THE SCROLL

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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,

If someone told me two years ago that I would be sitting next to my closest friends at my graduation ceremony for my History major, I do not think I would have believed I would be so lucky. Two years ago, I imagined myself in a much different position. However, when I had to return home in Kansas due to the COVID-19 pandemic, I had a moment of introspection and realization. I felt more alone than I had in my entire life. I wanted to find a meaningful connection with a community, one that I could talk with about my favorite thing - history. Ever since I was seven, I dreamed of becoming a historian. When I received an email from Professor Lindsay O'Neill suggesting that I apply to join the new undergraduate history research journal, my interest was piqued.

Joining *The Scroll* as an editor in the Summer of 2020 was single-handedly the best decision I have made in my undergraduate career. I finally was able to listen to people passionately rant about the same intriguing pondering questions that I had been asking myself. Not only did I find an engaging community, but I found some of the most brilliant individuals at this university and, I believe, in this world. I found myself becoming not only colleagues but best friends with my fellow editors, from our collaborative Zoom meetings to our late night design sessions.

I also want to highlight how thankful I am for my managing editor and friend, Himani Boompally. Himani's genuine kindness, thoughtfulness, and conscientiousness has inspired me to be a better leader. I have not met many people as truly talented intellectually and empathetically as Himani. There are rare moments in life when you are in a position to enjoy the people you work with both professionally and socially, and I am so happy to have had the opportunity to work alongside some of my closest friends. I am also so excited to welcome our new editors to the team after their indefatigable work on our senior theses excerpts this semester. This edition

is the newest of its kind and I am so thankful for Himani, Lili, Azriel, Liam, Ammar, and Shea for their diligence. We will be honoring the senior editors and thesis writers in the history department, looking at excerpts of Rachel Heil's, Sam Lee's, Chris Aranda's, Jack Casey's, Sean Silvia's, Tommy Nguyen's, Yuna Jeong's, and my theses. My colleagues' work is some of the best literature I have read and I am so excited to share it with the community.

In addition, I am so excited to publish an incredible piece of scholarship by Ayaka Kimura titled, "The Language of Liberation: Representations of Ūman Ribu in Japanese Print Media." Ayaka explores a feminist movement in Japan through newspapers, posters, and visual language. Her piece engages with questions regarding the history of women's rights, an issue that is so sorely relevant today. I know our readers will enjoy her writing style and talent as much as our editors did!

Finally, I want to share my gratitude for the faculty mentors and review board who have made the journal and our persistence possible. Without Professor Lindsay O'Neill, the fabric of the department would not be so strong. Thank you Professor O'Neill and our review board members for supporting us editors and students of history in our pursuit of learning and the continued importance of sharing knowledge of the past. Learning and teaching history are strong forms of awareness and action to understand how to be better people today and in the future. And thank *you* - the reader - for supporting the historical pursuits at *The Scroll*. I look forward to continuing to watch the successes of my colleagues and continuing to learn from my brilliant friends.

Sincerely,

Editor in Chief, *The Scroll*

Table of Contents

1

Historiography: On the Use and Abuse of Travel Sources

By: Mallory Novicoff ‘22
and Sean Silvia ‘22

Historiography: On the Use and Abuse of Travel Sources

"Any middle class household in 18th century Amsterdam or Grenoble would have been likely to have on its shelf at the very least a copy of the Jesuit Relations of New France, and one or two accounts written by voyagers to faraway lands. Such books were appreciated largely because they contain surprising and unprecedented ideas."[1]

-*The Dawn of Everything*, by David Graeber and David Wengrow

Travel sources represent an important corpus of primary source literature, especially when they feature narratives of colonization. They are sources that allow the historian to get as close as possible to what happened on the ground. However, their authors are often heavily biased observers who produce highly problematic works. They often essentialize to paint an idealized and/or sanitized picture of the often-violent encounters. It is critical for the historian to read against the grain of the sources to correct for warped accounts. This article aims to present a few strategies to analyze the language and visuals of travel sources to reconstruct the *mentalité* of their authors, uncover the agency of the observed peoples, and encourage a rethinking of the interpretation of these biased yet fruitful sources.

The Language of Travel Sources

Travel sources that present themselves as a narrative for the broader public often include emotional language that other sources do not. For example, Charles Thomas Newton's 1865 book *Travels & Discoveries in the*

[1] David Graeber and David Wengrow, The Dawn of Everything: A New History of Humanity (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2021), 36. Footnote 10: "as Barbara Alice Mann suggests to us in personal communication, bourgeois women may have especially appreciated the Jesuit relations because it allowed them to read about discussions of women sexual freedom in a form that was entirely acceptable to the church."

Levant aims to relate his personal experience to a general audience and is saturated with emotional language. In one instance, he endeavors to extract marble lions from the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus to send them from the Ottoman Empire to the British Museum. However, on orders sent from the Ottoman Minister of War, the local Ottoman Commandant forbids Newton from continuing his excavations. The Commandant excavates the lions himself in order to send them to Istanbul instead of Britain. Newton, remembering watching the Ottoman excavation, writes that "the extraction of two of [his] eyeteeth could not have given [him] so great a pang."[2] By including this emotional language specifically for a popular audience, Newton assumed that his readers would sympathize with his intense emotions regarding the marble lions, or else he would have risked appearing overly melodramatic. Since Newton placed the interest of the public as the primary goal of this travelogue, his account of the marble lions can inform the broader colonial mindset held by the broader audience Newton targeted with his book. The emotions and anecdotes that travelogues like Newton's include are thus ripe for analysis as a means to illuminate a broader world of colonialism.

Travel sources can also detail moments of extraction, a process inherent to colonialism, and illuminate different participants' reactions during these moments to tell a more complete history that features perspectives outside of the colonizer's. When Newton negotiated to export the lions after at last receiving a long-awaited firman from the Sublime Porte, he reported that the Commandant responded by saying that the firman only specifies "*aslanlar*" (lions) rather than "*caplanlar*" (leopards). The Commandant argued that the marbles are statues of leopards not lions

[2] Newton, Charles Thomas. *Travels & Discoveries in the Levant*. Vol. II. London: Day & Son, 1865, pp. 100-101.

and therefore the firman did not cover them.[3] The Commandant then contested the financial arrangement decreed by the firman, and only after Newton paid him a "handsome gratuity" (i.e. a bribe) did he approve the lions to leave for Britain.[4] This transaction demonstrates financial coercion on Newton's part, and it also can inform the active decision making of the Ottoman Commandant. He resisted the extraction of the lions in three different ways, only one of which, the counter-excavation of the lions, was directly ordered by the state. The other two strategies of resistance, the semantic and financial contestations of the firman, were on his own initiative, which indicates that in addition to state orders, the Commandant had a personal desire to see the antiquities stay in the empire, a desire strong enough that it took a serious bribe to outbid it. Travel sources like *Travels & Discoveries in the Levant*, when read against the grain, can thus speak to agency and desires other than the author's even through the author's biased narrative, and are thus instrumental to decolonization scholarship.

The Visuals of Travel Sources

In addition to rich texts, many travel sources feature accompanying visuals like maps and prints. Some excellent examples of this are the travel sources Jesuits produced in the early decades of the seventeenth century in the region called New France, stretching from Newfoundland to the Great Lakes. A hallmark of the Jesuit network throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was their publication of their travel experiences in the forms of journals and prints portraying the people they met and plants they encountered through a lens of judgment and curiosity. In particular, I

[3] Newton, Charles Thomas. *Travels & Discoveries in the Levant*. Vol. II. London: Day & Son, 1865, pp. 103.
[4] Newton, Charles Thomas. *Travels & Discoveries in the Levant*. Vol. II. London: Day & Son, 1865, pp. 104.

explore how Jesuit praise of Indigenous peoples manifested through visual depictions of Indigenous economic practices, directly contradicting the judgment that seethed through the ink-scrawled words of the very same people. In the late 1600s, Jesuit Louis Nicolas would compile his observations in the ultimate visual guide to the 'New World,' entitled the *Codex canadensi*s. This handwritten and hand-drawn document depicts 180 ink drawings of Algonquian- and Iroquoian-speaking peoples, flora and fauna, and provides a visual guide of the Jesuit POV of the culture and terrain of New France.

Though Nicolas at times wrote highly of and illustrated the contributions of Indigenous peoples, on the ground he was critical and judgmental, and even violent in how he treated Indigenous individuals he encountered in North America. A letter written by Father François Le Mercier to the General of the Jesuits in Rome on June 21, 1668 stated that Nicolas was sent back to Quebec from Chequamegon because "he was not really proper for that mission" owing to "his rough manners and behaviors, lack of foresight in business and his frequent and sudden movements of wrath, that scandalize both the French and the Natives."[5] Antoine Alet, secretary of the Superior of the Sulpicians of Montreal, wrote that Nicolas was "*un homme fier & tyrannisant*" and had beaten Kinonché and his companions with a stick, despite being a leader of a significant community in which Nicolas was supposedly trying to convert.[6] This specific example of mistreatment, and Kinonché's other report that Nicolas wished to celebrate

[5] From Gagnon and Ward, *Louis Nicolas Life and Work*.: "Jesuits Archives in Rome, Gall. 110 45. Letter of F. Le Mercier to F. General, dated from Quebec, September 1, 1668."
[6] From : Warkentin, Germaine. "Aristotle in New France: Louis Nicolas and the Making of the *Codex Canadensis*." French colonial history 11, no. 1 (2010): 71–107, 81. ; *La morale practique des Jésuites,* ed. Abbé de Pontchâteau and Antoine Arnauld, vol. 7 (1716), 337–78. "*le P. Nicolas etoit un homme fier & tyrannisant, qu'il avoit porté ses excès jusques a donner des coupes de bâtons a lui chef de sa nation; qu'il ne parloit qu'avec eloges de luimême & de ses compagnon.*"

mass in Montreal dressed in “habits magnifiques d'or et d'argent,” proving “to the people how well respected he was,” demonstrate a simultaneous romanticization of Jesuit customs coupled with a disavowal of Indigenous peoples’ humanity.[7] The Sulpicians forbade Nicolas to say mass before the Algonquin peoples. In response, Nicolas allegedly “shed so many tears” and “manifested such a regret of what he was accused” that he was allowed to return to the Chequamegon mission instead of being sent back to France.

The *Codex canadensis* functions as a window into the essentialization and reductionist depictions of complex Indigenous communities through the idealization of cultural collisions resulting from French colonization. Importantly, textual and visual contradictions of idealized interactions between the French and Indigenous peoples like the aforementioned example exist in additional contemporary travel sources like the *Relations des Jésuites* (*Jesuit Relations*). The *Jesuit Relations* is a compilation of entries in the Jesuit Superior’s journal documenting French missionaries’ travel around Canada, the Great Lakes, the American northeast, and later the interior of the continent. The Relations include reports on Native languages, warfare, food, agricultural and hunting practices, migrations, and beliefs of the peoples that the Jesuits sought to convert. Thus, primary evidence of Jesuit judgment and mistreatment of Indigenous peoples and their customs contradicts the information that Louis Nicolas put forth in his primarily ethnographic illustrations in the *Codex canadensis*, omitting personal violence against Indigenous peoples from visual depictions.

Visuals from colonial travel literature can be misleading. In particular, textual evidence proves that Jesuits’ relations with and perceptions of Indigenous peoples were far from complimentary. In fact,

[7] Warkentin, 81.

texts from the *Jesuit Relations* reveal the violence in which Nicolas treated the Algonquian-speaking peoples he was supposedly tasked with coexisting with and understanding. Thus, visual and textual articulations of French Jesuit relations with Native peoples in the *Codex canadensis* and the *Jesuit Relations* reveal disjunction and inconsistencies in the French colonial archive, where visual depictions idealized the harshness and racially constructed hierarchical judgements the French projected onto Native communities. Only by placing the written and visual sources in dialogue can we come to this realization.

Conclusion

These are just some of the many fruitful ways to analyze travel sources. In a number of fields, the travel source historiography is still developing, especially when it comes to visual analysis of material culture and analysis of material cultures' historical role as objects of extraction and value. As this article demonstrates, these methods can be applied to many different regions and contexts to recover voices previously marginalized in the historical narrative and to uncover similarities in the ways the colonial gaze essentializes and exploits the perceived "other.

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2

The Language of Liberation

Representations of Ūman Ribu in Japanese Print Media

By: Ayaka Kimura ‘22

The Language of Liberation: Representations of *Ūman Ribu* in Japanese Print Media

Introduction:

The first time the word "lib" appeared in *Asahi Shimbun* in relation to women's movements was on March 28, 1970. The author, Shirai, is an *Asahi* foreign correspondent stationed in Washington. He explains that "LIB" is short for the English word "liberation," and it references the women's rights movement that was making headlines in the United States. According to the article, the "lib movement of the United States" (*bei de LIB undō*) ranges from the moderate National Organization for Women (NOW) headed by Betty Friedan, to more radical and controversial groups such as the "ghastly sounding" (*osoroshī*) Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell (WITCH) and the Society for Cutting Up Men (SCUM), a group who's target demographic is women who've shot a man with a pistol before (*jissai ni pisutoru de otoko wo uttakotonoaru josei da taishou da*). He finally contends in the bottom right column that LIB was "nothing more than a joke until a few months ago but is now a subject of serious debate." (fig. 1).

女らしさを拒否

〝ブラレス〟や赤クツ下

ぶっつぶせ〝男性社会〟

米でLIB運動

Fig. 1.[1]

A few months later, on October 4, 1970, *Asahi* released another article on the burgeoning movement—only this time, the movement has formally established itself in Japan and has an official name: *ūman ribu*. (fig. 2)

[1] Shirai, "Buttsubuse otoko shakai" ぶっつぶせ“男社会” [Crush male society], Asahi Shimbun 朝日新聞, March 28, 1970.

ウーマン・リブ

Women's Liberation

各地にグループ続々と

〝男性天国〟に上陸

超ミニ美人も勇ましく

Fig. 2.[2]

Ūman ribu was a radical women's liberation movement that would erupt across Japan in the early 1970s. The term "*ūman ribu*" is a loose Japanese transliteration of "woman's liberation," marking a broad connection to and solidarity with feminist movements and networks overseas.[3] But *ūman ribu* was not a replica of American and overseas women's movements. The movement was led by Japanese voices, and its

[2] "Ūman ribu: "otoko tengoku" ni jouriku" ウーマン・リブ "男天国" に上陸 [Ūman ribu arrives to the "heaven for men"], Asahi Shimbun 朝日新聞 October 4 1970.

[3] Setsu Shigematsu, "Rethinking Japanese Feminism and the Lessons of ūman ribu: Toward a Praxis of Critical Transnational Feminism," in *Rethinking Japanese Feminisms*, eds. Julia C. Bullock, Ayako Kano, and James Welker (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2017), 206.

activism engaged with Japan's gender-coded society by ruthlessly attacking its socialized and institutionalized sexism.

