that rebelled. Militarily, battles transitioned from the defensive and geometric style of Jominian warfare to the fast-paced attacking warfare that defines the operational art. The Union failed to defeat the Confederacy in the first half of the Civil War because the transition to modern warfare required that various structures be built or evolved: an understanding of national strategy, unit structure, staff structure, and tactics influenced battlefield success. Additionally, Lincoln's active role in military policy created the foundation of the military-political relationship between the commander-in-chief and their top generals regarding their roles and responsibilities.

The initial failures of the Union in the first half of the Civil War stemmed from Lincoln taking a conservative approach to the war to keep

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[51] Griffin, 8.

[52] Griffin, 36.

[53] Grant had a National Military Strategy using all Union Army elements. The two largest sections were Sherman's Army in the Western Theater to capture Atlanta and Meade's Army (with Grant's embedded headquarters) to tackle and destroy Lee's Army.

[54] Griffin, 35.

the channels of diplomacy with the Confederacy open. Lincoln's initial national strategy of the preservation of the Union and the implementation of the Anaconda Plan influenced his generals to conduct more defensive-minded campaigns. But as the war progressed, the understanding of the nature of warfare evolved as well, reflecting the changing goal of the war. Early failures in the Eastern Theater of the war, like the first Battle of Bull Run, demonstrated the need to reorganize the unit structure of the army and update the staff system. Following failures, such as the Second Battle of Bull Run and the Battle of Antietam, made it clear to Lincoln that the war needed a definitive purpose and goal. To achieve that goal Lincoln, as commander-in-chief, shifted the national strategy by signing the Emancipation Proclamation allowing military commanders to be more aggressive and attack the enemy in order to enforce the policies of the proclamation. Meanwhile in the Western Theater, the restrictive natural terrain forced Grant to begin forging new tactics and began conducting joint operations with the navy. This early creativity by adapting to the demands of attacking warfare along with the changing direction of the war laid the foundation for Grant's Vicksburg Campaign which birthed the operational art and modern warfare.

193

"Our Cause is Good": The Roots of the Republican Party in Michigan and Wisconsin

Sean Chamberlain[*]

In some ways, American politics have grown stagnant. For more than a century, politics have been a fight between two major, established institutions: the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. There have been shifts in their core constituencies and in their dominance, but no meaningful systemic changes. There have not been real challenges to the system during this time. Now, American politics is headed in a direction that many find undesirable, yet this system persists to the benefit of these institutions. American politics has not always been like this. There used to be semi-regular attempts to challenge the established political order and political parties rose and fell, even though political power was restricted and not accessible for many. Looking at the explosive growth of one of the current dominant political parties, the Republican Party, demonstrates how American politics can be shaken to its core when it has been sluggish and unresponsive.

Between Andrew Jackson's candidacy for president in 1824 and Abraham Lincoln's election in 1860, the Democratic Party dominated national politics, controlling Congress and the White House for lengthy periods. The country's other major party, the Whigs, became gradually weakened over time and eventually split over the issue of slavery, with Northerners and Southerners heading separate ways. Minor parties, such as the Free Soilers and Know-Nothings, played a role in politics, but were unable to capitalize on opportunities and become a large, sustained rival to the Democratic Party. Due to frustration with the actions, or inaction, of the national political parties, a new party formed in the West in 1854 to advocate for the needs of a coalition of interests: the Republican Party.[584] This mix of former Northern Whigs, Democrats,

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[*] Sean Chamberlain's paper was one of two winners of the Frederick J. Mehl Prize for the best senior thesis in 2023.

[584] Samuel M. Pedrick and David Sakrison, "The Birth of the Republican Party: in a 'Little White Schoolhouse' in Ripon," *Voyageur: Historical Review of Brown County and Northeast Wisconsin* 21 (2005): 48.

Historical Perspectives, Series II, Volume XXVIII, 2023

and Free Soilers had a range of interests largely ignored, overshadowed, or even actively harmed, by the two main parties, so they came together to address their varied concerns. The Republican party quickly gained power, and in just a matter of years would hold the presidency. This growing discontent with established politics, which Republicans harnessed, can be traced back to the older parties ignoring the needs of the growing frontier population. Even as the Democrats were able to install themselves into powerful positions in the West and develop political infrastructures, the party failed to meet the needs of this region.

A number of works have explained the experiences and views of isolated political groups or times, or focus on national politics, leaving a gap in the historiography of the political discontent in Michigan and Wisconsin that led to the creation of the Republican Party. This paper provides a more complete picture of the unrest in the Old Northwest with the established politics, and how this led to the need for and formation of a new political party that strongly promoted the region's interests and views. Instead of focusing on national level politics this paper seeks to show the growth of the Republican party at the grassroots level. This demonstrates that this was the result of a dramatic movement that succeeded due to years of effort by many actors, not just a series of fortuitous events that seem coherent only in hindsight.

The territory that would eventually become Michigan and Wisconsin is key to the birth of the Republican party. Known as the "Father of the West," Lewis Cass, served as governor of the Territory of Michigan (comprising the future states of Michigan and Wisconsin) between 1813 and 1831.[585] In 1806, Cass won election to the Ohio legislature before being appointed the U.S. Marshal of Ohio.[586] In 1812 he became Colonel of the 3rd regiment of Ohio Volunteers, appointed Colonel of the 27th Infantry, and ultimately promoted to Brigadier General during campaigns in the Michigan Territory. Appointed governor of the Territory of Michigan in 1813, he held the position until

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[585] Andrew C. McLaughlin, *Lewis Cass* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1919), 357.
[586] Michigan Historical Commission, and S. D Bingham. *Michigan biographies, including members of Congress, elective state officers, justices of the Supreme Court, members of the Michigan Legislature, Board of Regents of the University of Michigan, State Board of Agriculture and State Board of Education.* Lansing, Published by The Michigan Historical Commission, 1924. https://www.loc.gov/item/24027004/, 156.

195

1831, when he became Secretary of War to President Andrew Jackson.[587] Men such as Cass were often appointed to positions to entrench the party's power.[588] Presidents could appoint officials including territorial governors, land surveyors, agents of the land office, marshals, and postmasters, as a way to create a party infrastructure in new and existing states and territories.[589] These men wielded significant power, which could be used to boost a party and created logical candidates for elected office. Due to the Democrats' ability to hold the White House for a sustained period, they gained great power from these appointments, even though specific priorities and policies could shift between administrations.

Cass was a firm Democrat, but his "frankness [led him to win] the confidence of fellow partisans and opponents."[590] He was also liked by common people as he supported the "great doctrine of faith in the people, and in the dignity and worth of the common American voter…"[591] The popular democracy of Jefferson and Jackson was very appealing to the immigrant communities, including the Irish Catholics, Germans, Dutch, who dominated the area.[592] Democrats advocated some views popular in the region, further allowing them to cultivate a base of support.

There was growing discontent with the prevailing political parties of the region, particularly with the Democratic party due to its national power and alignment with the South. In the *Pontiac Jeffersonian*, one article pondered, "'What has become of the Democratic Party?'"[593] It's answer, "[T]wo years ago it was treason to speak disrespectfully of the locofoco party," which was a faction of the Democratic Party. [594] *The*

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[587] Ibid., 156.
[588] Merle Henrickson, "Michigan Lumbermen's Shipping: Impact of Western Problems on the Development of a Constituency for the Republican Party, 1840-1860," *Chronicle: The Quarterly Magazine of the Historical Society of Michigan*, 26, no. 2 (Fall 1990): 5.
[589] Ibid.
[590] Andrew C. McLaughlin, *Lewis Cass* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1919), 358.
[591] Ibid., 357-8.
[592] Henrickson, "Michigan Lumbermen's Shipping," 5.
[593] "The Democratic Party of Michigan," *The Pontiac Jeffersonian* from the Digital Michigan Newspaper Portal, 21 January 1840.
[594] Ibid., The "Locofocos" were a radical faction of the Democratic Party that was also named the Equal Rights Party. They were around from the mid 1830s into the 1840s and were centered in New York. The term was applied to the Democratic Party more broadly though.

196

Pontiac Jeffersonian continued, "Its headquarters were at Detroit, and it extended the influence of its discipline to the remotest hamlet in the State… The party comprised the mass, because the mass had been blinded by the specious promises of the leaders at Detroit."[595] People started to speak out against the control by the Democratic Party and sought to become more independent. The party made numerous promises, but people were not satisfied with the results, and its public image started to decline. This accelerated as people in Michigan and Wisconsin became more aware of the actions and policies of the Democrats.[596]

This growing discontent with the existing parties was evident as early as 1838, the year after Michigan achieved statehood. *The Jacksonian Democrat* described how Michigan's state Anti-Slavery Society selected Pontiac to host its convention, and expressed surprise by the selection because "Politically, we are thorough anti-abolitionists; we are, and ever shall be, opposed to dragging this agitating question into our national or state politics."[597] Furthermore, "It is a matter of some surprise to us that the Society should have selected Pontiac… [as] it must have been well known to them that the great mass of… citizens are opposed to the principles they promulgate and to the method[s]… they propose…"[598] Finally, "We believe also, that many of the conscientious abolitionists, and there are a few such among us, unite with us in viewing the appointment as very injudicious."[599] Despite this claim, the paper did suspect an ulterior motive on the part of the Anti-Slavery Society: to destroy the existing parties and create something new.[600] It described how they believed that the Anti-Slavery Society was filled with "whigs. The elections in New York were carried through the influence of these agitators… had not this Committee in their mind's eye, a hope that by bringing the subject before the people of Oakland, they would divide the present political parties, form a new one based on the principles they

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[595] "The Democratic Party of Michigan," *The Pontiac Jeffersonian* from the Digital Michigan Newspaper Portal, 21 January 1840.
[596] Ibid.
[597] Ibid.
[598] Ibid.
[599] "Anti-Slavery Meeting."
[600] "Anti-Slavery Meeting."

197

advocate…"[601] In doing so, the newspaper argued, the Society hoped to "secure a preponderating influence in one of the strongest democratic counties in the state… If ever this Union be dissolved this will be the rock on which we split."[602] The community may not yet have been in favor of abolition, but there was a recognition of early attempts to undermine the prevailing political organizations. Although there may not have been specific action to directly further this effort, people understood that the politics of the era were dynamic. Michigan voters regarded slavery not just as a threat to national unity, but as having the potential to fracture political parties as well. Slavery continued to loom large in Michigan politics, as in 1840, two years after the Pontiac convention, delegates assembled for another state anti-slavery convention.[603]

There was so much chaos in politics that there was a breaking of norms. The various parties were fighting each other and sought to acquire what advantages they could. One newspaper even called for women to be more active in politics.[604] After offering reassurances that this was far from a complete breakdown of the gendered order, it described how "As a general rule in tranquil times politics should not be the study of women, but when the affairs of a country are so managed as to threaten its prosperity and domestic happiness, it is the duty of women to take a becoming interest in the subject."[605] Women were advised that not only was it acceptable to counsel their husbands in such times, but it was even necessary to do so as part of their roles as wives and mothers. They were told that "in a terrible crisis like the present, 'when vice holds sway,' when corruption rules and dangerous alliances are mediated, it is the duty of a wife and mother to read, to understand and to advise her husband how to act in the matter."[606] As a result, "We are much gratified… to learn that our females do read political articles in the newspapers, and understand perfectly well the existing state of politics in

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[601] "Anti-Slavery Meeting."
[602] "Anti-Slavery Meeting."
[603] "State Anti-Slavery Convention," *The Pontiac Jeffersonian* from the Digital Michigan Newspaper Portal, 21 January 1840.
[604] "Female Politicians," *The Pontiac Courier* from the Digital Michigan Newspaper Portal, January 12 1838.
[605] Ibid.
[606] Ibid.

the country."[607] The article discusses how women of this era could be useful just as women had been during the Revolution. Women were portrayed as modestly active in politics as a means of preserving their families and thus their country. These messages likely would not have been spread had the situation not been viewed as dire. This is not to say that women gained any rights or any form of equality, but rather demonstrates the desperation of some in politics. The article concludes that women should ensure that their sons and husbands attend political meetings led by those who do "not swell the power of the corrupt and ambitious– they should arouse their energies, and during the election see that they vote themselves, and influence all they can to vote… Every whig vote that a woman can have influence in securing, will bring down a blessing on her."[608] The Whig party, which was struggling, was getting so desperate it sought the assistance of women. This is not the appeal of a party confident in its power. The tone of the article is desperate, but so is its message.

Another article contains a similar message from the Whig party. It presents a fictional back and forth between a husband who recently returned from a nearby Democratic Convention and his wife.[609] She explains that she is "a woman and know[s] nothing about politics; but pray tell me what democracy is?" a sentiment she repeats throughout the article.[610] The couple frets about the potential for their economic doom due to the creation of the "Sub Treasury," which the wife helps her husband realize is a plot to "pretend to be the poor man's friend… [while actually being] the poor man's enemy" and to make "grinding the poor to fatten the rich."[611] They realize that they are both being taken advantage of by politicians whose "master" is President Van Buren.[612] The exchange ends with the husband admitting that his wife is right, but wondering what he can do, to which she replies that he can "Vote for OLD TIP," a reference to the Whig candidate for President, William

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[607] Ibid.

[608] Ibid.

[609] "The Mortgage and The Sub-Treasury," *The Pontiac Jeffersonian* from the Digital Michigan Newspaper Portal, 23 October 1840.

[610] Ibid.

[611] Ibid.

[612] Ibid.

199

Henry Harrison.[613] This exchange is far from shattering the gendered barrier into politics, as the point seems to be that even the nonpolitical and domestic woman can see the treachery of the Democratic Party. The presence of these kinds of articles in Michigan papers indicates that the Whig party did not see itself in a strong position.

There were other motivations for the growth of a new party, including the struggles of Michigan's lumber industry. Environmental complications made shipping more difficult. Many areas lacked good natural harbors.[614] As the shipping season was extended into months in which the weather was more perilous, more ships and lives were lost.[615] This, combined with a shift in national politics from the Monroe and Quincy Adams administrations, bringing more significant spending on infrastructure, led to unrest concerning the existing political structures.[616] As Democrats began to resist infrastructure expenditures, and many more projects were interrupted or stopped following the Panic of 1837, people's anger became directed against the national politics.[617] This was a tangible way of demonstrating that the needs of the area and individuals were being ignored by the nation's politicians. People needed change to help continue to promote economic development and to protect lives, but the prevailing parties were disregarding these needs.

