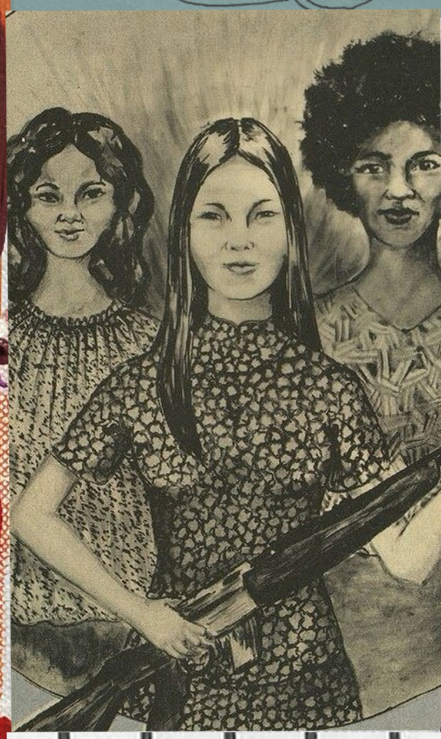
THE SCROLL



HISTORY RESEARCH JOURNAL

VOLUME II

ISSUE II

About

The Scroll is the undergraduate historical journal of the University of Southern California's Phi Alpha Theta chapter. The journal seeks to promote student authorship of and engagement with high quality historical writing. There are two editions per year, one published each semester. After publication, The Scroll invites the edition's student authors to present at The Scroll Unrolled conference, giving students valuable experience presenting their original research.

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Editor's Note

Dear Reader,

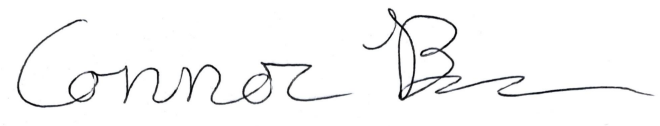
When we first started *The Scroll* over two years ago, we were but a few energetic undergrads running around scrambling to put a journal together. Paper submissions came from frantic fliers and pestered friends, with Sean Silvia being all that stood between our fledgling undergraduate history journal and oblivion. Now, *The Scroll* is self-sustaining, a member of the international Society of Undergraduate Humanities Publications, a recognizable part of the History department, and most importantly a pillar of USC's history community. That's what I'll take from my experience at *The Scroll*, our ability to establish ourselves as not only a hub and proponent of high-quality undergraduate research, that focuses on publishing marginalized and under-researched subjects, but as a space for history students to come together and celebrate our common interests and passions. And how passionate a community it is! We received our most submissions ever this semester, as well as unprecedented interest in joining the editorial board. As the final founding member to serve as Editor in Chief, I couldn't feel better about the future of *The Scroll* as we begin a new chapter.

My successor and current Managing Editor, Mallory Novicoff, has led our design efforts and organized our editors with an impeccable attention to detail and commitment to excellence. I am excited to see what new heights she takes our journal next semester. This semester was particularly challenging in the continuation of the pandemic, transitioning back in person and rebuilding our journal infrastructure required great efforts from every member of the board and I am beyond proud of them and grateful for their commitment to our mission. The authors we are publishing this semester showed an equal level of resolve and determination to produce the highest-quality work. I appreciate their vulnerability in sharing their

research with us and receptiveness to the advice of our editorial team. Yuna Jeong highlights the agency and activism of lesbian women who were shut out from groups that claimed to fight for their rights in 1960s and 1970s America, giving us vital insight into the failures of a prominent movement. Ellen Minkin tells us of some of the least talked about tragedies and horrors of the Holocaust, shedding light on life-saving resistance efforts and the strength of humanity's resolve. Simran Khalsa turns a microhistory into an examination of genealogical malpractice, welcoming women erased from history back into the discussion. Ammar Dharani challenges the Eurocentric conception of modern psychology by transporting us to the psychiatric breakthroughs of the Medieval Islamic world. Finally, our very own Himani Boompally offers up a fascinating discussion with Dr. Ketaki Pant to conclude our issue this semester.

I would like to thank the authors, our editorial board, the faculty review board, led by Dr. Lindsay O'Neill, and you, the reader, for contributing to our historical pursuits at *The Scroll* and the University of Southern California. Our history community is as vibrant as I have seen it in my time here, and I look forward to what it will produce in the future.

Sincerely,



Editor in Chief, *The Scroll*

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Lifestyle or Politics

The Struggle over Sexuality in the Third World Women's Alliance

By: Yuna Jeong '22

Author's Note

My name is Yunkyoung Jeong, though I go by Yuna, and I'm a history major with minors in anthropology and screenwriting. My research interests have revolved around LGBTQ history since before I knew they were research interests, when the research consisted mostly of plummeting down Wikipedia rabbit holes about famous people and their "very good friends." I've been especially interested in the stories of nonwhite queer people, so the past two summers, I examined the intersectionality of the 1970s women's liberation movement in the Bay Area, specifically focusing on groups that were composed of (at least partly) lesbians of color or centered lesbian issues from nonwhite perspectives.

This paper on the Third World Women's Alliance was written the second summer, and with it I wanted to combat the general belief that second wave feminism was solely white, straight, and middle class by adding on to the ongoing movement in feminist scholarship that highlights the complexity and variety of the women's movement. I am interested in the specific intersection between feminists of color and queer feminists because this is an area where literature exists but is sparse, and I'd like to join the scholars who are working to fill in some of those spaces. Lots of love and thanks to Professor Joan Flores-Villalobos and Professor Alice Echols for guiding me through not just the history of mid-20th century protest movements but also the process of writing research papers (and coming out alive).

As the new year opened in 1972, a major debate was brewing at 1362 E 25th Street, Oakland, California. This was the meeting center for the nascent Bay Area chapter of the Third World Women's Alliance, an organization of nonwhite anti-imperialist women that was part of the global anticolonial movement known as the Third World Left.[1] At their first consciousness-raising session of the year, the members sat down to discuss what they called "the Gay question"— that is, whether homosexuality had a place in their politics. By the end of the month, all lesbians had left the Alliance. On the opposite coast, years ahead of the Combahee River Collective, the New York chapter was actively accepting lesbian members and incorporating anti-heterosexism into their core principles. This conflict over the treatment of lesbian issues in radical spaces was not a rare one at the time, when lesbian separatism was growing as a movement and deepening the gay-straight split within the women's liberation movement.[2] However, the departure of the lesbians from the Alliance's Bay Area chapter is not merely another instance of lesbian separatism; rather, it was evidence of lesbians' prominence in social movement organizing across groups, even those that did not identify as lesbian-feminist or even primarily feminist. The nonwhite anti-imperialist lesbians of the TWWA tried to carve out spaces for themselves within the intersection of other oppressions rather than solely choosing the separatist route. While all official records of the

[1] The U.S. Third World Left emerged in the late 1950s and early 1960s, influenced by the worldwide movement of decolonization and the technology that bridged the gaps between U.S. minorities and Third World majorities. In the 1960s, almost thirty countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America declared formal independence, among them Ghana, the first independent black African nation, and Cuba, whose 1959 revolution proved hugely influential to the leftists of color in the U.S. With experience from the New Left and the civil rights movement, U.S. Third World Leftists "created cultural, material, and ideological links to the Third World as a mode through which to contest U.S. economic, racial, and cultural arrangements," claiming "Third World" as a name that represented their opposition to such arrangements. Cynthia Ann Young, Introduction to *Soul Power Culture, Radicalism, and the Making of a U.S. Third World Left* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 3.

[2] Lesbian separatists were inspired by women's liberationists who themselves were inspired by the Black separatists of the 1960s. Separatism was all about organizing around one's own oppression. Aligning themselves with the mantra that "the personal is political," some women split from the Left when men refused to accept that sexism was a serious political issue to form the women's liberation movement. These feminists were majority white, since although they did not necessarily try to exclude women of color, many women of color did not think women's liberationists cared enough about issues of race and class. They were also greatly conflicted about lesbian issues, and eventually, using earlier heterosexual feminist calls for separatism as a model, lesbian feminism started to become a movement of its own, splitting from the overall women's movement.

incident are written from the perspective of the straight Bay Area women, they illuminate the existence of lesbians within the Third World Left who recognized sexuality as a legitimate axis of oppression alongside racism and imperialism and were willing to fight for their inclusion.

The Bay Area lesbian split juxtaposed with New York's acceptance marks a moment in time that encapsulates the chaos that was the movement for third world liberation and anti-imperialism: on one end, the continuation of a tradition of heterosexism in Left organizing and on the other, the shaky beginnings of Third World women expanding their intersectional thinking to include sexuality. The TWWA sheds light on a fact that is too easily missed by those who do not acknowledge the role of sexuality in the Third World Left and the expanding definition of feminist organizing: whether lesbian issues were accepted as proper politics or not, these conversations were being had, very passionately, as early as 1972.

A Historiography of Race and Sexuality in Feminist Scholarship

The Third World Women's Alliance did not see itself as a part of the women's liberation movement. Though it acknowledged that the "white woman's movement [was] far from being monolithic," the Alliance critiqued its general lack of class- and race-based analysis.[3] And indeed, of the social movements that defined 1960s and 1970s America, women's liberation has proven to be one of the most influential— and most misunderstood. Today, its legacy is often regarded by the general public as part of a second wave of feminism that centered white middle-class women fighting the feminine mystique, with little regard for the issues of the working class or women of color. While early and foundational scholarship on the movement described it with more nuance, much of it still centered the white feminist experience. Recently, however, there has been a turn in scholarship that reconsiders the role of race, empire, and identity within the movement— a turn that opens the realm of feminist scholarship up to include a group like the Third World Women's Alliance.

[3] "The Role of Women in the Struggle," *Policies, core group, 1972*, Third World Women's Alliance, Bay Area chapter records, Sophia Smith Collection of Women's History, Smith College Special Collections, Northampton, Massachusetts.

Women's liberationists were not one homogeneous group fighting for the same reason, but formed a decentralized network that was ever-changing, ideologically varied, and in constant communication with each other.[4] In this historiography, I provide an overview of both the "classic" and modern narratives of the women's liberation movement, and the role of women of color and queer women in those narratives. The more traditional works date from the 1970s and '80s, while the more contemporary pieces that recenter race and identity range from the 1990s to 2010s. All the works expand the definition of feminism in some way, but the later ones especially question the assumed composition of the women's liberation movement in terms of race and sexuality. Presenting the stories of women who were doing feminist work without always labeling it feminist, they challenge the traditional framework of feminist scholarship, which privileges the Western concept of the individual and thus expects a self-identification as "feminist" to be considered as such. They also expand from a domestic, internal understanding of American feminism to a global, transnational perspective— including Third World feminism. These modern works make clear that women of color and queer women were indeed leaders of the women's movement, and that discussions on the intersections of race, gender, and sexuality existed outside of white feminist spaces.

The Myths & Definitions of Feminism: Classic Accounts

In their introduction to *Dear Sisters: Dispatches from the Women's Liberation Movement*, Rosalyn Baxandall and Linda Gordon explain exactly why the portrayal of women liberationists as "extravagant, immoderate, impatient, as well as young and naive" is so dominant in the American mind.[5] They detail the main myths about second wave feminists, ranging from accusations that they were all femininity-rejecting man-haters to beliefs that their existence simply drained energy from other, more important movements. The most commonly held myth, the one recent

[4] Rosalyn Baxandall and Linda Gordon, "The Women's Liberation Movement," Introduction to *Dear Sisters: Dispatches from the Women's Liberation Movement* (Basic Books, 1995), 716.
[5] Rosalyn Baxandall and Linda Gordon, "The Women's Liberation Movement," Introduction to *Dear Sisters: Dispatches from the Women's Liberation Movement* (Basic Books, 1995), 709.

scholarship has worked hardest to overturn, is that '70s feminists were all "privileged, white young women who had neither knowledge about nor concern for working-class women or women of color."[6] The reasons for the proliferation of these myths are manifold, Gordon and Baxandall argue. The movement's success led to its own achievements being taken for granted, while much of its grassroots organizing was highly decentralized and left few records. Its inaccurate portrayal in journalism and media, regardless of political bent, is compounded and partly caused by a lack of scholarly research. All of this is influenced deeply by three main perspectives: the hostile conservative one that demonizes the movement, the approach of feminist activists who consider the movement a failure, and the perspective that trivializes the movement as lifestyle, not politics. Though Baxandall and Gordon admit the small kernels of truth that resulted in certain myths, they ultimately claim that feminists were "doers, not complainers," and go on to document a wide overview of the rise, development, and influence of women's liberation.[7] However, they only provide two paragraphs on the nonwhite and non-straight women in the movement— women of color and lesbian women in women's liberation are perhaps defined more by their difference from the movement than their work for it. Ultimately Baxandall and Gordon's piece illuminates the common misconceptions held about women's liberation and provides a fairly detailed history of the movement, but is still lacking in that it centers the presumed white, straight experience.

Alice Echols' 1989 book *Daring to Be Bad* also works to dispel the myth of the women's movement as exclusively white, middle-class, and (more so than Baxandall and Gordon) straight. Echols chronicles the growth of women's liberation, from its roots in the Civil Rights and New Left movements to its eventual separation into its own movement. In this history of the movement, we follow a group of mostly white women who, having learned to be conscious of their roles in society through their work in the Civil Rights and New Left movements, began in the late 1960s and early 1970s to fight for their own freedom from the patriarchy. They organized around the issue of male supremacy, eventually separating into

[6] Baxandall and Gordon, "The Women's Liberation Movement," 706.
[7] Baxandall and Gordon, "The Women's Liberation Movement," 706.

their own movement when they realized that "movement men were not anxious to divest themselves of male privilege."[8] Women who did not want to lessen their race and class analysis, even if they did acknowledge gender as an axis of oppression, remained mostly within the Left movements, and were thus excluded from the label of "radical feminist." From this radical movement emerged yet another faction, the lesbian feminists, who separated from the greater women's movement due to straight feminists' hostility towards considering lesbian issues as feminist.

Echols makes clear that white women were not the only agents in the movement and that in fact it was many women of color's own choice not to join white-led feminist groups, but this history of feminism nevertheless results in the designation of a very specific group of women as the "radical feminists" of the era. These are the women who identified themselves as such during the 1970s, who separated themselves from existing movements and privileged gender equality as their main struggle.[9] These women were majority white, and because lesbian separatists often emerged from this same group, lesbian feminism has long been considered also a majority white movement, and the work of non-white lesbians in the women's movement, not usually considered in scholarship on lesbian feminism, has fallen through the cracks.

This is a tendency of the earlier foundational works on the women's liberation movement that Echols herself challenges in her 2019 introduction to the 30th anniversary edition of *Daring to Be Bad*. She states that in 1989 she "accepted the definitional boundaries that radical feminists drew to distinguish themselves from other feminists and activists," but in the current day "would no longer be beholden to them."[10] She makes clear that the "multiracial and cross-class dimensions" and a "substantial reperiodization" of the second wave are possible with a more expansive definition of feminism.[11]

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[8] Alice Echols, *Daring to Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America, 1967-1975* (Minnesota, 1989), 135.
[9] Unlike socialist-feminists, they were disconnected from the Left and unlike liberal feminists, they did not aim to be accepted into a male-dominated society. Radical feminists believed that all forms of oppression stemmed from male supremacy, but after that the agreement ended. The movement was split into multiple groups with varying opinions on how male supremacy functioned and how to best combat it.
[10] Alice Echols, introduction to Thirtieth Anniversary edition of *Daring to Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America, 1967-1975* (Minnesota, 2019), xx.
[11] Ibid, xxi.

Benita Roth's 2003 book *Separate Roads to Feminism* was part of that effort to expand the racial dimensions of feminism, and was the first to examine the emergence of simultaneous but distinct feminisms from the Civil Rights/Black Liberation movement, Chicano movement, and New Left. Roth argues that the second wave was not monolithic but rather composed of multiple feminisms, which she sorts, broadly, into Black, Chicana, and white. She explains in depth why Black and Chicana activists were hesitant to join the white-led women's liberation movement that claimed the patriarchy as the main source of oppression: it was hard for them "to accept an unproblematic sisterhood" when "the matter of those 'other' disadvantages of race and class (in addition to gender) were part of their feminist thinking from the start."[12] Working solely on gender oppression was not enough, and they feared the erasure of their other goals. Roth also emphasizes the simultaneity of the emergence of feminists of color and their theory with that of white feminism, challenging the standard narrative that women of color developed their ideas simply as a reaction to white feminism. Although they may have peaked later on, as Thompson argues, multiracial feminists were forming theory and organizing just as early as white feminists. Black, Chicana, and white feminisms were movements on parallel tracks whose edges sometimes came up against each other, and in their eyes, that was the most authentic politics anyone could achieve.[13]

All the works above make significant efforts to dispel myths about the women's liberation movement and question the boundaries of the standard definition of feminism, the label of "feminist." Thompson goes further and questions the exclusivity of assigning "radical" feminism to the white anti-patriarchal feminists in the late 1960s and early 1970s, ignoring how feminists of color used the term.[14] Ultimately, the works here try to broaden the limits of what a feminist looks like, both in the minds of the general public and in the scholarship of the subject.

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[12] Benita Roth, *Separate Roads to Feminism: Black, Chicana, and White Feminist Movements* (Cambridge, 2003), 42-43.
[13] Ibid., 206.
[14] Thompson, "Multiracial Feminism: Recasting the Chronology of Second Wave Feminism," 49.

Emerging Voices/Stories from the WLM: Modern Accounts

This grappling with the set definition of feminism has allowed for the emergence of new voices and stories from the women's liberation movement that previously may not have been considered relevant to feminist scholarship. Among the first to do so was Kimberly Springer's 2005 book *Living for the Revolution: Black Feminist Organizations, 1968–1980*, the first in-depth analysis of formal Black feminist organizing during the second wave. Springer claims that "black feminists are, historically, the first activists in the United States to theorize and act upon the intersections of race, gender, and class," situating the origins of intersectional theory within the women's liberation movement and more specifically, within Black feminism in the movement.[15] Throughout the book, she details the Black feminist movement from 1968 to 1980 by looking at five Black feminist organizations, one of them being the Third World Women's Alliance, tracing the life of each organization while putting them in context with each other. She dedicates portions of the book to issues of homophobia in the Black feminist movement, providing a space for analysis of lesbian of color feminism and countering the dominant narrative that lesbian feminism was solely a branch of white feminism. She records, for example, the difference in how the two branches of the Third World Women's Alliance reacted to homophobia, mentioning how that the East Coast chapter's open acceptance of lesbian issues was one of the earliest by any Black feminist organization. This additional analysis of Black feminist organizations with issues of homophobia/heterosexism provides a fresh perspective on not just the issue of race within the women's movement but the issue of sexuality as well. Earlier accounts of lesbian feminism, a prominent and radical branch of the women's liberation movement, focused on those who explicitly named themselves as such, mostly white radical separatist feminists. Springer opens the door for consideration of the queer women of color who were not necessarily involved in those radical separatist movements but still organized against heterosexism within their own organizations. My paper builds on this

[15] Kimberly Springer, *Living for the Revolution: Black Feminist Organizations, 1968-1980* (Duke, 2005), 2.

foundation set by Springer, delving deeper into the Bay Area chapter's lesbian split mentioned briefly in her book and analyzing the influence of the Third World Left on that decision.