The title of the October 4th *Asahi* article, highlighted in gray, exclaims that *ūman ribu* has "landed in 'male paradise'" (*dansei tengoku ni jōriku*), alluding to Japan's masculinist society. (fig. 2) The large font to the right notes that numerous women's liberation groups are emerging around Japan (*kakuchi ni gurūpu tsugitsugi to*), and to the left, "even ultra-mini beauties [are] bravely [participating]" (*chou mini bijin mo isamashiku*). The author lists the range of professions of the movement's participants, including students, housewives, company employees, professors, and theatre actors. And just as the first *Asahi* article provided a run-down of prominent feminist organizations in the United States, this article also identifies various *ūman ribu*-affiliated groups in Japan, such as the Group Preparing for Women's Liberation (*Josei kaihō undō junbi-kai*), whose activism centers on opposing the Eugenic Protection Law, and the (*Josei kaihō renraku kaigi junbikai*) headed by Tanaka Mitsu that promotes the rejecting and dismantling of gendered social mores.[4] The article closes with an open-ended question: "How far will this 'made-in-Japan *lib* go?" (*Sate, wasei ribu wa dokomade hirogarunoka*).

[4] Tanaka Mitsu is a writer, activist, and feminist theorist of the 1970s. Tanaka rose to prominence as an iconic figure of *ūman ribu* by organizing and co-founding numerous *ribu* groups and producing writings. She authored the pamphlet *Liberation from Eros* (Erosu Kaihō Sengen) and the feminist manifesto *Benjo Kara no Kaihō* (Liberation from the Toilet), two of the most widely disseminated and symbolic pieces of writing of *ūman ribu*. Her status as a *ribu* icon directly contradicted the movement's non-hierarchical ideal, and her position was "indicative of the challenges of ribu's organizing principles." Setsu Shigematsu, "Rethinking Japanese Feminism and the Lessons of ūman ribu: Toward a Praxis of Critical Transnational Feminism," in *Rethinking Japanese Feminisms*, eds. Julia C. Bullock, Ayako Kano, and James Welker (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2017), 105. Nonetheless, Akiyama Yōko writes that one cannot speak about the ribu movement without mentioning Tanaka Mitsu, and Setsu Shigematsu contends that despite her contradictory position, she was an "originary force that shaped the movement in profound and distinct ways." Akiyama Yōko, *Ribu shi shi nōto* (Tokyo: Inpakuto Shuppankai, 1993), 194–95. Setsu Shigematsu, *Scream from the Shadows: The Women's Liberation Movement in Japan. NED - New edition*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), xxvii.

In this paper, I will examine the representation of *ūman ribu* in various print media by specifically contrasting the representation of *ribu* (an abbreviation of *ūman ribu*) in the Japanese newspapers with how *ribu* activists chose to frame themselves in their own writings. By highlighting these two perspectives, I will draw a multifaceted picture of what and who *ūman ribu* was, what they represented, and how the movement interacted with various aspects of postwar Japanese media and society.[5]

To consider the question of how *ribu* activists represented themselves, we must first look at how they disseminated information and conveyed their message. Japanese activists after the Second World War sought to counter mass media and communicate their organic messages by utilizing alternative forms of media. *Minikomi* ("mini-communications") refers to pamphlets, fliers, and original publications produced firsthand by activists and groups. This paper will cite various *minikomi* produced by *ūman ribu* groups to convey how *ūman ribu* framed themselves and their cause. To inform my analysis on the media discourse and newspaper representation of *ūman ribu*, I will be using columns and articles from three major Japanese newspapers: *Asahi Shimbun*, *Mainichi Shimbun*, and *Yomiuri Shimbun*. *Asahi, Mainichi,* and *Yomiuri* were considered the three newspaper giants of the postwar era, and continue to be three of the five national dailies that maintain influence in the public sphere (the others being *Sankei* and *Nikkei*).[6] Specifically, I will examine how these newspaper columns articulated *ūman ribu*, and how *ūman ribu* was positioned in relation to society, culture, and historical and political issues. *Asahi* and *Mainichi* are considered liberal/left to center-left publications, while

[5] In this paper, "postwar" refers to the decades after the Second World War.
[6] Kaori Hayashi, "Culture of the print newspaper: The decline of the Japanese mass press," in *Routledge Handbook of Japanese Media*, ed. Fabienne Darling-Wolf (London: Taylor and Francis, 2018), 263.

Yomiuri is framed as conservative and right-leaning.[7] While it is impossible to gauge the full extent of the media representation of *ūman ribu* by only examining these three publications, the use of these publications is to bolster my analysis through a media-based perspective— it is not meant to encompass the media representation of *ūman ribu* as a whole.[8]

Ūman Ribu and 1970s Japan

Ūman ribu spread like wildfire throughout the 1970s Japanese landscape. From Hokkaido to Osaka, *ribu* affiliated groups popped up in cities and colleges across the country as women organized around the shared values of personal autonomy, opposing sexism, and liberation from gendered expectations of *onna*, or "woman" in Japanese. *Ūman ribu*'s expansion across the nation can also be accredited to its intertwinement with Japanese society and issues. *Ribu*'s interactions and commentary towards legislative policies demonstrate Japanese women's frustration with the government's inability to effectively combat gender inequality amidst women's rise in the workforce. Their unapologetic critique of a patriarchal, capitalist society and Japan's gendered social mores welcomed women who were dissatisfied with institutionalized sexism.

While Article 14 of the 1947 Japanese Constitution banned discrimination on the basis of sex and Article 15 gave women the right to vote, 1970s Japan was by no means a gender-equal society. Despite there being a long history of Japanese women advocating for greater equality and suffrage, beginning even before the Second World War, Article 14 and 15 was not passed until the post-Second World War Allied Occupation of Japan and U.S.'s spearheading of the 1947 Japanese Constitution. The

[7] Shunichi Takekawa. "Forging Nationalism from Pacifism and Internationalism: A Study of 'Asahi' and 'Yomiuri's' New Year's Day Editorials, 1953-2005," in the *Social science Japan journal* 10, no. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 63.
[8] All images are cropped to enhance visibility.

Women's and Minor's Bureau was established in 1947 to establish a foothold for women in Japan's male-dominated bureaucracy.[9] The bureau would successfully herald the passing of numerous laws aimed at alleviating gender inequality and discrimination in the workplace, but these laws had little bite.

Although the Labor Standards Act of 1947 mandated equal pay for equal work, employers treated women under separate, gender-based standards.[10] And despite the doubling of women in the workforce from five to ten million between 1955 and 1970, female workers continued to face discrimination and unequal treatment in the workplace.[11] The 1972 Working Woman's Welfare Law sought to help women "harmonize their home and work responsibilities," but "harmonization" nonetheless builds upon the assumption that women belonged in the home.[12] The law stated that alongside being contributors to economic and social development, working women have "an important role in the nurturing of the next generation" and their "*bosei* (maternal instinct) shall be respected." The term *bosei* goes beyond the state of motherhood and instead implies that women have an inherent "maternal instinct." Essentializations and beliefs about women's unique feminine/maternal differences were adopted by other areas of the government as well. The Ministry of Education promoted the rhetoric that a woman's "difference" or "special character" (*tokusei*) made them better suited for the home. For example, in 1969, the Ministry made homemaking courses mandatory for high school girls on such a

[9] Manako Ogawa. "The Establishment of the Women's and Minors' Bureau in Japan." U.S.-Japan women's journal. English supplement, no. 13 (1997): 56–86.)
[10] Shigematsu, *Scream from the Shadows,* 9.
[11] *Scream from the Shadows,* 9.
[12] Kathleen Uno, "The Death of "Good Wife, Wise Mother"?" Postwar Japan as History (California: University of California Press, 1993), 305.

basis.[13] As such, the cultural and legal fabric of the Japanese economy, labor, and education system were inscribed with gender-based assumptions.

Ribu rejected postwar iterations of femininity and womanhood that relegated women to the home (*ie*). In particular, they were staunchly opposed to the patriarchal *ie* system and the postwar emphasis on productivity. The *ie* system is an ideological family unit stemming from medieval Japanese kinship units. The *ie* was formally inducted into the governing framework of Japan in the modern age through the Meiji Civil Code (1898) and the Family Registry System (1871), as families were required to register their family members for taxation and the acquisition of legal rights.[14] This new administrative regime gave the paternal head of household authority over the rest of the family, and he was to be legally succeeded by the eldest son. Important decisions pertaining to household members, such as marriage and domicile, were determined by the father. This power structure mimicked Meiji's larger paternalist and hierarchal frameworks, as Meiji officials sought to codify the private sphere to function in line with the goals of the modern nation state. As such, the *ie* system represented a national-patriarchal system where the state codified the home to be in line with national interests. Although the legal framework of the *ie* system was dissolved by the New Civil Code of 1947, its ideology continues to be upheld through social norms and gender expectations to this day.

Ribu was opposed to these remnants and recreations of the *ie* system in 1970s Japan, including the monogamous "one-husband and one-wife"

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[13] Uno, 306.
[14] Richard Ronald and Allison Alexy. *Home and Family in Japan: Continuity and Transformation.* (London: Routledge, 2011), 3-6.

system (*ippu-ippu seidō*) and the idealized nuclear family in which the father worked to support the family in a capitalist system while the mother was relegated to the home. The patriarchal delineation of the home through the *ie* system and its persisting gender norms codified the home as a private-political space where external societal influences exercised their influences to male hegemony. *Ribu* attacked *ie* preconception that tied women to motherhood, as well as the restrictive aspects of idealized motherhood and the harmonization of home and work that disadvantaged women.

Economic development was particularly important in postwar Japan. After the Reverse Course repositioned Japanese goals from "democratization and demilitarization" to turning into an economic powerhouse to become an American ally in the fight against communism in Asia, economic growth and productivity became political and social priorities within Japan. Domestically, Prime Minister Ikeda Hayato issued the Income Doubling Plan in 1960 to sought to double household income in ten years by redirecting national attention toward economic growth. With capitalist productivity at the forefront of society, *ūman ribu* intercepted to eschew the binding of economic productivity to human worth. In particular, *ribu* activists condemned the "logic of productivity" (*seisansei*), the capitalist logic that measures the value of life by one's ability to contribute to a capitalist society through labor or reproduction. Yonezu Tomoko—*ribu* activist, disability advocate, and founder of Thought Group S.E.X.—significantly contributed to *ribu* theory surrounding disability politics and the critique of the state category of "productive citizens."[15]

[15] *Scream from the Shadows*, 67.

In addition, the postwar emphasis on economic development influenced the cultural and gendered fabric of Japanese society. Masculinity and femininity were coded to complement one another in the collective goal of economic production. While the masculine ideal cumulated in the form of the domesticated, company-loyal salaryman, the feminine ideal was the wife who cared for the children and the home and conformed to a patriarchal capitalist society.[16] Under this precise societal delineation of gender expectations, *onna* referred not only to the female sex but was also packed with gendered, derogatory implications. Unlike *fujin* (lady), which carried an element of refinement and domesticity, and *josei* (the generic term for woman), the casual and somewhat gritty undertones of *onna* made it a rather pejorative term, with sexual or lower-class connotations.[17] Despite these connotations, or perhaps precisely *because* of these connotations, *ribu* activists continued to use the gendered term *onna* to refer to themselves and the sisterhood of the movement. Instead of accepting the patriarchal expectations and derogatory connotations that were packed in the term, they reclaimed autonomy of the word by ascribing new values. Indeed, *onna* represented women who were inferior and subservient to men and to Japanese society—but does it not also refer to all women, including women who want to test social frameworks and break free of such notions? This was the discourse that *ribu* presented to Japanese women, daring them to push aside societal expectations of traditional happiness and to dig deeper within themselves. As such, they unlocked the liberatory potential of *onna* by conducting a multifaceted

[16] Tomoko Hidaka, "Masculinity and the family system: The ideology of the 'Salaryman' across three generation" in *Home and the Family in Japan: Continuity and Transformation*, eds Richard Ronald and Allison Alexy (London: Routledge, 2011), 112.
[17] *Scream from the Shadows*, 4.

critique of the gendered term and reframing womanhood to be radical and feminist.

The mismatch between the idealized state of women under the law and the economy versus the discordant reality disadvantaged women who did not fit within the framework of harmonizing work and the home. The *ie* system's enduring patriarchal influences created social environments that implied women's rightful position is in service of one's husband and family. And as postwar emphases on economic productivity crept into the even the social and cultural fabric of Japanese society, women grew frustrated with being confined by these restrictive standards. *Ūman ribu* became a movement for women who wanted to break free.

Ūman Ribu and the New Left

In 1972, five *ribu* groups that rose to prominence in the Kanto region would come together and organize a collective workspace to organize events and promote resources. This workplace was called the Shinjuku Ribu Center, and it was created with hopes that groups in other regions would be inspired to organize their own centers as well.[18] The Shinjuku Ribu Center would grow into the focal point of *ūman ribu* due to its central location in Tokyo, which simplified access for the press, as well as the presence of icons like Tanaka Mitsu. Nonetheless, the non-hierarchical structure of *ribu*, influenced heavily by the Japanese New Left's ideals of non-hierarchical collective action, allowed women across the country to form groups in the spirit of women's liberation. Non-hierarchy was but one aspect of the New

[18] Miki Sōko, Saeki Yōko, and Mizoguchi Ayeko, eds., *Shiryō Nihon ūman ribu shi* [The Documents of the History of Women's Lib in Japan] (hereafter SNURS), 3 vols. (Kyoto: Shōkadō, 1994), 2:58. SNURS is a collection of pamphlets, fliers, posters, and publications produced by various groups involved in the *ūman ribu* movement. Collected and transcribed into 3 weighty volumes by Miki Sōko, Saeki Yōko, and Mizoguchi Ayeko, SNURS is organized by group and year, instead of by topic, in order to illustrate the totality and diversity of the movement. In the foreword, Miki expresses that this collection is a "gift from the *ribu* women of the 70s, for the women of the 90s who venture live in the spirit of *ribu*," exemplifying her desire for SNURS to serve as inspiration to uplift future generations.

Left that influenced the politics and activism of *ūman ribu*. *Ribu* combined dissatisfaction with the New Left's masculinist vein with anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist politics to create an organization that was equally as concerned with tearing down the patriarchy as it was with opposing Anpo.