This only worsened with a massive uptick in shipping in the Great Lakes region, and as three Democratic administrations during the 1840s vetoed harbor and river improvement bills.[618] In 1846, President Polk was the first in this chain to issue a major veto of a river or harbor bill.[619] He did so out of a belief that these projects were too local and beyond the reach of the federal government's constitutional powers.[620] The people of the region saw the vetoes as a rejection of long needed assistance though.

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[613] Ibid.
[614] Henrickson, "Michigan Lumbermen's Shipping," 2-3.
[615] Ibid., 4.
[616] Ibid., 5.
[617] Ibid.
[618] Ibid.
[619] Ibid.
[620] Ibid.

This decision angered many in the Northeast and Great Lakes regions, and was opposed by Free Soilers, Whigs, and even some Democrats.[621]

It was also denounced by a number of newspapers.[622] One article criticized Polk by explaining that "estimates [show] that the war expenses for forty-eight hours would suffice to pay every appropriation in the harbor bill vetoed by Polk as 'unconstitutional and inexpedient;' and this money would have been expended at home, too, and our own people would have had the benefit of it."[623] The article asserted that much of this money would have gone to directly benefit average laborers.[624] The West often times was ignored in national politics, but this slight became even more frustrating as the nation looked beyond its borders when there were domestic issues in need of attention. People were frustrated that their serious needs received no attention, when such far away, and particularly from their perspective, insignificant matters received so much attention and funding. Another newspaper mocked President Polk by describing his vetoing of the Harbor Bill as "the most sublime piece of statesmanship which the reign of modern democracy has yet produced. It was unconstitutional [to improve Michigan's waterways]."[625] It was a significant insult already for the state's requests for assistance to be denied but it was only worsened as "The great leader of this southern policy… [has] since made the astounding discovery, that the Mississippi and its great tributaries were 'inland seas,' and that it was constitutional and proper for the… Government to improve their navigation."[626] At the same time though "these northern lakes are mere local affairs, no sea about them!"[627] This quote demonstrates the growing tension between Washington and the West, as the nation's leadership had seemingly made the decision to cater to the South, at the expense of the West. The West started to see how the South was being favored. When an action was declared unconstitutional for some, but a national priority

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[621] Ibid.

[622] Ibid.

[623] "War and Harbors," *Oakland Gazette* from the Digital Michigan Newspaper Portal, 19 August 1846, 2.

[624] Ibid.

[625] "The Veto," *Oakland Gazette* from the Digital Michigan Newspaper Portal, 19 August 1846.

[626] Ibid.

[627] Ibid.

201

for others, this became clear. Furthering the hypocrisy, "Just before the new Tariff bill was passed the Union advocated this same Harbor bill, but as soon as the Tariff passed, why then there seemed to be grave objections to the Northern Harbor Bill!"[628] The West was viewed as a resource, or a source of political support, but not worthy of receiving any support itself. As soon as the South got what it wanted, it would flip on the West and not support it. This set the stage for further sectional tensions.

All of this led William Mosely Hall, with the backing of some Great Lake shippers, to make a call for a "Northwestern River and Harbor Convention to be held in Chicago starting July 5, 1847."[629] The organizers of the convention, which was publicized in a number of newspapers, described themselves as "not among those who believe in upholding and sustaining an Executive of our own preference in the veto of measures which are as strictly constitutional as they are national."[630] They argued that "The harbor bill of the last and previous congress, we believe such as Washington, Madison, Jackson and Van Buren would have signed without constitutional objections, and consequently we do not support Mr. Polk in his veto of these bills, but consider him more nice than wise when drawing the line of distinction between fresh and salt water. His predecessors… on the contrary… acknowledged alike the fostering care of the government over both foreign and domestic commerce."[631] A different understanding of how the federal government should utilize its power is being expressed here. The politicians in the federal government, largely loyal to other parts of the nation, had a different conception of how far the government's powers reached.

The organizers of the convention further pointed to how, before this time, "upwards of seventeen millions of dollars for works of internal improvements had been expended by the general government, and the idea that what was constitutional in the days of Jackson and Van Buren is unconstitutional in the days of Mr. Polk is a new fangled doctrine which

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[628] Ibid.

[629] Henrickson, "Michigan Lumbermen's Shipping," 5.

[630] "Harbor and River Convention," *Pontiac Jacksonian* in the Digital Michigan Newspaper Portal, 26 May 1847, 2.

[631] Ibid.

we neither believe or support, a doctrine which the west will not sanction."[632] Beyond the concerns about the constitutionality of such bills, there is an emerging sentiment of sectionalism here. It is not just that they will not sanction it, but the "west" will not. The west is being distinguished from other parts of the nation, not just in terms of geography, but in interests and needs as well. Another article reflecting on the results of the convention explained that "The East, North and West… declare how deeply they were interested in the improvements of our western waters."[633] This list features the notable exception of the South. This continues to suggest the growing sectionalism, and a fraying of the country's established politics. They explained that "It is hoped the convention… may lead to a united understanding between the east and west, and give strength to the cause of harbor and river appropriations, so that should another bill pass and be vetoed, the good sense of congress will prevail over the President's construction of the constitution."[634] Hope remained that those in power could be persuaded to change their minds. Things had not quite reached the level of calls for a new political power to replace the existing one.

The convention turned out to be a major success. It invited men "without regard to politics" and received delegates from many cities in the West, as well as the East, who sought to continue the West's prosperity.[635] At the time, Chicago was a city of only roughly 16,000, but the total number of visitors to the convention, between delegates and visitors, was between 10,000 and 20,000.[636] Even the newly elected Whig Congressman, Abraham Lincoln attended.[637] Lincoln left a significant impression on those who attended the convention, and it helped to connect him with business leaders and politicians from the region, contributing to his later rise to power.[638]

Despite the thousands of supporters who did show up, there was one noticeable absence: Lewis Cass. As Cass was a major force in the

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[632] Ibid.
[633] Ibid.
[634] Ibid.
[635] Ibid.
[636] Henrickson, "Michigan Lumbermen's Shipping," 5.
[637] Ibid.
[638] Ibid., 6.

203

region's politics and held a significant role as a Michigan Senator, his absence is particularly glaring. One would imagine that key political figures would make an effort to at least make an appearance at such a major event. Cass acknowledged the convention, in a letter published in a newspaper, but stated that "Circumstances… will put it out of my power to be present at that time."[639] His absence was, at least to those that cared about this issue, an obvious sign of dismissal of their concerns. There were efforts by some of Cass's political opponents to portray him as anti-river and harbor improvement. These portrayals were denounced as "The silliest of all efforts on the part of the whigs… They know the contrary, and know, too, that we have the facts to prove it."[640] Cass did vote to approve bills meant to improve rivers and harbors in 1845 and 1846, but these were both vetoed, and were not taken back up by the Senate.[641]

The convention adopted a fifteen-point resolution defending the constitutionality of desired infrastructure projects and spending.[642] They pointed out the need for safe harbors and the removal of obstacles in the region's waterways.[643] They also formed a committee to gather information on the trade and commerce of the lakes and rivers, and the losses caused by inadequate harbors and problems with river navigation.[644]

These differences over lumber and shipping helped to shift people to what became the Republican Party. Its growth was assisted by the feelings of disconnect from the national parties "Whigs, including aggressive New England abolitionists; disaffected Democrats alienated by the presidential vetoes and what appeared to be southern efforts to block the development of the Midwest; and Free Soilers who had previously broken from the other parties."[645] There was a clear

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[639] "Gen. Cass' Views: On the Subject of River and Harbor Improvements As Expressed in A Letter to the Chicago Convention, Held in Chicago in July 1847," *Oakland Gazette* from the Digital Michigan Newspaper Portal 1 July 1848.

[640] "Cass's Vote on Harbors," *Pontiac Jacksonian* from the Digital Michigan Newspaper Portal, 21 June 1848.

[641] Ibid.

[642] Henrickson, "Michigan Lumbermen's Shipping," 6.

[643] Ibid.

[644] Ibid.

[645] Ibid., 5.

breakdown of party loyalties and ideologies. People were witnessing, in clear and continuous ways, that the government was not reacting to their needs and concerns. Democrats may have long controlled the region, but they were failing to take enough steps to keep their political control solid. People were becoming fed-up with how their needs were going unmet, while the national parties catered, at least according to the people of Michigan and Wisconsin, to the interests of the South and the East. One demonstrable example of this is how Democrats from Western Michigan attempted to block Lewis Cass' Senate reelection in 1849.[646] The man who had so long dominated the region's politics faced a political insurrection from within his own party. Fractures were forming, not just between parties and between sections of the country, but within political organizations as well, as desires, needs, and power shifted. Democrats in Michigan did attempt to help solve these differences, but faced resistance from the federal government. In 1852 and 1854, there were attempts at appropriation bills that would have satisfied the demands of many in the West for infrastructure spending. The second passed both Houses of Congress, with the support of Cass and other Michigan Democrats, but was vetoed by Democratic President Franklin Pierce.[647]

All of this led to the creation of a new political organization: the Republican Party, born in Ripon, Wisconsin on March 20, 1854.[648] There had been a meeting opposing the Kansas-Nebraska Act in February, a gathering labeled a '"demonstration against the Nebraska swindle."'[649] This led many to recognize how the act had split the Democrats and crushed the Whigs, creating an opportunity for a new party to officially form.[650] The issues that had traditionally divided the parties had faded away, at least from most people's minds. Other developments, like the

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[646] Ibid., 6.

[647] Ibid.

[648] Samuel M. Pedrick and David Sakrison, "The Birth of the Republican Party: in a 'Little White Schoolhouse' in Ripon," *Voyageur: Historical Review of Brown County and Northeast Wisconsin* 21 (2005): 48., Also: Jackson, Michigan, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania have all also laid claim to being the birthplace of the GOP for a variety of reasons. It appears most appropriate, at least here, to describe it as having begun in Ripon though without wading into the complexities of the debate about where the party began.

[649] Ibid., 48, 51.

[650] Ibid., 48.

rise of nativism, had further blurred lines and weakened the Whig party. Slavery and sectionalism were the dominant issues. With this understanding, the Republican Party was formed in the second Ripon meeting in the "Little White Schoolhouse."[651]

Much of the credit for naming the party went to Alvan Bovay, who, despite being an "ardent Whig" had believed for a few years that they were no longer nationally viable, and that a new party was needed to address the nation's main concern: slavery.[652] He hoped to bring together the various anti-slavery elements of the different political parties under the banner of the Republicans, so he asked his friend Horace Greely, the prominent newspaper editor, to call for all communities in free states to organize such a party.[653] *The Ripon Herald* published the meeting's resolutions including that "'the passage of this bill [the Kansas-Nebraska Act], if pass it should, will be the call to arms of a great Northern Party such an one as the country has not hitherto seen, composed of Whigs, Democrats, and Free-Soilers; every man with a heart in him united under the single banner cry of 'Repeal! Repeal!'"[654] The aim of the early organizers of the party was to create a "great irresistible Northern party, organized on the single issue of the non-extension of slavery."[655] The meeting dissolved the town's Free-Soil and Whig party committees, and appointed five men to the new Republican Party committee: Bovay and two additional ex-Whigs, an ex-Free Soiler, and an ex-Democrat.

Greely, due to Bovay's suggestion, publicized the new effort, and recommended the name, Republican, for the party. He also wrote to Jacob Howard, a Michigan politician, telling him that Wisconsin would be adopting the name Republican on July 13, and encouraged him and all of Michigan to "anticipate such action by using the same name."[656] Jackson, Michigan did just this, becoming the first to adopt the name at its convention on July 6,1854. The Whig and Free-Soil parties of Jackson

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[651] Ibid., 48.
[652] Ibid., 49.
[653] Ibid., 51.
[654] Ibid..
[655] Ibid., 52.
[656] Ibid.

206

withdrew their slates of candidates, effectively dissolving themselves.[657] They also called for a general convention of free states, and portions of slave states that wished to come.[658]

Michigan proved fertile ground for the Republican Party's rapid success, with the GOP winning the governorship, legislature, and picking up three of the state's four congressional seats, despite it being just their first election. Nonetheless, Detroit and the surrounding Wayne County, some older urban areas in the Southeast, lumbering areas of the Saginaw Valley, and the Northwestern part of the state remained Democratic.[659] The Southern and Central counties, largely made up of immigrants from New England, went strongly Republican.[660]

One early event that demonstrates the growth of the Republican party is the 1854 Madison Convention in Wisconsin. This very large convention was organized against the recently passed Kansas-Nebraska act, and was openly supportive of the Republican party and platform.[661] This bill was considered to be truly noxious to many in the Great Lakes region. The *Paw Paw Free Press*: "Pick up any Republican paper and the first caption which meets your eyes will be… 'startling news from Kansas…'"[662] The *Pontiac Gazette* reported that the *Detroit Free Press* had said, about six months prior, that "A people who would not be inclined to rebel against the acts of a legislative body forced upon them by fraud and violence, would be unworthy of the name of American," and "if there was ever justifiable cause for popular revolution against an usurping and obnoxious government, that cause has existed in Kansas."[663] The language of the statement is itself powerful, but that this quote was reprinted more than six months after it was first said is an indication of the significance of the words. This was not just an important issue, but one that particularly stood out and merited constant

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[657] Merle Henrickson, "Michigan Lumbermen's Shipping," 6. Also: The main issue of the convention was slavery, but river and harbor issues were amongst the other issues brought to the public's attention.

[658] Ibid.

[659] Ibid.

[660] Ibid.

[661] "The Convention at Madison," *Kenosha Telegraph* July 21, 1854.

[662] *Paw Paw Free Press* from the Digital Michigan Newspaper Portal, September 16 1856.

[663] *Pontiac Gazette* from the Digital Michigan Newspaper Portal, August 16, 1856, 2.

207

discussion in extreme ways, such as the indication that a "popular revolution" was valid in this context.[664] The Kansas-Nebraska fight was a flashpoint for national politics, but also for Wisconsin and Michigan.