Finally, another emerging narrative from the women's liberation movement is that of lesbian feminism. Classic scholarship has not completely ignored lesbian feminist organizations in its accounts of the movement, but recently more in depth studies have been done about lesbian feminism as its own entity and the full extent of its influence on the larger movement. In her chapter "Living a Feminist Lifestyle: The Intersection of Theory and Action in a Lesbian Feminist Collective," Anne M. Valk aims to "complicate the story of second wave feminism" by detailing the theory and practice of the lesbian feminist group The Furies.[16] Active from 1971 to 1972, The Furies were a collective of lesbian feminists who lived together in an attempt to exercise feminism within their personal lives and provide a model for the greater movement to follow. They became an "important incubator for activists and ideas that became significant to the broader feminist movement."[17] Valk not only describes the intricate details of the group itself but notes its parallels with the Black Power, in that "both radical movements combined political transformation with changes in individual lifestyle and collective culture… [and] shared a sense that they comprised the revolutionary vanguard."[18] She notes that a thorough comparison of the two movements and the possible influences they may have had on each other has yet to be written, though it should be. I extend this point to call attention to the fact that while there has been an increase in the scholarship on lesbian feminism, much of it still centers the white, radical, separatist lesbian feminist groups that explicitly called themselves as such. The Furies were, although diverse in class and educational background and with some retaining a concern for racial justice, all white. Although authors like Chelsea Del Rio have begun to highlight the multiracial composition of some lesbian feminist organizations, scholarship remains lacking. The activism of queer-identifying feminists who were not separatist is also left out of much

[16] Anne M. Valk, "Living a Feminist Lifestyle: The Intersection of Theory and Action in a Lesbian Feminist Collective," in *No Permanent Waves: Recasting Histories of U.S. Feminism* (Rutgers, 2010), 223.
[17] Ibid., 222-223.
[18] Ibid., 230.

of the narrative, since their chosen identification with Black feminism or anti-imperialist feminism made them invisible to scholars who defined lesbian feminism as necessarily separatist and rooted in the white feminist movement. While the matter is raised in both Springer and Roth's books about Black feminism, it is often explained as a source of tension and conflict within the movement, as Roth explains: "lesbianism (along with male homosexuality) was considered counterrevolutionary… as coming from outside the Black community."[19] Of course, there are exceptions, like Springer's brief discussion of TWWA's grappling with lesbian issues and Roth's description of the Combahee River Collective. Nevertheless, a comprehensive queer analysis of women of color feminism remains to be written.

Both classic and modern literature on the women's liberation movement has aimed to correct the assumptions made about second wave feminism, from its chronology to its composition. Modern histories have done this especially by highlighting women of color and queer women feminists who were not considered "true" feminists by more classic scholarship. It is this movement in scholarship that has made it possible for the Third World Women's Alliance to be analyzed as a part of feminist literature while acknowledging its place within the Third World Left, as multiple scholars have done already. This paper aims to continue this trend by going further to spotlight the TWWA's encounter with sexuality-based politics within, not without, the context of its anti-imperialist, anti-racist, and anti-sexist stance. Moreover, it seeks to highlight lesbian, anti-imperialist feminists' own intersectional stance. As Emily K. Hobson argues, "gay and lesbian leftists saw heterosexism as interconnected with war, racism, and capitalism… they argued that full sexual freedom depended on anti-imperialist and anti-militarist change."[20] Ultimately, the Third World Women's Alliance became, in one chapter, a place for these lesbian leftists to find acceptance and, in the other, a site where tensions between lesbian and straight anti-imperialists erupted. By centering lesbians and their experiences in all movements— not just

[19] Roth, *Separate Roads to Feminism*, 98.
[20] Emily K. Hobson, *Lavender and Red: Liberation and Solidarity in the Gay and Lesbian Left* (University of California Press, 2016), 2.

lesbian-feminism— we can build a more thorough and accurate understanding of lesbian history as well as those movements themselves.

A Timeline of the Third World Women's Alliance

The history of the Third World Women's Alliance (TWWA) begins in the final years of another organization, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). In December 1968, some women from SNCC, by this point an all-Black organization, went on a retreat to discuss their roles in the organization, which tended to be "secretarial and supportive only."[21] Women from Detroit, New York, Washington, D.C., and Los Angeles came together and ultimately decided that each area would be responsible for its own development of a regional Black women's caucus. As development began in D.C. and New York, the D.C. project very quickly fell apart, but New York's Frances Beal submitted what would become SNCC's position paper on women, "Double Jeopardy: To Be Black and Female," and in 1969 officially formed the Black Women's Liberation Committee (BWLC) of SNCC. That same year, the group renamed itself the Black Women's Alliance (BWA), splitting from SNCC in order to include the non-SNCC women who had become the majority at BWLC meetings. Keeping close ties with their parent organization until SNCC's end, the Black Women's Alliance was also ideologically Black nationalist, and for about a year held rap sessions every two weeks. Throughout the BWLC and BWA, Black women came together and "mostly talked," and through these conversations their ideas about the "intersection of race, class, and gender" became clearer and clearer.[22]

1970 was, according to TWWA's records, a "very significant one"[23] in which the women were faced with two major questions. The first was whether they should adopt a feminist or an anti-imperialist direction. In a history of the TWWA written for the 1980 International Women's Day

[21] "Preparation for the Mobilizing Meeting on June 23, 1974— History of the Organization," *Mobilizing meetings, 1973-75*, Third World Women's Alliance, Bay Area chapter records, Sophia Smith Collection of Women's History, Smith College Special Collections, Northampton, Massachusetts.
[22] "Frances Beal oral history interview by Kimberly Springer, 1997-08-15," *Black Feminist Organizational Oral Histories*. https://blackfeministarchive.org/all-organizations/twwa-interviews/ (accessed June 18, 2021).
[23] Preparation for the Mobilizing Meeting on June 23, 1974— History of the Organization.

event, the TWWA acknowledged that the creation of BWLC was influenced by the women's movement. However, they distanced themselves ideologically from the white women's movement, uncomfortable with the word "feminist" and any ideology that was devoid of race or class analysis.[24] Ultimately, the members decided on a "strong anti-imperialist stance," and, judging from the Bay Area chapter's archives, subsequently spent much of their time explaining why the anti-imperialist movement needed gendered analysis ("the Woman question"). The second question arose when a few Puerto Rican women from the Puerto Rican independence movement approached the BWA and asked to join, finding no other group that they felt they might belong in. The BWA had to choose whether they would continue to focus exclusively on the unique experiences of Black women or open up to all Third World women— that is, women of African, Puerto Rican, Native American, Chicana, and Asian descent— on the basis of anti-imperialist ideology.[25] After intense debate, the latter opinion won out, and in June of 1970 the group transformed from the Black Women's Alliance to the Third World Women's Alliance, "[reflecting the] sisters' recognition both of the communality of oppression faced by Third World women and of the strength of oppressed people when united across race lines."[26] In August, the TWWA participated for the first time in an "outside" activity, a women's strike in NYC, reading out a statement on their formation, goals, and differences with the white women's movement.

Early in 1971, the group began to develop what they called "a new 'consciousness'" after some members returned from their work in Cuba with the Venceremos Brigade. After a four month retreat from outside activities, the women emerged with new goals: to study political education materials, publish a newspaper, stabilize their organization's structure, and create a pamphlet explaining their history and mission. It was this year that one of the core members, Cheryl Perry, chose to move from the East Coast to the Bay Area in order to be closer to the Venceremos Brigade. Recruiting members like Linda Burnham and Miriam Ching Yoon Louie through

[24] Frances Beal oral history interview by Kimberly Springer, 1997-08-15.
[25] Springer, *Living for the Revolution*, 49.
[26] "Summation of History of Third World Women's Alliance— for International Women's Day/1980," *Histories, 1971-1980, undated*, Third World Women's Alliance, Bay Area chapter records, Sophia Smith Collection of Women's History, Smith College Special Collections, Northampton, Massachusetts.

connections with the V.B. as well as other organizations in the Bay Area, Perry held the first TWWA-Bay Area meeting on September 25, 1971. Around this time, the New York chapter was publishing its priority project, the *Triple Jeopardy* newsletter. The Bay Area chapter focused on holding consciousness-raising sessions on topics ranging from women in socialist countries to domestic welfare rights. Among these topics was "the Gay question," the basis of discussion for the session on January 5, 1972 that created an ideological shift in the chapter when lesbian members pointed out that the organization was focusing too heavily on heterosexual women's issues. When the West Coast chapter refused to take an anti-heterosexist stance, many lesbian members left, dealing a heavy blow to the attendance and participation rates of the organization. On the East Coast, on the other hand, when lesbian members requested to join, the chapter accepted them after a big discussion, and officially adopted an anti-heterosexist (if self-admittedly liberal) position.

The two chapters continued to operate mostly separate from each other, New York printing *Triple Jeopardy* and working on the Coalition Against Sterilization Abuse, as the Bay Area organized the annual International Women's Day event. By 1975, the New York chapter had run at least 10 issues of *Triple Jeopardy*, but was running out of steam as political tides shifted and the mass movement lost energy. It met for the last time in 1977. The Bay Area chapter was still going strong, but around 1978 to 1979, a new question emerged, one of racial composition. Noticing the growth of conservatism, some members argued that TWWA should open up to white women in accordance with the principle that "unity with the political line determines organizational composition and that any other approach leads to drawing lines of exclusion."[27] This political line included, in Linda Burnham's words, "a more consistent class analysis" as it united white feminists with Third World women in the anti-imperialist effort.[28] As this became the dominant way of thinking in the group, the TWWA transitioned into the Alliance Against Women's Oppression (AAWO), while some members unhappy with the change (including the Bay Area chapter's founder, Cheryl Perry), left the organization. Thus the West Coast branch of

[27] Summation of History of Third World Women's Alliance— for International Women's Day/1980
[28] Springer, *Living for the Revolution*, 154.

the Third World Women's Alliance met its end, though the AAWO went on to carry many of its members and ideas into the next decade.

The Lesbian Split

When asked in a 1998 interview if she remembered any ideological disputes from her time with TWWA-Bay Area, core member Linda Burnham recounted a crucial one that had occurred before she joined: the 1972 lesbian split. In *Living for the Revolution*, Springer describes this incident as in line with the lesbian/straight splits that were happening quite frequently in predominantly white feminist groups such as the National Organization for Women (NOW), resulting in lesbian-feminist separatists forming their own movement. She concludes that it is "unclear whether West Coast heterosexual members, succumbing to fears of lesbian baiting, expelled lesbian members or whether members who were lesbians, weary of homophobia, left the organization."[29] The Bay Area chapter's records indicate it may have been closer to the latter, though it should be noted that these records were written from the perspective of the non-lesbian-identifying members who stayed after the split. By examining the lesbian split in the TWWA-Bay Area, along with the New York chapter's opposite response, we can see how issues of sexuality were discussed and processed in the context of Third World feminism in the early 1970s.

It is difficult to estimate the actual number of gay sisters in the TWWA-Bay Area, as it is never mentioned explicitly.[30] It was, however, significant enough that by the split, a majority of the TWWA's active participants were lesbians. The chapter would later posit that this lack of non-lesbian participants was due to a fear of the lesbians' intimidating aggression. The general self-impression of the group was that throughout 1972, the chapter attracted more anti-imperialist women while "feminists and lesbian women were more out of place," likely a result of the split itself, which occurred early that year.[31] In terms of overall numbers, Perry was the sole member of the Alliance until 1973, as the Bay Area

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[29] Springer, *Living for the Revolution,* 131.

[30] It is worth mentioning here that in an October 1971 report to New York from the much shorter-lived Seattle chapter of the TWWA, member Mary King noted that "there are many gay sisters coming to the meetings" and that this would be an "experience for me and others to be more sensitive to our gay sisters in this struggle." In at least this chapter, lesbians had a large and visible presence very early on.

[31] "Notes from meeting May 2, 1974," *Notes, 1972-74*, Third World Women's Alliance, Bay Area chapter records, Sophia Smith Collection of Women's History, Smith College Special Collections, Northampton, Massachusetts.

chapter was not yet official, and all other women were loosely referred to as the core group. The goal for the group then was to stabilize a core group of at least five sisters and then apply for formal chapterhood from New York. The lack of a sturdy organizational structure and process for dealing with internal issues became clear when the group's first and most explosive dispute broke out.

As the first year of the Bay Area group's existence came to an end, lesbian members began to express their discontent, culminating in an intervention in early January in which they "decided to confront the Core group with the fact that many of the subjects of the C.R. sessions [consciousness-raising sessions] such as birth control and family matters did not speak to them as Lesbians."[32] They believed that homosexuality was political and therefore relevant to the TWWA as an issue. On January 5th, 1972, the TWWA-Bay Area held a consciousness-raising session titled the "GAY QUESTION," led by Shirley Walker. It raised discussion around the "class basis of Homosexuality," how it affected the Third World community, and "the role of the Homosexual in the struggle."[33] The core members of TWWA, unsure how to proceed, first attempted to develop a position paper on the subject, only to discard the effort on the grounds that the group had no other position papers yet and they did not want to imply that homosexuality was of central importance. Instead of a full paper, they developed three core principles on the matter:

> 1. Homosexuality is an aspect of our overall situation in this society, but it is not a priority matter for this organization.
> 2. We relate mainly to the work of anti-imperialist forces and are happy to work with anyone who works toward the same ends. A sister's life style is her own matter and not a subject for group discussion. It only concerns us when it hinders her political work.
> 3. We identify as Third World women primarily and are interested in confronting the problems which face our communities. If someone identifies primarily as a Lesbian, that tends to set priorities in her work that are different from those of our organization. We don't make

[32] "Presentation at Mobilizing Meeting on June 23, 1974: History of the Bay Area 1972," *Mobilizing meetings, 1973-75*, Third World Women's Alliance, Bay Area chapter records, Sophia Smith Collection of Women's History, Smith College Special Collections, Northampton, Massachusetts.
[33] "Concious [sic] Raising Program for January 1972," *Consciousness-raising sessions, 1972*, Third World Women's Alliance, Bay Area chapter records, Sophia Smith Collection of Women's History, Smith College Special Collections, Northampton, Massachusetts.

> value judgements about how someone see's herself [sic], but if she cannot relate to the goals and principles of the organization, she should not be in the organization.[34]

The first principle states that "homosexuality is an aspect of our overall situation in this society, but it is not a priority matter for this organization." In the early 1970s, the Gay Liberation Movement was, like the Women's Liberation Movement, fairly young, but the existence of homosexuality was at least acknowledged by most leftist organizations. Furthermore, as a growing field of scholarship shows, sexuality had played a role in radical politics for decades before the homophile movement, from the inclusion of homosexuality in early 20th century anarchism to the emergence of a gay political movement in Edendale (now Silver Lake) from the 1910s to 1950s.[35] History aside, it would've been fairly impossible for a group like the TWWA to deny there was homosexuality in the movement, considering the number of lesbians that frequented their meetings. Yet their first principle, while doing the bare minimum of confirming homosexuality as a part of society, refuses to accept it as an issue connected to their main work of anti-imperialism and anti-sexism. Though the group was able to see how the oppression of women intersected with imperialism and racism, they did not extend this to the oppression of sexual minorities.

Their logic for this position is explained further in their second principle: "We relate mainly to the work of anti-imperialist forces and are happy to work with anyone who works toward the same ends. A sister's life style is her own matter and not a subject for group discussion. It only concerns us when it hinders her political work." The first sentence subtly excludes anti-heterosexist analysis from anti-imperialist politics. The second goes on to explain that homosexuality is, in their eyes, a "life style," not politics— though it can *disrupt* politics. As an identity that did not hold valid political weight, homosexuality was irrelevant to politics until it was a disadvantage. Thus the TWWA followed the most common reaction of white radical feminists to lesbianism by dismissing it "as sexual rather than

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[34] Presentation at Mobilizing Meeting on June 23, 1974: History of the Bay Area 1972.

[35] Aaron Lecklider, "Coming to Terms: Homosexuality and the Left in American Culture" in *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 18, no. 1 (January 2011), 192.

political."[36] On the smaller scale, this statement seems to have been a response to the lesbians in TWWA disrupting the work of the chapter by pointing out the exclusion of lesbian issues in consciousness-raising sessions. In the larger scope of things, it reflects what Betty Friedan disparagingly referred to in 1969 as the "lavender menace," the idea that association with homosexuality (specifically lesbians) could damage a movement, especially a women's movement. This idea itself was not invented by Friedan, but the fear of being dismissed as man-hating lesbians ran deep within the women's movement, and this trickled into the TWWA as well. But the TWWA was not solely a women's organization but also, and from their perspective more importantly, an anti-imperialist one.

So in their third principle, they stated: "We identify as Third World women primarily and are interested in confronting the problems which face our communities. If someone identifies primarily as a Lesbian, that tends to set priorities in her work that are different from those of our organization. We don't make value judgements about how someone see's herself [sic], but if she cannot relate to the goals and principles of the organization, she should not be in the organization." This point further established that the work of Third World women was unrelated to homosexuality, and pressed the importance of identity, or self-identification. Here it is useful to remember that a significant portion of the TWWA-Bay Area's core group was recruited from the Venceremos Brigade, the most prominent pro-Cuba solidarity group in the U.S. during the early 1970s. The Brigade sent radical American volunteers, or *brigadistas*, to participate in Cuba's sugarcane harvest, and one of its goals was "to 'import' ideas from revolutionary Cuba back into the United States to nurture domestic social justice movements."[37] One of those ideas was the place of homosexuality, or lack thereof, in a socialist society. America's gay liberation movement "represented an unacceptable, imperialist challenge to Fidel Castro's government and Cuban society at large," in part because it evoked the sexual economy that had characterized the Batista regime— taking back

[36] Echols, *Daring to Be Bad*, 211.
[37] Teishan A. Latner, *Cuban Revolution in America: Havana and the Making of a United States Left, 1968-1992* (Univ of North Carolina Press, 2020), 36.

national dignity meant returning to masculinist norms.[38] By the third wave of brigades, Cuban authorities had banned Cubans from attending American gay liberation workshops. Gay and lesbian members in the Brigade had experienced homophobic harassment from other *brigadistas* since early on, but in 1972 the National Committee of the Venceremos Brigade declared that self-identified gay and lesbian members were outright barred from participating. Gay liberation, they claimed, was in fact a form of cultural imperialism.

Beyond the connection to Cuba, the TWWA based much of its socialism-based political education on the teachings of Marxism- and Leninism, which applied a materialist analysis to family and therefore women's oppression, but not so much to homosexuality. In the same collection of papers about the June 23rd mobilizing meeting, the TWWA explains that during their retreat earlier that month, they studied Engels' *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* to better understand women's oppression from a Marxist perspective.[39] Marxists located "the source of racial, gender, sexual, and all other oppressions within the framework of capitalist class relations,"[40] meaning that if there was no materialist class analysis for heterosexism, it was not considered a serious axis of oppression. The American Communist Party itself had official purges of LGBT members throughout the 1950s and 1960s, and the Revolutionary Union claimed in 1969 that homosexuality was an individualist and reactionary concept based on "petty bourgeois ideology."[41] This was the dominant interpretation of homosexuality among Marxist groups, if not always so extreme: it was either a remnant of capitalism that needed to be demolished or a laughable distraction from the real movement. Though the New Left had begun moving away from the Communist Party since the late 1950s, "heteronormative frameworks of gender and family" remained a core part of anti-colonial projects like the

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[38] Ian Lekus, "Queer Harvests: Homosexuality, the U.S. New Left, and The Venceremos Brigades to Cuba," *Radical History Review* 2004, no. 89 (January 2004), 58.

[39] "Presentation at Mobilizing Meeting on June 23, 1974: Levels of Participation," *Mobilizing meetings, 1973-75*, Third World Women's Alliance, Bay Area chapter records, Sophia Smith Collection of Women's History, Smith College Special Collections, Northampton, Massachusetts.

[40] Sherry Wolf, "The Myth of Marxist Homophobia," in *Sexuality and Socialism: History, Politics, and Theory of LGBT Liberation* (United States: Haymarket Books, 2017), 75.

[41] Ibid., 109

TWWA, "if in part to redress the sexual violence and insult of colonial and imperial regimes."[42] It was from a movement like this that the members of the TWWA-Bay Area gained their perception of homosexuality in the realm of politics— in fact, the second divisive issue noted in their history of 1972 was their association with the American Communist Party. The chapter participated in a coalition of mostly Third World groups protesting against the Vietnam war, which included the Communist Party. When someone in a general meeting questioned if the Party should be allowed to participate, the TWWA responded with a position paper, (seemingly a formal one, unlike their principles on homosexuality), declaring that "the Alliance saw no justification for excluding the C.P. from participation if they agreed to the points of unity and were a T.W. delegation."[43] Although they went on to specify that they were not formally affiliated with the Communist Party, the explanation and justification of the two major decisions of 1972 reveal that the TWWA-Bay Area was aligning itself with the heteronormative Communist Third World Left.