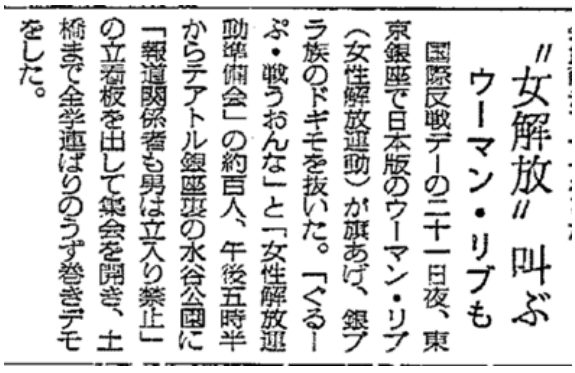
Aside from dissatisfaction with 1970s Japanese society, *ūman ribu* was also born of the Japanese New Left and the student activism that was rampant on Japanese college campuses. The New Left refers to the leftist student movement that erupted in Japanese college campuses in the 1960s. What was "new" about the Japanese New Left was that it was a campus-based movement that broke away from the "old" establishment Left of the Japanese Communist Party and Japanese Socialist Party.[19] Female student activists who were dissatisfied with the masculinist rhetoric of the New Left, branched off to form female-only groups. Critical of the masculine subjectivity that the New Left had assumed to shape its public image and activist identity, these women broke off in hopes of forming new coalitions that were devoid of a masculinist hierarchy.[20]

Many *ribu* activists started their activist journey in the New Left but departed because of the sexism they faced within these groups. Women in the New Left were relegated to administrative and supportive tasks within the group, while men filled leadership positions. Mori Setsuko recounts the dissonance she felt in a New Left group, as she watched most of the women in the group be forced to carry out domestic chores while only she was given "preferential treatment" by her male comrades.[21] Sexism in the New Left was also present in the media's coverage of their demonstrations. While some figures such as Kamba Michiko and Tokoro Mitsuko were

[19] Chelsea Szendi Schieder, *Coed Revolution: The Female Student in the Japanese New Left*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2021), 2.
[20] Schieder, 60.
[21] *Scream from the Shadows*, 66.

presented as idealized martyrs by the media, rarely were women shown as political agents in the struggle. Mori Setsuko was just one of many New Left women who were dissatisfied and disillusioned with their marginal positions in the New Left and found community within *ūman ribu*'s female membership.

Although *ūman ribu* rejected the New Left's masculinist attitudes and its degradation of female personal and political agency, they nonetheless continued to operate under anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist banners. Much like the New Left, *ribu* engaged in political discourse regarding the Japanese government and its policies. *Ūman ribu*'s first public protest was on October 21, 1970, in conjunction with International Antiwar Day. Among the thousands of others protesting the Vietnam War, a women-only demo squad consisting of reportedly two hundred women was seen advancing through the streets and shouting "liberate *onna*!"[22] This womn-centered group caught the attention of the mass media, who reported on a radical group of women who "shocked people who were just walking around Ginza" (*ginburazoku no dokimo wo nuita*) (fig. 3).



〝女解放〟叫ぶ
ウーマン・リブも

国際反戦デーの二十一日夜、東京銀座で日本版のウーマン・リブ（女性解放運動）が旗あげ、銀ブラ族のドギモを抜いた。「くるーぷ・戦うおんな」と「女性解放運動準備会」の約百人、午後五時半からテアトル銀座裏の水谷公園に「報道関係者も男は立入り禁止」の立看板を出して集会を開き、土橋まで全学連ばりのうず巻きデモをした。

Fig. 3.[23]

[22] *Scream from the Shadows*, 69.
[23] "Josei kaihō" sakebu: *Ūman ribu* mo" "女性解放"叫ぶ ウーマン・リブも [Shouting "women's liberation": *ūman ribu*, too] Mainichi Shimbun 毎日新聞 October 22 1970.

In this protest, we see *ribu* incorporate public and performance-based tactics within their activism that the New Left also practiced. Other reports mention the women carrying *gebabo*̄: weapons made of bamboo poles and metal pipes that were symbolic of the New Left and the student movements of the late 60s and 70s.[24]

There were more direct references to anti-imperialist politics in *ūman ribu*. The slogans for one of the first manifestos published in 1971 by the Committee to Prepare for Women's Liberation read:

1. Let's protest our internalized *onna*-consciousness
2. Let's liberate *onna* from all her oppressions
3. Let's smash all discrimination between men and women
4. Let's achieve true liberation and autonomy
5. Let *onna* herself organize other *onna*
6. Smash Anpo

The final call to "smash Anpo" draws clear the connection between *ūman ribu* and the anti-imperialist politics of the New Left. Opposition to "Anpo" was one of the clearest stances of the Japanese New Left. Anpo, or the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan (*Nichibei anzen hoshō jōyaku*, shortened to Anpo) was originally signed in 1951 to allow the United States to operate military bases on Japanese soil, was the source of public outroar when it was revised and reinstated in 1960. Between March of 1959 and June of 1960, an estimated 30 million people from across the archipelago, or approximately one-third of Japan's population of 92.5 million, participated in protest activities of

[24] *Scream from the Shadows*, 66, 70.

some kind.[25] This movement creating an entire generation of people referred to themselves as the *Anpo sedai,* or the Security Treaty Generation.[26] The bulwark of the anti-Anpo movement was the campus-based New Left, with the Zengakuren (short for Zen Nihon gakusei jichikai sōrengō, or All-Japan General Alliance of Student Self-Governing Associations) among the most prolific and active of groups. The Zengakuren's activism is characterized by their use of direct action tactics, as seen in their protest on the Diet grounds on November 27, 1969, and their occupation of Haneda Airport on January 15, 1960 to obstruct Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke's departure to the United States.[27]

On the International Antiwar Day of 1970, we see *ribu* adopt the direct-action tactics that Zengakuren and other New Left groups were known for. And while the Committee to Prepare for Women's Liberation's manifesto utilizies language that alludes to direct-action tactics ("protest," "smash"), it is within the context of deconstructing internalizations of gendered forms of oppression. *ūman ribu* shows that they are not merely female counterparts of the New Left—they are an autonomous movement with a unique feminist philosophy that defines their activism. On this matter, Shigematsu states that "By forging a collective subjectivity as a meaningful way to engage in conflict with the state, *ribu* became a transformative means of self-rearticulation through the creation of the movement as a new form of political ontology," reiterating how imperialist structures and international conflicts translated into gendered formations

[25] Nick Kapur, *Japan at the Crossroads: Conflict and Compromise after Anpo*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018), 1.
[26] Nick Kapur, *Japan at the Crossroads: Conflict and Compromise after Anpo*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018), 4.
[27] Schieder, 31.

of imperialist projects, and how *ribu* activists sought to denounce such systems.[28]

More broadly, *ūman ribu* engaged in anti-imperialist politics by showing solidarity to other groups that were marginalized by the imperialist state, such as sex workers, unmarried mothers, disabled persons, and mothers who killed their children. In the 1970s, child killing (*kogoroshi*) was represented in the mass media and a social crisis.[29] In the majority of these reports, the blame was placed on the mothers and their lack of nurturing motherhood (*bosei*).[30] Even when fathers killed their children, narratives framed the absent mother who had left her child as the source of the problem.[31] *Ribu* groups did not condone the killings themselves—rather, they expressed solidarity to women who killed their children (*kogoroshi no onna*) by casting light onto the oppressive conditions and expectations that surrounded these cases of infanticide. Tanaka Mitsu framed these killings as expressions of oppression by analyzing the violence within capitalist obsessions with productivity and maternalist systems that reduce women to wives and vessels of birth. Although the New Left did not align themselves with *kogoroshi no onna*, *ribu*'s application of capitalist critiques that underly infanticide expresses their genealogical connection with New Left theory.

Ribu also connected the structural discrimination and exploitation of Japanese women to the treatment of colonized Asian women. This anti-imperialist gender critique was made by Tanaka Mitsu in her famous manifesto "Liberation from the Toilet". In this piece, Tanaka declared that

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[28] *Scream from the Shadows*, 71.
[29] Tanaka Mitsu, *Inochi no onna-tachi e— torimidashi ūman ribu ron* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō, 1992), 170.
[30] Tama Yasuko, *Boseiai to iu seido: kogoroshi to chūzetsu no poritikusu* (Tokyo: Keiso Shobō, 2001; repr. 2008), 71–104.
[31] Tama Yasuko, 71–104.

the ideological gender structure that relegated Japanese women to either wives or sex-toilets was also at play in the mass violation of comfort women during The Second World War.[32] *Ūman ribu* also condemned sexual violence committed by American soldiers toward native women in the Vietnam War as well as occupied Okinawa.[33]

Ūman Ribu and the Media

Ūman ribu—both the movement and individual members—had a complicated relationship with the media. *Ribu*'s explicit slogans and public presence naturally attracted a media presence, but it also made them prone to sensationalized and essentialized coverage. While some frame *ribu*'s relationship with the press as one of mockery and victimization, others note that *ribu* used their sensational presence to their advantage and managed to negotiate the press to produce nuanced coverage.[34] *Ribu*'s coverage in *Asahi*, *Mainichi*, and *Yomiuri* newspapers illustrate this balance.

In an interview in *Asahi* published on October 6, 1970, three prominent *ribu* organizers sat down to share their thoughts on issues related to *ūman ribu* (fig. 4).

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[32] Tanaka, Mitsu. "Liberation from the Toilet." Miki, Saeki and Mizoguchi, (Shiryō Nihon ūman ribu shi, 1:201–8, 1970); 'Comfort women' refer to women and girls who were subjected to sexual slavery by the Imperial Army of Japan during the Second World War. The comfort women system is considered one of the most systemic and institutionalized forms of wartime sexual violence in contemporary history, yet its history continues to be contested by denier and the Japanese right-wing. Orhon Myadar and R.A. Davidson, "Remembering the 'Comfort Women': Geographies of Displacement, Violence and Memory in the Asia-Pacific and Beyond." *Gender, place and culture : a journal of feminist geography 28*, no. 3 (Routledge: Carfax Publishing, 2021), 347-364.

[33] *SNURS*, 1:159.

[34] *Scream from the Shadows*, 81.

ウーマン・リブの弁

Women's Liberation

男の論理を告発する

ただ今 理論武装中

「一夫一婦制」ナンセンスよ

Fig. 4.[35]

Kawada Masako, Tanaka Mitsu, and Sawanobori Nobuko are all young women in their twenties. The reporter notes that they are "cute young ladies" (*kawaii ojōsan tachi*) at a glance, but as soon as they open their mouths they start declaring "Monogamy is nonsense!" and "as *if* child rearing is only for women!" They begin by speaking about society's image of politically active women: uncool, sexually frustrated, and too ugly to get a date or get married (*urenokori no busu*). They go on to say that women can only be independent if they are financially independent, referring to the restrictive nature of marriage and motherhood. They then touch on societal

[35] "Ūman ribu no ben: otoko no ronri wo kokuhatsu suru" ウーマン・リブの弁 男の論理を告発する [Ūman ribu's rhetoric: accusing men's logic] Asahi Shimbun 朝日新聞 October 6 1970.

pressures to marry, with one woman stating that her mother is always nagging her to get married but she always snaps back by asking her mother if *her* marriage is a happy one. She exclaims "I have the proof [as their daughter], so she can't possibly tell me that she's happy." Another woman (possibly Tanaka Mitsu) comments on how the power dynamic between a man and a woman during sex is unequal, with the woman only serving as a "toilet to dispose [men's] sexual desires."[36] Although the reporter did not shy away from including dramatic and explicit statements, the interview format highlighted the actual words of the activists and produced a nuanced view of what *ūman ribu* and women's liberation stood for.

Similarly, on December 29 and 30 of 1970, *Yomiuri* published a two-part interview segment with *ribu* icon Tanaka Mitsu. The first article identifies Tanaka as a central figure within *ūman ribu*, but also highlights the grassroots origins of movement—The journalist notes that Tanaka was only twenty-six years old and alone when she began distributing fliers on behalf of women's liberation and her actions eventually attracted other young, like minded people. They neither have a degree nor an office to their name, but their movement is highlighted as one of upcoming importance in the 70's landscape (fig 5).

[36] "Ūman ribu no ben: otoko no ronri wo kokuhatsu suru" ウーマン・リブの弁 男の論理を告発する [Ūman ribu's rhetoric: accusing men's logic] Asahi Shimbun 朝日新聞 October 6 1970.

'70 人・その時 ⑮

田中美津さん ⑮

〝女性解放、理解して〟

セックス肯定が第一歩

Fig. 5.[37]

'70 人・その時 ⑯

田中 美津さん ⑰

〝抱く女〟への成長

女の怨念晴らすとき

Fig. 6.[38]

The interview format of this two-part segment shines a spotlight on Tanaka and her voice. The journalist acts as a passive figure who simply fields the questions, while Tanaka is the active voice of the article with her responses taking up the majority of the passage. The interview does not shy away from controversial and politicized topics. In fact, they are freely brought up by

[37] "'70 hito – sono toki: Tanaka Mitsu san jou" '70 人・その時 田中美津さん上 ['70 the people - the times: Tanaka Mitsu Part I] Yomiuri Shimbun 読売新聞December 29 1970.
[38] "'70 hito – sono toki: Tanaka Mitsu san ge" '70 人・その時 田中美津さん下 ['70 the people - the times: Tanaka Mitsu Part II] Yomiuri Shimbun 読売新聞December 30 1970.

Tanaka herself in her stream of consciousness-like responses that reference numerous topics and issues in one breath:

> Immigration laws that discriminate against Koreans (*chōsenjin*) represent a nativist form of nationalism, right. This streamlines into the exclusionist concept of the '*ie*.' Monogamy supports the *ie* system, and ethnic purity and the virginal characteristics that men desire of women, all of those become subject to rehashing…

explained Tanaka, in the article (fig 5). By including Tanaka's radical and sometimes convoluted arguments, the *Yomiuri* brings Tanaka's organic voice to the forefront of their *ribu* coverage.

Yomiuri does take some editorial liberties in its portrayal of *ribu*. While Tanaka brings up various political and social issues in the interview, the article writes "Women's liberation, understand it" (*josei kaihō, rikai shite*) in large font to the right of Tanaka's photo, and "Sex affirmation as the first step" (*sekkusu hantei ga dai ippo*) to the left, presenting the latter as the number one goal of *ribu*. Liberating and affirming women's sexual desires is indeed a central part of *ribu*'s activism, and it is most definitely a focus point of Tanaka's feminist philosophy. The choice to highlight sex affirmation can be seen as *Yomiuri* trying to emphasize the more scandalous aspects of *ribu*, but this is nonetheless undercut by the inclusion of Tanaka's nuanced analysis of law, power, and society. Despite being a conservative paper, *Yomiuri* succeeds in representing Tanaka Mitsu and the essence of *ūman ribu* by featuring Tanaka's words. Both the *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* interviews show that an interview format that presents the *ribu* women's voice first and foremost will indeed feature *ūman ribu* in a nuanced and respectable way.

But the press didn't always try to side with *ribu*. On October 10, 1970, *Mainichi* published an article featuring the public opinion of *ūman ribu*. (fig. 7).

Fig. 7. [39]

Featuring an illustration by cartoonist Kojima Kou, the cartoon shows a big-busted woman with monstrously long limbs as a personification of *ūman ribu*. With a sly grin, she towers over her helpless prey: the weak, mouselike men. Below the illustration in gray is the caption "Let us men speak too" (*oretachi nimo iwasetekure*), followed by four men's negative opinions on *ūman ribu*. Both the cartoon and the caption illustrate a sense of male suppression. As such, this article contributes to a media discourse that delegitimizes *ribu*'s plea against patriarchal oppression by painting men as the oppressed and radical women as the true oppressors. By using the art of caricature, *Mainichi* produced a dramatized image of *ribu* that delegitimizes the rhetoric of systemic misogyny and the premise of women's liberation.