This meeting included Whigs, Democrats, and Free Soilers who opposed the "Nebraska Bill" and the repeal of Missouri Compromise.[665] One newspaper described how, despite it being a difficult and "unfavorable" time of year to meet, "This vast gathering of men of all parties… is evidence of the strong Anti-Slavery sentiment of Wisconsin– of the unyielding opposition of her citizens to the abuse of power as exhibited by the present National Administration, and the determination of the people to hold their official servants to a strict account for their stewardship."[666]

The convention passed a series of resolutions to fight against the "Slave Power," including restoring Nebraska and Kansas as free territories, repealing the Fugitive Slave Act, restricting slavery to the states where it already existed, and preventing the further admission of slave states.[667] It was resolved that "long continued encroachments of the Slave Power, culminating… in the repeal of the law of freedom in all the hitherto unorganized territory of the Union, forces upon us the conviction that there is no escape from the alternative of Freedom or Slavery, as a political issue which is to determine whether the future Administration of the Government shall be devoted to the one or the other."[668] This was an exceedingly contentious position to take, as it essentially gave the country an ultimatum to choose either freedom or slavery. It suggests that the government and the existing political parties could not continue to have it both ways, and either the Slave Power of the South, or the abolitionist movement of the North would win. The men at this convention did not see this issue as a choice, rather they "accept[ed] this issue forced upon us by the slave power, and in the defense of freedom will co-operate and be known as Republicans, pledged to the accomplishment of…" its goals.[669] They also invited "all persons,

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[664] Ibid.
[665] Ibid.
[666] Ibid.
[667] "Mass Convention of the Freemen of Wisconsin," *Mineral Point Tribune*, July 20, 1854.
[668] Ibid.
[669] Ibid.

whether of native or foreign birth" who believed in their cause to join them.[670] These resolutions were adopted without a dissenting vote.[671] One newspaper estimated that three thousand attended, claiming there would have been more if it were held at a less unfortunate time. Another declared that when the session finally ended there were "nine rousing cheers for the Republican Platform and Party, and with the determination on the part of every Delegate to give his utmost energies and efforts to the advancement of the good cause," even calling it a "fitting commemoration of the Birth-day of the Ordinance of Freedom."[672]

This convention demonstrates the explosive growth of the early Republican Party and how fraught the politics were, both in the Old Northwest and across the nation more broadly. This convention was held just four months after the gathering in Ripon, Wisconsin which created the Republican Party. People were desperate for a change. This convention was regional rather than national, and comprised of delegates from Wisconsin and the surrounding region.[673] Although exact attendance estimates vary, it was seemingly too large of a meeting for it to have only been political elites and insiders, so there must have been at least some involvement of people at the grassroots level.[674] Experienced politicians and political operatives were likely included, but there were almost certainly many of the more common people there. One article declared that there were a "Full FIFTEEN HUNDRED persons [that] were present at the afternoon session; the large proportion of them the substantial Farmers of our State."[675] Right next to a summary of this convention, there was even published a notification that "*The Racine Democrat* fears the Republicans will elect a U.S. Senator next winter, in place of I.P. Walker. [And] We have no doubt they will," demonstrating the immediate power of the new political party.[676]

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[670] Ibid.

[671] Ibid.

[672] "Madison Convention," *Mineral Point Tribune*, July 20, 1854. See also: "The Convention at Madison," *Kenosha Telegraph* July 21, 1854.

[673] Ibid, and "Mass Convention of the Freemen of Wisconsin," *Mineral Point Tribune*, July 20, 1854.

[674] "Madison Convention," *Mineral Point Tribune*, July 20, 1854. See also: "The Convention at Madison," *Kenosha Telegraph* July 21, 1854.

[675] Ibid.

[676] *Kenosha Telegraph*, July 21, 1854.

Slavery played a significant role in the rise of the Republican party. One newspaper illustrates how the institution of slavery was viewed with disgust by describing the treatment of thirty-two slaves arrested in Alexandria, Virginia on charges of insurrection.[677] The newspaper explained that "Not the slightest testimony has been brought against them, that they intended to create an insurrection. The whites are armed and constantly on the watch though it is asserted by many that there is no real cause to fear insurrection."[678] That this incident, which although horrible and cruel was not particularly unique, received a mention in a paper hundreds of miles away suggests that slavery was an issue that many were upset about in the area. Michigan was a free state and was well removed from Virginia, but there was something about this incident that the *Pontiac Gazette* thought would interest its readers. Even though they were well removed from it, slavery was still a significant concern for many in the Great Lakes region.

An even more dramatic incident illustrates how the issue of slavery impacted the politics of Michigan and Wisconsin, especially as the issue of slavery came to them. One thing that helped to increase people's abhorrence of slavery in Michigan and Wisconsin was the Fugitive Slave Act. *The Kenosha Telegraph* asked "What Shall Be Done?"[679] It described the odious nature of arrests for violations of the Fugitive Slave Law.[680] The officers were described as being "urged on by the lust of gain, and the worst of human passions– have all the crushing power of [the Federal] government to aid their diabolical efforts, and consequently will spare no effort to convict the men; and with a possibility of success, where justice is as little observed as it is with such men and the courts they make and to a great extent control."[681] The federal government was seen as being used as a weapon. It was not just a few bad people anymore, but whole institutions that were working to crush and oppress the people. The article asked how this could be allowed to stand unopposed, asserting that "the main point, and the only profitable or

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[677] "Whipping Slaves" *Pontiac Gazette* from the Digital Michigan Newspaper Portal, 17 January 1857, 2.

[678] Ibid.

[679] "What Shall be done?" *Kenosha Telegraph*, April 4/7, 1854.

[680] Ibid.

[681] Ibid.

necessary point for consideration now is, 'What is the duty of the people in the premises?'"[682] The federal government had become intolerably overbearing. The people needed to make a stand.

The article proclaimed the Fugitive Slave Law to not be legitimate. It explained that "The charge is a violation of the fugitive [slave] law. This may perhaps be proven against them, but if so it does not necessarily follow [that] they have been guilty of any crime."[683] Reminiscent of so many arguments about civil rights and the duties of citizens, the Fugitive Slave Law was not seen as valid by many because it was unjust. It was asked "Have these [accused] men by their conduct lessened themselves in any wise [sic] in the estimation of all good people? Have they done anything[sic] to weaken the respect of the people for good laws, for good government, and for law and order?... Then they have been guilty of no crime."[684] Those convicted under this law had done nothing wrong and were depicted instead as standing up for the principles of proper government.

One prosecution under the Fugitive Slave Law brought this unrest and dissatisfaction to its peak. Bennami Garland, a Missouri slaveholder had gone to Wisconsin to recapture Joshua Glover, who had escaped two years prior.[685] The case was sent to the only Federal judge in the state, Andrew G. Miller. Many in the abolitionist community were concerned he would be unsympathetic to the issue due to his connection to President Buchannan and other Southern leaning Democrats.[686] This led Sherman M. Booth, who ran the state's leading abolitionist newspaper the *Free Democrat*, to call for a meeting in Racine outside of the courthouse.[687] A crowd of 5000 eventually stormed the jail to free Glover, leading the US Attorney for Wisconsin, John Sharpstein, who was a Democratic party activist and had been appointed by the Southern

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[682] Ibid.
[683] Ibid.
[684] Ibid.
[685] Joseph A. Ranney, "'Suffering the Agonies of Their Righteousness:' The Rise and Fall of the States Rights Movement in Wisconsin, 1854-1861," The Wisconsin Magazine of History 75, no. 2 (Winter 1991-1992): 88.
[686] Ibid., 87-8.
[687] Ibid., 87-9.

211

Sympathizing Franklin Pierce, to charge Booth and other leaders of the crowd with violating the Fugitive Slave Act.[688]

Booth hired Byron Paine, a Milwaukee lawyer who was well known in the Wisconsin abolition movement and who came from a family prominent in Ohio's abolition movement.[689] He argued that the Fugitive Slave Law violated the state's sovereignty, and that the Federal government's power was limited to those powers explicitly enumerated in the Constitution.[690] He also argued that state courts could determine the constitutionality of Federal laws.[691] The judge overseeing the case, Abram D. Smith of the Wisconsin Supreme Court, went further than he needed to in freeing Booth. He not only cited technical flaws with the arrest warrant, but claimed it part of his duty and oath to the Constitution and Wisconsin law to strike down the Fugitive Slave Law.[692]

In many ways, this line of argumentation resembles the "South Carolina nullifiers" during the nullification crisis, but it was upheld by the full Supreme Court of Wisconsin.[693] This demonstrates the continued divide between the West and the federal government. Especially in a state that was made up largely of German immigrants who had fled political oppression and others from the Northeastern United States, both of which were virulently anti-slavery, there was a desire to distance the federal government, due to its connections to the slave powers, from them.[694] Most Wisconsinites agreed with the state's court. Others saw it as an attack on the rule of law.[695] There was a clear and expanding divide between the politics of Wisconsin and that of the federal government.

In 1855, further demonstrating the public's feelings about the case, the only judge on the Wisconsin State Supreme Court who had supported the Constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Law lost his re-election race by a significant margin to a new Republican challenger, despite being

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[688] Ibid., 88.
[689] Ibid., 89.
[690] Ibid.
[691] Ibid.
[692] Ibid., 89-91.
[693] Ibid., 92.
[694] Ibid. 86-8.
[695] Ibid., 83.

212

known as a good judge.[696] The surprise winner of the race, Orasmus Cole, described how '"No one had fully appreciated the depth and force of the great anti-slavery sentiment among the people."'[697] The people of Wisconsin had firmly repudiated the Fugitive Slave Law, and backed, what many would argue was a rogue State Supreme Court. The decision of the Court was overturned by the US Supreme Court in 1859.[698] In response the Wisconsin legislature, along party lines, passed a resolution denying the Supreme Court's power to reverse the state court's decision, and Carl Schurz, a state's rights advocate, hinted that the state should secede if the federal government did not allow Wisconsin to interpret federal law.[699] Schurz recognized that this idea could also be used against Republicans, but still believed it was the duty of Wisconsinites to resist, explaining to the '"People of Wisconsin… we have come to a point where it is loyalty to resist, and treason to submit."'[700] Partisanship was becoming increasingly extreme, with each side looking to do whatever advantaged itself or furthered its aims, without much regard for anything else. Republicans adopted a strident states' rights position to further their aims of abolition, even though it was based on logic similar to that of the "South Carolina nullifiers."

This went too far for some. Many Republicans, although willing to put the Wisconsin Supreme Court ahead of a federal district court, would not put the state's supreme court ahead of the U.S. Supreme Court.[701] Robert Toombs, a Senator from Georgia, "referred to Wisconsin as 'one of the youngest of our sisters, who got rotten before she got ripe…'"[702] Early efforts by those who would lead the Republican party were controversial. These states contained people and organizations that were pushing towards the radical bounds of politics. The states' rights faction in Wisconsin did wither away, especially as Republicans gained greater federal power.[703] At the same time though, "In the view of one leading

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[696] Ibid., The Wisconsin State Supreme Court only had three members.
[697] Ibid., 97.
[698] Ibid., 103.
[699] Ibid., 104.
[700] Ibid., 104.
[701] Ibid., 108.
[702] Ibid., 108.
[703] Ibid., 111.

213

Democratic paper, Wisconsin had been as much at fault as Southern fire-eaters in encouraging nullification and secession."[704] These early efforts by political radicals who would form the Republican party do seem to have amplified tension and rhetoric that would lead to the Civil War. This demonstrates how the Booth case had a lasting impact, as it contributed to the harsh political climate that divided the country.

This is not to say that all concerns about slavery were based on principles and morality. John C. Fremont, the first Republican presidential nominee, was quoted saying that "FREE LABOR is the National Capital which constitutes the Real Wealth of this great country, and creates that Intelligent Power in the masses alone to be relied on as the bulwark of Free Institutions."[705] The *Pontiac Gazette* contrasted this with "the desire[s] of James Buchanan that… [laboring men's] wages should be reduced to ten cents a day… [and] with the efforts now being made by the locofoco party to crowd them out of the fertile country of Kansas, that a population of slave laborers may be introduced."[706] While some of this does seem to be about principle and respecting laborers, slaves also were being portrayed as a looming threat to free workers. It is not slavery that seems to be, at least primarily, the issue here, but that they would   displace the (white) working man. Because of this, many may have had an interest in ending slavery for reasons that had nothing to do with the personhood or rights of enslaved peoples, rather with their own, or at least their own perceived, economic interests.

The Republican Party expanded rapidly in the region. In 1857, while the Michigan Legislature worked to elected a new Senator, W.H. Gregory recounted at the Republican caucus that "four years ago, a small band numbering just 21, assembled at the house of Dr. Shank in Lansing, to nominate a candidate for U.S. Senator, against Lewis Cass, the Democratic nominee. Then our opponents numbered 49. Gen. Cass was elected..."[707] In contrast to those voting for Cass, "the band of 21 cast their votes for the young and vigorous champion of Freedom and Equal

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[704] Ibid.

[705] *Pontiac Gazette* from the Digital Michigan Newspaper Portal, August 16, 1856, 1.

[706] Ibid.

[707] "Michigan Legislature: Election of United States Senator," *Pontiac Gazette* from the Digital Michigan Newspaper Portal, 17 July 1857, 2.

214

Rights."[708] Not that long before the election, the resistance to the Democratic party was negligible. Being outnumbered more than 2:1 in the legislature, this group was of little consequence, as the Democrats could simply unite to do whatever they would like to do. This changed as "… Senator [Cass] has pursued his course against the large majority of his constituents, till now the people have arisen and gave him leave to remain in private life."[709] Cass was becoming less popular as politics moved on just as he was attempting to gain more national standing. Cass' power in the state ended as "the candidate of the small band of 21 is this night receiving the unanimous nomination as the successor of General Cass, but the Republican[s] of the legislature, numbering 92, while our opponents number 17."[710] As a war hero and a long-term governor, Lewis Cass had been the dominant political force in the region, but his reelection bid was thwarted by the newly formed Republican Party. He was portrayed as villainous as he "pursued his course against the large majority of his constituents" until the people were awakened to his treachery.[711] The legislature of Michigan, in only four years, had gone from being almost entirely Democratic to one with few Democrats remaining. The Republicans did not just come to be the majority party, but they dominated and did so with incredible speed. They had a message and organization that resonated with the people and was effective at flipping huge swaths of the state to their side.

After losing to Lewis Cass just four years prior, Zachariah Chandler emerged victorious over Cass in resounding fashion.[712] In the Michigan House there were sixty-two votes for Chandler, fourteen for Cass, and one blank vote, while in the Michigan Senate the vote was even more lopsided with twenty-seven for Chandler and just two for Cass. Chandler's victory led to declarations that "A new era is inoculated upon… Michigan" and that "Republican simplicity, a disregard of taste, professional or any other requirement than 'integrity, faithfulness, and

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[708] Ibid.