The TWWA-Bay Area's own organizational history noted that these principles were then discussed at an open consciousness-raising session on the Gay question held in late January. The lesbian members attended, greatly outnumbering the core group as many straight women had stopped coming. The TWWA attributed this to a lack of interest in the Gay question and even fear of the "aggressiveness of the Gay sisters."[44] Regardless of their numbers, however, the gay members failed to change the core group's principles, and thus refused to attend any future C.R. sessions or Alliance activities. As a result, attendance at the sessions dipped severely and the announcement flyers urged members to come for months afterward. Even as the group lost a large portion of their membership, including some women who had been essential to running the organization, the core group felt they had done the right thing by staying principled and not yielding to numbers.[45] Ultimately, the logic behind the Bay Area chapter's principles on homosexuality was founded on already existing beliefs about homosexuality from the women's liberation movement and, more

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[42] Emily K. Hobson, *Lavender and Red: Liberation and Solidarity in the Gay and Lesbian Left* (University of California Press, 2016), 8.

[43] Presentation at Mobilizing Meeting on June 23, 1974: History of the Bay Area 1972.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Kimberly Springer, *Living for the Revolution: Black Feminist Organizations, 1968-1980* (Duke, 2005), 131; Presentation at Mobilizing Meeting on June 23, 1974: History of the Bay Area 1972.

heavily, the socialist Left. Homosexuality was a way of life, not a political statement, that was in no way part of the class struggle. In the end, despite Cheryl Perry's original hopes, the TWWA-Bay Area chose to cut anti-heterosexism, and consequently lesbians, out of their politics.

The New York chapter of TWWA, on the other hand, came to a different conclusion. Approached by two lesbian women who asked to join the Alliance because there was "no organization for us" elsewhere, Frances Beal and the rest of the chapter sat down to debate whether or not to let these women in.[46] There were two main arguments: the first stated they should not be allowed, because letting them in would mean making the group vulnerable to lesbian-baiting, a common tactic used by anti-women's liberationists through which feminist concerns were brushed off as the hysterical complaints of man-hating lesbians. From this perspective, anti-heterosexism was separate from anti-imperialist, anti-racist, anti-sexist goals— or at the very least, it was yet another axis of oppression that the members had no interest in aligning themselves against. The second argument was that to exclude these women, who agreed with the political purpose of the organization, solely on the basis of their sexuality, would be against their principles. In New York, the second opinion won out, and though a few women left as a result, the loss was not as drastic as that of the Bay Area branch. While the Bay Area chapter managed to fairly successfully recoup their losses in participation, perhaps it was this willingness to consider issues like homosexuality in the context of politics and openness to lesbians that contributed to the New York chapter's relative strength and numbers, at least in early years. In the first issue of the first volume of their newsletter *Triple Jeopardy*, published September 1, 1971, they stated their official position on homosexuality:

> … whether homosexuality is societal or genetic in origin, it exists in the third world community. The oppression and dehumanizing ostracism that homosexuals face must be rejected and their right to exist as dignified human beings must be defended.

Though Beal went on to later characterize this as a "very liberal position," it was nevertheless a progressive one for its context: a nonwhite women's organization incorporating an anti-heterosexist stance into their core politics

[46] *Living for the Revolution*, 132.

years before the Combahee River Collective even formed.[47] Unlike the Bay Area chapter, TWWA-New York accepted lesbians and their issues into the organization.

Conclusion

According to Linda Burnham, the Bay Area chapter of the Third World Women's Alliance eventually reached "a more self-conscious and extended struggle" concerning sexuality in the movement, developing a new position in support of lesbian rights.[48] There are no documented records of this shift in the TWWA-Bay Area's digitized archives; perhaps the change occurred when the chapter was transitioning into its new life as the Alliance Against Women's Oppression. The New York chapter continued to work internally on their understanding of the Gay struggle at least into 1972, trying to form a "less liberal" position.[49] Regardless of the position each chapter took, this anti-imperialist, anti-sexist, and anti-racist group was actively confronting the role of homosexuality in politics as early as 1971, influenced by existing views on the subject from both the greater women's liberation movement and the Third World Left. Lesbian politics did not emerge solely in the (largely) white and separatist lesbian-feminist movement. Rather, gay and lesbian activists were generating major discussions in the Third World Left, and, as TWWA shows, among Third World feminists as well. Overlooking the presence of sexuality-based politics in the Third World Left and women's movement perpetuates a traditional framework of lesbian political history that privileges white and Western viewpoints while omitting the work and influence of groups like the Third World Women's Alliance.

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[47] Springer, *Living for the Revolution*, 132.
[48] "Linda Burnham oral history interview by Kimberly Springer, 1998-02-12," *Black Feminist Organizational Oral Histories*. https://blackfeministarchive.org/all-organizations/twwa-interviews/ (accessed June 18, 2021).
[49] "May 1972 Central Committee report," *New York Chapter, 1971-74*, Third World Women's Alliance, Bay Area chapter records, Sophia Smith Collection of Women's History, Smith College Special Collections, Northampton, Massachusetts.

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2

Jewish Childbearing in Ghettos During the Holocaust

By: Ellen Minkin ‘22

Author's Note

My name is Ellen Minkin and I am a senior studying Global Health at the University of Southern California. This paper bridges my passions for medicine and women's health with my active curiosity for the history of the Holocaust. My professional interests and goals lie in reproductive and sexual health, with plans to attend medical school. At the same time, my Eastern European-Jewish ancestry has led me to pursue a minor in Resistance to Genocide and I choose to research the understudied Soviet Union component of the Holocaust through my coursework and assignments. On the back of my mind when writing this paper was also a fascinating yet tragic personal family story. My great grandmother's brother worked as a gynecologist in Warsaw during World War II and although he was Jewish, occupying Germans solicited his medical care. While he was ultimately executed on the suspicion of being a Russian spy, this family history planted the seed for the subject of my paper. I would like to thank Dr. Wolf Gruner for being my professor and mentor in genocide studies as well as the USC Shoah Foundation for all the vital work it has done in genocide scholarship.

The Nazis imposed a wide variety of restrictions on Jews, escalating from segregation in public spaces to the forced containment of Jews in ghettos. In a meeting with top-ranking Nazi officials, Hermann Göring stated that the large scale establishment of ghettos was necessary and on Setpember 21, 1939, chief of the Reich Security Reinhard Heydrich issued the *Schnellbrief*, ordering the confinement of Polish Jews near railway lines.[1] While scholars still debate how to interpret the policy of ghettoization, it is widely agreed upon that Jews were segregated in ghettos in preparation for mass deportation.[2] In September of 1939, Reinhard Heydrich, a top-ranking SS official, ordered the chiefs of the *Einsatzgruppen* to concentrate Jews in large Polish cities near railroads.[3] Nazi leaders were also instructed to organize ghetto leadership by selecting certain Jewish individuals to serve in the Judenrat.[4] The Judenrat was a council in charge of providing housing, food, and welfare for the Jewish inhabitants of the ghetto, and also played a large role in Jewish childbearing and the restrictions on reproduction.[5] At least 1,200 ghettos existed, the majority concentrated in annexed Germany, Poland and the occupied Soviet Union, lasting anywhere from weeks to years.[6] Life in ghettos came with a significant decrease in the standard of living, as Jews were forced into smaller and often shared homes as well as an atmosphere rampant with disease. Ghettoization also created an abundance of new problems such as food insecurity and health issues due to the disruption of economic structures, the need for new surveillance and control measures, and the risk of epidemics.[7] Each ghetto was under the control of its own

[1] Dan Michman, *The Emergence of Jewish Ghettos During the Holocaust,* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011), 33.
[2] Linda Jacobs Altman, *Warsaw, Lodz, Vilna : The Holocaust Ghettos,* (New Jersey, Enslow Publishers, 2015), 7.
[3] "Ghettos," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Indiana University Press, last modified December 4, 2019, https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/ghettos.
[4] Geoffrey P. Megargee & Joseph R. White, *The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945, vol. III: Camps and Ghettos Under European Regimes Aligned with Nazi Germany*, (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2018), 302.
[5] "Ghettos," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.
[6] Altman, *Warsaw, Lodz Ghettos*, 8.
[7] Michman, *Emergence of Ghettos*, 34.

municipality meaning that rules and restrictions varied greatly by region and that inhabitants sustained different experiences.

While life in ghettos was far from normal, aspects of life like childbearing and motherhood continued. There was an overall decline in pregnancies stemming from the separation of families and the prevalence of amenorrhea, the loss of a woman's period, which resulted from widespread disease and starvation. However, many women still became pregnant, having to undergo pregnancy and labor in dire conditions and adapt to a number of circumstances like restrictions on reproduction and limited access to medical care. While Holocaust scholars have begun to explore healthcare in ghettos, there is a lack of research in the gynecological and obstetric realm. In order to address these gaps in the literature, I will explore what reproductive health and Jewish births looked like in ghettos during the Holocaust. The USC Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive (VHA) is rich in primary source narratives, so the bulk of my research content comes from the VHA. Because the Holocaust encompassed many regions, included varying ranges of local collaboration and complicity, and affected very diverse victim populations, each testimony and experience must be analyzed individually and no true generalizations can be made. I will first outline the infrastructure of gynecological and obstetric care, discussing its effects on infant survival, then examine the restrictions imposed on reproduction as well as the implications of the prohibition of Jewish childbearing, and finally discuss Jewish births as a form of resistance. The reproductive health lens is advantageous in that it gives insight into the communal and emotional facets of the Holocaust. It provides a unique window into examining the crossover between genocide and childbirth, and sheds light on the Jewish community's theological response and how motherhood was put on trial.

Infrastructure of Obstetric Care

Ghetto hospital conditions and the infrastructure of gynecological healthcare varied significantly depending on the size of the ghettos. On one hand, large ghettos in Łódź, Poland; Kovno, Lithuania; and Kaunas, Lithuania had ghetto hospitals with a number of hospital staff members. On

the other hand, smaller ghettos in rural areas, and the majority of ghettos in the German-occupied Soviet Union had very few medical professionals and pregnant women generally relied on other ghetto inhabitants to assist with births. Considering the ranges in ghetto sizes and the fact that each ghetto was under local municipal control, it is important to consider the differences in official reproductive healthcare resources throughout the Holocaust, or lack thereof.

Larger ghettos generally had specific structures dedicated to healthcare and employed a more diverse range of healthcare professionals. In annexed Poland, each ghetto's Judenrat was in charge of organizing obstetric and gynecological care for inhabitants. The Łódź ghetto, the second largest ghetto during the Holocaust, established a Department of Health in October of 1939 under the leadership of Józef Rumkowski and had one of the most complex infrastructures.[8] After its establishment, the Department of Health racially segregated the Poznański Hospital to only serve Jews and the hospital's doctors, nurses, and midwives were supervised by local authorities.[9] Health in the ghetto was also monitored by the German public health department in order to prevent the spread of infectious disease outside of the ghetto. In the Theresienstadt ghetto, one of the largest Holocaust complexes with both a ghetto and concentration camp, its hospital had a distinct gynecology unit in which midwives and nurses generally assisted with labor.[10] In the Kovno and Vilna ghettos, with the former having approximately 35,000 inhabitants and latter 70,000, their hospitals had 12 beds designated for gynecology, though the gynecology ward was mainly used for abortions in both cases.[11]

Testimonies arising from smaller ghettos with a few thousand inhabitants generally lacked a healthcare infrastructure. In the Mogilev-Podolskiy ghetto in Ukraine, which interned approximately three thousand Jews, inhabitants were not allowed to be treated in hospitals, and

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[8] Wiebke Lisner, "Midwifery Under German Occupation in the Litzmannstadt Ghetto and in Western Poland," *Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies & Gender Issues,* 36, (2020), 92.
[9] Lisner, "Midwifery Under German Occupation," 98.
[10] Margalit Shlain, "Nursing in the Theresienstadt Ghetto," *Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies & Gender Issues,* 36, (2020), 70.
[11] Ellen Ben-Sefer, "Forced Sterilization and Abortion as Sexual Abuse," in *Sexual Violence against Jewish Women During the Holocaust*, ed. Sonja M. Hedgepeth & Rochelle G. Saidel (New Hampshire, Brandeis University Press, 2010), 160.

so a Jewish gynecologist came to interviewee Elizaveta Brandt's home in the ghetto to carry out the labor of her aunt.[12] Nathan Peters, whose mother gave birth to his baby sister in a smaller ghetto in Wolyn, Poland, recounted that no medical attention was provided to her during labor, but rather the women simply helped one another out in delivering children.[13] He asserts that this was also the case pre-war. Similarly, in the Rybnitsa ghetto in Moldova, Rakhil Bozhenova posits that other women in the ghetto assisted with births as does Bekkerman in the Bershad ghetto in Ukraine.[14]

Many interviewees describe prenatal and medical care during labor as primitive at best. Born in the Przemyśl ghetto "hospital" in Poland, a ghetto with an estimated 20,000 inhabitants, Alfred Garwood recounts the story of his birth, with his mother having to walk a mile to the doctor's house while in labor.[15] The labor was carried out on a table in a house with practically no medical tools, but with the help of a trained obstetrician who also helped other women in the ghetto. Garwood states that "it's extraordinary that my mother gave birth without infection and without any complications."[16] Multiple interviewees cite that labors occurred in unsanitary conditions such as on floors or on tables.[17]

Policies regarding maternity leave also varied depending on the ghetto. The Łódź Judenrat granted pregnant women 7 days of protection preceding labor and 14 days following the birth, additionally providing mothers and children with extra food rations.[18] In the Ol'Shanka ghetto in Ukraine however, interviewee Zinaida Buksdorf discusses how following the birth of her baby brother in 1943, her mother was not allowed any time off and was forced to return to working in the fields immediately.[19] Golda Shraibman's mother also continued to work in fields by the Balta ghetto in

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[12] Elizaveta Brandt, *Visual History Archive*, USC Shoah Foundation, (1997), Segment 82.
[13] Nathan Peters, Interview 3150, *Visual History Archive*, USC Shoah Foundation, (1995), Segment 34.
[14] Bozhenova, Interview 48916, Segment 30; Bekkerman, Interview 32535, Segment 35.
[15] Alfred Garwood, Interview 10522, *Visual History Archive,* USC Shoah Foundation, (1996), Segment 41.
[16] Garwood, Interview 10522, Tape 2, 9:40-9:45.
[17] Israel Balagula, Interview 24224, *Visual History Archive*, USC Shoah Foundation, (1996), Segment 46; Klara Bekkerman, Interview 32535, *Visual History Archive,* USC Shoah Foundation, (1997), Segment 35; Rakhil Bozhenova, Interview 48916, *Visual History Archive,* USC Shoah Foundation (1998), Segment 30.
[18] Lisner, "Midwifery Under German Occupation," 100.
[19] Zinaida Buksdorf, Interview 23692, *Visual History Archive*, USC Shoah Foundation, (1996), Segment 74.

Moldova despite just having had a child.[20] These differences demonstrate different ghetto leaderships' priorities, with the former placing an emphasis on supporting Jewish reproduction and the latter ghettos focusing on overall survival and labor.

In a number of instances, generally in ghettos located in the German-occupied Soviet Union, local non-Jews even medically assisted with challenging labors. Polina Bershadskaia describes how a non-Jewish doctor who lived near the Bershad ghetto in Ukraine would risk his life by entering the ghetto to help with labors and sicknesses, even preparing herbal medications to bring to Jews.[21] Golda Shraibman details her birth in the Balta ghetto in Moldova where her mother became unconscious and needed urgent medical attention.[22] The only person with medical training in the area was an elderly non-Jewish Ukrainian woman living near the ghetto who risked her life by offering assistance to Shraibman's mother. Just as a small minority of non-Jewish citizens risked their lives to aid Jewish victims during the Holocaust, helping shelter victims in their homes or donating scraps of food, a number of testimonies confirm that non-Jews also aided in the realm of reproductive health.

Infant Survival

There was a wide discrepancy in the amount of resources dedicated to reproductive health in ghettos but almost all experienced high infant mortality rates and serious adaptations to infant-rearing practices. The Łódź ghetto experienced high mortality rates between August and December of 1940, with 8% of mothers and 30% of infants succumbing to poor living conditions.[23] To contrast this with the mortality rates of the Holocaust's non-victims: in Wartherland, the infant mortality rate was 14% in 1942.[24]

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[20] Golda Shraibman, Interview 20589, *Visual History Archive*, USC Shoah Foundation, (1996), Segment 55.
[21] Polina Bershadskaia, Interview 9944, *Visual History Archive*, USC Shoah Foundation, (1996), Segment 13.
[22] Shraibman, Interview 20589, Segment 54.
[23] Lisner, "Midwifery Under German Occupation," 100.
[24] Ibid.

The majority of primary sources portray childbearing during this time in a negative light with Lisner describing the depressing atmosphere in the ghetto as "the joy of deliveries dimmed, because the starving and severely malnutritioned mothers delivered cadaveric or low-birth-weight babies who chirped instead of crying."[25] In the ghetto sector of Theresienstadt, Lili Sobotka, a Czech nurse describes the dreary scene of childbearing,

> The newborns were doomed. Their fate was terrible, the sanitary conditions were bad; it was possible to wash and iron the laundry, but we only had small sterilizing systems for the instruments, and the fleas were everywhere…the babies died of infections…the newborns lay two in one laundry basket. When we opened the diapers—that is, the rags—we found dozens of bedbugs sucking the fresh blood of the baby's navel. There were no antibiotics, and the only medicine was sulfa, which mostly did not help, and many babies died.[26]

According to interviewee Anna Bergman, among five children who were born at the same time in the Theresienstadt ghetto, her child succumbed to pneumonia while three other infants also passed away.[27] Mothers were also extremely vulnerable to the unsanitary conditions in which labors were performed, Sobotka writing that "we performed the vaginal examination with untreated hands, without gloves, and many women died of womb infections."[28]

Ghetto inhabitants were forced to adapt to the circumstances and feed infants in any way they could, with creative solutions including: flattened bread,[29] a cloth with beets and black bread for the infant to suck on,[30] and bread soaked in soup.[31] Considering the widespread malnourishment, many interviewees express mothers' inability to breastfeed,[32] with Shraibman dramatically expressing "of course there

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[25] Ibid.
[26] Shlain, "Nursing in Theresienstadt," 70.
[27] Anna Bergman, Interview 28239, *Visual History Archive*, USC Shoah Foundation, (1997), Segment 11.
[28] Shlain, "Nursing in Theresienstadt," 70.
[29] Bekkerman, Interview 32535, Segment 35.
[30] Buksdorf, Interview 23692, Segment 74.
[31] Garwood, Interview 10522, Segment 41.
[32] Bronia Gruwer, Interview 28561, *Visual History Archive,* USC Shoah Foundation, (1997), Segment 43; Garwood, Interview 10522, Segment 41; Frida Shun, Interview 12604, *Visual History Archive,* USC Shoah Foundation, (1996), Segment 16.

wasn't any breast milk, where would you get breast milk!"[33] Gruwer also recounts a story in which she was able to obtain milk for her child, but due to the lack of access to a refrigerator, it spoiled and the child was left unfed.[34] Unsanitary conditions and widespread malnourishment, as well as mothers' consequent inability to breastfeed, prevailed in the ghettos, undermining newborns' survival rates.