[39] "Ūman ribu: oretachi nimo iwasetekure" ウーマン・リブ オレたちにもいわせてくれ [Ūman ribu: let us men speak too] Asahi Shimbun 朝日新聞 October 10 1970.

The press also repeated the notion that *ribu* was a concept imported from overseas. Like the *Asahi* article from October 4, 1970, newspapers would continue to link *ribu* to the women's movements of the United States. By framing *ūman ribu* as an extension of overseas women's movements, they dismiss the possibility of Japanese women producing thoughtful, radical critique of their own gender and society. Such a sentiment is not new to radical feminist movements in Japan— the radical feminisms practiced by Hiratsuka Raichō and other Meiji and Taishō feminists were delegitimized due to their access to Western leftist thought and theory in the Freedom and People's Movement.[40] Despite their scalding criticism of the Meiji state and policies that were unique to Japan, their opposition continuously sought to frame their theory and advocacy as Western radical implants that had no place within Japanese society.

Like the Meiji and Taishō feminists, *ribu* did engage with theorists from the United States, Europe, and Asia.[41] But *ribu*'s acknowledgment and understanding of overseas feminisms do not constitute their feminism as facsimile. Instead of just parroting the talking points of overseas feminists, they interacted with theories and modified them to apply to Japanese

[40] Lasting from 1868 to 1912, the Meiji era can be characterized by wide-scale social and political reform. In particular, the Japanese government looked to thrust Japan into the global political arena by proving to the world they were a civilized, modern nation state with a refined and unique national identity (*kokutai*). While integrating western technologies and ideas was one step in asserting modernity, the Meiji government believed that having high quality citizens would reflect on the overall civilization of the nation. Thus, mandatory primary education for males and females, alongside the development of women's higher education aligned with the goal to produce nationalistic citizens as well as the popular belief that a society's treatment of women was a measure of its civilization. The women's rights were primarily framed within the context of larger Meiji goals of state modernization and liberalization. The "Good Wife, Wise Mother" doctrine propagated gender roles and established the home as an extension of the state, and the 1890 Law on Associations and Meetings and the Security Police Law of 1900, which banned women's political participation, reflected that the expansion of women's rights and autonomy were limited within the scope of reproducing the image of a woman as was desired by the state. Radical and unruly women who did not fit into state-ordained notions of idealized femininity were persecuted, and their activism was delegitimized as "Western" radicalism.

[41] Sestu Shigematsu, "Rethinking Japanese Feminism and the Lessons of Ūman Ribu: Toward a Praxis of Critical Transnational Feminism," *Rethinking Japanese Feminisms*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2017), 206.

society. *Ribu* commented on overseas news and social issues that dealt with gender, capitalism, and power to draw cross-cultural connections between the manifestations of imperialism and military power. *Ribu* also openly expressed their disagreement with certain overseas feminists and their tactics. For example, in a *mini-komi* produced by the Group Preparing for Women's Liberation, Tanaka comments on the women's liberation movement going on in the United States. Specifically on bra-burning and the movement to stop having sex with men, Tanaka dismisses the performative aspect of these actions by stating they "are understandable as tactics, but are far from the true nature of women's liberation" (*senjutsu toshite nara wakaru ga, josei kaihō no honshitsu karaha tōi*).[42] Therefore, the connection with overseas feminists and feminist thought indicates *ribu*'s desire to incorporate different paradigms of thought within their analysis of gender and power in Japanese society, thereby producing a more wholistic critique.

Ribu as Told by Themselves

Perhaps the most defining feature of *minikomi* produced by *ūman ribu* activists is the refusal to present a sanitized version of women's liberation. Palatability to mainstream sensibilities was not a priority for these women, and this was reflected in their use of explicit and often sexual language in many of their pamphlets and fliers. In addition to inflammatory language, *ribu* engaged with contentious political and legislative issues and gave scalding anti-imperialist opposition to Japan and the U.S.'s post-colonial involvement in East Asia.

Tanaka Mitsu's manifesto "Liberation from the Toilet" was released in the form of a *minikomi* pamphlet in August of 1970. (fig. 8). From there, it

[42] *SNURS*, 1:199.

gained incredible traction and became one of the most famous pieces of writing associated with the *ūman ribu* movement.

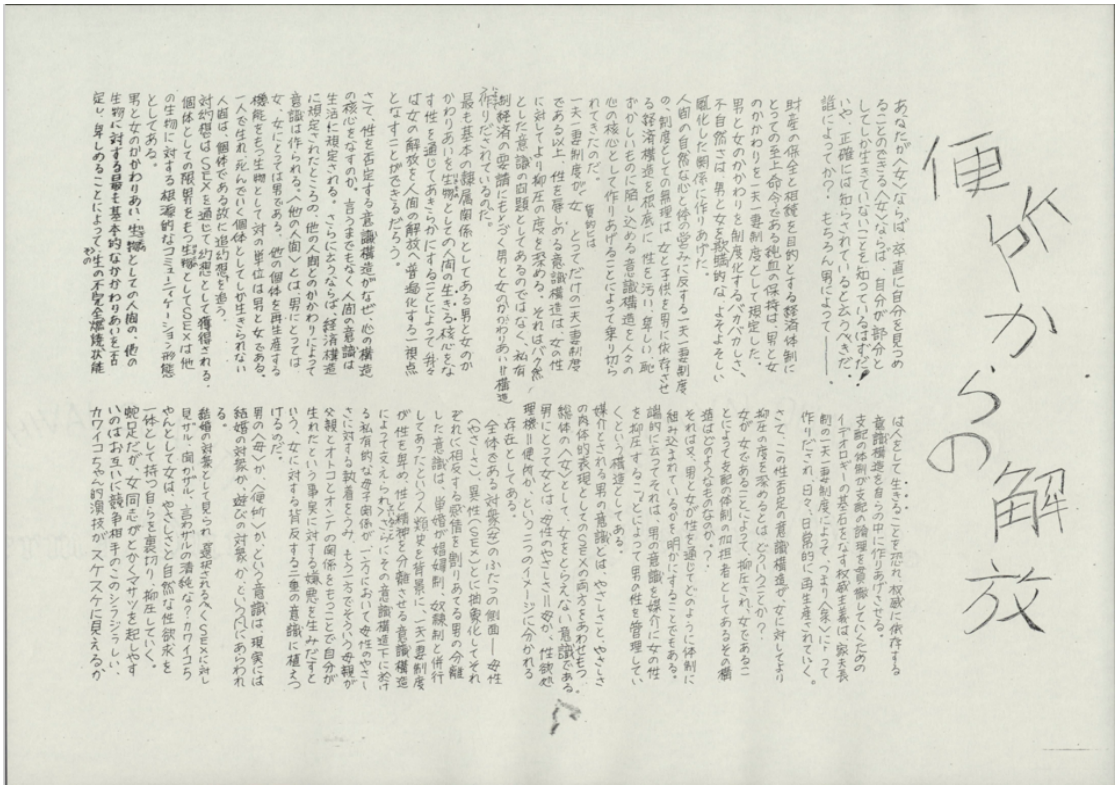
便所からの解放

Fig. 8.[43]

Tanaka positions *onna* as caught between an existential dichotomy created by men: *Onna* can either be "mothers" who provide them kindness and nurturing, or "toilets" in which they can unload their sexual desires. The "mothers" are candidates for marriage, while the "toilets" are candidates for free sex. But due to the heterosexual monogamist structure of marriage, those who become "mothers" must abandon sexual desire and pleasure. Tanaka concludes by stating that both "toilets" and "mothers" are birds of the same feather, as both relegate women as subservients under a masculinist power structure.

[43] Tanaka, "Liberation from the Toilet." *SNURS*, 1:201–8.

Although sexual liberation and dispelling stigma against women's sexual desires were parts of *ūman ribu*'s activism, "free sex" as was understood in a New Left context was highly criticized by *ribu* activists for its masculinist and phallocentric underpinnings. The concept of "free sex" was a source of contention even within the New Left. Although in theory it promoted the exploration of one's sexuality and the liberation from social mores and stigma, in practice it devolved to mean "free heterosexual male access to female bodies."[44] When Tanaka criticizes the masculinist power structure of male sexuality, she is also denouncing the existing double standards perpetuated by the New Left.

A flier by Thought Group S.E.X. promoting an upcoming *ribu* summer camp (*Ribu gasshuku*) also included sexually explicit rhetoric. (fig. 9).

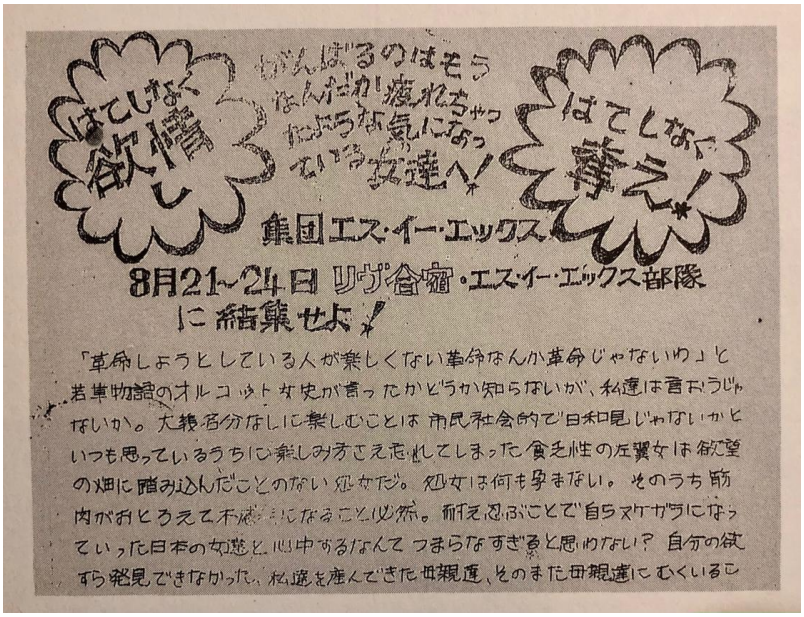

Fig. 9.[45]

[44] Schieder, 107.
[45] *SNURS*, 1:177.

Calling upon women to "Lust endlessly and take endlessly!" they frame female sexual desire as politically revolutionary. Thinking of mothers who were "unable to even discover their sexual desires," women must embrace and reclaim their sexual energy. While sex is primarily framed in a heterosexual manner, the flier suggests that attending the *ribu* camp to (sexually) "hunt" women is also fine.[46]

There is no doubt that Tanaka's manifesto and the Thought Group S.E.X. flier are explicit and sexual in nature. But the presence of sexual language in *ribu* writing does not mean that *ribu* only heralded sexual causes, nor did it mean that their writings and analyses were always explicit. In fact, given the streamlining of female student intellectuals from the New Left into ribu, it's no surprise that their activism included thorough analyses of Japanese law and capitalist-imperialist structures across Asia.

Some of the legal causes that *ūman ribu* pursued were the opposition of the Eugenic Protection Law and its proposed revisions in 1970 and 1972. Proposed in 1948, the original law stated that abortions were legal on ground of rape and eugenicist reasoning, as well as "when the continuation of pregnancy or childbirth would be physically detrimental to the health of the mother." The law was edited in 1949 to add "economic" reasons, further increasing abortion access. The proposed revisions of 1970 and 1972 sought to delete "economic" reasons from abortion law and to allow it on grounds of severe mental or physical disability in the fetus.

Ūman ribu opposed both state policing of women's bodily autonomy as well as the eugenicist-capitalist "logic of productivity" (*seisansei*) that was present in the revised bill. Pulling on postwar notions of capitalist

[46] *SNURS*, 1:177.

economic productivity, the revisions drew a line between those who could improve the productivity of the state by becoming human capital and those who could not. And those who could not were deemed "abject bodies" who should be terminated for their lack of economic contribution.[47] In contrast, *ribu* sees women's liberation and sexual liberation as going hand in hand. Sex is not framed under the logic of productivity, but under personal bodily autonomy and pleasure. And as women's liberation is intrinsically tied with liberation of bodies from the capitalist state, *ribu* made clear their anti-capitalist productivity and anti-eugenicist stance.

A poster entitled "The Way of Life of Current Women" (*imayou onna no ikikata*) created by the Shinjuku Ribu Center includes an illustrated "roadmap" of women seeking abortions in Japan if the revisions were to pass. (fig. 10).

Fig. 10.[48]

[47] *Scream from the Shadows*, 67.
[48] *SNURS*, 2:72.

After doing administrative work (making the tea, running errands, making copies) at a company for two to three years, the woman fulfills her dream of getting married. But after three years, she is disillusioned with the myths of a happy marriage and realizes that her children are the only things preventing her from getting a divorce. After her second child, she's struggling economically and wants to get an abortion, but is persecuted under the revised Eugenic Protection Law. By combining the gendered expectations of Japanese women in 1974 with an imagined political future, the group conducts a nuanced analysis of law and society.

Finally, we can see from this *minikomi* that *ūman ribu* did not engage their unique demographic positioning in a way that evoked the empathy of a mainstream audience. According to the concept of postwar "naïve politics" articulated by Schieder, young women—especially young female students—who engaged in political activism occupied a demographic that can illicit sympathy from the media and the people due to their sex, youth, and the purity and pacifism associated with maidenhood.[49] Likewise, when the *Asahi* reporter from Figure 3 is pleasantly surprised by the "cute young ladies" involved in a women's liberation movement, he is in sync with that naïve politics that positions the young, politically-active female as non-threatening. But *ūman ribu* refuses to adopt neither male state-ordained motherhood as the ideal feminine nor virginal maidenhood.

Conclusion

On February 5, 1972, the women's fashion magazine *An An* released an issue dedicated to travel destinations in Japan (fig 11). What distinguished this feature from other travel guides of the time was that it

[49] Schieder, 33.

actively promoted travel plans for women to go alone or in all-female groups.