[709] Ibid.

[710] Ibid., 2.

[711] Ibid.

[712] "Election of U.S. Senator," *Pontiac Gazette* from the Digital Michigan Newspaper Portal, 17 July 1857, 2. See also: "From Lansing– Hon. Z. Chandler Nominated for the U.S. Senate," *Pontiac Gazette* from the Digital Michigan Newspaper Portal, 17 July 1857, 2.

215

honesty'-- has triumphed over its ancient enemy, power and faction."[713] It is significant that instead of moving further away from political parties, due to all their criticisms of the existing structures, the state actually moved in the direction of a strong singular, albeit, new political party. The politics of the state moved swiftly to unite around the Republican Party.

Democrats worked desperately to stop Chandler's election to the Senate. Chandler was so hated by some Democrats "that a portion of them endeavored to form a combination with some gentlemen of the opposition to effect his defeat."[714] This attempt at building an anti-Chandler coalition failed and led one newspaper to proclaim that "No Republican member of the Legislature could be, for a moment, induced to consider such a proposition."[715] The Republican Party had a level of unity and solidity unusual in such a new party, especially due to the level of influence average people had on the Party and its seemingly grassroots beginnings. The early Republican Party coalition was not flimsy or easily vulnerable to fracturing, but rather, was resolute and firm in its stance. One Republican urged the members of his party to "show our opponents that a party formed to carry into effect great principles, cannot be sundered by the conflicting interests which may arise in the disposition of offices within its gift."[716] The Republican Party was still forming, so there were potential weaknesses, but it did not falter. Instead, it was able to stay united long enough to embed its power in government, so that it could continue to sustain itself.

One of the key reasons that Chandler became one of Michigan's Senators was that he played a key role in dramatically changing the state's politics. One newspaper article describes how "nearly all– certainly many– of the Republican members of the Legislature who had once been members of the democratic party, were in favor of Mr. Chandler, for U.S. Senator…"[717] Chandler played a

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[713] "From Lansing– Hon. Z. Chandler Nominated for the U.S. Senate," *Pontiac Gazette* from the Digital Michigan Newspaper Portal, 17 July 1857, 2.
[714] Ibid.
[715] Ibid.
[716] Ibid.
[717] "A Curious Fact," *Pontiac Gazette* from the Digital Michigan Newspaper Portal,17 July 1857, 2.

significant role in attracting many Democrats, who were the majority of the state's elected officials to the Republican party, a key role in establishing the presence of the new party in Michigan. He was considered the "most appropriate man to send to the Senate… because he had done more than any other man to break the charm of the General's name with the Democracy… [He] had canvassed the State in 1851 and 1852, the talismanic influence of the General was broken; and the ranks of the party were weakened by the arguments brought against him by the indefatigable Whig stump speaker.[718] Following his loss in his last attempt at the Senate, before the Republican Party had even formed, Chandler worked to turn Michigan away from the influence of Cass. The former governor was a dominant figure in the state, and likely would have been a major obstacle to the growth of the Republican Party had Chandler not worked to break down his influence.

Chandler was a major reason that the Republican party was able to quickly swing the state away from Cass and the Democrats, as he helped to shift many "rank and file" Democrats and politicians to the Republican party.[719] Along with former Whigs, Free Soilers, and others, many ex-Democrats had joined the newly formed Republican Party. Many of them likely shared the ideals of the party, or at least some of these ideals, but many also likely realized the political direction of the state and may have sought to secure power for themselves. The national Democratic Party was trending one direction, and the politics of Michigan were headed in another. Two informal polls by an "indefatigable Republican friend," (one conducted on a seemingly major street in Detroit and the other done on a train from Chicago to Michigan), found that people in the area favored Fremont by a vast margin.[720] Although not necessarily the most reliable polls, the combined total of votes for the two was 150 for Fremont, 46 for Buchanan, and 10 for Fillmore.[721] The Republican presidential campaign of 1856 can be understood by reading the motto "'We Pierced in '52, but we won't Buck

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[718] "Ibid.

[719] "Ibid.

[720] *Pontiac Gazette* from the Digital Michigan Newspaper Portal, 9 August 1856, 3.

[721] Ibid.

217

in '56.'"[722] Many common people wanted political change, and political leaders in Michigan and Wisconsin appear to have understood this. That Chandler, a seemingly rising political star in the state, was quickly placed in the Senate with the support of many ex-Democrats suggests that many of these new Republicans were simply sensing the political changes in the state and sought to align themselves accordingly. Many likely had differences with the national party, but Chandler's influence on the state's politics leaves open the possibility that many did this in order to protect their own power and interests.

Another means of understanding the rise of the Republican Party is by analyzing the change in the political loyalties of newspapers. As the interest of readers, journalists, and editors shifted, so did the political alignments of newspapers. One newspaper described how the *Monroe Commercial*, which had been a Democratic and leading Locofoco newspaper in the state of Michigan, had switched from supporting Buchanan and Breckenridge for the presidency to supporting the ticket of Fremont and Dayton.[723] This was described as the newspaper "haul[ing] down the Buchanan and Breckenridge flag and… float[ing] that of Fremont and Dayton."[724] It also recorded how the *Ionia Gazette*, a "hitherto democratic paper," did the same and switched to supporting the Republicans.[725] Monroe County had been one of the few counties that Buchanan had been expected to carry in Michigan, but this threw the Buchanan forces into a state of turmoil, and was believed to help Republicans in other races in the county.[726] The *Pontiac Gazette* described how "'this paper will advocate with frankness and fidelity the great principles contained in the Republican Convention at Philadelphia… and to which we invite the candid consideration of every reflecting man, who values the liberties of his country more than office, or mere partizan success.'"[727] This emphasis on principle was further reinforced, as the newspaper explained that "'These principles are not

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[722] Ibid.

[723] "Another Valuable Accession," *Pontiac Gazette* from the Digital Michigan Newspaper Portal, August 16, 1856, 1.

[724] Ibid.

[725] Ibid.

[726] Ibid.

[727] Ibid.

new; they are not mushroom offspring of momentary party expediency; but the eternal principles of truth, justice and humanity.'"[728] The newspaper is claiming that this switch is not about power, but principle. It wanted people to realize that, in particular, the Democratic Party was not the right way forward, and instead, the Republican Party provided a path forward for the nation. The actions and corruption of the Democratic Party had long been seen as one of the "most prolific sources of demoralization" of the public, so the Republican Party attempted to appeal to principles and morality to demonstrate its superiority.[729]

In a less dramatic turn, there were also reports of Whig papers switching allegiances from their essentially defunct party to the Republican cause. One Whig newspaper *The Norristown Herald and the Free Press*, in Pennsylvania, whose "senior editor… [was] an old line Whig… has just hoisted the Fremont flag."[730] There were more with "The *Vincennes* (Ia.) *Gazette*, *The Mauch Chunk* (Pa.) *Gazette*, *The Plymouth* (Ia.) *Banner*, and *The Daily* (Pa.) *Times*, [also having] all hauled down the Fillmore and run up the Fremont flag. *The York* (Pa.) *Advocate*, heretofore Whig, has hoisted the Fremont flag" too.[731] Two other Pennsylvania newspapers, The *Raftsmen's Journal* at Clearfield and *The Coal City Item* from Newcastle, whose past political allegiance is not made known in the article, had both also "just run up the Fremont flag."[732] *The Ogle County Reporter*, in Illinois, "heretofore neutral in politics, [also] declare[d] itself, in a stirring editorial henceforth for Freedom and Fremont."[733] The *Skaneatlas Democrat* also "haul[ed] down the Buchanan flag."[734] Newspapers across the political spectrum switched to supporting Republicans. That these newspapers come from across the North indicates the rapid spread of the Republican movement. To make this switch there must have been readers, or at least editors, who were interested in Republican leaning material. One example of this

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[728] Ibid.

[729] "Causes of Crime," *Pontiac Gazette* from the Digital Michigan Newspaper Portal, May 16, 1857, 2.

[730] *Pontiac Gazette* from the Digital Michigan Newspaper Portal, August 16, 1856, 2.

[731] Ibid., 1.

[732] Ibid.

[733] Ibid.

[734] Ibid.

219

is how "There is not a single Fillmore paper in Vermont, and it is understood that there will be no Fillmore ticket in the field in that State. Of the political newspapers in the Green Mountain State, 23 support Fremont, and five are for Buchanan."[735] The Republican leaning newspapers came to dominate across the North. They very quickly became numerous, as the Republican party rapidly became a movement towards a new political position and agenda.

This was a movement that spread rapidly out of Michigan and Wisconsin, and across the nation. One man was so bold that he announced to a newspaper that he had "recently made a bet of $4,000 that Fremont [would] carry every Free State." [736] He then made a tour of the Free States, and remained confident in his wager. This demonstrates just how great the confidence of many was in the early Republican Party, as that amount of money is equivalent to more than $100,000 today.

The concerns of Democrats about the rise of the Republican party were evident. Senator Toombs of Georgia, who previously criticized Wisconsin during the Booth case, pronounced that "'the election of Fremont would be the end of the Union, and ought to be,'" leading a newspaper to retort, reminiscent of modern-day social media, "Who threatens to dissolve the Union now?"[737] The rise of the Republican party reflected the growing sectionalism that came to define America during the 1850s. People drifted increasingly towards ideological extremes, leading them to coalesce around either the Republican or Democratic camps. Although the Republican Party benefited from skillful political organizing and capable candidates, it capitalized mainly on the rising political tensions that brought increasing numbers of Northerners in line with their party platform.

Many Republicans also accused the Democratic Party of attempting to lie and interfere with elections to stave off the newfound organization. One newspaper described how the Democrats had lied about what it stood for and had done "... to justify belief in promises for the future. But the people of Oakland County were not asleep, nor ignorant of recent and current events… The result it, an overwhelming

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[735] Ibid.
[736] Ibid.
[737] Ibid., 2.

majority against the leaders and their fraudulent schemes."[738] During the transition from Democratic to Republican control, Democrats were not trusted, and it was believed that "The leaders of the 'Democratic' party commenced the campaign in fraud, and entered into a conspiracy to induce the people to endorse their course." There were even reports that Democrats attempted to stop Republicans from voting. The *Pontiac Gazette* described an incident in which "The Democratic Board closed the polls at 4 o'clock, and although several Republicans arrived after that hour and offered to vote, the Board would not receive their tickets! A pretty result of ignorance or malice, or both!"[739] The Democrats were desperate to keep their power, but the people of the state no longer supported them, and with this loss of support for Democrats came the rise of the Republican Party.

Some of these reports are likely embellished or otherwise altered to benefit the Republican Party. One article described how "Fair honesty was not apparent, and men of common sense who despised party but loved their country repudiated the solicitations of the men and party that asked their support," casting the Republican Party as morally superior and the party of patriots.[740] Still, there seems to have been a sentiment that Democrats were widely engaged in corruption, and a hope that this would change. The *Pontiac Gazette* explained that "We hope a lesson so fraught with instruction will not be lost upon those who have been engaged in the conflict. We have seen some of our personal friends engaged… great system[s] of deceptions, and have regretted it…" According to the *Gazette*, "We care yet for their good name and character, and sincerely hope they will never again engage in such a system of political warfare, but [remember] that truth is sacred even in politics."[741] This statement of hope for a change in the nature of politics seems sincere. Even if some reports of corruption were embellished, it was almost certainly happening at some scale, and people wanted that to change.

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[738] "The Campaign in Oakland and Its Moral," *Pontiac Gazette* from the Digital Michigan Newspaper Portal, August 11, 1857.

[739] *Pontiac Gazette* from the Digital Michigan Newspaper Portal, August 11, 1857.

[740] "The Campaign in Oakland and Its Moral," *Pontiac Gazette* from the Digital Michigan Newspaper Portal, August 11, 1857.

[741] Ibid.

221

The Republican Party continued its emphasis on the issue of Kansas. Within two years of the Republican Party's creation, the *Pontiac Gazette* wrote that "Here the record shows that the *Democratic party in Congress has inflexibly opposed, on all occasions the only measure*—a measure alike of justice and good policy—which can secure peace to Kansas," and despite this "the Republican party is charged by doughfaces as opposed to the pacification of that Territory."[742] The issue of Kansas was one of the sparks that helped to form the Republican Party, and it continued to support measures that sought to ameliorate their concerns in the area.

Despite the rapid advancements of the Republican party and its supporters, there were still criticisms even around the time of its creation. Despite opposition to slavery being a major driver for the creation of the new entity that became the Republican party, one prominent criticism is that it did not go far enough on the question of abolition. In its August 9th 1856 edition, the *Pontiac Gazette* announced that *The Anti-Slavery Standard* "the organ of Garrison Abolitionists, takes strong ground against the Republican party."[743] In it a "'clear sighted Abolitionist'" laments that "the success of the Republicans 'will in its benumbing and stultifying influence retard the movements of the slave's redemption.'"[744] This was also reiterated in the *Pontiac Gazette* a week later on August 16th.[745] Because of this, Parker Pillsbury, "a prominent Garrisonian," spoke in favor of electing Buchanan, "because it would tend to promote and influence the anti-slavery agitation, while that of Fremont would tend to a cessation of it."[746] This both accuses the Republicans of not going far enough, and expresses fear that many would feel as though the fight to end slavery would be over or won if Fremont were elected. Radical abolitionists were not satisfied with the stance of the Republican party, and wished to push the country more openly against slavery.

The issue of abolition and, for its supporters, how it would unfold, was hotly debated across the nation. The 1854 Madison Convention

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[742] "Let It Be Remembered," *Pontiac Gazette* from the Digital Michigan Newspaper Portal, August 9, 1856, 3.

[743] *Pontiac Gazette* from the Digital Michigan Newspaper Portal, August 9, 1856, 3.

[744] Ibid.

[745] Ibid., 1.

[746] Ibid., 3.

222

included resolutions to "restrict Slavery to the States in which it exists" and "To prohibit the admission of any more Slave States into the Union."[747] The party was not calling for the immediate abolition of slavery across the entire nation, but rather to contain it and the Slave Power that emanated from the South. This seems to be in agreement with many of the goals of the early party, as it sought to combat the political strength of the South, which they saw as encroaching on their freedom and interests. This stance fell well short of abolitionists' goals. In any case, the calls for the end of slavery should not be confused with abolitionist ideas of racial equality and rights for African-Americans. Only the most politically radical Republicans who sought a swift end to slavery did not believe in myths of racial superiority. The Republicans included many of the more radical abolitionists, but this does not equate to modern ideas of racial equality or civil rights.