Restrictions on Reproduction

A prevalent theme among VHA testimonies is the German-imposed restriction of Jewish births in ghettos, more particularly in Lithuanian and certain Ukrainian ghettos. Despite official decrees in certain ghettos, rules regarding childbearing were inconsistently enforced and interviewees' narratives demonstrate a variety of outcomes. While there was no decree forbidding reproduction in the Łódź ghetto, few births were registered by the ghetto administration. Only 2,306 births were registered from July of 1940 through 1944 in contrast with the pre-war rate of 260 Jewish births a month in Łódź.[35] Interviewee Bronia Gruwer who gave birth in the Łódź ghetto reaffirms that circumstances were less strict and that inhabitants were permitted to have children.[36]

In 1942, Nazis prohibited Jewish births in the cities of Kovno, Kaunas, and Vilna in Lithuania, requiring abortions and punishing those who carried their pregnancies to term.[37] The ghettos' health departments arranged the abortions, which often took place in poor conditions but were generally carried out by trained midwives, with doctors intervening in severe cases.[38] Following the prohibition of Jewish births in the Vilna ghetto, the administration met in December of 1942 with Sanitary Police hygienists and female block commanders in order to distribute information on contraceptives.[39] In Šiauliai, Lithuania, Jewish births were banned in March of 1942, the entire family to be executed if a birth occurred past

[33] Shraibman, Interview 20589, (Tape 2, 22:56-23:01).
[34] Gruwer, Interview 28561, Segment 43.
[35] Lisner, "Midwifery Under German Occupation," 100.
[36] Gruwer, Interview 28561, Segment 37.
[37] Ben-Sefer, "Forced Sterilization," 161.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Solon Beinfeld, "Health Care in the Vilna Ghetto," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies,* 12, 1, (1998), 123.

August 15 of that year.[40] This ghetto's Judenrat was also tasked with providing abortions and communicated on the matter with the Jewish councils from other ghettos.

Despite the ban, accidental pregnancies still occurred as a result of widespread amenorrhea and the lack of contraceptives. In reference to women in the Kaunas ghetto, the ghetto hospital's gynecologist wrote,

> unwittingly, they would reach advanced stages of pregnancy…by an order of July 1942, pregnancy in the Kaunas ghetto was punishable with death to the father, the mother, and the infant…We had to start making abortions by the hundreds…yet there were many women who refused abortions, for all the danger it involved, and with great courage awaited the day of giving birth.[41]

This depicts the role that the Judenrat and the ghetto hospital it oversaw played in the termination of Jewish births while also demonstrating Jewish resistance to Nazi decrees. A large number of births still occurred illicitly, as Dr. Aharon Peretz, a Jewish obstetrician, relayed in his story of working in the Kovno ghetto hospital:

> I had to see to it that these births were kept secret…I was forced to conclude that in the ghetto there was no way out except to abort these pregnant women. Before all this an abortion was permitted only when the woman's health was in danger. Now, neither the TB nor any other serious diseases were the reasons for performing these abortions, rather the Gestapo and their annihilation policy![42]

This testimony reflects the implications of the ban on Jewish births, with the official role of the healthcare practitioner, a professional who takes an oath to do no harm, shifting from the delivery of newborns to performing abortions.

Michael Blumenthal was born in the Kaunas ghetto following the decree prohibiting births and he recounts how any woman found to be

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[40] Ben-Sefer, "Forced Sterilization," 161.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Tessa Chelouche, " Doctors, Pregnancy, Childbirth and Abortion During the Third Reich," *The Israel Medical Association Journal,* 9, 3, (2007), 204.

pregnant would be shot.[43] During her pregnancy, his mother concealed the bump with a corset and took any measures she could to abort him, but the interviewee concludes that "against all odds [he] survived."[44] The labor was carried out by a doctor in a secretive underground location and following his birth, Blumenthal was hidden under floorboards or in suitcases, given sherry to make him sleepy and quiet. Rona Zinger was born in the Kovno ghetto, her mother concealing her pregnancy to the extent to which her own sister did not know.[45] The labor was also performed covertly, the father not present and Zinger was then hidden in a box with holes under a bed. She explained that "babies who were born in concentration camps, they never cried, they knew that they were not allowed to cry, so it was very silent," asserting that this suppression of emotions has followed her through her adulthood.[46] Zinger was then smuggled out of a ghetto as a baby to a non-Jewish family in an effort to save her. These anecdotes describe the creative and risky solutions that ghetto inhabitants undertook in order to bypass forced abortions and fatal punishment. However, the conditions under which many of these covert births took place meant that medical care was at times sacrificed and may have even contributed to intergenerational trauma.

Illicit and secretive births that occurred during bans on reproduction were subject to complicated circumstances, with Elizaveta Fishman discussing how the fate of her baby brother still remains unknown. Fishman explains how her infant brother was taken away by the Balanovka ghetto Jewish council in Ukraine at 11 months and later the council reported the child to be dead yet they do not know whether this is the truth.[47] The punishments for giving birth to a Jewish child were very harsh, but varied from ghetto to ghetto, some German authorities enforcing the death of the mother and newborn, and some executing the entire family.[48] Kellenbach describes this as, "once ghetto and camp inmates realized that

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[43] Michael Blumenthal, Interview 35715, *Visual History Archive*, USC Shoah Foundation, (1997), Segment 2.
[44] Blumenthal, Interview 35715, Tape 1, 4:32-4:37.
[45] Rona Zinger, Interview 14390, *Visual History Archive,* USC Shoah Foundation, (1996), Segment 9.
[46] Ibid, Segment 10.
[47] Elizaveta Fishman, Interview 43042, *Visual History Archive,* USC Shoah Foundation, (1998), Segment 17.
[48] Ben-Sefer, "Forced Sterilization," 161.

pregnancy would mean certain death, clandestine abortions and infanticide became life saving alternatives."[49] This shift in attitudes surrounding abortion signify just how dire the circumstances had become for Jews and the role that reproductive health care was forced to play during the Holocaust.

Paula Kelman details her sister's abortion after an accidental pregnancy in the Kielce ghetto in Poland.[50] The infant was delivered 7 months into the pregnancy by a doctor and Kelman recounts how "they threw away against the wall the baby, that was awful. To kill the baby, 1 day old, that's the reason she's so nervous today."[51] The consequences otherwise would be death to the mother and baby in a concentration camp, and Kelman posits that it was not up to her sister to keep the child. Thus, the inhumane and unnecessary torture inflicted upon Jewish victims of the Holocaust also extended to newborns. Esther Bratt, who spent time in the Wilno ghetto in Poland, states that every child was aborted by Jewish doctors in the ghetto, professing that "it was best for the child, it was best for the mother, what would you do with the newborn…there was no milk, there were no diapers, there was nothing."[52]

While certain ghettos had official rules regarding the prohibition of pregnancies, survivor stories tell us that we still cannot generalize and that what actually happened is far from just an official decree. The stories that came out of the Theresienstadt ghetto refer to a wide variety of conditions of Jewish child-bearing in ghettos. In July of 1943, SS-Obersturmfuhrer Anton Burger proclaimed that "all the fathers of the children who will be born here, as well as the mothers and the children, will be included in the transports and deported…The pregnant women must be unequivocally informed that, according to the authorities' orders, the pregnancy must be terminated."[53] According to some interviews, registered nurses performed abortions without the use of anesthesia and in unsanitary conditions.[54]

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[49] Katharina von Kellenbach, "Reproduction and Resistance During the Holocaust," in *Women and the Holocaust*, ed. Fuchs Esther, (Lanham, University Press Of America, 1999), 21.
[50] Paula Kelman, Interview 16042, *Visual History Archive*, USC Shoah Foundation, (1996), Segment 53.
[51] Ibid, Tape 2, 22:40-23:13.
[52] Esther Bratt, Interview 36788, *Visual History Archive*, USC Shoah Foundation, (1997), (Tape 2: 17:47-18:20).
[53] Shlain, "Nursing in Theresienstadt," 71.
[54] Ibid.

Anna Bergman maintains these rules were not even mentioned because of how outlandish the prospect of pregnancy seemed.[55] She recounts that after five couples, herself included, became pregnant, they were called into a meeting with Germans and forced to sign a paper signifying that the children would be killed, the SS men referring to it as "euthanasia."[56] She explains that it was due to the fact that "a child should not be created and born in Terezín."[57] In the end however, the Jewish mothers were allowed to carry their pregnancies to term and keep the children. She recalls that Jewish women who were pregnant prior to their arrival at Theresienstadt were not forced to sign these papers. According to another interview, a ghetto commander allowed for a number of Jewish women to give birth to children after a Nazi officer's wife was saved by a Jewish doctor.[58] Thus, survivors of Theresienstadt experienced a wide array of circumstances which contributes to the notion that nothing in the study of the Holocaust can be generalized and that each narrative must be examined on its own.

Similarly, the pregnant Jewish women in the Vilna ghetto faced a wide variety of fates. While the Judenrat tolerated and concealed a number of illicit births, there were also instances of ghetto police forcibly bringing Jewish women in their last months of pregnancy to the ghetto hospital to receive abortions.[59] Records from the Vilna hospital's gynecology ward indicate that 53.3% of the 420 female patients underwent "operations up to 4 months," or abortions, and that a number of patients also underwent suspicious "miscarriages in the second half or pregnancy" and "hemorrhages."[60]

Even in ghettos without official reproduction restriction decrees, Jewish women worried about their pregnancies since physically unfit individuals were generally the first to be killed. Interviewee Ida Rashkovich's mother, who delivered Rashkovich secretly in the Kopaigorod ghetto in Vinnitsa, Ukraine, feared screaming during labor due to the potential consequences.[61] Restrictions on reproduction significantly varied

[55] Bergman, Interview 28239, Segment 11.
[56] Bergman, Interview 28239, Segment 11.
[57] Ibid, Tape 2, 7:08-7:10.
[58] Kellenbach, "Reproduction and Resistance," 26.
[59] Beinfeld, "Health Care in Vilna," 123.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ida Rashkovich, Interview 7756, *Visual History Archive*, USC Shoah Foundation, (1996), Segment 31.

depending on the ghetto and in many cases had the potential to disrupt Jewish life even further and lead to fatal consequences. The reproductive health lens therefore bridges genocidal policies with Jewish maternal responses.

Implications of Reproductive Restrictions

The restrictions imposed by the Nazi regime significantly disrupted pre-war ideals of what it meant to be a "good mother." The Nazi's harsh punishments for childbirth placed the burden of deciding whether to undergo an abortion or to carry out a pregnancy on the woman, the woman's decision then impacting the entire family. Unlike the skewed gender distributions in forced labor camps during the Holocaust, 54% of the Łódź ghetto population was female, making a relatively large portion of the population vulnerable due to menstruation, pregnancy, child-birth, and care-taking duties.[62] Thus, Jewish women were targeted specifically due to their biological ability to reproduce.

Confronted with the consequences, Jewish mothers were forced into making complicated decisions and were subject to threats by fellow ghetto inhabitants due to the risk that newborns posed. Births were forbidden in the Shargorod ghetto in Ukraine and interviewee Liudmila Gagarkina, who was born into this ghetto, recounts her mother stating "she would rather I (Gagarkina) die from birth than from bullets."[63] Gagarkina's mother's thoughts signal that the traditional roles of motherhood were put on trial and that mothers had to adapt dramatically to the circumstances. Similarly, interviewee Israel Balagula, born in a ghetto in Moldova in 1942, expresses how his mother prayed he would not be born alive, wishing he would not suffer.[64] Leia Iofe, whose son was born in the Šiauliai prior to the banning of births, lost her child after five months, with fellow ghetto inhabitants stating that they "were jealous that [her] son died of natural causes."[65] While Iofe explains that she initially did not understand the root of this

[62] Lisner, "Midwifery Under German Occupation," 100.
[63] Liudmila Gagarkina, Interview 40948, *Visual History Archive*, USC Shoah Foundation, (1998), (Tape 1, 9:18-9:20).
[64] Balagula, Interview 24224, Segment 46.
[65] Leia Iofe, Interview 5380, *Visual History Archive*, USC Shoah Foundation, (1995), (Tape 1, 13:37-13:39).

jealousy, she later realized that the cause being natural causes alleviated many burdens and was a better alternative than death induced by the Germans.[66]

Valentina Kramer recounts how her mother gave birth to her sister in February of 1942 in the Tomashpol' ghetto in Ukraine.[67] That very same day, Kramer's mother was approached by a Judenrat member with a pillow and instructed to kill her newborn, the punishment for the birth of a Jewish child being the execution of 50 Jewish adults. Kramer's mother was forced to verbally oblige to the council member's request and so Kramer hid her brother in a blanket and passed it to a non-Jewish Ukrainian woman who hid the child in her barn.[68] Frida Shun, born in the Shargorod ghetto in Ukraine during the prohibition of births, tells the story of how her uncle wanted to strangle her in order to evade the risk of sounds from an infant, but her mother forbade it, arguing that "if we survive, we *all* survive."[69] These anecdotes confirm the inhumane positions that new mothers were placed into, and the consequent unbearable decisions they were forced to make.

Following these restrictions, Jews were also confronted with the theological issue of abortions. According to Jewish law, abortion is only allowed if a mother's life is threatened. Accordingly, Kovno ghetto rabbis[70] and the Łódź ghetto Judenrat ruled that the German prohibition of births equaled a threat to a woman's life, supporting abortions.[71] Thereafter, the Jewish council in Łódź began to offer free abortions for Jewish women.

The Nazi prohibition of childbirth also meant that secretive pregnancies and child-bearing could be viewed as a means of resistance. In the Kovno ghetto, some women went underground to deliver their babies in secret, the Jewish Council sometimes even releasing them from their work to do so.[72] A number of interviewees also recount secretive underground labors.[73] The Kovno ghetto hospital did not turn down maternity cases and

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[66] Ibid, Segment 15.
[67] Valentina Kramer, Interview 18120, *Visual History Archive*, USC Shoah Foundation, (1996), Segment 52.
[68] Ibid, Segment 53.
[69] Shun, Interview 12604, Segment 16.
[70] Kellenbach, "Reproduction and Resistance," 22.
[71] Lisner, "Midwifery Under German Occupation," 102.
[72] Ben-Sefer, "Forced Sterilization," 160.
[73] Kramer, Interview 18120, Segment 52; Shun, Interview 12604, Segment 16.

newborns were kept in a secret location following birth. The women who resisted were then cared for in secret, later arguing that children had been born before the decree in the Kovno and Vilna ghettos.[74] Women who decided to risk carrying a pregnancy to term believed that this sacrifice would ensure the Jewish future and survive the Nazi's genocidal aims.

Jewish Births as a Communal Affair

The reproductive health angle illuminates the communal support to new mothers and Jewish newborns in the midst of the Holocaust. Some ghettos had the capacity to ceremonize births, with interviewee Raisa Vorob'eva recounting the bris ceremony performed by the ghetto's rabbi for her uncle's baby boy.[75] In the Chernivtsi ghetto, located between Ukraine and Romania, she recounts the convening of a minyan, a quorum of ten males in the Jewish tradition, and that "there was no celebration because there was no reason for it, but the actual ritual took place."[76]

There are countless stories of Jewish people coming together in support of Jewish mothers, with Rakhil Bozhenova relaying how ghetto inhabitants gathered any clothes they could find to warm a child following its birth,[77] Bergman recounting how a friend sewed her a maternity dress,[78] and Vorob'eva discussing how she used her bathrobe to sow pants for her baby niece.[79] In one case, Jews and even Russians from the town in which the ghetto was located brought clothes for the only child born in the Ol'shanka ghetto in Ukraine.[80] In ghettos without restrictions on reproduction, there was "general agreement" between the Judenrat and inhabitants that infants should receive higher rations of food and milk and receive better care.[81]

Interviewee Anna Bergman relays that towards the end of her time in the Theresienstadt ghetto they knew that the end was in sight since the allies were near. In response to falling pregnant again, Bergman expresses

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[74] Beinfeld, "Health Care in Vilna," 122.
[75] Raisa Vorob'eva, Interview 33753, *Visual History Archive*, USC Shoah Foundation, (1997), Segment 75.
[76] Ibid, Tape 3, 16:44-16:50.
[77] Bozhenova, Interview 48916, Segment 30.
[78] Bergman, Interview 28239, Segment 13.
[79] Vorob'eva, Interview 33753, Segment 75.
[80] Buksdorf, Interview 23692, Segment 74.
[81] Lisner, "Midwifery Under German Occupation," 102.

that "I felt marvelous…I had hoped it would happen."[82] Her emotions signify that life went on to some degree and that Jewish life in the form of resistance and tradition persevered.

Conclusion

Interviewee accounts and primary sources show just how nuanced reproductive health was in the ghettos. There were tremendous differences between ghettos in regards to the health infrastructure and how it related to healthcare facilities as well as medical staff presence. High rates of infant mortality, however, were a prominent theme among all ghettos due to the systematically poor living conditions. Another large discrepancy between ghettos was the status of reproductive prohibitions, which varied significantly due to ghetto oversight being conducted by local municipalities. While many accounts show that childbearing during this time complicated already grim circumstances, some interviews convey that Jewish births brought inhabitants of the ghetto together and represented Jewish resistance and perseverance.

Scholars have begun addressing the topic of health infrastructure in ghettos, but there is still much more to be learned, especially in the field of reproductive health in ghettos. This lens is vital in incorporating women into the historical narrative as well as incorporating emotion and traditional societal norms into genocide studies. In her conclusion of the narrative about her childbearing experience in the Theresienstadt ghetto, Anna Bergman posits, "what I wanted to point out is that I had never found ever, anything about it written in any of the books, which I possess quite a lot of…this is unique (childbearing), but hardly anybody knows about it."[83] This testimony emphasizes the need for greater research in the area as Bergman poignantly concludes her childbearing experience: "I haven't dreamt it, it's true."

[82] Bergman, Interview 28239, Tape 3, 13:00-13:04.
[83] Bergman, Interview 28239, Tape 3, 3:15-3:27.

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3

Dismantling the Origin Story of Pinel's Moral Revolution

An Exploration of Islamic Psychiatry in the Medieval Era

By: Ammar Dharani, '23

Author's Note

My name is Ammar and I am a junior majoring in Neuroscience and minoring in History. While my long term goal is to enter medicine and/or neuroscience research, I have been interested in history, focusing on how stories are encoded and shaped into the collective memory. My interests include the history of science and medicine, specifically how current paradigms of science have developed over time. In the spring of 2020, I took Prof. Paul Lerner's Thematic Option course CORE 103: History of Madness in the Modern World. In this class, I realized that the revolutionary psychiatric care of the medieval Islamic world has shaped our current understanding of psychiatry. Yet, these stories have been neglected in the Western narrative of psychiatry. So with the help of Prof. Lerner and philosophical frameworks of Michel Focault, I analyzed medical encyclopedias, artwork, and clinical case studies from the time to compare psychiatric care in the medieval Islamic world to that of post-Enlightenment France. While my research primarily focused on the practitioner's perspective and how society perceived them, I hope to continue further analysis focusing on the patient's perspective, one that has often been neglected in science and medicine.

Sigmund Freud, Jean Martin Charcot, and even contemporary psychiatrists look to Phillipe Pinel as a role model in humane psychiatry and consider him the father of modern psychiatry and the Moral Treatment, a "novel" paradigm of psychiatric treatment rooted in compassion and humanity instead of punitivity and discipline.[1] Within the fields of psychiatry and French history, there is a narrative that prior to Pinel "liberating" the insane in his Moral Revolution, mentally ill patients throughout history were simply institutionalized, shackled, and forced to engage in labor. As is common in many origin stories and founding father myths like that of Pinel's, many other histories are often reduced or completely ignored. By subscribing to the narrative that Pinel created an entirely new paradigm of treating insanity, we too ignore an entire history of Islamic psychiatry during the medieval era in which compassionate, humane care — similar to the Moral Treatment — was the primary method of treating the insane.