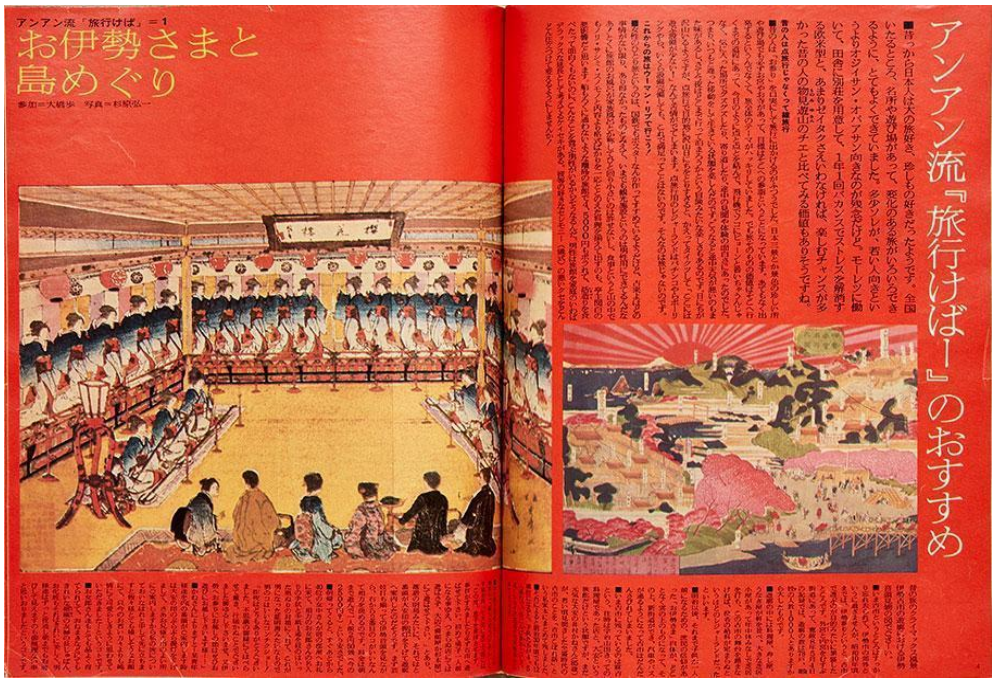

Fig. 11.[50]

Furthermore, on the subtitles for one of its plans *An An* bolding declares that "from now on, vacations should be done *ūman ribu*!" (*korekara no tabi wa ūman ribu de ikou*!). This shows that *ribu* had made its way outside of the New Left intelligentsia and activist circles into mainstream feminine culture. "*Ūman ribu*" as it is presented here is only a whiff of the storm that the true *ribu* sought to be. If anything, it is more so in line with the self-serving, apolitical, consumerist personality of the *moga* ("modern girl"). But like Miriam Silverberg explored the feminist militancy in the *moga*'s seemingly apolitical persona, perhaps we too can find radicalism and politics within this palatable rendition of *ribu*. [51]

[50] Ayumu Obashi, "An An ryu 'tabi ikeba' no osusume" アンアン流『たび行けば』のおすすめ[An An style recommendations on how to go on trips] *An An Nihon no Tabi Tokushū, An An* Magazine, February 25, 1972.

[51] Miriam Silverberg, "The Modern Girl as Militant: (Movement on the Streets)." In *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense: The Mass Culture of Japanese Modern Times* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 51-72.

Onna, according to this magazine article, is selfish and gleeful. She scoffs at outdated social mores and is gluttonous in her quest for adventure. She seeks to reclaim travel for pleasure from the current *teishu kanpaku* structure. In doing so, she unapologetically declares that women have desires and seek pleasure, and they should and will take it upon themselves to have them fulfilled. Is this not the essence of *ribu*?

Yet even this palatable *ribu* fell out of usage after the late 70s and early 80s. In the following decades, women's rights and gender studies in Japan have failed to retain meaningful references to *ribu*. Academics have come to favor the transliterated term feminism (*feminizumu*) over *ūman ribu* as the standardized term for the women's rights movements and theories, as *ūman ribu* carried too many associations with the radical, anti-establishment movement era of the late 1960s and early 1970s.[52] Furthermore, the creation of women's studies (*joseigaku*) in Japan played a decisive role in furthering *ūman ribu* from mainstream women's rights and gender education. The founders of women's studies in Japan sought to distance themselves from *ribu* in an effort to establish themselves as a respectable academic subgenre—they did not want to be associated with the image of radical, hysterical women are seen in certain mass media portrayals of *ribu*.[53]Although *ribu* successfully reclaimed and transformed *onna* to include principles of women's bodily and psychological autonomy, academia and society were unable to reinstate *ūman ribu* as a colloquial linguistic manifestation of women's liberation.

But at the same time, academia and culture have played a hand in passing down the memory and legacy of *ūman ribu* to future generations. Publications that compile and chronicle the history of Japan's various

[52] *Scream from the Shadows*, 171.
[53] *Scream from the Shadows*, 172, 173.

women's rights and liberation movements throughout the ages successfully represent a diverse perspective of women's activism on the archipelago, including *ribu*'s. Feminist histories and literature are growing subgenres in Japanese bookstores and literature circles.

Furthermore, the advent of social media has brought unexpected parallels between activism and advocacy in the 1970s and contemporary Japan. *Ūman ribu* sought to combat biased coverage and establishment strains within mass media by producing *minikomis* that conveyed their authentic voice. Similarly, social media allows users to bypass traditional power structures and tweet, post, vlog, and share their unfiltered takes on their preferred platforms. Like Tanaka, these users do not have a degree or office to legitimize their political presence and accrue a following—their voice alone is enough to mobilize and shape culture. Moreover, anonymity (or at least its illusion) on the internet allows for the potential of non-hierarchical collective action—something that both *ribu* and the New Left strove for. *Ribu* and the New Left built collective power by breaking away from traditional politics and establishments instead organizing amongst students and normal people. Likewise, social media activism consists of users organizing and finding solidarity amongst other users to strengthen their causes.

Like *ūman ribu,* the next generation of feminist in Japan are young. While there are established feminist figures like Ueno Chizuko in Japan, the next generation of up-and-coming feminist activists are social media-savvy youths who've utilized the platform to disseminate information in a way that's most accessible and engaging for Gen Zs and young millennials. Much like *ribu* activists still utilized the power of mainstream newspapers to disseminate nuanced coverage, social media

activists also benefit off the authority of mainstream media outlets when they agree to do interviews or features. This negotiation of power ultimately creates nuanced and diverse coverage that benefits the platforms of activists. What *ūman ribu* failed to accomplish in substantive change has been adopted through spirit and method.

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3

An Interview with Dr. Paul Lerner

By: Himani Boompally ‘23
and Azriel Linder ‘24

H: When I first met Professor Paul Lerner, the world had been thrown into a pandemic, and my plans for the summer seemed up in arms. But the history department kindly sent out an email with an opportunity to be a research assistant for certain professors currently in the middle of their research. Upon seeing Professor Lerner's latest project proposal, I immediately sat down to apply, and I have never looked back since. From the influences of early consumer culture research to the history of the asylums, Professor Lerner's work and teaching have inspired me to consider the responsibility of historians to live in the nuances of our questions, challenging the hierarchies that produce the knowledge we surround ourselves with while being cognizant of their strengths and limitations. After so long, I can now happily say I have not only had the privilege of being Professor Lerner's research assistant and student but also one of his interviewers in this piece about his latest project centering on the American household as an area of expert knowledge production, history's role in critiquing science, and history as a science.

A: I met Professor Lerner in my first in-person class at USC. It was a rather large lecture class on fascism, ranging from ideology and theory to a wide range of manifestations and implications. I was lucky to be able to discuss the complicated nature of the content further in several office hours sessions. Talking with Professor Lerner confirmed my passion for studying history, and will continue to inspire me in pursuit of further research on the subject and make sure I get a spot in more of his classes!

H: In a 2018 talk at the Center for European Studies at UC Berkeley, you discuss your last book *The Consuming Temple* and

begin hinting at your current project where you look at the American housewife and household as an area for expert knowledge production and intervention from Central European émigrés post-World War Two. I was wondering if you could tell us more about your current project and how you came to researching it? Perhaps your historical journey and what sparked your interest?

L: We're always constructing these nice narratives of how these things came to be, and I'm conscious of speaking to two budding historians: you never really know how you get into something and what triggers your interest and when you're going to write a book, that's a long time commitment, so you have to really love it. I have a narrative of this in mind I haven't shared with people, and it's a little pat, but it kind of works in a way I think. This project that I'm doing now–about Central European émigrés and the American housewife or American household as a site of intervention where they deploy this expert knowledge–in a way, it pulls together all kinds of things that I've been working on. It feels like it's almost too good to be true. I did my dissertation in grad school on German psychiatry and specifically on war trauma and masculinity and labor around World War I. From there I wanted to do something really different. I moved on to this project on department stores because I was curious about them and had assumed that all the major department stores in Germany were started by Jewish families. There's the material history of how the Nazis took department stores away, but I'm more of a cultural historian and I was more interested in how that loss was experienced and remembered. That whole trajectory from war trauma to department stores is part one. The other thing is we live

here in LA, and when I first came here a while ago, I was really focused on being a modern European historian. I was interested in people up until 1933 and then if they left Germany or something they kind of fell off my radar. Then at some point or another, I realized that was really stupid. Just because someone came to the United States doesn't mean they stopped having something to say, and on a practical level, our libraries have incredible holdings about some of these–they called themselves exiles but maybe émigrés or refugees may be a more precise way to think about them. On one hand, great writers, musicians, actors, and intellectuals came here but also lots of regular people who we historians don't really pay attention to or didn't until recently. I got increasingly interested in those exile and émigré/refugee experiences. So this focus kind of found me more than I found it. At some point it hit me, why don't I talk about what interests me–department stores, consumer culture, Jews–and what happened to them once they had to leave Germany. The Berkeley lecture was from a very early stage in my work, but when I was invited to speak, I thought I would use this as an opportunity not just to talk about *The Consuming Temple* and the history of the department store but also about this new project. I eventually published a version of that talk as an article that came out a few months ago.

I teach a couple courses in Thematic Option. One is a Core 104 on consumer culture, about the histories and theories of consumer culture and consumption. As I was developing that class I started to think there are some topics here that I really need to learn about like the history of malls, focus groups, and advertising because that's important for consumer culture in the US and will be of interest to my students. The more I started

to dig, the more European roots of these quintessentially American institutions I saw. Some of it came from particular figures, like Ernest Dichter who developed the focus group and did all this research on what we would call branding today. He applied what I would say was a pretty crude Freudian psychoanalysis to understand why consumers make choices. That all comes from his background in Austria, his exposure to psychoanalysis, and the way Austrians and Europeans talked about sexuality, as opposed to the kind of prudish Americans at the time. As I got deeper into this project, I started to think about all these shrinks who came over, and asked if there was a connection there to the material on consumer culture. So one of the things that occurred to me is autism. All of the key early autism theorists came from Austria (or Switzerland.) Hans Asperger, whom Aspergers is named after, theorized autism in the Nazi context he was working in. Bruno Bettelheim was really invested in the whole blaming the parents' discourse for autism in the 70s and 80s. It's not just Austrians who write about autism, and my interest isn't just autism, but that's just one example of how I started to think about these Central European experts intervening in American life. I started to think it's not necessarily that Central European or German-speaking emigres are shaping American consumer culture, but if you take all these together there's a way in which there's this kind of expert knowledge that's coming from Central Europe where it's got the prestige of German science with it, and Americans are eating it up. It's all these people with German and Austrian accents telling Americans about sex, telling them how to raise their children, telling them how to shop, telling them how to please their husbands. This whole process is where my book sits. As I said, it brings together so many of my interests that I feel like this book was waiting for me to write it.

H: In *The Consuming Temple* and in your talk at UC Berkeley, you speak of this dichotomy that presents itself in the rhetoric surrounding department stores between the European genteel woman and the Jewish man. I wanted to ask, do you see a shift or are there any interesting similarities/contrasts between how expert knowledge is portrayed or spoken about in post-World War America in concerns to gender and anti-Semitism? Essentially, are there any parallels to how the department store was viewed and considered back in Europe during the late 19th and early 20th centuries?

L: In a way, *The Consuming Temple* is all about the "Jewishness" of the department store. What does it mean for a business or a store or an experience to be Jewish? How did Jews see it? How did non-Jews see it? I was thinking a lot about images of the Jew as the merchant, the haggler, the figure who is circulating around the world, and how that tied into how people saw the department store. What was interesting to me is that all that was thought of as "Jewish" in Germany and elsewhere in Europe, in the US was thought of as "European." Even the early malls were seen as elegant, sophisticated places where people would dress up to go. Victor Gruen was a Vienna-born Jewish planner and architect of the early malls in this country. He talked about bringing the experience of walking in the European city to the American suburb. A chapter centers around the car because the car is so crucial in so many ways, and the mall represented an attempt to keep the car outside. You park, walk in, and the rest of the experience is on foot which mirrors what happens in a European city. These things are really

understood as European. In a way, because Germany was associated with scientific advances—and a lot of other people have noticed this before me—a lot of people who are marginalized in Europe because they were Jewish, when they came to the US, they were seen as German or Austrian and not explicitly as Jewish. There was this paradigm that Hitler's loss is our gain. And we should listen to these people because they came from the top of the mountain of scientific knowledge. We tend to think about knowledge in hierarchies of knowledge, like hierarchies of science. The idea of a consumer science or psychological science, these areas of expertise are thought of as science too. In German, the word *Wissenschaft*—people translate it as science but it's really closer to rigorous knowledge—and in German, physical science is less above the other sciences than it is in our landscape. So these people are scientists and Europeans, they have so much credibility, and, Americans thought at the time, we should listen to them.

H: In the TO class I took with you, we discussed a lot of the distinctions between the sciences, and even in some cases, the credibility of assigning these compartments and categories to these disciplines but also the labels they assign to people. I wanted to ask you–and this can be a methodology question as well–what do you think is the role of the humanities in critiquing science and the history/legacy of science? And is there a responsibility that we, as historians, should do so?

L: You know it's funny, the way I think about this question, it's changed a lot over these past few years. I'll back peddle a little bit, but the class that you took, the time before that I taught it was January 2017 when Trump

had just become president, which was a really challenging time. I got up and started to talk about how we have to see science critically. The students were really quiet, and I sensed pushback. I started to realize that they thought what I was saying was this kind of Trump-ish rejection of science. And right now, we are in this period where people won't get vaccinated because they don't trust the science, and people put up lawn signs of 'I support science.' Science has become intensely political, and I feel like we have to be really careful when we talk about science. Obviously when I'm sick, I go to the doctor. I got vaccinated, and I will stand by that, so I'm not trying to make some anarchic claim about science–that there is no truth or anything like that. Only that science produces a type of knowledge, and knowledge is always part of its context. Scientific ideas and the progression of scientific ideas are influenced by all kinds of social and gender and cultural factors. A philosopher of science wrote about this a long time ago but even hard science versus soft sciences, those words are gendered: physical sciences are masculine and psychological sciences are "weaker sciences" or feminine. Language has to be looked at critically - we're not seeing an objective reality. What we see through the microscope or in the data is being shaped by all kinds of assumptions, all kinds of norms. It would be really naive to say science is not right but it would also be really naive to not think about it critically, so you have to find nuance and context which are the kinds of things that historians live for.

A: I wanted to ask about history's direct relation to science, or even history as a science. In the class I took with you last fall, we talked about theories that explain the rise of fascism or fascist leaders from a social scientific point of view. I was reading

through my lecture notes the other day and I had written, "history is a science because it can be explained by rules that are provable and productive." Could you talk about that idea a bit more, and also history's direct relation to the sciences, or if it can be considered a science on its own?