Republicans still saw their work as good and progressive. One newspaper asked readers "to join us in our rejoicing that all the ardor and feeling, which was exhibited in the contest, has now settled down into firm resolve to labor in the great Republican cause, as friends and brothers and not to allow any personal consideration to mar the unity of our forces."[748] The Republicans were imperfect, but they were still excited about what they saw as their mission: ridding the country of the corruption and power of the South, and restoring the federal government's focus on average Americans. The newspaper continued "This, we consider, is a proof that our cause is good– it proves itself above and stronger than men– it centers in itself the best energies and highest affections of its advocates."[749] Republicans saw themselves as good and fighting a morally righteous fight. They did not go far enough in a number of areas, but they did work to push the country forward, and they were able to make an impact quickly. There are lessons to be learned from them about being able to rapidly organize around a shared set of values and struggles, and to bring about social change.

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[747] "Madison Convention," *Mineral Point Tribune*, July 20, 1854.
[748] "Harmony," *Pontiac Gazette* from the Digital Michigan Newspaper Portal, 17 January 1857, 2.
[749] Ibid.

223

The early successes of the Republican party also demonstrated the decline in Lewis Cass's power, influence, and standing with the public. Cass's popularity was greatly declining.[750] Just as it seemed as though he was going to be able to gain more national recognition and power, the politics of Michigan and the Old Northwest shifted. Cass "evidently imagines himself still a prominent candidate for the next Baltimore nomination, and therein he is grievously mistaken, or we are. He was never truly a popular man, and defeated candidates are not favorites…"[751] Cass was a man who had missed his opportunity to gain more power. He had already lost when he needed to win, and politics had moved beyond him. After losing in 1848, he simply lacked the powerful supporters to win or scare off other candidates.[752] In view of the nation's political concerns, Cass was unable to maintain his prominence. Slavery and sectionalism were the dominant issues.[753] Cass was unable to be politically productive or appealing on these issues, and "On the subject of Slavery he has managed to repel the North without winning the confidence of the Slavery Propaganda of the South."[754]

The Jeffersonian Republican even reported that "General Scott could beat Gen. Cass in Pennsylvania; so could John McLean, so (we think) could almost any Whig Statesman."[755] This was in 1850 before the Republican Party had even formed and before Cass lost this Senate seat. Cass demonstrates how far politics had shifted. He had been a respected war hero, and now he was seen as easily beaten. With that being said, the article did conclude that "We consider 'Old Buck' [an] impossible candidate" and declared Sam Houston most likely to win the Democratic nomination of 1852. They were not right about everything, but their argument does reflect the political shift.[756] The *Jeffersonian Republican* explained that Cass's "recent defeat in his own Michigan, in the election of two Whig Free Soil Members of Congress out of three, expressly on the ground of their hostility to 'Peace measures,' was calculated to injure

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[750] *Pontiac Gazette* from the Digital Michigan Newspaper Portal, August 16, 1856, 1.

[751] *Jeffersonian Republican* from the Library of Congress, 5 December 1850, 2.

[752] Ibid.

[753] *Pontiac Gazette* from the Digital Michigan Newspaper Portal, August 16, 1856, 1.

[754] *Jeffersonian Republican* from the Library of Congress, 5 December 1850, 2.

[755] Ibid.

[756] Ibid.

224

his prospects has they not already been past praying for."[757] Another newspaper even mocked Cass, asserting, "There can't be found a more noble hearted, hard working, steadfast set of men than those composing the Republican party in Oakland County!" along with "Those Democrats who stood fast by their principles while their party left them to follow Gen. Cass and the Slave Power, feel amply rewarded for their fidelity to Truth and the Right. What say our friends throughout the State?"[758] The once respected leader and war hero was now a figure to be mocked and was closely associated with the "Slave Powers." In a short time, politics had rapidly and dramatically changed in Michigan from being relatively consistently supportive of Democrats to being completely behind the Republican Party.

The disintegration of the Whigs and dissatisfaction with the Democratic Party and other smaller parties left a void in Northern politics. The Republican party was created, and rapidly grew, because it filled this gap in the system. It may have been based heavily on the concerns of the people of Michigan and Wisconsin, but its message had a national argument. This suggests that the American people, at least in the North, had concerns and cared about issues that other parties did not adequately address. This especially stands out as the Republican could have stayed contained to the Great Lakes region. The *Pontiac Gazette* used a metaphor of two houses to explain the divide between the two parties. It explained that neither party was perfect, but while the Democratic Party was old and had amassed great wealth and power, the Republican Party was younger and truly cared about the people.[759] That was where it formed and that is where many of those who wanted a new party were. The early Republican Party truly spoke to what the political populace cared about, and did so in a way that took advantage of the nation's political climate to rapidly gain power. This is a lesson for modern politics. Dramatically changing and even breaking the institutions that have long dominated and controlled American politics is possible. The Republican Party soon came to dominate Northern politics

[757] Ibid.

[758] *Pontiac Gazette* from the Digital Michigan Newspaper Portal, 8 November 1856.

[759] "A Contrast," *Pontiac Gazette* from the Digital Michigan Newspaper Portal, 17 January 1857, 2.

225

after starting in the Old Northwest, a region that was not traditionally a political power. It was able to spread rapidly from the grassroots level to become involved in elite politics, helping to shape the political future of the entire nation. This was not easy and benefitted from existing political tensions and plenty of luck, but it was done and in a series of events that is coherent and connected in a historical perspective.

226

Factors of Humboldt's 1935 Lumber Strike

Nico Sanchez

On June 23rd, 1935, days after one of the bloodiest events in local memory, one man was being buried, eight more wounded in a hospital with two soon to die, and dozens of the 115 people arrested on the 21st still sat in a Eureka jail awaiting bail arrangements and facing charges from rioting to attempted murder. On their way, riding in a limousine, weaving through the historic redwood highway, through towering redwood giants hundreds of years in age, was the legal team that would defend the bulk of them. They were International Labor Defense lawyers Leo Gallagher and George Anderson, along with a legal assistant, part of a group founded by communists and known for representing people in unpopular political and civil rights cases. A few dozen miles from their final location, they came to a forced stop by a group of armed vigilantes and police. With raised hands and guns visible, they gave a visual inspection at their makeshift station, with signs and barricades along the road, right outside the company town of Scotia. They were under orders to prevent communist outsiders from coming into the region to cause any further trouble. They had heard reports that truckloads were on their way. But the men they had stopped were well dressed and in a fancy vehicle, nothing like the communists they were certain lived in the homeless encampment that police had just burned down on the outskirts of Eureka. The lawyers were able to pass through Scotia and continue their way to the Eureka jail to meet their clients.[760]

Humboldt County's 1935 lumber strike had a violent end that would eventually cement the event in local memory. There were many factors, both national and local, influencing the strike and how it was discussed by the various sides. The industry was just beginning to recover from the effects of the Great Depression, and there was federal legislation encouraging improvements for workers in the industry and a federal administration supportive of union organizing. This helped

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[760] "Terror Strikes Behind Eureka 'Law and Order,'" *Western Worker*, July 1, 1935. This introduction anecdote is largely drawn from this personal account.

Historical Perspectives, Series II, Volume XXVIII, 2023

motivate the Northwest Council of Lumber and Sawmill Workers to call for a strike in the Northwest's lumber industry, adding the Humboldt region as the frontier of the strike's influence. The Humboldt region had its own local influences in the strike; with such an isolated region from the rest of California, the lumber mills had a dominant influence in the press and politics in just about every town and city in the county; especially in towns completely owned and managed by the employers running the lumber operations. The ways in which the strike was reported during and after showcases how the press filtered the events to its audience, and through which lenses it was engaged with. Along with antagonizing forces in the press and industry, there were still groups that supported the strike, community members and other established unions. However, there was national turmoil within the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners that in some ways made the union struggle a battle on two fronts. Ultimately, the local factors in Humboldt created an environment hostile towards union organizing and allowed many of the popular judgements against 1930s union organizers to take hold, while national factors incentivized a strike to take hold which may not have been ready to occur in the region.

Humboldt County

Northern California, along with much of Washington and Oregon, was home to a massive forest of redwood trees, some of which still remains despite generations of intense redwood harvesting done in the previous decades. Like much of the United States, various indigenous groups inhabited the region before being pushed out following the arrival of Europeans. While it was charted by Spanish explorers, the region did not begin to see European logging until the 1850s, when the rush of people from the California Gold Rush brought settlers interested in fishing and fertile land. Direct efforts by the federal government were taken beginning in 1853 to clear the redwood forests of indigenous people, under the guise of mediating conflict between the tribes and the white settlers, resulting in the construction of Fort Humboldt in Eureka.[761] Fort Humboldt would for years continue to be a staging ground for various

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[761] Richard Widick, *Trouble in the Forest: California's Redwood Timber Wars*, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2009, 130.

attacks against indigenous groups.[762] With the region ready for safe settlement by white men from the east coast of the United States and the British territories to the north in modern day Canada, a new industry began to develop in the area.

The redwood trees found along the Pacific Coast grow to massive heights and can live for up to two thousand years. They can grow to be over 300 feet tall, and the tallest living tree in the world, the Hyperion, stands at 380 feet right in Humboldt County.[763] Due to the sheer size and width of the trees, more complex operations for transporting and processing the fallen trees needed to be developed before an industry could be made out of the region. European settlers found the deep Humboldt Bay useful for shipping material from the northern part of California down to San Francisco, at that time the state's largest economic region. Humboldt's first properly successful mill, the Ryan and Duff mill, was built in 1852, after the equipment arrived in the area by the steamboat, The Santa Clara.[764] The deep-water port of Humboldt Bay allowed for a point of access to the region while reliable roads would still be many decades away. The rough terrain and ubiquity of redwood trees made constructing any roads a difficult task. At this port, the city of Eureka formed and would become the focus point for the many logging operations in the region.[765]

Leading into the 1900s, the industry of redwood logging continued to grow in scale and influence. The mills continued to stretch out into new areas of the county. The region was very sparsely populated, with only 27,104 living in the county in 1900, and only 8,500 living in Eureka township, the largest city in the county.[766] The city of Eureka was nearby the city of Arcata, which also borders the bay. Other small towns and communities dotted the region, while Eureka remained the main focal

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[762] "Indian Troubles in Humboldt County," *Daily National Democrat*, October 14, 1858.

[763] Juliana Kim. "People Who Want to Visit the World's Tallest Living Tree Now Risk a $5,000 Fine." *NPR*, NPR, 1 Aug. 2022, www.npr.org/2022/08/01/1114846960/hyperion-tree-off-limits-fine.

[764] Hyman Palais, and Earl Roberts. "The History of the Lumber Industry in Humboldt County." *Pacific Historical Review* 19, no. 1 (1950): 2.

[765] Daniel A. Cornford, *Workers and Dissent in the Redwood Empire*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987, 12.

[766] Ibid, 12.

point of the county. By the time of the Great Depression, the population of the region had grown, but remained relatively isolated from the rest of the state. Only 43,233 people were listed as living in the entire county in the 1930 census, with 15,752 living in the city of Eureka.[767] The rest were spread to the various smaller towns.

Lumber Culture

The isolation of these towns and companies allowed for much of the daily life in these areas to be heavily influenced by the dominant lumber companies. The businessmen of the early 1900s were highly respected in the community, and their wealth was seen as well deserved. Some of this high esteem traces to the founding of the region's premiere industry. Men such as John Dolbeer, John Vance, or William Carson arrived in the region with little means and gained immense wealth by dominating the redwood industry in its early stage.[768] They got reputations as innovators for developing methods to efficiently log the colossal trees around the region. John Dolbeer, for example, invented the steam donkey, allowing for a machine to do the harsh task of moving heavy logs.[769] They also had a reputation of giving back to the community. William Carson, owner of the Carson Mill employed off-season workers to construct his four-story mansion, which to this day overlooks much of Eureka, and was known to give generous bonuses to his workers.[770] William Carson would even serve multiple terms on Eureka's city council.[771] Both of these men died around the turn of the century, but this legacy of the good mill owners lived on.

In such a sparsely populated and isolated region of the state community institutions created close connections. In these tight knit communities, most people had interaction with the timber barons that ran these operations.[772] While they were revered, they were still seen as

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[767] U.S. Census Bureau; *1930 Census: The Fifteenth Census of the United States*, Population - California, Table 3– Area and Population of Counties:1890 to 1930, 130.

[768] Widick, *Trouble in the Forest*, 2009, 204.

[769] H. Brett Melendy. "Two Men and a Mill: John Dolbeer, William Carson, and the Redwood Lumber Industry in California." *California Historical Society Quarterly* 38, no. 1 (1959): 64.

[770] Widick, *Trouble in the Forest*, 2009, 204.

[771] Ibid, 104.

[772] Ibid.

230

members of the community. Social organizations, such as fraternities and clubs, helped to stress these bonds in the community. In 1935, there were at least 30 "secret and fraternal societies" in Eureka.[773] These were social clubs that created bonds in the community, normally limited to male membership. They emphasized "mutuality, benefit functions, and male camaraderie."[774] The secretive aspects of these societies manifested in that their members and meetings were not public knowledge, and not that they had conspiratorial dealings. The Humboldt Times boldly boasted that "probably no city of its size in the state is as well supplied with secret societies as Eureka."[775] Striking would put these people into conflict, with strikers and strike breakers having existing ties with one another.

The community being dominated by the lumber industry affected the type of people that came to the area. Many of these logging and mill companies relied on single men to work for them and provided lodging in bunkhouses and board in cookhouses (and deducted the cost from their paychecks), but this relied often on transient or seasonal workers. Providing housing to workers did bring a more stable and more reliable workforce for many extraction industries, especially in that they brought workers with families.[776] Company towns became a more common sight in the early 1900s, especially in remote regions supporting extraction industries, such as Humboldt. At its near peak in 1930, the US Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated that more than two million Americans were living in company towns.[777] In this context, a company town is more than a region dominated by one employer, but a town fully owned and run by a single company, without any local government, with all the residents being employed by that same company. The housing would be conditioned on their employment, and the cost often came as a payroll deduction. It is a system that offers companies an immense amount of social control. These towns would even have services or stores, creating

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[773] Ibid, 193.

[774] Mary Ann Clawson. "Fraternal Orders and Class Formation in the Nineteenth-Century United States." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 27, no. 4 (1985): 677.