Among the medical encyclopedias and case studies written in medieval Islamic societies, there are numerous testimonies of psychiatric treatment in the Islamic world that offer empathy and care to the patient. The term "Moral Treatment" is specific to Western European psychiatry, not present in medieval Islamic texts nor in contemporary histories of Islamic psychiatry. Nevertheless, in this paper, I will argue that the practice of treating mentally ill patients in these societies was similar, as psychiatric treatments in both societies relied on deceit and manipulation of the patient's psyche. Despite the similarity in treatment, the perception of the physician in regards to the patient was drastically different across the societies. By exploring the difference in the patient-medical practitioner relationships in medieval Islamic society and post-Enlightenment France, we can delve into the nuances of each psychiatric treatment and better examine the historical foundation for which these paradigms of psychiatric

[1] While acknowledging this intellectual history of Islamic psychiatry, we must also be aware that the patient and practitioner have different goals. Due to our access to primary resources, our analysis and similar analyses focus on the psychiatrist and outside perception of the treatment while the perspective of the patient, arguably the most important, is neglected. To get a more complete understanding of the psychiatric care in these respective societies, we must find the primary sources from the actual patients who actually experienced the mental illness and corresponding psychiatric care. Even in contemporary psychiatric accounts and care, the patient's perspective is often dismissed and unheard in exchange for some form of "objectivity" offered by the physician.

treatment emerged in each society. From this analysis, we can infer that insanity in 19th century France was characterized by the absence of Enlightenment beliefs within an *individual's inner identity*. Meanwhile, in medieval Islamic societies, insanity was understood as an essential part of life driven by *external circumstances*. While both characterizations of insanity have shaped modern psychiatry and sustained compassionate psychiatric care, the medieval Islamic perspective assigned the source of mental illness to the environment, not to the individual as Pinel proposed.

Background

Before comparing the humane psychiatric methods of these two societies, it is important to first define Moral Treatment and how it compares to older paradigms of psychiatric treatment. According to the 1833 *Annual Report* of the Trustees of Worcester State Hospital, Moral Treatment is "embraced in a single idea — humanity — the law of love — that sympathy which appropriates another's consciousness of pain and makes it a personal relief from suffering whenever another's sufferings are relieved".[2] In theory, Moral Treatment requires the psychiatrist to be connected intersubjectively to the patient, understanding the patient's inner sufferings and psyche. This is in direct contrast to the type of psychiatric treatment that existed in France prior to Pinel's Moral Revolution, in which mentally ill patients were institutionalized alongside criminals and peasants. The General Hospital of Paris (Hôpital Général) of the Ancién Regime is an example of one of these institutions, which the French philosopher Michel Foucault critiques is "not a medical establishment. It is, rather, a sort of semijudicial structure, an administrative entity which, along the already constituted powers, and outside of the courts, decides, judges, and executes".[3] The purpose of the General Hospital was to prevent "mendicancy and idleness as the source of all disorders".[4] The police would thus capture and confine the impoverished and the ill from the streets, forcing them to work at low wages with

[2] Trustees of the Worcester State Hospital, *Annual Report* (1833), Archives of State Library of Massachusetts, p. 8.
[3] Michel Foucault, *The Foucault Reader*, p. 125.
[4] Ibid., p. 129.

excessive force and punitive measures. Instead of being a refuge or place of rehabilitation, the General Hospital, like many other psychiatric institutions of the time, was designed by the State to enforce absolute power and exploit labor from the mentally ill, peasants, and criminals.

Phillipe Pinel's Moral Revolution in 18th Century France

As Moral Treatment was built around compassion and humanity, Pinel's Moral Revolution aimed to replace the physical shackles from the mentally ill with more humane treatments. Pinel writes in his *Treatise on Insanity,* "At a well-regulated asylum, and subject to the Treatment of a governor in every respect qualified to exercise over him an irresistible control and to interrupt or divert his chain of maniacal ideas, it is possible, and even probable, that a cure might have been effected".[5] Thus, compassionate, effective treatment requires both a highly ordered asylum setting and free conversations between patients and psychiatrists to impede the "chain of maniacal ideas." Pinel measured his success by examining if the patient's "reason [recovered] its empire".[6] He believed each mentally ill individual has remnants of reason. Thus, his treatment included 1) entering the irrational psyche of the patient, 2) finding relics of reason, and 3) re-activating them for better reintegration into society.

For instance, in Pinel's famous treatment of a watchmaker in Paris, the watchmaker believed that "he had lost his head on a scaffold … [and] the gentlemen, who had the treatment of that business, had placed upon his shoulder the head of one of [the watchmaker's] unhappy companions".[7] First, Pinel realizes the patient has lost his sense of reason. Then, Pinel freely converses with the delirious watchmaker and "turns the conversation to the subject of the famous miracle of Saint Denis… [causing] peals of laughter".[8] In the Christian legend, Saint Denis is said to have been beheaded but instead of getting killed, Saint Denis picks up his head from the floors, props it back onto his neck, and proceeds preaching. Through deceit and humor, Pinel first connects with the patient and then mirrors the

[5] Phillipe Pinel, *A Treatise On Insanity*, p. 153.
[6] Ibid., p. 125.
[7] Pinel, *A Treatise On Insanity*, p. 70.
[8] Ibid., p. 72.

absurdity of the watchmaker's delusion onto the watchmaker. Through this case, we see how Pinel did not use punitive measures or excessive force to restore reason to his patients as was employed by his French predecessors.

Furthermore, instead of framing disorders through the lens of punishment and morality, Pinel framed insanity through a clinical, nosological lens, claiming, "I, therefore, resolved to adopt that method of investigation which has invariably succeeded in all the departments of natural history, viz. to notice successively every fact".[9] As Pinel began to make clinical observations of his patients, he created specific clinical classifications and etiologies of insanity and reframed it into a more clinical, objective science. Despite it actually being Jean-Baptiste Pussin who introduced Pinel to Moral Treatment, Pinel's compassion and concern for the patient's well-being was deemed revolutionary at the time, in contrast to the previous paradigm of punishing insanity. As a result, many historians consider Pinel the father of modern psychiatry and pioneer of compassionate psychiatric care.

Medieval Islamic Psychiatry in the 10th-11th Centuries

However, Pinel's "revolutionary" paradigm of psychiatric treatment which comprised of compassionate care, clinical observations, and removal of physical restraints had precedence centuries earlier in medieval 10th - 11th century Islamic societies. Due to the differences in historical archives and scarcity of translations of medieval Islamic documentation, I could not find a comprehensive and specific ideology analogous to Moral Treatment in the Islamic world. Nevertheless, the treatments given to mentally ill patients in medieval Islamic societies were remarkably similar to Pinel's. Ibn Sina (latinized Avicenna), a physician of the Samanid Dynasty, is considered by many historians as one of the most influential physicians of the Islamic world. His *Canon of Medicine* was used as the medical basis of European medicine through the 18th century. Poet Nizami-I-Arudi's book "Four Discourses" accounts the story of Ibn Sina's treatment of a melancholic prince with severe delirium: "[the prince] imagined himself to be been transformed into a cow… crying out to this one and that one saying

[9] Ibid., p. 2.

'Kill me so that a good stew may be prepared from my flesh'; until matters reached such a pass that he would eat nothing and he would waste away".[10] Ibn Sina — the prime minister and chief physician of the kingdom — was recruited to treat this prince. He treated the prince in a manner similar to Pinel's Moral Treatment:

> Ibn Sina said to the patient, 'the butcher is coming to kill thee!' When the patient was told this he rejoiced. Then [Ibn Sina] mounted his horse and came to the gate of the patient's house. Taking a knife in his hand, [Ibn Sina] said, 'Where is this cow, that I may kill it?' The patient made a noise like a cow, meaning, 'It is here.' [Ibn Sina] came forward, rubbing the knives together. 'O what a lean cow! It is not fit to be killed : give it fodder until it gets fat.'[11]

After a month of the prince being fed and treated like a cow, Nizami-I-Arudi claims that the prince recovered physically and returned to sanity. From this account, we see that Ibn Sina's treatment was almost identical to Pinel's treatment of the watchmaker. Ibn Sina first accepts the prince's delusion (that he is a cow ready to be butchered) without question, immersing himself in the thought process of the prince to find vestiges of reason. Then, he offers suggestions to the prince (telling him to fatten up to be a better source of meat) until the prince regains his sanity. Whereas Pinel frames his treatment around Enlightenment ideals of "reason" and "rationality," popular during his time, Ibn Sina does not. Nonetheless, both Ibn Sina and Pinel's Moral Treatment are similar in practice and evoke empathy rather than punishment.

Likewise, Al Razi (latinized Rhazes) speculated in his landmark 10th-century medical encyclopedia *Kitāb al-Ḥāwī fī al-ṭibb (The Comprehensive Book on Medicine)* that talking therapy is more effective than pharmacological methods for addressing psychiatric issues.[12] When treating a melancholic "caught up with an idea on where has the creator of

[10] Nizami-I-Arudi, *Chahár maqála*, trans. Edward G Browne, p. 92.
[11] Ibid., p. 93.
[12] Al Razi, *Kitāb al-Ḥāwī fī al-ṭibb*, trans. Seyed Mahmoud Tabatabaei, p. 5.

the whole universe come from and how has he created all creatures that constantly harasses [him]," Al Razi "convinced him that this thought occupies the minds of all wise people and should not be regarded as a melancholic thought".[13] By assuring the melancholic that all "wise people" experience similar existential thoughts, Al Razi was able to convince the patient that their experience is normal and should not be worried about. Like Pinel's Moral Treatment, Al Razi's treatment is rooted in empathy and manipulating a patient's thoughts to restore sanity. Nevertheless, this treatment, similar to those mentioned earlier, seems simplistic, doubtfully miraculous, and incomplete, likely because it is the psychiatrist, not the patient, who often writes these accounts.

Comparison Between Pinel and Islamic Psychiatric Treatments

In both modes of treatment observed in 19th century France and in the medieval Islamic world, deceit and manipulation are critical to treating the patient by forcing them to question their own reality. Philosopher Michel Foucault argues that Pinel's Moral Treatment with its "revolutionary", compassionate methods and clinical lens was not much different than the previous method of treating insanity through physical restraints. Only instead of using physical restraints, Moral Treatment internalized those restraints through perpetual shame, confusion, and self-policing. Foucault gives the example of the patient who believed he was Christ, chained in the Bicêtre asylum for 12 years, and was considered a spectacle by all. Pinel "had his chains cut off, and 'ordered expressly that everyone imitate his own reserve and not address a word to this poor madman".[14] The external humiliation and shame that the patient experienced from others in the hospital fed into his identity as a misunderstood martyr. Thus, when Pinel removed that humiliation by forcing others to ignore him, Pinel removed a part of the patient's identity: Pinel removed the external gaze, preventing the patient from remaining a messiah-like outcast. In removing this external humiliation, Pinel essentially redirected the outward shame — that perpetuated his delusion

[13] Ibid., p. 41.
[14] Foucault, *The Foucault Reader*, p. 151.

as a misunderstood martyr — into internalized shame, which became so intolerable that the patient "returned to more sensible and true ideas".[15] Pinel's Moral Revolution established internalized restraints that forced the patient to question their own reality, actions, and beliefs based on Pinel's arbitrary standard of normal, a power structure not much different from the semijudicial structure of Hôpital Général.

Similar to Pinel's treatment, Islamic psychiatry used deceit but in a different manner. When treating melancholics, Al Razi advised, "don't make the patient suspect that he has Melancholia, but that you treat him of dyspepsia only and help him to get over his thoughts, divert him, cheer him up, and keep him occupied from thinking".[16] Because Foucault and many of the postmodern European philosophers in the 20th century operated within a different discourse than Al Razi, Al Razi's treatment has yet to be viewed through that same critical lens given to Pinel. However, we can use similar principles of observation that Foucault employs towards Pinel's Moral Treatment to analyze Al-Razi's similar treatment and its effect on the patient. By refusing to recognize the melancholy that the patient is suffering from and instead treating them for a digestive issue, Al Razi becomes the "judge and executioner… present in the mind of the madman, so that he understands what universe of judgement he now belongs to".[17] If Al Razi states that the patient does not have melancholy, then the patient must resolve the disconnect between their personal mental experience and the diagnosis ascribed to them by Al Razi. Al Razi's invalidation of the patient's very real suffering forces the patient to remain in perpetual judgement and question the boundary between reality and insanity. Thus, every time that the patient thinks he has melancholy, he will also recognize that Al Razi said he did not; thus, the decision of the "judge and executioner" is continually being reinforced internally within the patient. The goal of Al Razi's incorrect diagnosis may be to change the patient's perspective of their melancholic thoughts and convince themselves that they are not melancholic, but in doing so, the patient likely begins to not trust their own reality. However, in both Pinel and Al Razi's treatment, this residual internal struggle that occurs following psychological manipulation is not

[15] Ibid.
[16] Al Razi, *Kitāb al-Ḥāwī fī al-ṭibb*, trans. Seyed Mahmoud Tabatabaei, p. 47.
[17] Foucault, *The Foucault Reader*, p. 155.

considered a concern nor even acknowledged. To them, the actual cure of the mental illness does not matter so much as the disappearance of the symptoms, which even then, is unreliable as it is the practitioner, not the patient, who documents the treatment.

Despite manipulation of the patient's psyche being a common thread in Islamic psychiatric methods and Pinel's Moral Treatment, there is a stark difference between how the patient-psychiatrist relationship was perceived in each society. The paintings of Pinel and Al Razi's treatment towards the mentally ill reveal much about how society understood the physician in relationship towards their patient: Pinel was viewed in an authoritarian, "paternalistic" role whereas Al Razi assumed a more compassionate, nurturing role. In 1876, approximately 50 years after Pinel died, Tony Robert-Fleury painted *Pinel Freeing the Insane* (Figure 1). Interestingly, Sigmund Freud would mention this painting as an inspiration decades later. In Robert-Fleury's painting, shown in Figure 1, there is a distinct division of the scene between the left — Pinel and asylum supervisors standing upright — juxtaposed with the right — chained melancholics and hysterics lying on the Salpêtrière floor. This left-right division in the painting delineates the triumph of Enlightenment ideals compared to pre-French Revolution modes of thinking. In Figure 1, we also see Pinel's Napoleon-like attire, which promotes the French narrative that Pinel heroically conquered and brought Enlightenment ideals to a population that was considered fundamentally irrational. His physical distance from his patients and height over them emphasize Pinel's "paternal", commanding figure over his infantilized, vulnerable patients.

Figure 1. *Pinel Freeing the Insane*, 1876, painted by Tony Robert-Fleury

Similarly, in Charles Louis Miller's 1849 painting *Pinel Orders the Chains Removed From the Insane at Bicêtre*, Pinel is shown pointing directly at the mentally ill, emaciated patient who is being freed from physical restraints (Figure 2). This image emphasizes the power of Pinel's gaze which Foucault claims to "place [patients] as objects to the observation of a power that was manifested only by its gaze".[18] We must be cautious when analyzing these two works of art depicting Pinel as they were commissioned by the French government decades after Pinel's death to immortalize ideals of the Moral and French Revolution. It is likely that these images of the powerful Pinel in opposition to helpless patients are sensationalized/dramatized to perpetuate a nationalist narrative. However, in her book *Institutionalizing Gender*, Jessie Hewitt argues "Pinel was acutely aware of the performative dimensions of psychiatric power, noting that the 'appearance of repression,'... was a necessary evil justified only when other methods had proven futile".[19] Thus, the details in the two paintings (Figure 1 and 2) that illustrate Pinel as a Napoleonic authoritative figure may be less sensationalist and more accurate than expected. Therefore, there is some truth to the painting as Pinel did assume an

[18] Foucault, *The Foucault Reader*, p. 199.
[19] Jessie Hewitt, *Institutionalizing Gender* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2020), p. 38.

imposing, performative, “paternalistic” role over his patients, a notion that we will explore later in this paper.

Figure 2. *Pinel Orders the Chains Removed From the Insane at Bicêtre*, 1849, painted by Charles Louis-Miller

In direct contrast to the paintings of Pinel, the painting of Al Razi sitting alongside a patient depicts a drastically different perception of the patient-medical practitioner relationship (Figure 3). Instead of towering over the patient from a distance as Pinel did, Al Razi is shown standing right beside the patient, furthering the narrative that there is less of a power dynamic between the patient and practitioner. The cushions and hand position of Al Razi (Figure 3) further emphasize that Al Razi was seen as a physician that nurtured patients, rather than aiming to conquer them. This medieval 13th century depiction of Al Razi was made by Gerard of Cremona, an Italian translator of scientific literature. There are accounts that the “illustrations [from Arab manuscripts] were presumably copied into the Latin translation.”[20] Thus, it is likely that this illustration demonstrates the Arab world’s perception of Al Razi that diffused to Western manuscripts. Despite this illustration simply revealing how others perceive Al Razi’s treatments, through psychiatric accounts, we will further explore how Al Razi’s treatment is more tender and democratic compared to the hierarchy and power dynamics underpinning Pinel’s treatment.

[20] Donaldson, “The Cyrurgia of Albucasis and other works, 1500’”, *Journal of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh* 41 no. 1 (2011).

Figure 3. Depiction of Al Razi in Gérard de Cremona 13th Century Manuscript "Recueil des traités de médecine"

Because of these different power dynamics in Al Razi and Pinel's patient-physician relationship, there are nuances in their treatment that reflect these differences. As quoted in Jessie Hewitt's *Institutionalizing Gender*, Pinel asserts, "the general governance of the hospital resembled that of a great family, consisting of turbulent and impetuous individuals, who must be repressed".[21] Thus, Pinel modeled Moral Treatment after the bourgeois family, in which "the doctor oversaw this 'great family,' for only he possessed the wisdom and patience such responsibility demanded".[22] Pinel believed that only the psychiatrist can assume the father-like role and restore the sanity of vulnerable patients, not requiring assistance from others. Thus, Pinel's therapies mainly targeted the patient's direct sense of reality, as we saw in Pinel's treatment of the watchmaker. Moral Treatment did not rely on social and environmental interventions that target upstream factors (ie: loneliness) that may lead to a patient's insanity. In fact,

[21] Pinel, *A Treatise On Insanity*, p. 102.
[22] Hewitt, *Institutionalizing Gender* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2020), p. 36.

psychologist Russell Hollander states that many asylums practicing Moral Treatment prohibited patients from seeing family, friends, and other patients.[23] In Pinel's therapies, the paternal benevolence and compassion, ideals promoted by his Moral Treatment, existed exclusively within the psychiatrist and patient relationship.

On the contrary, Islamic psychiatry had a more democratic patient-physician relationship in which psychiatrists did not assume absolute control over the entire treatment. Instead, psychiatrists like Al Razi coupled their own direct treatment (ie: talking cures) with more upstream social interventions that relied on friends and family to aid in the patient's recovery. For example, Al Razi prescribed a melancholic patient to "travel and move among places, meet with people for a drink and song".[24] Al Razi understood that psychiatry itself was one of many methods to restore a patient's sanity. Thus, Al Razi depended on the therapeutic nature of social support systems and shifting environments, two critical components of modern psychiatric treatment and methods that Pinel's Moral Treatment neglected.

Broader Understanding of Mental Illness in These Societies

Examining differences in Pinel's Moral Treatment and Islamic psychiatric care sheds light into broader conceptions of mental illness and psychiatry in these societies. And similarly, the historical contexts rationalize the emergence of these different psychiatric methods. For example, Pinel assumed absolute control over his patient and focused on directly changing their individual psyche. According to historian of science Stanley Wilkin, Pinel "understood [mental illness] and human suffering through personality not circumstances," focusing on "avarice, pride, desire for reputation, for conquest and vanity" as sources of madness.[25] These qualities that Pinel mentions as roots of insanity — "avarice", "pride," and "vanity" — are all more based in one's personality and innate compared to social factors such as loneliness and poverty. Additionally, these qualities

[23] Russell Hollander, "Moral Treatment and the therapeutic community", *Psychiatric Quarterly* 53 no. 2 (1981): p. 135.
[24] Al Razi, *Kitāb al-Ḥāwī fī al-ṭibb*, trans. Seyed Mahmoud Tabatabaei, p. 51.
[25] Stanley Wilkin, "An Unusual Power: Personality, Disorder, Truth, and Deceit" (2018): p. 4.

that Pinel identifies as causing insanity are associated with the values of the Ancien Régime, in which class hierarchies, statuses, and Catholicism dominated society. Thus, following the French Revolution, psychiatry was aimed at removing the ideals of the Ancien Régime and focused on instilling reason into the mentally ill and those tethered to pre-French Revolution ideals and traditions. Following the French Revolution's shift to a secular society and attack on the Catholic Church, "melancholias of religious origin [multiplied]" as "fifty percent of the melancholics in Bicêtre were suffering from religious madness".[26] This rapid rise in religious fanaticism at the Bicêtre is likely due to the pathologization of Catholicism following the French Revolution and/or patients who have gone insane due to the radically transformed France. Either way, the shift to a more rational society dictated by Enlightenment ideals allows for Moral Treatment to emerge, a more compassionate psychiatric method that aims to inculcate French Revolution ideals of reason into "irrational" and mentally ill patients. Given the newfound focus in France on an individual's sense of reason, it makes sense that Pinel's Moral Treatment aims to *directly* alter the psyche of "insane" patients to introduce or restore a sense of reason, rather than focusing on upstream treatments such as social support or changing environments.