L: I think that when you're studying something as a scientist you're trying to be objective about it. And to be objective literally means to separate yourself from the object that you are observing, so if you are observing something like animals or looking through a microscope you're not going to say 'that's pretty' – or I mean you might think that – but you're supposed to come up with objective things that aren't about your subjective way of seeing the world. That requires a distance from the subject. But what about those branches of knowledge where we try and understand ourselves? We have to turn these kinds of powers of observation onto our own words and actions. To me, that's a different epistemology. I think you read Marc Bloch in your History 201 class, but in *The Historian's Craft*, he says something like if a chemist is studying a gas, that chemist can describe certain scientific laws that the gas molecules are going to follow. I don't remember if he goes this far in his description, but for something to be scientific law, it has to be predictive. The same result will happen under the same conditions every time you do it. Can you come up with scientific laws to explain humans? I know psychology tries to grapple with that, but what about historians? Can we say that under certain conditions the same thing is going to happen? It's an absurd question right because you can never have the same conditions. The chemist can make sure there are no contaminants, but in history, there are always contaminants. There are no

experiments, we can't do that. Furthermore, I can tell you how the molecule is going to act but the thing about the molecule is it can't tell me. But what about the historical object? You can go into the archives or digitally access the documents where your subjects tell you what they're doing or feeling or at least some version of that. So for Bloch, we have this problem that our sources use language and we use language and that creates both a problem and an opportunity because we can’t really get distance from our sources in the same way that a scientist can. And for historians, it’s really impossible to be objective in that same way because all historians are studying people at some level. And people think and talk and write and so do we. And people also lie, and misrepresent what they see, whether intentionally or not. So we have to learn not to trust our sources but to interrogate them. The excitement of doing history is trying to understand what did the world look like to our historical subjects. So, as I see it, history can never really be scientific but it has to be rigorous. It has rules, methods, and conventions like any other branch of knowledge, only unlike some other branches of knowledge, it forces us to be very self-conscious about what we are doing and to see ourselves and our thoughts in historical terms too.

4

Senior Theses Excerpts

By:
Christopher Aranda
Jack Casey
Rachel Heil
Yuna Jeong
Samatha Lee
Tommy Nguyen
Mallory Novicoff
Sean Silvia

Managing Editor's Note

Dear Reader,

Nearly two years ago, I joined *The Scroll* as a wide-eyed sophomore. We were in the midst of our first pandemic year (or plague year as some of us have referred to it), and I'm sure many others will vouch for the foreboding sense of uncertainty and doom that colored that time. But over the course of nearly two years, I have found a shelter and a community from the waves of doubt amidst the editorial board of this incredible journal. As a young student of history, it was this motley group that made the department feel like home. They are, without parallel, some of the most intelligent, ambitious, kind people I have ever met. With each day, they inspire me to be a better historian, a better editor, and a better person. I am honored to have the privilege of calling them my friends.

And it just so happens that nearly half of them are graduating this year. I have high hopes for them, and I know they won't disappoint. To show them just a little bit of the love they deserve, I present to you a selection of excerpts from our wonderful seniors' theses, both *Scroll* editors and not. This selection would not be possible without the help of our amazing editors Azriel, Lili, Ammar, Shea, and Liam. They were the backbone that kept this project going, from their editing to the late-night conversations in front of Insomnia Cookies to the slightly unhinged text messages in our group chat. In them, I see the future of *The Scroll*, and I could not have asked for a better board.

So without further ado, I would like to introduce the theses, a testament to our seniors' talent, work ethic, and immense dedication. Christopher Aranda uncovers a racial movement he dubbed the 'California Fantasy Movement' that sought to paint Southern California's history under the brush of an unbroken white past. Jack Casey recasts free Black artisan José Antonio Aponte's *libro de pinturas* as a historical imagination reliant on collage, creating his own revolutionary framework and vision for the future. Rachel Heil explores Soong May-Ling's, wife of Chiang Kai-Shek, role as she became the face of modernizing China and how her media image

was vastly dictated by the racial and gender stereotypes of the United States. Yuna Jeong highlights the activism of lesbian women in the feminist movements of the 1960s and 1970s in America, despite being shut out from groups that claimed to fight for their rights. Samantha Lee brings light to the voices of Vietnamese women during the Vietnam War, often overlooked and erased in American historical narratives. Tommy Nguyen unveils the stories of the Vietnamese diaspora in Germany. Mallory Novicoff reveals the commodification of North American nature and the productivity of Indigenous peoples in the Great Lakes and Mississippi Basin by French colonists from 1534 to 1673 through visual analysis. Sean Silvia analyzes the reuse of materials from earlier structures, or *spolia*, in the Ottoman Aegean and explores the implications of these physical remnants of classical civilization upon expressed imperial and national identities during the long 19th century.

I would like to thank the authors and our editorial board once more for contributing to this special section. Our community continues to thrive, and I hope these thesis excerpts will continue to inspire other budding historians and show them what we are capable of. As our founder Sean Silvia says, "*historiam faciamus dum historiam scribemus*."[1]

[1] "Let us make history while we write history."

Author's Note

The subject of history has always been my first love. For me, it has been a method to not only untangle thorny jumbles of theory but to also grow intimately closer to your surrounding environment. My earliest memories of being taught history lie not with USC professors, but with my father. When I was growing up, my father worked the graveyard shift in the dairy section of the local Albertsons. He would regularly come home with chilled fingers and the smell of fresh milk on his skin, a smell that fills me with comfortable nostalgia to this day. With the same alacrity he exhibited in stocking the egg cartons, my father would take me to bed and tell me the colorful stories of American history. While other small children were told stories of Goldilocks, Little Red Riding Hood, and the Three Little Pigs, I was told stories of the New Deal, the Civil War, the War on Poverty, and the Roaring Twenties to name a few. Essentially, I have always understood history to be an intimate experience instead of one that is lived at arm's length.

With this mindset, I knew I wanted to make my senior thesis an extremely personal journey. Having been born and raised in Southern California, I wanted to understand the many places that were known to me like an old friend or a next-door neighbor. My findings were the uncovering of a racial movement that sought to create an unbroken white past of Southern California. I have called this movement the California Fantasy Movement or the CFM. In this excerpt, I explore and analyze the actions of the Native Daughters of the Golden West, an organization that was one of the main propagators of the CFM narrative.

Uncovering that which makes one uncomfortable is never easy, especially when what is revealed is intimately familiar to the discoverer. Nonetheless, discerning and disseminating the truth should be the goal of any professional in any field. Indeed, it allows one to personally grow and become closer to that which has always been near to them. To paraphrase Dietrich Bonhoeffer, we must allow ourselves to be interrupted by uninvited discoveries. The result is truly spectacular and, for that, I thank my parents, my mentors, and my HIST 492 family.

Plastic Palms: Constructing Memory and Heritage in Southern California 1904-1955

Sirens of the Southland

There is nothing extraordinary about 555 Baker Street in San Francisco, California. At first glance, the street is nothing more than a quintessential San Francisco avenue. Peppered with California buckeye trees and cable lines that connect the quaint Victorian homes with one another, 555 Baker acts as a comfortable route for the biker or a stroll for the occasional couple. Unbeknownst to many, the street is home to the headquarters of the Native Daughters of the Golden West (NDGW), an association that was not only at the forefront of the California Fantasy Movement (CFM), but forcefully asserted the heritage myth of an unbroken white past. Inconspicuously squashed between two homes, the headquarters of the NDGW looks out onto Baker Street in faded glory.

The NDGW, along with their partner organization the Native Sons of the Golden West (NSGW), are amongst the most notable and visible constructionists of the CFM.[1] Despite having chapters or "parlors" throughout California, the NDGW's constructivist activities were focused in Southern California.[2] The NDGW is an organization that becomes the

[1] The Native Sons and Daughters of the Golden West are still in existence and have been a driving force behind the preservation of California's history since their inception in 1875. Nevertheless, the contemporary NSGW and NDGW have been largely forgotten and relegated to the same status as an obscure county's rotary club. Discussion of the NSGW and the NDGW, for the purposes of this thesis, will be contained to the early to mid-twentieth century. It is within this historical timeframe that the NSGW and the NDGW were most prominent and influential in the California Fantasy Movement.

[2] The Native Sons of the Golden West were present in Southern California, but the archives suggest that the NSGW were more active in Northern California due mainly to the fact that the NSGW wished to be closer to the locus of politics in San Francisco and Sacramento along with Asian immigration into the

Forrest Gump of the CFM, perpetually present across the decades. In almost every year, every major statutory dedication, and every event that sanctified the history of California, the NDGW appears in prominent positions. In occupying perches of influence, the NDGW actively collaborated with the businessmen of Southern California and state officials in order to craft a preferred racial memory of their beloved Southern California. To achieve this, the NDGW completed its mission of "preserving California culture" through strongly regimented practices such as parades, newsletter publications, and fundraising for monuments that "preserved the spirit of the days of '49." The official motto of the NDGW was and remains "To perpetuate in the minds of all native Californians the memories of the days of '49 to encourage a lively interest in all matters and measures relating to the promotion of the national interests and to the upbuilding of the State of California."[3] The slogan refers to the year of 1849, the peak year for the California Gold Rush immigration. Implicitly, but no less factually, the slogan referenced the Anglo-American political dominance in the aftermath of the United States' victory in the 1848 Mexican-American War.[4]The activities of the NDGW specifically highlighted such dominance in dedicatory ceremonies throughout the early twentieth century. Therefore, the slogan of the NDGW and the NSGW itself

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state. For this thesis, the NDGW takes a more prominent position due to their prominent appearances at dedicatory plaque ceremonies, Admission Day parades, and connection with flamboyant femininity.

[3] The NSGW shared this same motto. Moreover, variations of the motto have appeared throughout the history of the Native Sons and Daughters. See "Becoming Active as a Native Son," Native Sons of the Golden West, September 2, 2016. Regarding the references that the slogan refers to, see Natalia Molina, "'We Can No Longer Ignore the Problem of the Mexican': Depression-Era Public Health Policies in Los Angeles," in *Fit To Be Citizens?: Public Health and Race in Los Angeles, 1879-1939* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006), 119.

[4] Ibid.

serves as an indicator towards an unbroken white legacy.

Prior to the 1920s, members of the NDGW spent a large degree of their energy towards establishing themselves. Despite being founded in 1886, the NDGW did not enjoy widespread notability. This fact was acknowledged by the NDGW and remedied through the establishment of parlors. For example, in July of 1909, the NDGW and the NSGW installed ten parlors in cities

such as Los Angeles, Corona, Santa Monica, and Long Beach. This event alone grew the organization to "2500 to 3000 members."[5] Similar large installations of NDGW parlors would stretch into later years such as 1917 when similar large parlor foundings occurred.[6] The NDGW became involved in Southern California boosterism through their self-published magazine *The Grizzly Bear*. Established in 1905, *The Grizzly Bear* would routinely publish the happenings of parlors around the Golden State while also publishing editorials by parlor members on state and national issues. *The Grizzly Bear* became the manner in which the NDGW would display their views of California's past and set the stage for ideals of the CFM. In fact, the NDGW were not subtle as to how they utilized *The Grizzly Bear* to spread a manufactured history of California. In its June 1925 issue, *The Grizzly Bear* stated, "Know your home-state, California! Learn of its past history and of its present-day development by reading regularly *The Grizzly Bear*."[7]

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[5] "Do Big Honor To The West: Native Sons and Daughters in Demonstration: Great Installation, Ten Parlors Join; City and Seashore Towns Unite In Function," *Los Angeles Times*, July 31, 1909.
[6] "Joint Installation: Native Sons and Native Daughters of the Golden West Give Grand Affair," *Los Angeles Times*, February 2, 1917.
[7] Advertisement. *The Grizzly Bear*, June 28, 1925, 13.

Notably, every issue of *The Grizzly Bear* contained poems that glorified the Golden State. A consistent contributor to issues of *The Grizzly Bear* was Florence Byrne-Cartwright. In her 1927 poem, "California," Byrne-Cartwright extolled the beauty of California. Additionally, Byrne-Cartwright's poem allowed the NDGW to promote the CFM's idea of the romantic Spaniard and rugged pioneer. Byrn-Cartwright wrote:

> And here the Spanish padres stood,
> The gentlest foe man ever knew,
> To win through mystic brotherhood
> This land of Red and White and Blue.
> The mission bells rang to the breeze,
> The flocks grazed on the fragrant lea
> But, California, not for these
> We sing a diamond jubilee.
> But for the sturdy Pioneers
> Who tread the lonely desert trail
> Who gave their lives, their splendid years
> In searching for this Holy Grail.[8]

Bryne-Cartwright explicitly stated the idea of the "romantic Spaniard," but it was not the Spaniard who brought civilization to California. Such progression was achieved by the industrious pioneer and his rugged individualism. Moreover, even when the Spanish presence was spoken of in "California," such a presence was

[8] Ibid.

delegated as weak, easy to conquer, and nothing more than a stepping stone to a correct way of civilized life.

Animosity towards foreign-born residents of California is further explicit in a published editorial of the November 1912 issue of *The Grizzly Bear*. Entitled "All Hail Our Order," it spoke of the importance of properly celebrating Admission Day, the day California was admitted into the Union. It is important to note here that the NDGW not only recognized September 9, 1850 as Admission Day, but also that of February 2, 1848, the end of the Mexican-American War.[9] The author of the editorial writes, "Next, comes the proper recognition of Admission Day. The 'born elsewheres' must be brought to see that *we*, too, have a right to *our* holiday, the birthday of *our* mother State. How glad I was to see the stand taken this year against the materialism of the people who hold their holidays, no matter at whose convenience."[10] While the editorial did not explicitly reference certain cultural holidays, it can nonetheless be determined that the organization found cultural holidays to be bothersome, antithetical to true patriotism, and a potential disruption to a historical past in construction. As a result, the NDGW and the NSGW saw it as their duty to protect California and its history from "born elsewheres." Indeed, the editorial ends with the prophecy that the NDGW and the NSGW "will hold our State safe and sound against all materialism, and all sordidness and all greed; that, with California as our mother, we shall attain true patriotism and true idealism."[11]

[9] See Introduction.
[10] "All Hail Our Order," *The Grizzly Bear*, November, 1912, 7. Emphasis added.
[11] Ibid.

The sanctification of the California pioneer is on stark display throughout issues of *The Grizzly Bear*. Routinely, the magazine would dedicate an entire page to obituaries, utilizing headings such as "Passing of the California Pioneer" or "Pioneer Natives Dead."[12] Descriptions of the pioneers would often read very similar to a normal obituary, but others would be dripping in sacredness. The passing of Harriet E. Jasper of Los Angeles was entitled "California Pioneer Mother Goes to Her Home."[13] A native of Canada, Jasper had arrived in California in 1863 in a journey that was symbolic of the civilized society that the pioneers brought with them.[14] The NDGW routinely disparaged "born-elsewheres," yet idolized and nativized people who were born out of the state. Despite not being from California, many of the constructionists of the CFM envisioned themselves as the real Californians simply because of their whiteness and perceived status as civilizers. By envisioning themselves as California natives, these "pioneers" fashioned themselves into the narrative as "civilizers," but also as controllers of the Golden State.