[775] "Fraternity," *Humboldt Times*, September 14, 1889.

[776] Margaret Crawford. *Building the Workingman's Paradise: The Design of American Company Towns*. London; New York, Verso, 1995, 55.

[777] Ibid, 2.

a closed economic loop with the employee residents. If fired or retired, employees would normally lose their housing. Humboldt county had a number of these company towns, such as Falk, Krannel, Samoa, and Scotia.

One of the most powerful lumber companies in Humboldt was the Pacific Lumber Company. The Pacific Lumber Company (PALCO) created and operated the company town of Scotia to house its workers at the Scotia Mill. It became one of the most prominent company towns in the region, and even gained national attention in 1951 with a Saturday Evening Post article titled Paradise With a Waiting List, which described Scotia as a strange but lovely place to live.[778] Scotia started as a tent city of workers known as Forrestvile; the town became more properly developed by PALCO and gained a post office and the new name of Scotia in 1888.[779] The name of Scotia came to be due to the substantial population of immigrants from the Canadian province Nova Scotia; although the Murphy family that ran the company would trace its roots from the Canadian province of Prince Edward Island.[780] It remained a fully company owned and controlled town until 2008, when PALCO declared bankruptcy and began the process of selling the town, making it one of the last operating fully company owned towns in the country.[781] The company town system allowed the lumber companies to exert social control over the lives of its employees and especially ensure that union's stayed out of its lumber mills. This was aided in part by the geographic isolation most of these towns had, but also with the culture that they fostered. The hierarchies of the lumber mills were baked into the design of the towns; Scotia had larger, two storied homes built for the managers while workers had one storied homes.[782] A chief role of an architect of one of these communities would be to create a successful community that drew people in and became a benefit of working at the mill, ensuring a satisfied and loyal workforce.

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[778] Frank J. Taylor, "Paradise With a Waiting List," *Saturday Evening Post*, February 24, 1951.
[779] Gerald T. Takano, *Scotia Historic Assessment Study* (Daly City: TBA West, Inc, 2007), 5, PDF on file at Scotia Community Services District.
[780] Frank J. Taylor, "Paradise With a Waiting List," *Saturday Evening Post*, February 24, 1951.
[781] Widick, *Trouble in the Forest*, 2009, 49.
[782] Gerald T. Takano, *Scotia Historic Assessment Study* (Daly City: TBA West, Inc, 2007), 24.

232

The Great Depression

The economic fallout from the Great Depression put the lumber industry in a steep decline in the beginning of the 1930s, resulting in many workers, especially the seasonal ones, to leave the region. In Humboldt County, only the Pacific Lumber, Hammond-Little River, and Dolbeer & Carson mills were able to operate continuously and keep their workers employed during the depression; industry wide, employees had a 10% wage cut.[783] The other 17 mills had been shut down during 1932-1933 and lost workers, with some never opening again. In this period, many of the mills were purchased by the larger ones in the region, resulting in a further consolidation in the industry. With these great economic changes came a reckoning in politics. Before the Great Depression, California had voted solidly Republican in every election since 1852. In the 1928 presidential election, Republican Herbert Hoover won 64.7% of the state's popular vote, and in Humboldt County, he got 69.8% of the popular vote.[784] After the crisis began in 1929, Hoover became unpopular, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt arose as the Democratic Party's challenger, promising a "new deal" to help American people of the economic depression. FDR defeated incumbent candidate Hoover with 58% of the California vote.[785] Only 6 US states voted for Herbert Hoover. Humboldt county would also see this large flip to the New Deal Democratic party, with 56.2% of Humboldt votes being cast for FDR.[786] This was the first time Humboldt County had voted for the Democratic Party since 1860. With a new administration being sworn in in 1933, there would be a sense of hope at things getting better despite the mass unemployment. This flip in voting also proved that the Great Depression has changed the outlooks of many in the county.

During this period of economic crisis, President FDR's administration introduced new sweeping legislation to help the American economy recover. Passed in 1933, the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) introduced Codes of Fair Competition, which set things such as

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[783] Widick, *Trouble in the Forest*, 2009, 222.

[784] Richard M. Scammon, *America at the Polls: A Handbook of American Presidential Election Statistics 1920-1964*, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1965, 58.

[785] Ibid.

[786] Ibid.

233

minimum wages, maximum hours worked, and maximum prices for products in major industries in the form of self-regulation for major industries.[787] It would be struck down as unconstitutional by the Supreme Court sixteen days after the 1935 lumber strike began in Humboldt, but these codes gave the strikers a sense of federal support for asking more from their employers. For the lumber industry, the NIRA was set to a minimum wage of 35 cents an hour.[788] This wage lifted what some in the Humboldt region were getting paid when the Great Depression hit and established a bottom for workers to start negotiating from. The NIRA also established the right for workers to collectively bargain, and the administration passed the Wagner Act in July of 1935 to require companies to negotiate with unions in good faith.[789] With federal legislation in overt support of worker unionization, there was a motivation to make bold steps to organize.

Life for lumber workers leading up to the strike was difficult and filled with uncertainty. Many lumber jobs varied based on the need, leading to lengthy periods of unemployment for many workers. Many workers had families in larger cities such as Eureka but had to live in company lodging near timber sites for long periods of time. A personal account from Clara St. Peter, a school teacher and wife of a Hammond lumber worker, in 1934 noted that she heard a worker "was paid 48¢ an hour but had to pay back so much in room and board, transportation, hospital and insurance fees that there was but $20 a month left for his family at home."[790] Clara described her husband, Everett St. Peter, as having to work shifts of up to 19 hours when other workers were ill, due to short staffing.[791] Everrett would go on to join Eureka's 1935 lumber strike and become the Financial Secretary of the Arcata branch of the union.[792] Clara St. Peter joined the effort by editing the Redwood Strike

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[787] National Archives. "National Industrial Recovery Act (1933)." *National Archives*, 21 Sept. 2021, www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/national-industrial-recovery-act.

[788] Frank Onstine and Rachel Harris, *Organize! The Great Lumber Strike of Humboldt County 1935*, Las Vegas, NV: Lychgate Press, 2019, 17.

[789] National Archives. "National Industrial Recovery Act (1933)." *National Archives*, 21 Sept. 2021.

[790] Clara St. Peter, "Unfinished Manuscript," in *Organize! The Great Lumber Strike of Humboldt County 1935*, Frank Onstine and Rachel Harris (Lychgate Press), 11.

[791] Ibid, 13.

[792] Ibid, 144.

News union bulletin; in her words, "the matter had been a personal one."[793] The lives of lumber workers were made difficult by the Great Depression, and it would be a motivating factor to make a strike likely to happen in the region.

National Union Battles

Lumber industry efforts against strikes were well established leading into 1935. Methods used in previous years were deployed in 1935, such as accusing union leadership of being radicals and having ties to larger organizations such as the IWW, and therefore not truly having the local workers interest in mind. This tactic had resonance. For example, in a 1920 strike in Humboldt County, a number of striking workers tore up their union cards in protest when some of the allegations of IWW ties turned out to be true, saying the strike was started under "false promises and deceptive representations."[794] The IWW was a general union, founded in Chicago in 1905, aimed at organizing workers of all kinds from around the world to create "one big union" and bring an end to capitalism.[795] Their emphasis on organizing with unskilled workers was a reaction to another major labor organization, the American Federation of Labor (AFL). The AFL was a federation of skilled workers unions founded in 1886. They kept themselves apolitical, and were opposed to industrial unionization, the idea that all workers of an industry should be unionized together, regardless of skill. In many craft unions there was the idea that the skilled workers did not have commonality with the unskilled, and many also worried about providing "political radicals" a foothold in union organization.[796] With the passage of new federal legislation incentivizing these industrial unions, the AFL would accept unskilled workers into their unions, fearing a split in the organization if they did not.[797] The debate would be so contentious that the committee formed in 1935 to manage industrial unions, the Committee for Industrial

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[793] Onstine and Harris, *Organize!*, 15.

[794] "Woodsmen Quit I.U.T. Tearing Up Membership." The Humboldt Times, January 1, 1920.

[795] Goldman, Emma. "The Industrial Workers of the World." *PBS*, American Experience, www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/goldman-industrial-workers-world/.

[796] Walter Galenson. *The United Brotherhood of Carpenters: The First 100 Years*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1983, 254.

[797] Onstine and Harris, *Organize!*, 5.

235

Unions, would split off from the AFL three years later and become the Committee of Industrial Unions, a separate federation of union organizations.[798] After its peak in the 1910s, the IWW never had as much influence as it did other than as a specter to fear.

The AFL grew in prominence leading into the 1930s. It began chartering unions of lumber workers in the Pacific Northwest region in 1933, wanting to capitalize on momentum provided by the FDR administration and to avoid other union organizations from rising in influence.[799] That same year, they organized the Northwest Council of Sawmill and Timber Workers Union to act as a larger organizing body for the region's lumber unions. The AFL had a debate on whether it or another associated organization should have jurisdiction over the new council. Fearing the creation of a rival organization, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America (UBC) would agree to take it.[800] The UBC was a craft union of skilled and semi-skilled woodworkers and had previously been opposed to industrial unionization in AFL meetings. This transfer to the UBC occurred in February of 1935, less than three months before the Pacific Northwest's Lumber Strike would begin. Within the UBC, mill workers were all considered second-class union members; they had to pay the per-capita tax and union dues but could not utilize the retirement benefits or have any voting role in the union.[801] Even within the union, there would be a struggle to gain recognition.

Humboldt Union Efforts

By 1935, Humboldt's redwood extraction industry was only beginning to recover from the slump caused by the Great Depression. At this point, there was no unionization among the lumber mill workers in Humboldt County. Earlier attempts in the early 1900s had failed to gain traction, thanks in part to the efforts of mill owners.[802] Notably, the International Union of Timber Workers (IUTW) had a strike at the Hammond Lumber

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[798] Galenson. *The United Brotherhood of Carpenters*, 254.

[799] Ibid, 257.

[800] Ibid, 258.

[801] Interview with Albert J. "Mickey" Lima, by Frank Onstine, April 14, 1977. Transcript archived at Humboldt Historical Society.

[802] Onstine and Harris, *Organize!*, 3.

mill in 1919, which ended in no concessions to the strikers.[803] Attempts would continue to be made to unionize in Humboldt County, but to even less success. In 1922, an International Workers of the World (IWW) organizer involved in mobilizing union efforts in Eureka complained to the IWW's newspaper that "it would take a Sherlock Holmes to find any militancy in these tame apes."[804]

With new federal legislation in support of unions, and harsh conditions for lumber workers, union organization efforts in Humboldt's lumber industry had expanded. The number of lumber workers involved in California strikes in 1933 was 535, which rose to 1,622 the following year, peaking with 2,416 in 1935, according to a report done by the US Department of Labor.[805] Throughout the state, union activity was rising, bringing organizing forces to Humboldt as well. The union formed to represent these workers was the Timber and Sawmill Workers Union Local 2563, under a charter of AFL in 1934 (transferred to the UBC a year later).[806] The local union would continue organizing in the area, forming branches at a number of the local mills and logging camps.[807] In 1934, the International Longshore and Warehouse Union launched a strike of longshoremen along the entire US Pacific coast, from Washington to California, successfully gaining union recognition in every West Coast port, including in Humboldt.[808] This success not only created a strong union in the area, but also provided momentum to other strike movements in the region.

Outside of Eureka, a larger movement was stirring in the world of lumber labor. On March 23rd, 1935, the Northwest Council of Lumber and Sawmill Workers met in Aberdeen, Washington and set demands for the industry, threatening a strike. Representatives from Washington, Oregon, and Montana were in attendance, although none from California

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[803] Cornford, *Workers and Dissent in the Redwood Empire*, 1987, 212.

[804] *Industrial Worker*, July 29, 1922

[805] Florence Peterson, *Strikes in the United States, 1880-1936* (Washington, D.C.: Department of Labor Bulletin 651, 1938), 95.

[806] Onstine and Harris, *Organize!*, 5.

[807] Interview with Albert J. "Mickey" Lima, by Frank Onstine, April 14, 1977.

[808] William Bigelow and Norman Diamond. "Agitate, Educate, Organize: Portland, 1934." *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 89, no. 1 (1988): 5.

were present.[809] At this meeting, they demanded a 75 cents an hour wage and a 30 hour work week, a raise from the 40-45 cents an hour being paid in that region.[810] The UBC dispatched board member Abe Muir to lead the lumber workers in the union effort, as the Northwest Council of Lumber and Sawmill Workers now fell under their control, and he traveled around to get local unions to agree to the labor demands that the Northwest Council was asking the industry for.[811] On April 21st, Muir came to Eureka to meet with union workers and convinced them to adopt the Council's demands.[812] Prior to this meeting, the Local 2563 union voted on their own, less ambitious demands of 50 cents an hour and a 48 hour work week.[813] Adopting the council's demands meant asking for more than local leaders originally believed they could get, and raised the stakes for the mill owners in Humboldt. It also ensured that a strike would occur in Humboldt that May.

The Lumber Strike of 1935

For much of the Northwest, the strike began on May 6th, 1935, when an estimated 10,000-15,000 workers went on strike throughout Oregon and Washington, a region that employed 29,000 timber workers.[814] On May 11th, the Local 2563 Union, representing Humboldt County, voted to join the rest Northwest Council of Lumber and Sawmill Workers on strike.[815] Letters were sent to each of the mills, presenting the ultimatum of negotiating, else the union "withdraw the services of our members from your employment."[816] Representatives of the largest lumber companies in the region; Dolber & Carson, California Barrel Company, Holmes-Eureka, and PALCO; all sent their own letters to the union with the exact same response:

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[809] "Expect Strike." *The Seattle Star*, March 30, 1935.

[810] "Sawmill Men Talk of Strike." *The Spokesman-Review*, March 31, 1935.

[811] Galenson. *The United Brotherhood of Carpenters*, 258.

[812] "Workers Attend Labor Meetings" *The Humboldt Standard*, April 23, 1935.

[813] Onstine and Harris, *Organize!*, 17.

[814] "Mill Strike Closes Plants in the Northwest," *The Bend Bulletin*, May 6, 1935.

[815] "Strike Vote Ordered by Union Here," *The Humboldt Standard*, May 11, 1935.

[816] "Draft copy of a May 11th Letter from Local 2563 to all major companies in the Redwood Association" in *Organize! The Great Lumber Strike of Humboldt County 1935*, Frank Onstine and Rachel Harris (Lychgate Press), 274.