Since the medieval Islamic physician did not hold complete power over the patient's treatment and insanity was believed to often be incited by circumstances, Islamic psychiatry relied heavily on environmental and social therapies to aid recovery rather than simply changing the individual. Psychiatrists like Ibn Sina and Al Razi looked to the Quran for guidance in understanding and treating insanity. According to Prof. Frankie Samah, the Quran speaks of three different components of the psyche, *nafs*, that are constantly shifting alongside changes in environment, emotional states, and external events.[27] The religious context that insanity is rooted in circumstantial changes, rather than fundamental flaws in one's identity, immorality, or lack of reason, shaped Ibn Sina and Al Razi's treatment. Both psychiatrists focused on targeting environmental stresses, such as poverty and loneliness, that often incite madness. In fact, Al Razi would

[26] Foucault, *The Foucault Reader*, p. 147.
[27] Frankie Samah, "The Qur'an and mental health", *The Psychologist* (2021).

often "[give] patients a sum of money to help with their immediate needs and their transition back into society."[28] Al Razi's care for the insane includes providing them economic resources following discharge as he recognized that economic stress often induces insanity and readmits a patient back into psychiatric hospital. Furthermore, the Quran states that each Muslim has a duty to "exhort one another to truth and exhort one another to endurance".[29] Thus, social support was critical to the treatment of mentally ill, often used as the primary method by Ibn Sina, as stated in his *Canon of Medicine*, for certain disorders.[30] Due to medieval Islamic psychiatry's understanding that environmental and social changes are sources of madness, rather than an individual's lack of Enlightenment ideals, Islamic societies regarded insanity as simply part of the human condition, rather than a drastic departure from it.

Conclusion

When comparing Pinel's Moral Treatment to Islamic psychiatric methods, at first sight, it may seem that the treatments are very similar in that deceit and talking therapy are used. And while both treatments do rely on psychiatric manipulation, further comparison highlights the difference in patient-psychiatrist relationships. The role of the practitioner in regards to the patient illuminates much about the method of treatment, both of which can shed light onto the historical context as well as be rationalized by it. In the backdrop of the French Revolution, Pinel assumed absolute control over the "irrational" patient and aimed to manipulate their psyche directly to instill Enlightenment ideals within the patient. However, based on Quranic verses and a belief that insanity is a circumstantial part of life, rather than one's identity, Ibn Sina and Al Razi tended to couple their direct medical treatments with social and environmental intervention to more holistically treat the patient.

By analyzing medieval Islamic psychiatry through the comparison with Pinel's Moral Treatment, we dispel the myth that Pinel was the pioneer

[28] Musa Yilanli, "Muhammad ibn Zakariya al-Razi and the First Psychiatric Ward," *American Journal of Psychiatry Residents Journal* 13 no. 9 (2019): p. 11.
[29] *The Quran* (103:3) trans. Marmaduke Pickthall.
[30] Ibn Sina, *Canon of Medicine*, trans. Muhammad Ameen Ad-Dnawee, p. 107.

of compassionate psychiatry with his Moral Treatment, identify the shortcomings of Moral Treatment, and learn more about each society's conception of insanity and psychiatry. Most importantly, we acknowledge the history of Islamic psychiatry, an intellectual history often overlooked by Western scholars, driven by psychiatrists like Ibn Sina and Al Razi, who were centuries ahead of the West in their clinical understanding of madness and compassionate treatment towards it. Muslim psychiatrists in the medieval era set the foundation for modern day psychiatry and the field would be very different without their contributions to methods such as cognitive behavioral therapy, social support, and psychotherapy. Their history, however, is often neglected in exchange for Pinel's "heroic" origin story of "liberating the insane" and narratives that the Muslim world is backwards and less advanced. By continuing to study medieval Islamic psychiatry, we can further point out shortcomings in western psychiatric narratives.

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4

The Savage Family Women

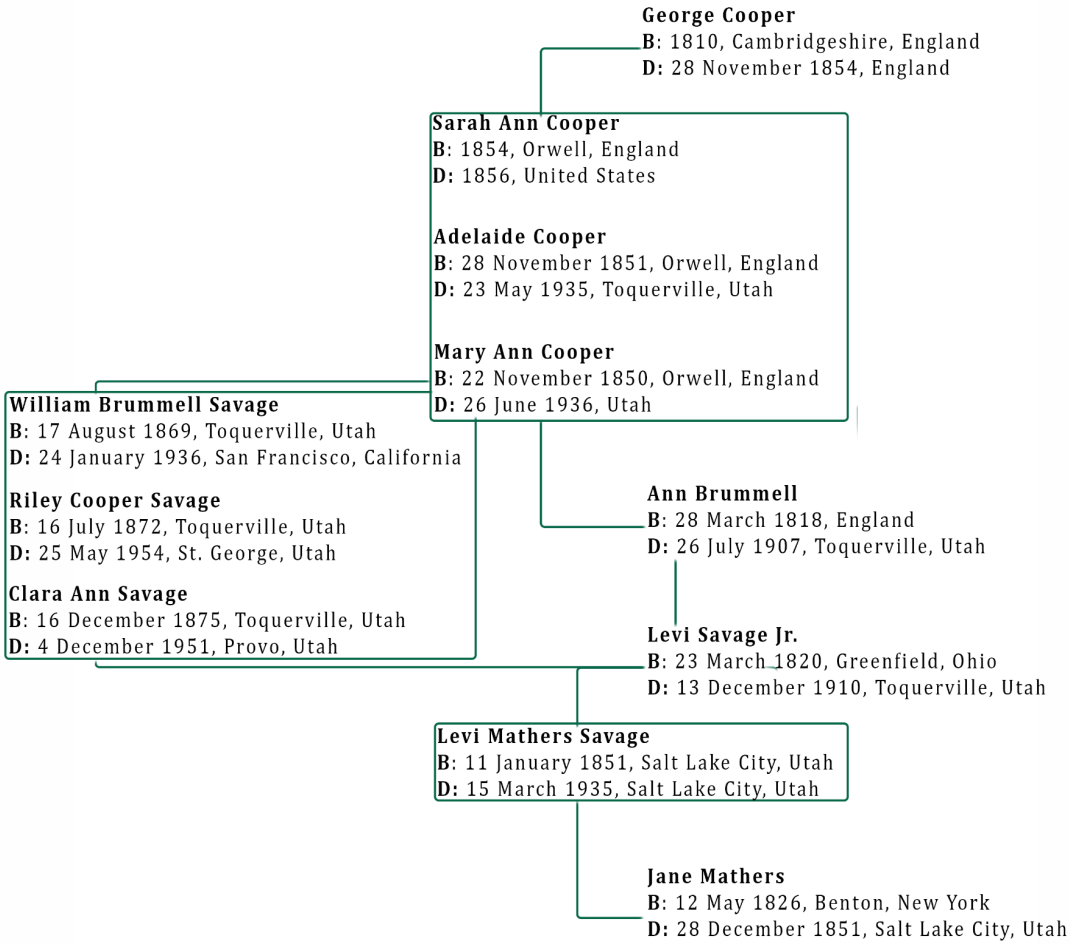
Shadows in the Trophy Case of Mormon Genealogy

By: Simran Khalsa, ‘22

Author’s Note

Hi, I'm Simran. I am an undergraduate senior studying Writing for Screen and Television with a minor in History. Last spring, while taking HIST 498 with Professor Deborah Harkness, I began to look at my family tree using online archives and databases. I was chugging along, combing through census records and adding people to my tree until one day while examining documents related to my great-great grandfather, William Brummell Savage, my *Ancestry.com* family tree began to glitch out. His father was the Mormon hero Levi Savage — that much was clear — but I couldn't figure out the relationship between the three women who were, at different times, listed as his mothers, his aunts, his grandmother, and his step-sisters. When the census records eluded me, I began to look at scholarly articles written on the family, where I found that the answer to my glitchy tree was not in fact a fault in my research, as I had initially thought. Rather, it was due to a history of pedophilia, incest, and abuse — all of which had been left out of the Mormon records on the family. I turned my focus away from William towards the women of the Savage family, looking to find as many records as possible to flesh out their story. This is that story.

The Savage Family



In chapter six of James Silas Rogers' *Irish-American Autobiography*, titled "Flowering Absences," he discusses the way that genealogy is often seen as "a sort of trophy hunting that seeks to turn lineage into undisputed virtue."[1] This critique of traditional genealogical research is particularly applicable when studying the records of the Mormon Church, where the hunt for ancestors is more often about being able to retroactively baptize a noble and important figure of the past than examining the full picture of their lives. The records exist, but the context and meaning of many of them remain shrouded — sometimes on purpose, to prop up propaganda surrounding an important figure to the church, aided by a lack of research into the more marginalized parts of their communities. For many of his descendants, the early Mormon pioneer of Levi Savage is one such trophy. This is due to his status as a veteran, an early missionary, a survivor of the famous Willie Handcart Company, a proud polygamist, and a favorite of Brigham Young. His decade-spanning diaries catalogue a great deal of history of the Mormon Church's early years in Utah, and his multiple wives and many children mean that hundreds of people trace their lineage back to him, often providing pictures, documents, and oral histories in the process. This makes Levi one of the most well-documented ancestors someone with Mormon lineage could have.

However, this focus on Levi leaves the women surrounding him, and the nature of his relationships towards them, mostly unexamined. "Trophy-hunting" genealogy seeks to gloss over or ignore the darker sides of Levi Savage. Lesser known records on his second wife, Ann Brummell, and her daughters, Mary Ann and Adelaide, tell the story of the Mormon church in the 19th century with a blunt honesty that casts a shroud over the Savage family legacy. The story of Ann and her daughters provides the social and economic context for early conversion into the Mormon church and recontextualizes the figure of Levi Savage as not just a war hero, polygamist, or missionary, but a predator, who used those same social

[1] James S Rogers. "Flowering Absences: Recent Irish Writers and Genealogical Dead Ends" in *Irish-American Autobiography* (Washington, D.C., Catholic University of America Press, 2016): 83. https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1j0pt5g.9.

contexts to trap the women he desired into marriage with him. With their story comes the argument that while traditional Mormon genealogy glorifies "trophy" ancestors and erases stories of abuse, modern historians can re-adapt and re-appropriate this genealogy to uncover these stories in their entirety.

Part I: England

"Lord ha' mercy on us poor."

The story of the Savage family women begins on March 28, 1818 in Arrington, Cambridgeshire, England (Figure 1). On this day, Ann Brummell was born to parents Rose Wilkins and James Brummell.[2] Arrington was an agricultural parish, and most of its residents did not own land and worked as laborers in the roundsman system.[3] James was one of these laborers.[4] Like other children her age, Ann attended the local school, which had been established by the Countess Hardwicke in 1807.[5] Here Ann likely learned how to read. She would not know how to write until much later in her life. In 1840, she married a farmer named George Cooper in the neighboring parish of Caxton.[6] Caxton at the time was in an economic depression, with many middle class institutions like inns and shops being forced to close. Workhouses (Figure 2) had sprung up as well, due to the 1835 Caxton and Arrington Poor Law Union, and the parish had nine of them by 1837.[7]

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[2] "Utah, U.S., Death and Military Death Certificates, 1904-1961," s.v. "Ann Brummell Savage" (1818-1907), *Ancestry.com*.
[3] Diane K Bolton, G R Duncombe, R W Dunning, Jennifer I Kermode, A M Rowland, W B Stephens and A P M Wright. *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely: Volume 5*. Edited by C R Elrington. London: Victoria County History 1973. *British History Online*, accessed March 18 2021, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/cambs/vol5.
[4] 1841 English Census, Orwell, Cambridgeshire, England, digital image, s.v. "George Cooper," *Ancestry.com*.
[5] "Parishes: Bloxham," in *A History of the County of Oxford: Volume 9, Bloxham Hundred*, ed. Mary D Lobel and Alan Crossley (London: Victoria County History, 1969), 53-85. *British History Online*, accessed 19 March 2021, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/oxon/vol9/.
[6] "England & Wales, Civil Registration Marriage Index, 1837-1915," s.v. "George Cooper" (Caxton &c), *Ancestry.com*.
[7] Bolton, et al.

Figure 1: Arrington's "Village Sign"[8].
Figure 2: A workhouse constructed due to the implementation of the Caxton & Arrington Poor Law.[9]

Ann and George settled down in Orwell, another agricultural parish. According to both the 1841 and the 1851 English Census, George worked as an agricultural laborer, much like Ann's father.[10] During this time, Ann gave birth to their two daughters — first Mary Ann in November 1850 and then Adelaide a year later.[11] However, around 1848 a six year-long series of "withering blights" began to strike the area, making farming increasingly difficult and causing the Cooper family to contend with hunger and poverty as farming became untenable.[12] [13]

In 1854, Ann gave birth to a third daughter, who they named Sarah Ann.[14] Things continued to get worse for the Cooper family, hitting a breaking point in October of 1854, when George was admitted to Hoxton House (Figure 3), a private asylum in Middlesex, as a pauper, leaving his wife and daughters behind in Orwell.[15] Private asylums like Hoxton House

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[8] Peter Moulton. *Village Sign, Arrington, South Cambridgeshire, England, UK*, Photograph, 2020. Alamy.
[9] Peter Higginbothamr. *Bourn former parish workhouse, 2003* in *The Workhouse: The story of an institution* (Caxton and Arrington, Cambridgeshire, 2003).
[10] 1841 English Census, Orwell, Cambridgeshire, England, digital image, s.v. "George Cooper," *Ancestry.com*.
[11] 1851 English Census, Orwell, Cambridgeshire, England, digital image, s.v. "George Cooper," *Ancestry.com*.
[12] Bolton, et al.: 241-251.
[13] Bolton, et al.
[14] "Utah, Sons of Utah Pioneers, Companies Index, 1846-1868," s.v. "Sarah Ann Cooper" (born 1854), *Ancestry.com*.
[15] "UK, Lunacy Patients Admission Registers, 1846-1912," digital image s.v. "George Cooper," *Ancestry.com*.

had cropped up all over England in the late 17th century as a response to the insufficient measures taken in the public sector to combat poverty and starvation.[16] Despite the implementation of various Poor Law Unions (Figure 4), by 1854, their situation had not improved. One could be institutionalized for a variety of reasons, some of which still hold up by modern standards, but stealing and attempted suicide seem the most likely in the case of George, who, due to the blights, could no longer provide for his family. As French historian Lionel Laborie put it, "madness became a competitive, unregulated, and lucrative market," and with many in poverty and having nowhere else to turn, they checked into private asylums to be fed and sheltered there.[17] Either reason would be enough to get him sent to Hoxton House. Unfortunately for George, Hoxton House was infamous even at the time for its despicable living conditions. In an 1808 inspection done by the navy, there were reports of urine-soaked floors, naked patients, overcrowding, and lack of food.[18] An 1844 inspection found more of the same. George died nearly one month after being admitted to Hoxton House at the age of 44. He was buried in Orwell.[19] After George's death, Ann tried to make a living for her girls on her own as a laborer, but as a poor widow with three girls to look after, the odds were mounted against her.[20] Despite the efforts of the British to combat poverty with the introduction of the Poor Law, Ann and her family were still left behind by the state.

[16] Lionel Laborie. "Medicalising Enthusiasm" in *Enlightening Enthusiasm: Prophecy and Religious Experience in Early Eighteenth-century England* (Manchester University Press, 2015). http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt18dzr6j.
[17] Laborie, 220.
[18] "Hoxton House." *Lost Hospitals of London*. August 3, 2016. Accessed 18 March 2021. https://ezitis.myzen.co.uk/hoxtonhouse.html.
[19] Heritage Consulting. *The Millennium File*. Salt Lake City, UT, USA: Heritage Consulting, s.v. "George Cooper." *Ancestry.com*.
[20] "New York, U.S., Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists (including Castle Garden and Ellis Island), 1820-1957," digital image s.v. "Ann Cooper," *Ancestry.com*.

Figure 3: What remains of Hoxton House.[21]

Figure 4: A political cartoon from 1834 about the new poor law. It reads: "Beating this here hemp is worse than breaking stones. Lord ha' mercy on us poor."[22]

While all of this was happening, the Mormon Church was in the midst of an aggressive recruitment campaign in Great Britain. The campaign was launched in 1837, and by 1855 around 89% of British Mormon converts had emigrated to Utah as part of their conversion.[23] The British reception of Mormons was mostly that of amusement and spectacle. However, there was something about the Mormon missionaries that intrigued even Charles Dickens, who wrote a description of a Mormon ship in 1863, claiming "nobody is in an ill temper, nobody is the worse for drink, nobody swears an oath or uses a coarse word, nobody is depressed, nobody is weeping."[24] This was contrasted with images of swearing British dock workers, prostitutes, and pawnbrokers. Clearly there was something appealing to the Victorian British about these missionaries. Sometime in the period between George's death in 1854 and the spring of 1856, Mormon missionaries came

[21] *No. 34 Hoxton Street*. Photograph in *Hoxton House* (Lost Hospitals of London).
[22] *Detail of the New Poor Law Poster*. 1834. Poster, The National Archives, London,
[23] Lecourt, Sebastian. 2013. "The Mormons, the Victorians, and the Idea of Greater Britain." *Victorian Studies* 56 (1) (Autumn): 85-111,185.
[24] Lecourt, 95.

knocking on Ann's door with an offer that could save her family's lives. If she and her daughters converted to the Mormon faith, they would pay for their passage to America, where they could start a new life in a community of fellow Mormons in Utah. Ann took the offer.

Part II: Approaching Storm

In the spring of 1856, Ann, Mary Ann, Adelaide, and Sarah Ann traveled to Liverpool, where they boarded the Thornton (Figure 5), a "great American steamship."[25] They sailed from Liverpool to New York City.[26] From New York, they took a train to Iowa City. There, several captains belonging to Latter-Day Saints' handcart companies welcomed Ann and the other immigrants. They were supposed to set out to Salt Lake City right away, but lack of funding from the Mormon Church meant that the immigrants had to build their own carts, causing a delay of about six months.[27] While in Iowa City, Ann and her girls met Levi Savage (Figure 6), who was one of the captains of the Willie Handcart Company.[28] He was a 36-year-old farmer and a former Private in the US Military who was stationed in San Diego during the Mexican American War in 1847.[29] He was also a widow; his first wife, Jane Mathers, passed away only five years prior.[30] Shortly before meeting Ann, Levi had returned from a mission trip to Burma, where the Mormons were attempting to establish a church.[31] Considering that Ann's last marriage had ended in shame, poverty, and abandonment, it is easy to see why she might have found this commanding, worldly, war hero attractive.

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[25] "Willie and Martin Remembered." The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 2006.
[26] "New York, U.S., Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists." s.v. "Ann Cooper."
[27] *Sweetwater Rescue*, directed by Lee Groberg. 2006; The Public Broadcasting Service: Amazon.com. Online Video.
[28] *Sweetwater Rescue*.
[29] "Levi Savage Jr. (early settler of Toquerville)." Washington County Historical Society, 2012.
[30] "Jane Mathers Savage." 2020. Find a Grave. https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/31578270/jane-savage.
[31] Britsch, R. Lanier. "The East India Mission of 1851-56: Crossing the Boundaries of Culture, Religion, and Law." *Journal of Mormon History* 27, no. 2 (2001): 150-76. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23288262.