The NDGW limited its activities to publishing a magazine and holding small dedicatory ceremonies, until the dedication of Los Angeles City Hall in 1928 which would allow the organization to bring their ideals of the CFM front and center. A testament to the city's growth, Los Angeles City Hall was completed and applauded in 1928 as a technological and aesthetic marvel. Towering 452-feet above Main Street, the temple of civic duty contained

[12] "Passing of the California Pioneer," *The Grizzly Bear*, November 25, 1925, 30.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.

eleven elevators, the "largest lighting and power switchboard on the Pacific Coast," a telephone switchboard that could manage 2,000 telephones, and a five-ton ice machine.[15] City Hall's aesthetic nature derived from its art deco style which climaxed with a white tower reaching into the sky. The finishing touch for City Hall was the "Lindbergh Beacon" which illuminated the top of the building, giving it an Oz-like semblance and an articulation of a city upon a hill.[16] The April 26, 1928 celebrations for City Hall were referred to as the "inauguration" or "dedication," but another word that was used quite commonly was "fiesta," an overt reference to the city's Spanish past.[17]

The references to Los Angeles's and, indeed, California's past did not stop at the word "fiesta." In promoting the event, the *Los Angeles Times* wrote in one article that "where 147 years ago the sandaled padres and the booted dons trodded deserted plains, a city of upward 1,500,000 people gathered to dedicate the new Los Angeles City Hall, a sheer tower of white symbolizing a new era of progress and accomplishment for the Pacific

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[15] "Los Angeles City Hall," *Los Angeles Times (1923-1995),* Apr 22, 1928.

[16] At the inauguration and dedication of Los Angeles City Hall, the Lindbergh Beacon was famously switched on by President Calvin Coolidge on April 26th, 1928. Interestingly, President Coolidge never set foot in Los Angeles for the ceremony, but switched the beacon on via telegraph instrument from the White House. While the beacon itself was a demonstration of the technology and fast progress of Los Angeles, President Coolidge's participation from afar was a further testament to the range of technology that Los Angeles possessed. Moreover, the beacon lighting was overtly symbolic of connecting the American West to Washington D.C. and, therefore, further controlling the narrative of the future. See "Beacon To Shine Thursday: Lindbergh Airway Guide Atop Of City Hall Tower Will Be Turned On By Coolidge." *Los Angeles Times (1923-1995),* April 21, 1928. Regarding the symbolism of connecting Los Angeles to the nation's capital see "Lindbergh Light Also Dedicated: Beacon Atop City Hall Turned On By Coolidge And His Best Wishes Sent." *Los Angeles Times (1923-1995),* April 27, 1928 and "Pageant Revives Old West: California History Colorfully Depicted as Final Event in City Hall's Dedication," *Los Angeles Times (1923-1995),* April 29, 1928.

[17] "Beacon To Shine Thursday: Lindbergh Airway Guide Atop Of City Hall Tower Will Be Turned On By Coolidge." *Los Angeles Times (1923-1995),*April 21, 1928.

Southwest."[18] Moreover, the bronze doors at the entrance of City Hall were decorated with six panels, each celebrating a chapter of Los Angeles and California history. Among the panels are images that tell of the 1770 founding of Los Angeles by Don Gaspar de Portolá, Spanish rule of Los Angeles in 1781, and the American military occupation of California in 1847 by John C. Fremont.[19]

Arguably, most important of all was the participation of the NDGW in the dedication ceremonies for Los Angeles City Hall. At Los Angeles City Hall's dedicatory ceremony, the organization put on a parade on Main Street which allowed "the Old West to be lived again for a fleeting hour. Stage coaches and Indians followed in the wake of martial music over a ground
traveled by their forefathers less than half a century before."[20] It is important to note that this parade did not feature indigenous peoples, but Anglo-American men in "red-face" wearing indigenous clothing.

In the involvement of the NDGW in the ceremonies, the organization did represent California's Spanish past but emphasized California's pioneer past as a frontier country. Even when the Spanish past was represented in the dedicatory parade, the representation was heavily romanticized such as that the coaches carried "mantilla-bedecked belles, causing a roar of

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[18] "New Los Angeles Civic Home Dedicated to Advancement of all Southland Institutions: Los Angeles Dedicates Imposing New City Hall Milestone in Civic Progress Hailed in Parade, Formal Acceptance and Lighting of Beacon." *Los Angeles Times (1923-1995),* April 27, 1928.
[19] "City Hall Door Tells History: Bronze Panels Will Depict Los Angeles Epochs Scenes Span Early Discovery To Aqueduct Completion Henry Lion, Sculptor, Carries Out Benton's Vision" *Los Angeles Times (1923-1995),* January 16, 1928.
[20] "Pageant Revives Old West: California History Colorfully Depicted as Final Event in City Hall's Dedication," *Los Angeles Times (1923-1995),* April 29, 1928.

applause and then an awed silence which emphasized the reverence of the early history of California."[21] With the addition of the NDGW parade, the Los Angeles City Hall dedication aptly balanced itself as an example of an event that claimed space and memory. As a result, the ceremonies became an integral early affair in understanding the CFM at its advent.

The 1928 Admissions Day Parade at Point Fermin Park in Los Angeles illustrated the CFM belief that civilization began with the governing of California by Anglo-American authorities. Speaking to the attendees of the parade, Edwin A. Meserve claimed that "Californians have a heritage of tolerance and progress, born with the raising of the first Golden Bear flag over Sonoma in 1846."[22] Attended by twenty-one NDGW parlors of Southern California, the 1928 celebrations were not widely known outside of the NSGW and the NDGW, but the rhetoric still praised a revisionist past. Continuing on with his speech, Meserve stated that the "Golden Bear flag of the California Republic, symbol of the Native Sons and Daughters of of the Golden West, is not treasured merely as an historic heirloom of the order, but as symbolic of the spirit which in less than a century has taken the Golden State out of chaos of the frontier to leadership in world commerce and artistic achievement."[23] Overtly referencing the CFM belief that it was the Anglo pioneers and United States authorities who established order in California, Meserve further advanced the construction of the California myth and the CFM.

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[21] Ibid.
[22] "State Fathers Eulogized: Native Sons at Point Fermin Barbeque Hear Flag of California Praised By Meserve," *Los Angeles Times*, September 10, 1928.
[23] Ibid.

Moreover, the emphasis placed on a Spanish past begs the question as to exactly why the constructionists envisioned the romantic Spanish to be comforting? If the main goal of the CFM was to make an unbroken white past, then why focus on the Spanish? Certainly, the constructionists possessed the view that the Spanish padres and *rancheros* were part of a history that could make one misty-eyed. Yet, as has been shown, there was the conflation of the Spaniard and the pioneer into one person. Such was no accident because the constructionists viewed being Spanish as being white. Evidence is only implicit throughout the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, but becomes explicit in a small dedicatory ceremony in 1952.

Taking place on March 24, 1952 in Hemet, the NDGW led a dedicatory ceremony "of the monument marking the place where the first white child was born in California."[24] Explicitly framing the CFM's racial goals, the monument marked the place where Salvador Linares was born. Linares had been born to Spanish parents who arrived in California from the De Anza expedition.[25] The Jurana Parlor of the NDGW laid a wreath on the spot marking the alleged birthplace.[26] The dedicatory ceremony demonstrates, quite transparently, the overarching goals of the CFM. The constructionists clearly believed in not only romanticizing the Spanish but claiming the Spanish as white pioneers. In doing so, the constructionists could argue that white people had always rightly occupied the land of California until Mexico had won its independence from Spain in 1810. Such a sentiment is strongly reminiscent of the effort to name the Mexican

[24] "New Monument to Mark 1775 Californian's Birth," *Los Angeles Times*, March 25, 1952.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.

forces as "California revolutionaries" at the Battle of La Mesa during Admissions Day Parades. In total, the constructed history was given a stronger foundation. Moreover, by idolizing the spot where the first white child was born, the constructionists of the CFM delegated certain racial communities as inferior, only to be brought out of the shadows when it was convenient.

The CFM blatantly emphasizes white supremacy, particularly with the NDGW. In 1930s Los Angeles, Mexicans were routinely described as harbingers of disease, filth, and poor family planning. Mayor John Clinton Porter of Los Angeles, a known Ku Klux Klan member, explicitly declared such a sentiment in his 1930 Mayoral Address by promising to contain disease "by concentrating on the control of tuberculosis among the Mexicans, where poverty, illiteracy, and low standard of living and poor housing exist."[27] This attitude towards Mexicans was not isolated to Los Angeles but was shared and promoted by state agencies such as the California State Commission of Immigration and Housing. The Commission's 1926 report describes how Mexicans make up the majority of laborers in California and how Mexicans often become "stranded" and wander throughout the state. The Commission argues that a central agency is needed in order to "regulate the flow of this itinerant labor to correct this situation and check the health menace necessarily involved."[28] The report further states that while there will always be a need for Mexican labor in the state, and state officials intend on exploiting such labor, "there will also be

[27] Molina, *Fit To Be Citizens*, 234.
[28] California State Commission of Immigration and Housing, *The Annual Report of the Commissioner of Immigration and Housing, 1926*, June 30, 1926, 10.

the constant watchfulness of Mexicans as well as need for community protection against disease carriage by them."[29] Concluding their report, the Commission states that Mexicans enjoy a low standard of living which "leads to many other evils needless to enumerate."[30]

The Commission's attitude towards Mexican labor is strongly reminiscent of the racialized labor system that was practiced by Los Angeles businessmen in Mexico, specifically by Edward Doheny. State authorities were comfortable with utilizing Mexican labor to increase the profits and prestige of the state at the cost of Mexican exploitation. Yet, that comfort ended when confronted with caring for the Mexican population and treating Mexicans as Californians. Being granted the status of "Californian" was quickly and transparently becoming reserved for Anglo-Americans. The 1926 report devotes a considerable paragraph highlighting the fact that,

> despite accusations to the contrary, the California Complaint Department does not favor Mexicans nor does the agency seek to uplift Mexicans.[31]

Most remarkably in the 1926 report is the explicit evidence of state agencies communicating and encouraging CFM organizers to stem the tide of the "Mexican menace." Outlining the increase in Mexican immigration to California, the report declares that an organized effort must be made to protect the social and economic interests of the Golden State. The report states that "from every indication at present it appears that the Mexican is

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[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.

here to stay and the situation must be met squarely by employers, welfare associations, civic clubs, and organized groups, in general. It is an economic as well as a social problem and one that affects the entire state."[32] The report served as a beacon for private organizations and private actors to work together in an organized manner to confront the Mexican problem. The associations and people of California, in order to stop the proliferation of the violent Mexican, would need to endeavor to build California's image as an idyllic reality, a place of consistent beauty and perpetual myth. The NDGW, being one of these organizations, exposed themselves and their narrative to the Anglo-Americans of Southern California in an effort to lay claim to heritage.

The NDGW's exposure to the communities of Southern California and promulgation of the CFM's ideals was not simply isolated to dedicatory ceremonies or Admissions Day Parades. The NDGW were able to promulgate the CFM through their state-sanctioned adoption agency. Established in 1909, the NDGW's Central Committee on Homeless Children had permanently placed "3,515 children for adoption, 2,903 have been adopted, and 8,314 applications have been filed" by 1929.[33] The Southern California chapters of the NDGW were particularly active in the NDGW adoption agency, "appropriating $28,000 to $30,000 each year" for the work of placing children in homes.[34] The adoption agency was one of only two state-sanctioned adoption agencies in California and was

[32] Ibid, 17.
[33] "Home, Club, and Civic Interests of Women: Many Children Given Homes, Work of Native Daughters Praised Highly," *Los Angeles Times*, November 24, 1929.
[34] Ibid.

"financed entirely by allied organizations and private donations."[35] The Southern California parlors placed children from the Mexico border to Santa Barbara while also including children from San Bernardino and Imperial Counties.[36]

On its surface, the Central Committee for Homeless Children is an adoption agency that fulfilled the many wishes of young couples wanting children and sought to provide adequate housing for orphans. All of this is true and the Central Committee provided much love to these parents and children, yet the motivation to begin the adoption agency is tied to the motivations of the CFM. A major aspect of the CFM was to construct racialized hierarchies while pushing away any development that could lead to the detriment of those hierarchies or preferred past. This included any type of political radicalization. Thus, the CFM was intensely focused on Americanization or "pioneer values." The adoption agency of the NDGW explicitly clarifies that
the Central Committee of Homeless Children is meant to hinder any effort to radicalize the population of California.

Having just won reelection to be the President of the Southern California Parlors of the NDGW, Mrs. George F. Parris gave an interview with the *Los Angeles Times* on January 12, 1935. Speaking from the headquarters of the Hollywood Studio Club, Parris affirmed that "Americanization will be stressed during her new term in office" and that

[35] "Requests To Adopt Tots Made by 665 Couples: Native Daughters Lists many Applications," *Los Angeles Times*, October 16, 1944.
[36] Ibid.

such a goal will be realized through the NDGW's adoption agency.[37] By carefully placing children in homes that will teach the American way of life, the NDGW found a new avenue to spread the ideals of the CFM, have them take root, and "combat the increasing menace of radicalism."[38]

The NDGW of today resembles very much their headquarters in San Francisco: faded, out of style, and easily overlooked. Still in existence, the NDGW no longer takes a prominent stand on state issues nor do they involve themselves in every state event. The organization has become like the relics that would be put on show; hobbling out only on a very rare basis and retreating back behind closed doors at the risk of crumbling under the exposure. Indeed, the associations of the CFM performed their roles well through the early years of the CFM. However, as the social fabric of Southern California began to change in the mid-twentieth century, the CFM would build more permanent structures that would put the constructed past in a menagerie of preference. The time was rapidly approaching when strongholds would have to be built, where strategies could be formulated, and defensive measures would be executed.

[37] "Daughters of the Golden West Continuing Intensive Program of Philanthropy: Departments Reporting on Year Activity," *Los Angeles Times*, January 13, 1935.
[38] Ibid.

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Author's Note

Beginning in January of 1812, a series of slave rebellions breaking out on plantations in the countryside began to close in dangerously on Havana, the Spanish seat of power in Cuba. Spanish officials grew increasingly worried that these threats were part of a larger organized plot by enslaved and free people of color. Sweeping the city, they heard rumors of a *libro de pinturas*, or book of paintings. By March, free Black artisan José Antonio Aponte was on trial for his life by *licenciado* (magistrate) Don José María Nerey, asked to explain image by image the *láminas* (plates or sheets) of his *libro de pinturas*. Containing an assorted mixture of drawings, writing, and prints, the *libro de pinturas* depicted Black armies defeating whites, maps of Havana streets and military fortifications, scenes from the Bible, George Washington, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Henri Christophe, the 1762 British invasion of Cuba, the heavens, and the Black kings of Abyssinia (Ethiopia). However, the *libro de pinturas* is missing from the archive. The remaining record of its contents lies in the trial record in which Spanish officials interrogated Aponte for three days about the seventy-two *láminas* of his book. In order to address this historical quandary of the absence of a material object from the archive, I looked to the intellectual, artistic, and political practice of collage to better study Aponte's vision for the future.

I contend that Aponte's historical imagination relied on collage—the assembly of dissimilar components to create political meaning. Unlike in previous scholarship, I argue that as Aponte collaged texts, events, and people from different epochs he created his own revolutionary intellectual framework and vision for the future in an "otherwise world." Aponte proposed a complete reimagination of paradigms of thought about

geography, race, cosmovision, and history in a medium that Spanish colonial officialdom and its archive were incapable of understanding. Aponte's presentation of a distinct, radical visual language that departed from a strict early modern Spanish hierarchical visuality was one among many novel and revolutionary elements in his 1812 rebellion. "An 'Otherwise World'" studies three layers or elements of Aponte's *libro de pinturas*: Haiti and an unthinkable history; the archives of Western Ethiopianism; and celestial and astrological symbols of political sovereignty.