Gentlemen:

We beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of May 11, 1935, and also a copy of proposed agreement between this Company and The Sawmill and Timberworkers Union No. 2563.

When you can show us that you or your organization are authorized by a majority of the employees of this Company to bargain collectively on their behalf, we will be pleased to meet you for the purpose of negotiation. Until such a time there is nothing that we care to discuss with you.[817]

General Manager of the California Barrel Factory J.J. Krohn replied further, responding to the union's assertion that they represented 51% of the factory's workers by claiming the union was using coercion to gain members.[818] Without negotiation, the union members went on strike on May 15th.

As the strike began in Humboldt, the support was not as strong as union leadership would have hoped. Only about 1/3rd of the workers had been organized in Humboldt, resulting in a weak start to the strike that would only weaken as the strike went on.[819] Albert "Mikey" Lima, president of the sub-local union at the California Barrel Factory during the first phase of the strike, would later recount: "We needed a number of months yet before we were ready to begin to confront the employers and attempt to get contracts [. . .] a large body of workers continued to work."[820] The strike would still continue to make an impact for over a month in Humboldt, but narrowed to a dedicated few as more strikers went back to work, with less and less coverage in the press.

The strike received little support from the institutions in Humboldt. Letters were sent to the local unions asking for support in the strike by boycotting of products from the mills under strike, but never got support from the trucking or railroad related unions.[821] One of the places that did

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[817] "May 13th response from Holmes-Eureka Vice President" in *Organize! The Great Lumber Strike of Humboldt County 1935*, Frank Onstine and Rachel Harris (Lychgate Press), 275.

[818] "Initial Relief Calls Made in Timber Strike," *The Humboldt Standard*, May 17, 1935.

[819] Interview with Albert J. "Mickey" Lima, by Frank Onstine, April 14, 1977.

[820] Ibid.

[821] "May 14th letter from Local 2563 asking unions to support the strike" in *Organize! The Great Lumber Strike of Humboldt County 1935*, Frank Onstine and Rachel Harris (Lychgate Press), 280.

239

support the strike was the Longshoreman's union. The local Longshoremen's Union declared that they would not load any lumber produced in striked mills in Eureka.[822] The support of this union proved strong and provided pressure for an industry reliant on shipping the wood out to more populated areas of the state and markets across the world. The strikers also had locations of support in the community, in the forms of labor halls that were providing food for the workers on the picket line. One of the notable locations would be the Finnish Federation Hall; Finnish immigrants were split between two non-fraternizing groups, the "red" more radical Finns and "white" conservative Finns, due to the 1918 Finland Civil War.[823] "Red Finns" were known locally and within the union as being instrumental to the strike; in a letter thanking the San Francisco Finnish Brotherhood for donated funds, Union Recording Secretary Everett St. Peter stated that "Finnish workers in Eureka are the bulwark of our union."[824] While they lacked the membership to substantially shut down the local lumber industry, there was still enough disruption to cause a stir.

Nationally, this Pacific Northwest lumber strike movement fared similar treatment as workers did in Eureka. It shared the same national leadership, but strike movements in many Washington and Oregon communities had stronger union organization at the start of the strike. The mills in Washington state and around the Portland area of Oregon were shut down completely by the strikes, some for over a month.[825] Other unions found a similarly unsympathetic local press which pushed for the creation of striker's newsletters, such as The Timber Worker in Aberdeen, Washington.[826] In both Portland and Washington communities, local press was dismissive of the strikes if not outright critical. Negative press came especially as the continuing strikes caused

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[822] "40,000 Now Out In North West Lumber Strike," *Western Worker,* May 27, 1935

[823] Onstine and Harris, *Organize!*, 87.

[824] Everett St. Peter to the Finnish Brotherhood, August 10 1935, in *Organize! The Great Lumber Strike of Humboldt County 1935*, Frank Onstine and Rachel Harris (Lychgate Press), 88.

[825] Cain Allen. "The Lumber Strike Wanes." *oregonhistoryproject.org*, Oregon Historical Society, 2006, www.oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/historical-records/the-lumber-strike-wanes/#.ZBpA5rTMJAc.

[826] Gerardine Carrol, and Micheal Moe. "Timber Worker (Newspaper) Aberdeen and Seattle, 1935-1942." *University of Washington*, 2001, depts.washington.edu/labhist/laborpress/TimberWorker.htm.

240

harm to the local economies.[827] The hostility of the local institutions of power was not a unique experience to Humboldt.

Soon after the strike began, a major conflict would emerge within the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. With UBC appointed Abe Muir leading the strike, he settled the strikes for individual mills, as opposed to the desire of many local leaders to have the whole strike hold out until the demands are sufficiently met, industry-wide.[828] Many of these locals would consider Muir a sellout, a claim seen often in communists press reporting on the strikes. These settlement deals would also be worked out by the national leadership and then voted on by the local unions.[829] On June 5th, a number of local unions launched a failed attempt to oust Abe Muir as their national representative.[830] That same day, after an agreement was reached for strikers at the massive Longview Mill in Longview, Washington to return, the mill was once again shut down by strikers dissatisfied by the terms of the deal.[831] Abe Muir would refer to these local efforts to go against him as "Communists bent on making trouble. They are moving mill to mill and trying to upset union agreements with employers."[832] His statement puts the blame of the union movements' internal conflicts on the same people that the various newspaper publishers would blame during the strike: out of town communists with ulterior motives. The idea of an out-of-town communist proved an easy scapegoat for people on both sides of the strike movement. This news of conflict within the union would make its way to strikers in Eureka and may have lessened the morale of those on strike; the Redwood Strike News would express disappointment that they had to fight attacks from "false leaders" as well as the lumber companies.[833]

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[827] Gerardine Carrol, and Micheal Moe. "Timber Worker (Newspaper) Aberdeen and Seattle, 1935-1942." *University of Washington*, 2001.

[828] "Lumber Strike Grows Rapidly, 30,000 Now Out," *Western Worker*, May 16, 1935.

[829] Galenson. *The United Brotherhood of Carpenters*, 258.

[830] Ibid, 259

[831] "Huge Longview Lumber Mills Shut Down," *The Bellingham Herald*, June 5, 1935.

[832] Ibid.

[833] Onstine and Harris, *Organize!*, 87.

Reaction of the Press

When the strike was first announced in Humboldt, it immediately became headline news in the local papers. On May 11th, the day the strike was called, The Humboldt Standard uncritically reprinted a letter from the President of the Dolbeer-Carson Lumber company, J.M. Carson. The letter showed a renouncement of the union's representation of the workers along with the signature of every mill worker, putting trust in their "president and friend;" Carson wrote at the end of the letter that "this list of names was unsolicited by me and represents 100 per cent of the Bay Mill employees. None of the head men [. . .] knew anything about it until the list was presented to be [sic] this morning."[834] The Carson Mill was known for paying its employees five cents more than the area's average of 35 cents an hour, and it was one of two mills said to not have made any union movement inside, with the other being the isolated company town of Scotia.[835] Due to its reputation, it is not a stretch to believe that there would be so much support for the company. However, getting the letter to the press in time to be printed the same day the press announces the strike shows an effort by management to ensure that it was read by Humboldt's population. On two of the three days following that letter, similar letters of loyalty were reported on by the press at other area mills. According to the press, PALCO's Scotia mill, the Hammond and Little River Redwood Company, the Holmes-Eureka Company, and the California Barrel Company all had overwhelming employee support for their management by May 14th, the third day of the strike in Eureka.[836] This would provide a strong momentum against the strike in the press for the integral days building up to the actual walkout. The local papers never reprinted any of the union's letters or statements in the same ways that these companies were given the space. The lumber companies were able to have a voice with the community at large through The Humboldt Times and could quickly attempt to counteract any progress the union would make.

Outside of the paper's closeness with the lumber companies, they also quickly ran critical editorials once the strike was called. On May

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[834] "All Workers Loyal to Owner." *The Humboldt Standard*, May 11, 1935
[835] Interview with Albert J. "Mickey" Lima, by Frank Onstine, April 14, 1977.
[836] "Holmes, Arcata, and Hammond Men Pledge," *The Humboldt Standard*, May 14, 1935

12th, the day after the strike was called, an editorial was published in The Humboldt Standard, a daily newspaper based in Eureka, criticizing the strike, arguing that "to go on strike at this time in the lumber industry of Humboldt would be little sort of criminal," as well as questioning how much the union actually represented Humboldt's lumber workers.[837] The other daily Eureka paper, The Humboldt Times, gave a very similar, but slightly more sympathetic message, stating that it was not a good time for a lumber strike, despite valid issues the workers may have.[838] This very editorial appeared alongside the reprinted letter of support that J. M. Carson received from his workers. In an editorial about Eureka Mayor Frank Sweasey's response to the strike, the Humboldt Standard stressed that the strike leaders must be made aware that "the strike is being conducted by but 5 per cent of the lumber workers, and that it has no general public sympathy or support."[839] This immediate show of support for the lumber companies emphasizes that the reporters of this strike were invested in the status quo of the lumber industry.

Union leadership quickly criticized this reporting by the press. The union newsletter, The Redwood Strike News, asserted that "The Redwood Association is making a well-planned attack on the Lumber & Sawmill Workers' Union through the daily press."[840] They didn't offer any proof other than commenting on the timing that many articles against the strike would be published, in particular the loyalty lists of workers against the strike that came out "one at a time" and was made frontpage, headline news each day. On the cover of the same issue, the union ran a cartoon depicting a large, well-dressed man labeled "Redwood Association" hiding behind a large copy of The Humboldt Times yelling phrases such as "Lies! Lies! Lies," "No strike in Humboldt," and "Everyone satisfied!" at a striking worker who retorts "Baloney!"[841] The union reflected the feeling that the local press was under the control of the dominant industry and the only way they felt their voice could be heard during the strike was their own publication.

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[837] "Halt the Lumber Worker's Strike." *The Humboldt Standard*, May 13, 1935

[838] "Lumber Workers Think This Over." *The Humboldt Times*, May 12, 1935.

[839] "The Mayor and the Strike," *The Humboldt Standard*, May 20, 1935.

[840] "Redwood Strike News No. 6" (June 2, 1935), in *Organize! The Great Lumber Strike of Humboldt County 1935*, Frank Onstine and Rachel Harris (Lychgate Press), 283.

[841] Ibid

243

In reporting of strikes and union activities, the press stoked fears and worries about outsiders coming into Eureka to cause trouble. Five days into the strike, the mayor of Eureka, Frank R. Sweasey, announced the creation of a "Committee of One Thousand" to ensure that people and property were protected during the strike, noting "If outsiders come in to take over the strike we must be prepared."[842] Two days afterward, in an editorial about a communist takeover of a seaman's union, the paper warned of the presence of communist in any labor unions, stating that "they have been at work in Eureka in advance of the present strike [. . .] There are known members of the Communist Party in Eureka."[843] While they were a popular menace to blame any issues with the strikes, or even the existence of the strikes on, there was a legitimate presence of communist in Eureka in the strike movement. Albert J. Lima, the president of the sub-local union at the California Barrel Factory and Local 2563's Financial Secretary, was an open communist. He would go on to be state leader of the Communist Party in California during the 1950's.[844] In a 1977 Interview, Lima would claim that there were about 30-35 members in Eureka's Communist Party in 1935.[845]

June 21st, 1935

With the number of strikers continuing to dwindle, their reduced numbers feared that momentum had been completely lost. The local Longshoremen's Union planned to hold a meeting on the 21st to discuss their support for the lumber strike in Humboldt.[846] That same day, representatives from the AFL and UBC would arrive to see the situation in Humboldt, and decide if there was still a strike to support.[847] The Redwood Strike News published the headline "Now or Never" on the day before they were due to arrive, urging supporters to show out and create a strong picket line and keep the support of the Longshoremen and

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[842] "Committee of 1000 Will Be Named." *The Humboldt Standard*, May 18, 1935

[843] "Communistic Seamen," *The Humboldt Standard*, May 20, 1935.

[844] "Albert J. Lima; Leader in State's Communist Party," *Los Angeles Times*, June 11, 1989.

[845] Interview with Albert J. "Mickey" Lima, by Frank Onstine, April 14, 1977.

[846] "Longshoremen to Hold Meet," *Humboldt Standard*, June 20, 1935.

[847] Onstine and Harris, *Organize!*, 43.

244

the UBC.[848] Local leadership decided to concentrate their picketing at one mill to attempt a shutdown, and to avoid the location leaking out and allowing police and companies to prepare, the location would be kept secret until the morning of the strike.[849] About 200 strikers picketed outside the Holmes-Eureka mill on June 21st, with a tense environment knowing that it was "now or never."[850]

As more police arrived at the strike scene, the situation became much more tense. Police then began to fire tear gas into the crowd to get them to disperse.[851] One striking woman was hit by a canister and knocked unconscious. Per Albert Lima's account, the strikers believed her to be shot by a shotgun and began attacking the police.[852] Police then fired bullets into the crowd; notably one officer enlisted a Holmes-Eureka employee to operate a submachine gun, which quickly jammed.[853] In the end, multiple strikers had to be taken to the hospital. Two strikers were killed by police gunfire; Wilhelm Kaarte, a woods cook, and Harold Edlund, a PALCO tree chopper.[854] Paul Lampella, a 19-year-old who was observing but was not part of the strike, was also shot and would die on August 7th.[855] All three killed were Finnish. Five police officers were also wounded in the conflict.[856] Violence appeared in other locations during the Lumber Strike of 1935, but Eureka was the only place in which people died.

After the deaths of strikers on the last day, there was a different tone taken by the press. There was an immediate reaction to blame outside influences for the violence. The same day that people were killed, Eureka's sizable homeless encampment 'Jungletown' was burned to the ground by the fire chief as "part of the police plan to rid the city of subversive elements responsible for the riot."[857] The police also shut

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[848] "Redwood Strike News No. 10" (June 20, 1935), in *Organize! The Great Lumber Strike of Humboldt County 1935*, Frank Onstine and Rachel Harris (Lychgate Press), 283.

[849] Onstine and Harris, *Organize!*, 45.

[850] "One Strike Dies Five Shot in Riot," *Humboldt Standard*, June 21, 1935.

[851] Ibid.

[852] Interview with Albert J. "Mickey" Lima, by Frank Onstine, April 14, 1977.

[853] "Riot Situation," *Humboldt Standard*, June 24, 1935.