Figure 5: "Sailing to Zion, the Thornton."[32]

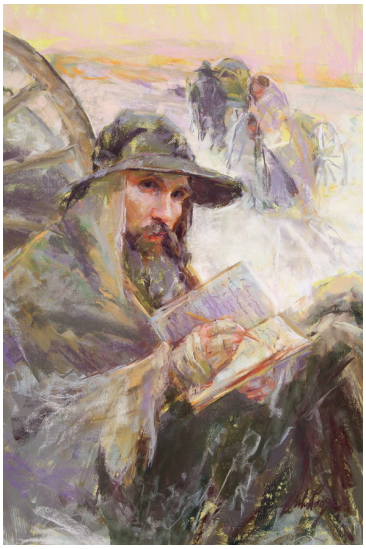

Figure 6: Levi Savage Jr.[33]

By the time the handcarts were ready to go, it was already August. They had meant to leave in early spring, and the company captains debated whether or not to wait for the next spring or head out right away.[34] According to an anecdote shared by Emma Jane James, another immigrant joining the Willie Company, Levi pleaded for them to wait until spring:

> With tears streaming down his cheeks, [Levi Savage] pleaded with the people: 'Brothers and sisters, wait until spring to make this journey. Some of the strong may get through in case of bad weather, but the bones of the weak and old will strew the way.'[35]

Another account of this pushback comes from Levi Savage's own journals, where he warned of the hardships to come, saying "we were liable to have wade in Snow up to our knees, and should at night rap ourselv[e]s in a thin blanket and lye on the frozen Ground without a bed."[36] Still, he was outvoted, and he noted later in the same journal entry that they had no room to store the food they would need for the journey and he expected them to go hungry as well.

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[32] Simon Winegar. *Sailing to Zion, the Thornton*. 2006, oil on canvas, Church History Museum, Salt Lake City.
[33] Julie Rogers. *They Required My Assistance*. 2006. Photograph. Church History Museum, Salt Lake City.
[34] *Sweetwater Rescue*.
[35] "Willie and Martin Remembered."
[36] Howard A Christy. "Weather, Disaster, and Responsibility: An Essay on the Willie and Martin Handcart Story." *Brigham Young University Studies* 37, no. 1 (1997): 20. http://www.jstor.org/stable/43042639.

Unfortunately, during the waiting process for their journey to begin, Sarah Ann passed away, of unknown causes, and they buried her in Iowa.[37] Still, with the decision made to head forward, Ann and her surviving girls began the long, two-month trek to Salt Lake City (Figure 8). By the end of September, they were running out of food and freezing, and in late October, while moving through Wyoming, they were hit by a massive winter storm.[38] Of the storm, Levi wrote, "a severe day. The wind blew awful harde and colde… Some [are] badly frozen; Some dying, and Some dead. It was certainly heartrending to hear Children crying for mothers and mothers, crying for Children."[39] After ignoring multiple pleas for help earlier in the journey, Brigham Young finally gave in and sent a band of people to rescue the group. By November, the Willie Company arrived in Salt Lake City. Ann and her daughters had finally made it to their destination.

Part III: Salt Lake City

"The Man She Desired"

It is worth noting that a majority of the sources surrounding Anne and her family before her arrival in Salt Lake City, while occasionally provided by Mormon databases which catalogue things like census records and ship logs, are not themselves written by Mormons. The few that are, such as Howard A Christy's "Weather, Disaster, and Responsibility" and the film *Sweetwater Rescue*, are balanced out within this narrative by accounts of the same events written by authors critical of the church, like Will Bagley's "One Long Funeral March." However, when examining what happened after the handcarts arrived in Salt Lake City, a new source comes into the picture with a significantly larger bias towards the church. Levi Savage's diaries have been preserved and published by the Mormon church on quite a wide scale and, considering he wrote almost every day of his life, provide significant context for the daily life of Ann and her girls. These journals cover a span of time from 1852 until the end of his life, save for two specific gaps of time: 1861-1873 and 1873-1877.

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[37] Spilsbury, R.J., and Elizabeth W. Lamb. "Obituaries." *Woman's Exponent* (Salt Lake City, UT), Mar. 1, 1909, p.6. *Newspapers.com*.
[38] *Sweetwater Rescue.*
[39] Will Bagley. ""One Long Funeral March": A Revisionist's View of the Mormon Handcart Disasters." *Journal of Mormon History* 35, no. 1 (2009): 84. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23290687.

These sixteen years of missing time have been missing from any and all published versions of his diary.[40] The story that follows has been compiled from these journals, as well as an array of other Mormon sources, with little else to balance out the valorization of both Levi and the church. This means that the gathering of information on Anne and her girls was done by reading these sources against the grain, with little to answer for the lived experiences of these women. Levi dominates the narrative, aided by his association with Brigham Young and his status as a war hero. Nevertheless, the few sources on this period that are critical of the Mormon church, when coupled with the context given by Levi, are able to undo that valorized ideal in only a few strokes, creating a question of what further research by non-Mormon institutions could potentially uncover about the men the church has decided to elevate to hero-status.

Following their arrival in December of 1856, Ann began to make a home for herself and her daughters in Salt Lake City. After being abandoned by her state and community back in England, she and her daughters were welcomed by the tight-knit community of the Mormons. A fellow settler around that time named Ernest Munk wrote that "people were liberal and would divide what they had," and other Mormon accounts tell us that the people would share seeds, milk, cheese, farm tools, and meat without question.[41] A local family housed Ann and her daughters, as was customary when widows with children arrived. Ann and her daughters were taken in by the family of Bishop John Woolleys. In his journals, Levi Savage mentions visiting a "Sister Cooper" throughout 1857 who was staying with the bishop and his family.[42] He specifies that she is one of his "Handcart Sisters" and has "two little girls," which are both details that point towards Ann.

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[40] Avtar Khalsa. "Savage Journal Scan." E-mail message to Simran Khalsa, April 17, 2021.
[41] Ronald W. Walker, "Golden Memories: Remembering Life in a Mormon Village." *Brigham Young University Studies* 37, no. 3 (1997): 194.
[42] Levi Savage Jr. *Savage, Levi, vol. 1-7.* Oct. 1852-Oct 1858. Digital Collections at BYU Library, last modified February 2007.

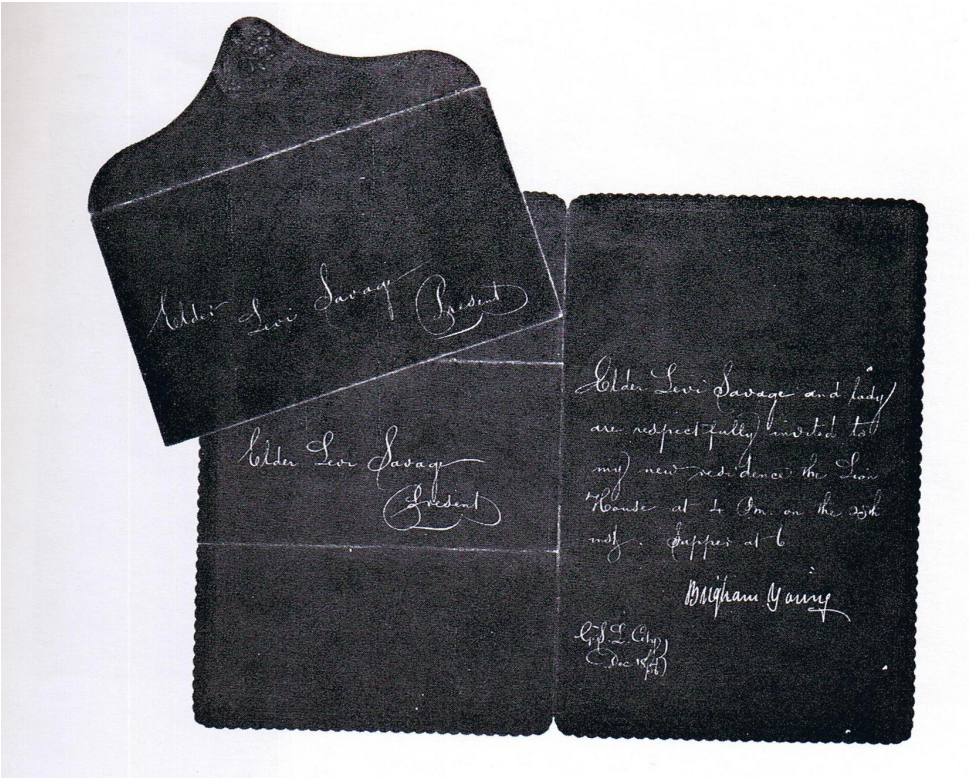

Figure 7: Brigham Young's invitation to Levi and his "lady" for Christmas dinner in 1856. It reads "*Elder Levi Savage and lady are respectfully invited to my new residence the Zion House at 4 PM on the 25th… Supper at 6.*"

According to his journals, Levi appears to have visited Ann nearly every day across the year of 1857 after the Willie Company arrived in Salt Lake City, yet Levi does not mention a "Sister Cooper" before that point, suggesting their friendship did not fully blossom until after they had arrived in the city. However, when Brigham Young invited Levi to his 1856 Christmas dinner (Figure 7) at his house in thanks for his service guiding the Willie Handcart Company, he mentioned that Levi could bring his "lady."[43] This very well may have been Ann, as Levi's first wife, Jane Mathers, had passed away five years prior. Throughout 1857, Levi was working as a farmer, and he often visited Ann with gifts of wood, perhaps using the offering of resources as an excuse to see her. She, in turn, would do various sewing and mending tasks for him. These visits may have been

[43] Young, Brigham, Brigham Young to Levi Savage Jr., December 1856, *Washington County Historical Society*.

conducted with courtship in mind, as Levi had gotten explicit permission from Brigham Young that January to obtain multiple wives, perhaps as another reward for his bravery during the Willie Handcart Company's journey.[44]

On the Monday of October 25th, Ann and her daughters moved out of the bishop's house and into Levi's, which was in the "first ward" of the city.[45] Still, despite living together, their relationship was not yet official. It mainly consisted of trading wood and sewing tasks, although they did occasionally breakfast together. In March of 1858, Levi offered for Ann to get her Mormon Endowment ceremony, but she turned him down, citing that she "refused to go til She could enter the marriage covenant with the man she desired."[46] Ann, it seems, did not want to officially become a Mormon until she had the stability and assurance a husband would provide. Levi appeared to either have no idea that he could be the man in question in Ann's eyes, or decided not to mention it in his journals. Ann's refusal resulted in an argument between herself, Levi, and the bishop about going to hell.

Despite the lack of formal familial bond, only solidified by this argument, Ann enrolled her daughters in school that year alongside Levi's son from his previous marriage, also named Levi.[47] The daughter of Bishop Evan taught them for two dollars and a quarter. In August, when a circus came to town, Levi, his son, Ann, and her girls all attended together. They were quickly becoming a family in all but the eyes of the law. On October 31, 1858, Ann and Levi finally married. Levi did not write anything particular about the progression of their relationship in his diary, and his description of the ceremony was regulated to only two sentences: "At 3 oclock, Bishop Evans & two of his wives come in, and he said the sermon of marriage, which joined sister Ann Cooper and myself in wedlock. Brother James and wife was present also."[48]

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[44] Brown, Thomas D. Brigham Young to Levi Savage Jr., January 20, 1857, Washington County Historical Society.
[45] Savage, vol. 7, 69.
[46] Savage, vol. 7, 108.
[47] Savage, vol. 7, 120.
[48] Savage, vol. 7, 135.

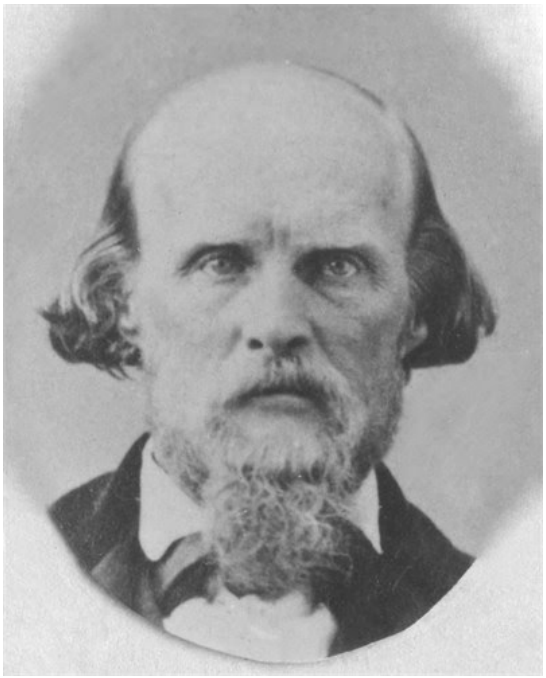

Figure 8: Levi, around the time he married Ann.[49]

Figure 9: Levi and Ann together.[50]

Here things began to take a dark turn. Mary Ann had been six and Adelaide had been only four when they first met Levi Savage on their journey across the United States, and he appeared to recognize that, referring to them many times throughout his diary as Ann's "little girls" before his marriage to Ann and his "daughters" afterwards.[51] Despite this, In 1868, when Mary Ann was seventeen and Adelaide had just turned sixteen, forty-eight year old Levi married them as well. Levi's account of the marriage is part of that sixteen years of missing time, but his son, Levi Mathers Savage, described the transition from daughters to wives in his journal saying, "Father attended a conference at Salt Lake City October 6, 1868. He took his wife and her two daughters with him and while there he married the two girls and he returned with three wives instead of one."[52]

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[49] *Levi Savage Jr. - Middle Aged Photo,* Photograph in *Levi Savage Jr.* (FamilySearch, 2015).
[50] *Portrait of Levi and Ann Savage*. Photograph in *Ann Brummell* (FamilySearch, 2013).
[51] Savage, vol. 7, pp. 63, 68; Savage, Levi Jr. *#4 - 1860-1861*. Jan. 1860-Jun. 1861. Washington County Historical Society, last modified April 2012, pp. 13, 17, 19, 28, 33.
[52] Savage, Levi Mathers. *Excerpts From the Journal of Levi Mathers Savage*. 1852-1910. Washington County Historical Society, last modified April 2012.

When Theodore Schroeder wrote an exposé of incest in the Mormon Church the following century, he was able to collect an account from a woman named Mrs. Franklin S. Harris, who said this about the nature of the marriage:

> Levi Savage Jr. married the mother on the condition that he would marry the daughters when they came of age. The mother agreed. She was very poor. He married the two girls, one eighteen and one sixteen.[53]

It could have been only a marriage of status or convenience, meant to keep these women safe. Ann would have known from her years as a widow in Orwell how dangerous it was to be alone. That was possibly the case for Adelaide, but Mary Ann is directly listed as the mother of one of Levi Savage's sons, William Brummell Savage, on the 1900 Census,[54] and in his diary entry on the day of William's baptism, Levi explicitly stated "he is my first childe by my wife Mary Ann C."[55] Unfortunately, there is no question that Levi and Mary Ann engaged in incestuous sexual intercourse. A marriage like this would not have been made illegal until the 1887 Edmund-Tuckers Act, which would outlaw it on the technicality of polygamy, rather than incestuous abuse of power.[56] Considering the conflict over Ann's endowment and Levi's seeming obliviousness to her wishes to marry him only six months before they married, the evidence suggests Ann used her girls as a bargaining chip to get Levi to marry her.

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[53] Jessie L Embry. "Ultimate Taboos: Incest and Mormon Polygamy." *Journal of Mormon History* 18, no. 1 (1992): 103.
[54] 1900 United States Federal Census, Toquerville, Washington County, Utah, digital image, s.v. "Levi Savage," *Ancestry.com*.
[55] Levi Savage Jr. *#5 - 1873-1877*. Mar, 1873-Nov.1877. Washington County Historical Society, last modified April 2012, pp. 7.
[56] Embry, 101.

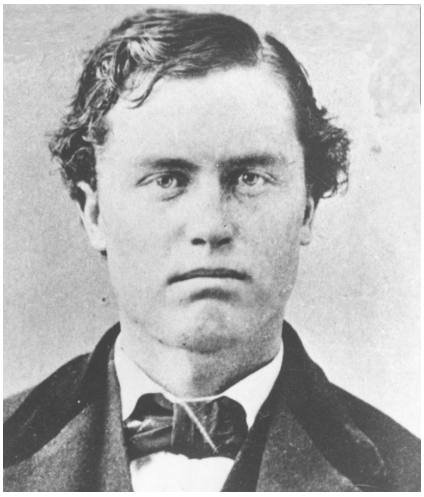

Figure 10: Levi Mathers, Levi's son by his previous wife.[57]
Figure 11: The Savage Family, taken sometime after 1868.[58]

Levi and the three women lived together all in one home in Toquerville, Utah, as did the children that followed. Their son Willard was born in December 1869, followed by Riley Cooper in July 1872 and Clara Ann in December 1875.[59] In this time, Levi worked as a farmer. In 1900, after William Brummell Savage had moved out and started a family of his own with another English immigrant named Amy Maud Wakeling, Levi and his wives lived next door.[60]

[57] *Levi Mathers Savage,* Photograph in *Levi Mathers Savage* (Find a Grave, 2014).
[58] *Photo of Levi Savage Jr. and 3 of his 4 wives*, Photograph in *Washington County Historical Photo Collection* (Washington County Historical Society, 2012).
[59] 1880 United States Federal Census. "Riley Cooper."
[60] 1900 United States Federal Census, "Levi Savage."

Figure 12: Riley Cooper Savage, Adelaide, Mary Ann, Levi, Adelaide, and grandchildren, Colorized.[61]

In 1871, Levi left the women in Utah to go teach at a school in the newly established Mormon town of Sunset, Arizona.[62] He would return in 1877. While Levi taught in Arizona, a "Sister A Savage" (either Ann or Adelaide) appears to have been teaching in Toquerville, according to the minutes for the Toquerville Relief Society on May 8, 1873.[63] This is most likely Adelaide, since as of the 1870 census, Ann still could not write.[64] Adelaide would have been a part of the 60% of teachers who were women in 1870.[65] This number was slightly higher in Utah, as Brigham Young pushed for many women to work in education, since they would work for low

[61] Melissa Hilton, *Untitled Colorized Family Portrait,* Photograph, FamilySearch, https://www.familysearch.org/tree/person/memories/KWJX-R74.
[62] John J. Hammond. "The 1876 Journal of Frank Hammond: "Travailing" to the Little Colorado." *Journal of Mormon History* 33, no. 1 (2007): 65-120. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23289685.
[63] Kent R. Bean, Kenneth W. Taylor, Wesley Larsen, Al Case, and Reed Neil Olsen. "LETTERS." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 31, no. 1 (1998): Iv-X.
[64] 1870 United States Federal Census, Toquerville, Kane County, Utah, digital image, s.v. "Levi Savage," *Ancestry.com*.
[65] Mary R. Clark and Patricia Lyn Scott. "From Schoolmarm to State Superintendent: The Changing Role of Women in Education, 1847–2004." In *Women In Utah History: Paradigm Or Paradox?*, edited by Scott Patricia Lyn, Thatcher Linda, and Whetstone Susan Allred, University Press of Colorado (2005): 228.

wages, and the many children being born needed someone to educate them in the Mormon fashion.[66] The Relief Society was run entirely by women, and led by Sarah M. Willis. An 1876 article published in the Toquerville *Women's Exponent* about an update in the Relief Society's organization lists Ann as one of the three Counselors of the organization, and Adelaide as Treasurer as of June 15.[67] That September, the Relief Society participated in the Kane County Fair, hosted by the Kane County Horticultural Society. The society as a whole submitted a quilt, and Adelaide and Ann submitted embroidery and a "fine straw braid."[68] Through this group of women, Ann, Mary Ann and Adelaide found a community in their new home outside of their husband, and, on occasion, they would all picnic together.[69]

[66] Clark, et al., 228.
[67] S. A. Spilsbury. "Editor Exponent." *Woman's Exponent* (Salt Lake City, UT), Jun, 15, 1876, p. 2. *Newspapers.com.*
[68] Romulus. "No Rain and No Grass -- Horticultural Fair." *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City, UT), Sep. 16 1876. *Newspapers.com*
[69] Bean, et al., v.