[854] Onstine and Harris, *Organize!*, 51.

[855] Ibid.

[856] "Bloody Riot at Mill Gates," *Humboldt Standard*, June 22, 1935.

[857] "Eureka's Picturesque 'Jungles' Only a Memory," *Humboldt Times*, June 22, 1935.

245

down the soup kitchens that had been providing food for the strikers, with the paper reporting that the "government men" in Eureka stated these kitchens "are mainly responsible for keeping many of the reported communist in this city."[858] One of these kitchens was the Finnish Federation Hall, and after a raid, police told the press they found "clothes, supposedly for needy radicals who come to the city" and "pistols of many makes, daggers, knives, billy clubs and communistic literature" hidden behind a secret door.[859] The press even printed a photo of the "weapons" recovered by police, but never printed any correction noting that the clothes for radicals were costumes, and the weapons were all fakes for the plays that the hall put on.[860]

Despite those dying being from the local community, the bloodshed was still pinned on outside radicals by the press and law enforcement. Law enforcement claimed the strike leaders were "communists and agitators imported here from San Francisco."[861] Despite this, those killed by police were not disparaged as the radicals that the community so feared. In fact, the funeral of Wilhelm Kaarte reportedly drew a crowd of 2,000, with support present from all the local unions.[862]

The Aftermath

After the bloody events at the Holmes-Eureka mill, many of the factors that made the strike difficult to begin with coalesced to deal final blows to the union efforts in Humboldt. Following the riot, the press circulated rumors that "radical sympathizers from southern Oregon planned an invasion of Eureka as an aftermath of yesterday's rioting."[863] No such invasion ever came, but Sheriff Arthur Ross pledged to use force to prevent such a thing.[864] Vigilante groups were organized to help the

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[858] "Bloody Riot at Mill Gates," Humboldt *Times*, June 22, 1935.

[859] "Worst Outbreak of Mob Violence in Eureka's History Early Yesterday," *Humboldt Times*, June 22, 1935.

[860] Ensi Wirta to Noel Harris, June 27 1935, in *Organize! The Great Lumber Strike of Humboldt County 1935*, Frank Onstine and Rachel Harris (Lychgate Press), 57.

[861] "1 Dead in Eureka Mill Riot," *Seattle Post Intelligencer*, June 22, 2023.

[862] "2000 Attend Funeral of W. Kaarte," *Humboldt Standard*, June 24, 1935.

[863] "Invasion From North To Be Thwarted," *Humboldt Standard*, June 22, 1935.

[864] Ibid.

sheriff in closing off roads into the county, to prevent radicals from entering.[865] This immediate reaction from local government leadership helped prevent any further striking from happening.

Following the carnage at the mill, 114 strikers were arrested.[866] Requiring legal representation for its strikers, the local union sent a telegram to the International Labor Defense requesting assistance.[867] The International Labor Defense (ILD) was a legal organization founded by American communists to give aid to those arrested for political and labor activities and had known communists in its ranks. The ILD dispatched attorneys George Anderson and Leo Gallagher.[868] Leo Gallagher had developed a reputation by this point, representing the defense in several contentious cases throughout California. In 1933, he would take part in an ILD delegation in support of Bulgarian Communist Georgi Dimitrov, who had been charged in the famous Reichstag fire trial in Nazi Germany.[869] However, he would later be excluded from the Reichstag trial and deported as an undesirable alien. Of the 114 strikers arrested, only 55 were brought to trial, charged with rioting.[870] The defense of the communist aligned ILD would ignite tensions within the local union. The local AFL paid for its own attorney to represent jailed strikers after the local lumber union announced it was taking the ILD's services, and 18 of them chose the AFL's lawyer.[871] Three more chose an ACLU lawyer to represent them, but 32 strikers would continue with the ILD (two strikers would represent themselves with the ILD's aid).[872] After three trials, all 55 people had their charges dropped or were acquitted. The Humboldt Standard reflected on the case after the last charges were dropped: "The apparent unwillingness of jurors to serve in the trail and the inability to reach a verdict led the county to abandon further prosecution of the

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[865] "Terror Strikes Behind Eureka 'Law and Order,'" *Western Worker*, July 1, 1935.

[866] "114 Arrested in Riot; One Dead; Many Others Hurt," *Humboldt Times*, June 21, 1935.

[867] Onstine and Harris, *Organize!*, 67.

[868] "News of the Month," *Labor Defender,* August 1935, 15.

[869] "Ex-E. P. Lawyer Scares State," *El Paso Herald-Post*, October 18, 1935.

[870] "Riot Trials Will Open Monday," *Humboldt Standard*, August 3, 1935.

[871] "ILD Returns to Eureka Despite Faker's Threat," *Western Worker*, July 15, 1935.

[872] Onstine and Harris, *Organize!*, 76.

case."[873] No one was ever charged for the murders of the three men at the Holmes-Eureka Mill.

After June 21st, most of Local 2563's time went to legal defense for the arrested members, effectively ending the strike. Officially, Local 2563 would not declare the strike over until August 30th, but in practicality, it was over after the incident at the Holmes-Eureka Mill. Most of those still on strike had been blacklisted by the local industry, and were largely unable to find work in the region, not to mention had their names printed repeatedly in the press during the trial coverage.[874] Due to the expenses of the strike, funerals, and legal defenses, the Local 2563 fell three months behind on its per capita tax payments to the UBC.[875] The UBC also grew upset with the radicals it saw present in the Local 2563 leadership, especially as they were reelected in a local election soon after the union officially ended the strike.[876] Due to these two factors, the charter for Local 2563 was pulled by the UCB in November.[877] A new local was immediately chartered, Local 2677, with completely different leadership.[878] Without employment or even a union to manage, most of the organizers of the strike left the region.

Though a veil of silence fell over the event for years afterwards, the strike is remembered today thanks to local activists who continued to speak of it. Local activists and union leaders met with a Humboldt Times-Standard reporter in 1983 to commemorate the 48th anniversary of the Holmes-Eureka Strike, to emphasize its importance in local history.[879] None of the companies involved in the strike are still in operation today. The site of the Holmes-Eureka Mill is now occupied by the Bayshore Mall, and in 1995, a plaque was placed between its main entrance doors to remember the strike and honor the fallen strikers.[880]

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[873] "Entire Slate Dropped by State," *Humboldt Standard*, September 26, 1935.

[874] Onstine and Harris, *Organize!*, 89.

[875] Everett St. Peter to Frank Duffy, September 25 1935, in *Organize! The Great Lumber Strike of Humboldt County 1935*, Frank Onstine and Rachel Harris (Lychgate Press), 316.

[876] Onstine and Harris, *Organize!*, 90

[877] Don Cameron to Mickie Lima, November 5 1935, in *Organize! The Great Lumber Strike of Humboldt County 1935*, Frank Onstine and Rachel Harris (Lychgate Press), 317.

[878] Onstine and Harris, *Organize!*, 90

[879] "Union Leaders Commemorate Tragic Holmes-Eureka Strike," *Times-Standard*, June 21, 1983.

[880] "The Great Timber Strike of 1935," *Times-Standard*, September 3, 1995.

248

The factors influencing the 1935 Lumber Strike in Humboldt were numerous and complex. The 1930s were an active time for union organization due to the Great Depression and FDR's New Deal changes. With these changes came a national movement towards industrial unionization, reluctantly embraced by the more conservative craft unions such as the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. Locally, union organizers in Humboldt had to fight an uphill battle against the powerful lumber industry and their immense social control and dominance in the region's economy and institutions, especially with Humboldt County's isolation and company towns. All these factors would come together and create a weak but inevitable strike in the county, unfortunately ending in bloodshed. The deaths and following arrests killed what was left of the strike and led to the end of the Local 2563 union itself from the unsympathetic national UBC leadership. For the entirety of the strike, the local organizers had to fight a battle on multiple fronts.

Movie Review: Ridley Scott's *Napoleon* (2023)

Dylan Ryu

"When I have issues with historians, I ask: 'Excuse me, mate, were you there? No? Well, shut the f**k up then.'"[881] That was a quote from Ridley Scott regarding the historical accuracy of his 2023 movie, *Napoleon*. Scott's *Napoleon* is bold, beautiful, but inaccurate. The historical inaccuracies and creative liberties range from small dialogue choices to mischaracterizing key figures, including its central lead, Napoleon. Within the first ten minutes, Scott makes it clear to the audience that the film will not maintain the accuracy of critical historical events. There is a scene where Robespierre loses the favor of the Convention, followed by an ensuing chase between an angry mob of deputies and Robespierre. The scene concludes with Robespierre failing to commit suicide while pursued by the mob inside the Salle du Manège. While it is true that there are reports that Robespierre did have a failed suicide attempt that resulted in the shattering of his jaw, accounts attest that he shot himself in the Hôtel de Ville in the dead of night, not in the Salle du Manège.[882] Numerous scenes follow a similar pattern throughout the movie, but these moments at least attempt to maintain the spirit of the historical event while presenting them in a more compelling narrative.

Yet not all historical inaccuracies are inconsequential or maintain the thematic ideas of history. Most notably, the depictions of Napoleon Bonaparte, played by Joaquin Phoenix, and Joséphine de Beauharnais, played by Vanessa Kirby, should be subject to strict critique. Despite the movie covering Napoleon's life from the Battle of Toulon in 1793 to his death in 1821, the film's central focus is Napoleon's relationship with

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[881] Jonathan Dean, "Ridley Scott: I didn't need historians to make my Napoleon epic," The Sunday Times, November 12, 2023, https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/ridley-scott-i-didnt-listen-to-historians-to-make-my-napoleon-epic-snq5f7x68

[882] Peter McPhee, *Robespierre: A Revolutionary Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 219.

Joséphine. Throughout the movie, the two are fascinated with one another and are the foundation of what little narrative the movie follows. Arguably, their intimacy is too much on display as there are a handful of sex scenes between

Napoleon and Joséphine that closely resemble teenage awkwardness. While historians accept that Napoleon was captivated by Joséphine, the same cannot be said for how Joséphine felt for Napoleon—a stark contrast to how David Bell characterizes the relationship in his book, *Napoleon: A Concise Biography*. The movie only shows one affair that Joséphine had with Hippolyte Charles, a Hussar lieutenant, despite both having multiple affairs in real life. However, the Charles affair seemed only to strengthen Napoleon's and Joséphine's love. Phoenix and Kirby have great on-screen chemistry, which works to sell the bond between the Emperor and Empress, but it is clear that Scott wanted to tell a romanticized version of the rocky relationship.

The most controversial part of the film is how Scott chose to characterize Napoleon. Besides Austerlitz, the film's version of Napoleon is a shadow of the great military strategist, leader beloved by his people, and cunning political figure many historians laud him as; instead, he is an incompetent fool bumbling his way through France. There was a severe lack of politics and public relations in the film. Much of Bell's book was Napoleon's propaganda scheme, but the only propaganda shown within the film was *against* Napoleon with newspapers of Joséphine's affair. Napoleon never felt popular or beloved by the French people, which was most likely intentional by Scott. Even Napoleon's ascension to Emperor was almost forgettable as it went as quickly as it came with little fanfare. The divorce between Joséphine and Napoleon was a more significant plot point than his taking control of France. Scott's Napoleon was a tortured soul of the likes of Phoenix's other roles, Arthur Fleck in *Joker* (2019) or Beau from *Beau is Afraid* (2023), a far cry from the man that brought Europe to its knees. However, that is precisely how Scott wanted the audience to view Napoleon, not for his accomplishments but rather for his failures. No clearer is that notion as it is when the screen fades to black; statistics of how many people died during the Napoleonic wars appear on screen,

251

thus solidifying Napoleon as a historical despot that led to the deaths of millions of the audience.

The movie lacks continuity and care for historical accuracy; it attempts to compensate with gritty battles, magnificent set design, and costuming. Yet these visuals only add fleeting engagement to an otherwise garish movie. The best part of the movie, which coincidentally is the only time Napoleon felt like a true tactical genius, was the Battle of Austerlitz. The audience gets a good feel for the claustrophobic feelings that infantry warfare had during that time; the fear of being trampled by men and horses has seldom had a better display on the silver screen. Napoleon's plan, albeit oversimplified, over luring the Russians onto the ice was a spectacle to behold. Yet even though *The Hobbit: Battle of the Five Armies* (2014), which captured the sense of armies filled with hundreds of thousands of infantry engaged in combat, came out nearly a decade before *Napoleon,* the armies of Napoleon felt small. Records put the Russian military around 70,000 soldiers, yet Scott showed no more than 7,000 during the Battle of Austerlitz. The excellence of the visual spectacle makes the lack of narrative even more disappointing. Despite the lengthy run-time, the film needed more time to flesh out any of its acts. The Egyptian campaign consists of more scenes of Napoleon discussing Joséphine's affair than the actual military campaign and French occupation of Egypt. The Italian campaign, which catapulted Napoleon into the upper echelon of the French military, fares much worse as it had no dedicated screen time. These omissions cheapen Napoleon's character in a film that already seemed anti-Napoleon. Worse, the audience experiences whiplash as Scott jumps from event to event with little lead-in and often lacking context. Covering roughly thirty years of the life of one of the more transformative figures in European history was an ambitious task, and the consequences show.

Regardless of the quality of *Napoleon* as a movie, the film brings up an essential question about authenticity and what the audience subsequently takes away from the media's depiction of history. *Napoleon* shows a lot of what is happening on screen but rarely any of the why. The entire introduction of Napoleon at Toulon misses the context of why the revolutionaries even sent the French forces there. There was no explanation that Toulon was under the control of the joint forces of the

252

French Royalists and English; instead, Scott depicted the event as purely French and British. This theme of oversimplification permeates throughout the movie as even the foundation of the movie, Napoleon's and Joséphine's relationship, has the same lack of nuance and complexity. The film glances over the fact that Joséphine was a widow to a noble. Yet, her noble status helped Napoleon gain legitimacy as he was not French; instead, he was Corcican of birth. *Napoleon* is more akin to a satirical teardown of Napoleon, and Scott makes that clear with the death statistics and unintentional comedy. If the audience has no prior knowledge of the Napoleonic era, this oversimplification of history is what they will hold to be accurate. The only way the movie would inspire others to look into Napoleonic history would be due to audience disbelief and confusion as to whether or not Napoleon was nothing but an insecure and ineffective leader that stomps like a horse during foreplay and screamed "You think are so f*cking great because you have boats!"