Figure 13: Mary Ann and Adelaide with the Toquerville Relief Society in 1922.[70]

Part IV: "For the Sake of Our Religion"

In 1885, in the lead up to the anti-polygamy Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887, the Mormon Church began to crack down on polygamy. In a diary entry on February 20, 1885, Levi wrote that "Bro George Spilsbury said that the word from Authorities in St. George was for all that had plural families to get their wives out of the way, and then get out of the way themselves."[71] In a following diary entry in March 1885, Levi told a story of a man named "Brother Negel," who had fled to the Buckskin mountains with two of his wives, leaving one behind in Toquerville.[72] It is possible Levi considered doing the same with Mary Ann and Adelaide.

The implementation of the Edmunds-Tucker Act meant that if evidence was found of plural wives or "cohabitation," women could be supoenad to testify against their husbands for the crime of polygamy, and could be imprisoned if they refused.[73] On September 13, 1887, shortly after

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[70] *Toquerville Relief Society 1922*. 1922. Photograph. *Mary Ann Cooper* (FamilySearch).
[71] Kimberly Jensen James. ""Between Two Fires": Women on the "Underground" of Mormon Polygamy." *Journal of Mormon History* 8 (1981): 51.
[72] James, 56.
[73] James, 50.

the passing of the act, Levi was examined in court on charges of polygamy and announced he was ready to go to jail "for six months or six years."[74] His trial was on September 29, alongside fellow polygamist William Leflvre. Both defendants pleaded guilty.[75] They were each fined $300 and sent to the United States Penitentiary in Salt Lake City for six months on the charge of polygamy.[76] While in prison, he kept a journal, later published as "For the Sake of Our Religion: The Prison Journal of Levi Savage Jr," where he painted himself as a victim of religious persecution. In this journal, he described the awful conditions in the prison, although his main complaints were bed-bugs and his bunk mate, who he wrote "engages in Sodomy when he wants, and can finde a custemer."[77] While Levi was in prison, the women were visited by Ann C. Woodbury of the Relief Society, who was able to watch Adelaide care for the children of the members of the society, and noted how wonderful she was with them. She also described Levi's imprisonment as due to him "taking care of his family."[78] Through this time in prison, Levi was lifted into an even greater status of prestige within the Mormon Church as a martyr who had gone to prison to protest laws they felt were targeting their faith.

In 1888, shortly after getting out of prison, Levi wrote to LDS Church president Wilford Woodruff and asked for both Ann and himself to be declared the children of Joseph Smith through an adoptive sealing ritual.[79] It is unclear whether this goal was ever accomplished, but this action signals that Levi had decided to choose Ann as his public-facing legal wife over Mary Ann or Adelaide, as polygamy was now illegal. This may explain why, on the 1900 census, Ann is the only woman directly listed as Levi's wife, while Mary Ann and Adelaide are listed as part of William Brummell

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[74] "A Number of Aged Mormons in the Toils." *The Salt Lake Herald* (Salt Lake City), 10 Sep 1887, p. 8. *Newspapers.com*
[75] "A Defendant Who Laid Aside His Religion Rather Than Go to Prison." *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City), 29 Sep 1887, p. 3. *Newspapers.com*
[76] "Levi Savage Jr. (early settler of Toquerville)." Washington County Historical Society, 2012. https://wchsutah.org/people/levi-savage-jr.php.
[77] Will Bagley. "A Prisoner for Conscience Sake: The Pen, the Railroad, and the Lord's Vineyard" in *Always a Cowboy: Judge Wilson McCarthy and the Rescue of the Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad* (Logan, UT: University Press of Colorado, 2008): 23-52.
[78] Ann C. Woodbury. "Interesting Visit." *Woman's Exponent* (Salt Lake City, UT), Nov. 15, 1887, pp. 5-6. *Newspapers.com.*
[79] Jonathan A. Stapley. "Adoptive Sealing Ritual in Mormonism." *Journal of Mormon History* 37, no. 3 (2011): 53-117.

Savage's family, as "Mother" and "Aunt" respectively.[80] Also by the time of this census, Ann had finally learned how to write.

Figure 14: Levi Savage, 1895.[81]

Figure 15: The Little Grandmas.[82]

In 1903, Ann Woodbury visited the Toquerville Relief Society again and noted, in a letter published in the *Women's Exponent*, that Adelaide had now become one of the presidents of the society.[83] During Woodbury's visit, Adelaide presided over the meetings, alongside a "President Spilsbury" who may be a relative of the S. A. Spilsbury who wrote the original article listing Adelaide as a member of the society in 1873. In 1907, Ann died of old age in Toquerville, Utah at the age of 89. Levi followed in 1910. Mary Ann and Adelaide continued to live together after his death, their remaining family referring to them as "the little grandmas" (Figure 15).[84]

In their later years, Mary Ann and Adelaide were often recognized as respected and important members of the community due to their status as survivors of the Willie Martin Handcart disaster as well as their relationship to Levi. In 1915, they were among a group of over-sixty adults

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[80] 1900 United States Federal Census. "Levi Savage."
[81] *Photo of Levi Savage Jr, 1895.* Photograph in *Washington County Historical Photo Collection* (Washington County Historical Society, 2012).
[82] Carol N Christensen. *Adelaide (Auntie) and Mary Ann (Grandma) in front of the fig trees at the Toquerville house.* Photograph. *Adelaide Cooper* (FamilySearch, 2014).
[83] Ann C. Woodbury. "Visiting and Holding Meetings." *Woman's Exponent* (Salt Lake City, UT), Jun. 1, 1903, p. 2. *Newspapers.com.*
[84] Charles S Peterson. "A Mormon Town: One Man's West." *Journal of Mormon History* 3 (1976): 3-12. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23286154.

in Toquerville who were given a celebration and "royally entertained" by their fellow townsfolk.[85] During this entertainment, a poem by Adelaide titled "How We Crossed the Plains" was recited. Unfortunately, the words of the poem were not printed in the announcement of the ceremony, and no other written copies of it can be found. In 1917, twenty boy scouts visited Adelaide and Mary Ann to help them with their tools and take care of their gardens for them, in another act of thanks for their surviving of the handcart disaster.[86] When President Warren G. Harding visited Washington County in his last few months in office, Mary Ann and Adelaide were given respected seating positions beside the president.[87] Adelaide passed away in May of 1935 in Toquerville. Her death certificate attributed her demise to natural causes.[88] Mary Ann outlived her son William, passing away at 85 in June of 1936, only six months after his death in January.[89]

Conclusion

Looking back on Rogers and the idea of "trophy hunting genealogy," we can see how the Mormon disposition for this type of history has obfuscated and whitewashed the story of Levi, Ann, Mary Ann, and Adelaide to such a degree that the darkest part of their relationships have been discarded by the wayside in the name of preserving the legacy of early pioneers. This obfuscation is only furthered by the sixteen-year gap in Levi's journals, which spans the time in which Levi would have married the girls he called his "daughters." The original publication of his journals does not seem to have an answer for that missing time, merely grasping at theories of loss, destruction, or misplaced papers.[90]

However, one can be certain that the experience of reading these published journals with that missing section included would leave a reader with a vastly different impression of the man, as there would no longer be that sixteen-year gap to cushion the blow of watching this Mormon hero

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[85] "Old Folks Entertained Royally in Toquerville." *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City), September 30, 1915, p. 12. *Newspapers.com*
[86] "A Good Turn." *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City), 11 Apr 1917, p. 12. *Newspapers.com.*
[87] H. T. Atkin. "A Great Day for Utah's Dixie." *Washington County News* (Saint George), 28 Jun 1923, p. 1. *Newspapers.com*
[88] "Utah, U.S., Death and Military Death Certificates," s.v. "Ann Brummell Savage."
[89] "Mary Ann Cooper Savage." 2020. Find a Grave.
https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/145927/mary-ann-savage.
[90] Khalsa.

admit to his incest and abuse in real time. What remains, then, is a split history, where nearly all sources on the family — save for Bagley's "One Long Funeral March " which discusses the Willie Martin Handcart Disaster, Embry's "Ultimate Taboos" which discusses incest and polygamy within the church, and the census records themselves — serve merely to prop up the narrative that the Mormon Church enjoys of a war hero who gladly went to prison for his religion. Remnants of the girls' lives, personalities, and ambitions, are then left in the dust-laden corners of the *Women's Exponent* archives, and the context that drove Ann's decision to bargain her girls into marriage with Levi is lost in the asylum logs of England. The loss of the poem, "How We Crossed the Plains" in particular stings, since there are no other surviving accounts from the Brummell-Cooper-Savage women of what those months in the Willie Handcart company were like for them. As people rather than trophies they are thus, in effect, lost to time and space.

Without this collection of the varied and contradictory accounts of this family, there would be only the legacy of Levi. For as much as the "little grandmas" were revered in their later years, that reverence has not continued into the twenty-first century writings on the topic. Mormon history and genealogy, despite being one of the most heavily documented, is simultaneously filled with similar fictive kinship. Nowhere is the fictionalization of Levi and Ann more evident than in the 2011 film, *17 Miracles*, which details the crossing of the Willie Handcart Company and makes no mention of Mary Ann or Adelaide so as not to tarnish Levi's legacy with the visualization of this thirty-six year old man meeting the four and six year old girls he would soon pressure into marriage with him.[91] They are thus left forgotten and marginalized, unfitting for the case of Mormon genealogy other than to exist as a symbol of polygamy around which Levi could create an argument of persecution for the sake of faith. That sixteen years of missing time may very well be destroyed or lost, without any nefarious intent other than the markings of the passage of time, but its absence in itself allows the Mormon narratives of Levi's success, virtue and piety to continue without the real legacy of his predation upon the most vulnerable in his life to balance it out.

[91] *17 Miracles,* directed by T. C. Christensen (2011; Excel Entertainment Group), Online Video.

There are nearly a hundred years of history to dig through surrounding the women of this family, most of which this account has barely scratched the surface. Questions of "why" surround the decisions of the adults in the room — George, checking himself into Hoxton House; Levi, demanding the girls for his wives; and Ann, for accepting that proposition. A great deal could be made around the nature of Adelaide and Levi's relationship, as she never bore him children, and appeared to have more freedom in the community because of it. The Toquerville Relief Society itself is surely filled with similar stories of other women, pushed by desperation and circumstance into the arms of the church and the polygamous men who waited there. Unfortunately, most of the research into these groups of people that would answer those questions comes from Brigham Young University, or other Mormon-sponsored research institutions. Although the census records, ship logs, and photographs accessed through their archives and databases were vital in the construction of this story, these sources will inevitably have a bias towards both the Mormon method of genealogy and the preservation of the legacy of the church. Despite the reality that some of these stories may be hard to face, archivists and historians dedicated to the study of Mormon history need to face them in order to move beyond that "trophy-case" model of genealogy into one that asks the questions of why and how our families landed where they are today. These skeletons need to be accounted for. Levi is only as well-documented as he is because Mormon historians and genealogists have taken the time to preserve the evidence of his existence. We are less than 200 years away from the records of the women in his life — not yet too far away to do the same to them. An attempt simply needs to be made.

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5

An Interview with Dr. Ketaki Pant

By: Himani Boompally ‘23

The first time I met Professor Ketaki Pant was November 1, 2019, the first semester of my freshman year, over a coffee break organized by the History Department. Before the event, I wasn't aware of the fact our history department even had a South Asianist. The ensuing encounter consisted of an hour-long conversation between the attendees and Professor Pant. We spoke of the humanities' role in displacing narratives of progress both in academia but also in our daily lives and the larger societal structures that surround us. The coming years saw me in her classes, with each one pulling me further into the question that has colored Professor Pant's work and South Asian historiography as a whole. Questions such as in what world, through what lens can we learn about the stories of our historical subjects from their own perspectives? When I had the opportunity to steal some of her time, this question ended up being the center of our conversation in which we discussed her own—as some may dub it—origin story, her recent article "A Poet's Ocean: Merchants and Imagination across Indian Ocean Gujarat" and her book manuscript *Homes of Capital: Merchants and Itinerant Belonging across Indian Ocean Gujarat*.

I was wondering if you would be willing to talk more about how you got interested in your area of research and your eventual historical methods, such as your interviews with families in these port cities of Gujarat.

Like many people, I began my first historical research in official state archives as an undergraduate at Bard college when I was working on my undergraduate thesis. I was in the archives looking for sources on Parsi theater. Parsis are a Zorastrian community in South Asia, and I had just read a book of urban history that had completely blown my mind. I was not an expert on this at all but they had this really lively tradition of theater in Bombay, and I was like, yes I'll do urban performance in Bombay. When I headed to the archives, the head archivist didn't want to have anything to do with me. He told me to wait on this wooden bench. This was the summer, and my senior thesis was due soon, so this was my one chance

before I came back to the US to do this research. After a while, his assistant took pity on me and let me look through some volumes unrelated to Parsi theater. However, I encountered lists of slavery trials from 1857 in the judicial department records of the Maharashtra state archives in the Bombay archives. Back then, I had no idea of the Indian Ocean as a space of connection. I ended up diving into these documents and wrote a senior thesis called *Epistolary Imaginaries: Slavery in the Archives of Colonial India*. This one 1857 court case from the archives about a Hyderabadi woman traveling with her *zenana* (household) to Bombay and across the Indian Ocean to Aden when her boat had been stopped, her entire *zenana* staff had been confiscated, and she had been accused of harboring slaves. I wondered… what were these Arabian Muslim women doing in the 19th century Bombay and why were they accused of slavery? This became the question to answer, and I feel that everything that has happened subsequently up until the present day is a response to this initial question. So this amazing trial unfolded after her staff was confiscated where her staff, when questioned whether they were slaves, said that they weren't and that they wanted to go back to this woman that the British had "freed" them from. The even larger question was not how do we contextualize this story and deal with it as a primary source but in what world is this itinerary seen as normal? In the British Colonial archive, it was seen as an exception, abhorrent, something to police and stop. In what context could I learn more about this person in their own words, in their own context. This was a sharp push for me to look at what history would look like outside of the archive and that is really the question that all of my research projects respond to even when I am dealing with archival materials that are quite traditional.

My method is less about rejecting certain types of historical objects and more about saying how much power do we give those objects in our historical imaginaries. I would realize over the course of my grad school research that many of these collections of alternative, non-archival, print or manuscript resources were burnt to the ground in the 18th century. But when I was backpacking and wandering through these old port cities where these communities lived, I was constantly invited into old homes—mainly because people are kind—but as I engaged in conversation with these

people and as I sat in a place that wasn't "the archives" but was organized by the people who had let me into their homes, I realized that this might be a different way of inhabiting history. So, my dissertation and the book manuscript are around the theme of what does it mean to place homes at the center of this history. I want to clarify that this isn't about using the home as an empirical object that can be sliced up and put under the microscope and mapped because that would be a huge invasion of privacy and I think super ethically problematic, but it's more about saying how can our historical imagination, which is so trained in Western epistemologies as mine is, be displaced by being in these environments that are not set up for historical research. So the way I write and the way I teach is all about whether it is possible for us to engage with existing scholarship, of course, but also is there a way where we can position ourselves so we are not dominating historical narratives, and we're not using it to further some objective. Instead, we're in the process of being transformed by what we're engaging with.

There's a specific quote in your article, "Imagination is a cognitive and affective act involved in such endeavors as poetry, mourning, daydreaming and historical thinking that are structured by a spatial or temporal distance between the person imagining and the object of their imagination." It made me start thinking about the idea of how we as historians use imagination in our own historical work. Do you think that it is a difficult task to do, to engage in metahistories that do not necessarily fall in line with Western academic traditions?

I would say yes and no. A resounding yes in the sense that, in a neoliberal productivity-driven university where we all are weighed and measured by the coherent objects we can produce, it is challenging because often thinking and engaging in this way is about starting with a thesis, research idea, or intuition and writing one's way through it and then undoing it because one realizes that in order to complete it, it involves acts of historical thinking that we may not want to engage in. Having said that, I think turning to another thing that has really shaped my trajectory, this

novelist, Zadie Smith, once said that writing a work of fiction is not always about what you're writing, but it's about other books. Which I think is true regarding historical work as well: your book is about other books. We have this sort of mythology about being a lone wolf and discovering this thing to write about, but in reality, our works—whether we're conscious of it or not—are always a response to other aesthetic objects that share a genre. In that sense, it is not hard because this is an absolutely foundational theme in South Asian historiography and historiography of decolonization or postcolonialism and a fundamental question that scores of scholars continue to reckon with. I think the politics and pleasure of citation and who we engage with really makes doing history easier or makes it a less lonely way of working.

At the very end of your article, you mention that even the *Anjuman-i Islām's* (a literary center founded in Rander in the 19th century) imaginings of society are patriarchal and elite, having mostly ignored the home life and families of the community made up of diasporic wives and mixed-race children connected because of Indian Ocean trade. So I wanted to ask in your current book manuscript, are there subaltern versions of imagining that you are particularly fond of or come to mind as you talk about belonging across the Indian Ocean?

I was really plagued by this question because on one hand, I feel the dissertation achieved the goal of thinking of history beyond the European archive. But on the other hand, there was a way in which that vernacular sense of the world presented by Asim Randeri [the poet in her article] was so shaped by its own forms of exclusions and erasures. We get this rich and dense view of what life looked like that you wouldn't get if I was to go back to say the archives of Bombay, but there's no way that I could have developed and come to this moment where we can see the patriarchal quality of this imagination without having written it out. It was a necessary first step. I actually went back to the imperial archive to answer this question, in the Mauritian sugar plantations that some of these families from Rander are connected to. In the second chapter of my book, a

response to Asim, I argue that the merchant home but also belonging really emerges through these fragments or shadows that are deeply bound with racial capitalism, indentured labor migration, and other forms of gendered violence on the plantation. While the first chapter is about *havelis* and Asim, the second chapter tracks the shadow of this *haveli* and looks at plantations where I bring into view women who were indentured at the same time Gujarati merchants were there and a whole host of other characters. It's about looking at the historical erasure as a provocation or a question. You've done all this work and you've come to this realization that there are all these occlusions, so how do you figure out these histories of home or belonging or imagination beyond the empirical record? If I'd just looked at the empirical text of Asim's I wouldn't have necessarily found out the other layers. Sometimes it's about saying where, in terms of place, can I go to find an answer to this question but not in a way that is necessarily literal or obvious. What kind of journey to shape this historical thinking can I take? So it's not only about the subaltern in the sense of fixating on a person and trying to make them speak in a historical record but seeing the subaltern as a problem. This is how the historical craft works. In telling these stories, we erase other stories, so what are the stories that we can layer on top so that the picture we get points to the problems as much as it represents a historical answer to the question.

In regards to the imagination of historians, in attempting to center our historical subjects, how do you think we avoid the traps of certain epistemological traditions driving us to try and answer an unanswerable question by making the subaltern "speak?"

We can ask questions where we are not trying to get to the bottom of something and have totalitarian control over every part of it. It's less about saying "because people can't speak, we can just come up with some version of that based in our imagination." It's more that people can't speak in Western knowledge of empiricism, but they can speak in many ways that require us to learn languages, do research, and engage with people. It's not that you don't need empirical evidence to be able to analyze something but

rather what kind of questions can you come up with that goes beyond this idea that all primary sources are the same. And because of this idea, there's a push to only look at the sources that are congruent to the answers we are driven to seek—to use your language—and come up with these historical conclusions we seek. All without taking a moment to ask what are the ethics of engaging with this object first. What does it mean to impose historical knowledge on it, in the classroom or in our work? And is it possible to engage with it in a way that is not harmful. It sounds super simple, but it is what it comes down to for me. Somewhere in the process of engaging, whether workshopping our work or having conversations with our peers or being in the classroom or writing drafts or being alone, when we're doing the work, those questions have to infuse the writing. To some extent being a scholar is a constant process of decolonizing your own work at every stage so it's less about having all the answers and pontificating, but keeping in play these broader questions about institutional power and citations while working.

THE SCROLL

VOL II

ISS II

USC Dornsife

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