The following excerpt from Chapter 3 titled "'No guarda proporción': Astrology and the Cosmos in Aponte's *Láminas*" sets out to create a new method of analysis by closely studying astrological symbols and their formulation of political sovereignty in the minds of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century individuals in order to more fully comprehend the collage Aponte generated to challenge Spanish dominance. I analyze the physical space and material on the *láminas* to convey how Aponte's intellectual and political method of collage was inextricably bound in the materiality of the book itself. Through this, I aim to recreate the visual and intellectual world of Aponte through his collage. As such, Aponte and his *libro de pinturas* remind us of how power is imbricated in every stage of the historical process and concomitantly how complex objects and their histories necessitate imaginative, interdisciplinary methods.

An "Otherwise World": José Antonio Aponte and the Politics of Collage

According to the trial record, in *láminas* sixteen and seventeen, Aponte depicts the day Sunday painted in the solar light of Capricorn. Leo is typically the sign ruled by the sun while Capricorn is a sign ruled by Saturn.[1] Why did Aponte bathe this scene in Capricorn only to bring up the star of Venus? Venus rules Libra and Taurus. *Láminas* fourteen and fifteen had also brought up Saturn and its feminine characters. Capricorn is associated with John the Baptist and is a *signe prostrat* known to be weak.[2] Perhaps Capricorn became a vehicle through which to express astrologically this Western Ethiopian Christian past and tie them to the feminine mythical past of Saturn (i.e. Gaea). Leo was a sign known to be dominant and associated with the sun, but Aponte instead chooses to use Capricorn, a more feminine sign to suggest the power of the sun.

As a result, solar power of the universe is not derived from Leo, a masculine sign, but from Capricorn, a feminine sign. The star of Venus accompanies the sun to the point of midday in the sky. Justice is represented by a bronze statue without arms that invokes divine mercy. A Black man of the Abyssinian empire basks in the bright light and Prester John stands in a bluish haze, meant to represent his lineage from King David. The Holy Spirit above draws the viewer's attention to Queen Candance below, who baptizes her sons in the Nile River. An Ethiopian eunuch, from the passage Acts 8: 26-34, holds Isaiah's book of prophecies.

[1] Lucas, *Astrology and Numerology*, 99.
[2] Ibid., 127.

Abalseo, the first Black apostle, holds the book of Solomon's laws. Abraham stands as another Prester John figure. Magistrate Nerey asked why Queen Candace bore a flag. Not directly answering the question, Aponte responded that the flag bore the yellow lion, cross, and shield of Abyssinia.[3]

The trial transcript indicates that to the left of the numbers sixteen and seventeen (written on the page), a grand party accompanies Queen Candace, Prester John, Abalseo, the eunuch, and Abraham. This party includes the Three Magi who are guided by a star to Jesus's birth and a cardinal in Italy. Finally, the sun sets. Once again, Aponte uses figures and images associated with Ethiopia to paint a visual representation of Western Ethiopianism that has a universal temporality to it. The testimony suggests that the *lámina's* use of color from left to right indicates the movement of the sun across the page. With the star of Venus lording over this whole encounter, Aponte imagines planetary and astrological bodies as presiding. Perhaps, Aponte meant that across the course of Christian history from King David, Solomon, the birth of Jesus, the Adoration of the Magi, and Prester John, Ethiopia has upheld divine mercy and justice. Nevertheless, Aponte brought astrology into this historical, Christian dialectic between the Bible and Prester John to transform it into a history across multiple spaces and times. Aponte's "otherwise world" and its history are visualized across the earth and the stars.

In the introduction, I presented *láminas* forty-four and forty-five that juxtaposed Black King Tarraco's third-century invasion of Tarragona along the eastern coast of Iberia with Old Testament Neo-Assyrian king Sennacherib. When asked why he put these two events that seemed to have

[3] Aponte et al., "Expediente," 726.

no connection together, Aponte replied "for the reason of History like the rest of the book."[4] Nerey was perplexed as to why Aponte would collocate what seemed to be two disparate events. By imagining a conjoined third-century and Biblical history across space and time, Aponte appeared to be defying the laws of teleological history. Next, Nerey asked Aponte why the two places that are divided by a wide sea appear narrow in the painting.[5] Here is one rare glimpse of the composition of the *láminas* in which Nerey believed that space represented on a map must be accurate in proportion to the actual distance. Aponte did not agree. Not only did Aponte perplex the Spanish magistrate for the connection that he saw between these two events, but also saw that geographical separation, represented in proportional space between the two places, should denote the difference between the two events. Astrological thought ordered the universe in a hierarchy within a single sphere of space and time. Aponte practiced this same view of the universe when he drew the influence of stars, planets, and signs, but Nerey and others pushed against his use of proportion and distance that did not *accurately* reproduce reality. I argue that this tension about proportion and distance lends itself to the idea of collage and how it created an "otherwise world" of the African diaspora where proportion and distance did not denote the same quality as in European visuals.[6] Therefore, Aponte's unique artistic technique created a book of history that did not need to obey a history and time that moved from left to right. Aponte was

[4] Aponte, José Antonio et. al. "Expediente sobre José Antonio Aponte y el sentido de las pinturas que se hayan en el Libro que se le aprehendió en su casa. 1812," *Anales de Desclasificación*, Vol. 1 No. 2 (2006) 736.
[5] Expediente, 736.
[6] Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn, "Hybridity and Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America," *Colonial Latin American Review*, Vol. 12 No. 1 (2003). This is not to say that Aponte's *libro de pinturas* did not engage European, Indigenous, and African visual techniques. Collage defied categories of art.

not interested in exact replicas of his reality, but a heterogeneous collage of earthly, imaginary, and planetary elements that jarred what was considered precise.

In *láminas* thirty-two and thirty-three, magistrate Nerey pushed against Aponte's use of proportion and distance again. Nerey asked Aponte why in the finishing touches of the painting of Havana and its fortifications that there is no proportional distance between the tower and Havana's fortifications and that the viewer cannot even see the roads that lead to the tower. Aponte responded that he did it because in this case, he should always think of where the troops emerge from. At the foot of kings in front of the palace, to the left stands Apollo and his three sisters: Calliope, Clio, and Melpomene. In between them is a white sheet of paper that was meant for another painting that Aponte had wanted to include. Aponte claimed that he wanted to "give life to this book and present it to the King" and the governor of Cuba and Havana's city government.[7] Aponte's response does not really answer the question. Nerey was not concerned with Apollo, Calliope, Clio, or Melpomene, but with the space between the tower and the walled center of Havana. Aponte chose not to use proportional distance in his *láminas*, further evidence of collage, that also indicates this tension between space and time as represented in visuals.

These questions of artistic agency also raised concerns about the multivalence of divine pantheons. *Lámina* twenty-six presents another mythical image with divine beings. The trial testimony reads:

> It [the *lámina*] signifies Diogenes inside a jar on a desolated Beach protected by the Goddess Isis who favored him and who is shown in a

[7] Aponte et al., "Expediente," 733.

> carriage from where she alit each afternoon to provide him with whatever he needed. Of this learned King Don Rodrigo represented at the bottom ordered Diogenes to come out of the jar who answered him that whatever His Majesty the King did he as a poor man would obey him: and asked by the King what he could do he took two fistfuls of earth showing him a scepter in the right hand and in the left the Coat of Arms and flags of Spain. The King excited by such wonder gives thanks to God and makes sure that he stays in his jar returns to his Kingdom in the boat he went in and painted more to the right. Asked again, how could Diogenes in accordance with the Previous explanation have formed the Coat of Arms and Sceptre of Spain from two fistfuls of Earth that as the declarer ensures he took out of the jar: as that philosopher was not able to naturally make such wonders he said: that he has always been persuaded and believed that it was the effect of his understanding with the Goddess.[8]

This *lámina* details the legendary encounter between Diogenes of Sinope and Alexander the Great. In Aponte's version, Alexander is substituted by King Rodrigo, who lost Spanish territories in 711 to Muslim troops. Aponte presents this encounter in a more politicized form than in

[8] Aponte et al., "Expediente," 730. "El número veinte y seis significa a Diógenes dentro de una tinaja en las desolaciones de una Playa protegido por la Diosa Isis que le favorecía y esta figurada arriba en un carro donde bajaba todas las tardes a proveerlo de cuanto necesitaba. De lo cual instruido el Rey Don Rodrigo representado al pie man[42]dó a Diógenes salir de la tinaja quien le contestó que siempre que la Majestad del Rey hiciese lo que el con su pobreza le obedecería: y preguntado por el Rey sobre que podía hacer sacó dos puños de tierra mostrándole un cetro en la mano derecha y en la izquierda el Escudo de Armas y banderas de España. Animado el Rey de aquella maravilla da gracias a Dios y le previene se quede en su tinaja volviérase a su Reino en el navío donde había ido y esta pintado más a la derecha Reconvenido como pudo Diógenes conforme a la explicación Antecedente haber formado el Escudo y Cetro de España de dos puños de Tierra que según asegura el declarante sacó de la tinaja: pues aquel filósofo no era capaz de hacer naturalmente tales prodigios dijo: que siempre se ha persuadido y creyó que seria efecto de su inteligencia con la Diosa." Translation courtesy of Jorge Pavez Ojeda.

the Greek legend with Diogenes's ability to make the scepter and the coat of arms of Spain manifest from a fistful of dirt. Nerey asked how these symbols of the sovereign could be presented as if by miracle to which Aponte responded that this would occur with the help and advice of the goddess Isis. Aponte saw the Egyptian goddess as pivotal to the legitimization of sovereignty. Isis was also identified with the Virgin of Regla, the Black patron virgin of the Bay of Havana since the seventeenth century. The Virgin of Regla icon is also linked historically to the eighth-century defeat of the Spanish armies by the Moors. This religious image arrived in Havana in the 1680s from pilgrim Manuel Antonio of Cádiz.

During the French occupation of Spain beginning in 1808, the image of the Virgin of Regla was kept in Cádiz to protect it from pillaging.[9] The Reconquista, or the fifteenth-century Spanish defeat and expulsion of Moors (Spanish Muslims) from the Iberian Peninsula, represented a religious conflict that underpinned Spanish colonial ideas of blackness. Early modern Spanish religious conflicts around religious difference structured notions of racial difference in the colonial period. By the early nineteenth century, these ideas of difference were firmly entrenched. Aponte possibly recalled this division between Spanish and Moorish forces in order to visually convey how Spanish sovereignty derived from the violent removal of Moors and the Catholic church did not fit within his otherwise universal Black history. In addition, he included these figures because of their ties to Cádiz, an important Spanish port city, but also the location of the contemporary Spanish government debating important issues like abolishing slavery.

[9] Pavez Ojeda, "Painting of Black History," 308.

This modified Greek myth was drawn from the *Life and Fables of Aesop* in Aponte's library. Aponte's pantheon of gods included: Jupiter, Sagittarius, Vulcan, Venus, Saturn, Rhea, Neptune, Pluto, Isis, Apollo, and Calliope (motifs of antiquity).[10] In this *lámina*, Aponte collocates multiple moments of threats to Spanish political sovereignty and includes a "miracle" through which Spanish sovereignty is legitimized by an Egyptian goddess who also was tied in a multivalent way to the Black patron saint of Havana. Therefore, Spanish sovereignty was legitimized through an Egyptian goddess and a Black patron saint, not the rule of the king or the Christian God. Historian Jorge Pavez Ojeda advances that this "miracle" of the "resurrection" of Spanish sovereignty, originally lost to the Moors, and later threatened by the English in 1762, was framed by Aponte as a result of African transcontinental migration. As a result, Aponte posits that sovereignty must be reified in the universal mother of letters and oceans, wisdom, and fertility (Isis, a goddess from the Egyptian pantheon).[11]

When Aponte plays with historical time and space, he jumbles and conflates the past and the present along with a synthesis of pantheons of gods, planets, stars, and signs from which to formulate his own promulgation of sovereignty.[12] This universal Black sovereignty stems from predominantly female divine and celestial bodies not in the passive European episteme but a universal Black pantheon. Isis was seen as a representation of the cosmic and universal order. For Aponte to draw his notion of sovereignty from Isis, he did not derive sovereignty from Catholic

[10] Ibid., 290.
[11] Pavez Ojeda, "Painting of Black History," 294.
[12] Robert Weimann, "Past Significance and Present Meaning in Literary History," *New Literary History* Vol. 1 No. 1 (1969) 109.

Spanish rule, but from a source considered pagan. Aponte's universal Black history drew from Ethiopia and Egypt to imagine sovereignty outside of Spanish colonial rule. Aponte engaged a certain interdependence between the past and present to create this universal Black history.[13] In this "otherwise world," Black subjecthood and sovereignty originated from figures outside of the Greco-Roman pantheon or Catholic saints that had become syncretized as Black as a result of Spanish colonization. In this way, Aponte condemned Spanish sovereignty and its root in colonization by visually representing how their current predicament (French invasion of the Iberian Peninsula and destruction of sovereignty) relied on the direct oppression of Afro-diasporic subjects. Astrology and celestial bodies were figures through which Aponte could visually narrate this universe outside of principles enforced by Spanish rule and control of knowledge.

In the early modern Atlantic world, colonial powers racialized magical and occult knowledge held by enslaved people and other colonial subjects. As part of revolutionary discourses to overthrow colonial authority, subaltern intellectuals radicalized magical and occult knowledge by collaging them with dominant discourses. Diasporic Africans in the Americas brought beliefs in the magical potencies of the natural world.[14] The ability to know and manipulate the natural world helped mediate the formation of African identity.[15] The Atlantic (and the Caribbean) can be thought of as a single, complex unit of analysis in the creation of the

[13] Weimann, "Past Significance," 109.
[14] Susan Scott Parrish, "African Magi, Slave Poisoners," in *American Curiosity: Cultures of Natural History in the Colonial British Atlantic World*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006) 259.
[15] Ibid., 260.

modern world.[16] Aponte was not just invoking a call back to Africa (specifically Ethiopia), but crafting an Americocentricity to place his and other Afro-diasporic subjects' stories into a large web of Black universal history.[17] Aponte shows us that "between what has been said, the unsaid and what has yet to be said, nothing is completely impossible."[18] Chapter 1 considered the impossible history and "symbolics of revolution" of the Haitian Revolution. Chapter 3 opens the impossible and the otherwise to a universal level through the visual language of astrological bodies.

In imagining an "otherwise world" in his *libro de pinturas*, Aponte deliberately and precisely inverted European historical teleological time and space. Aponte was familiar with the works of Alonso de Sandoval and Antonio León Pinelo. He knew about African monstrousness, torrid zones, and generation and corruption like the curse of Ham. As such, he was familiar with their ideas about cosmic bodies and their influence on the lived reality of humans. But Aponte examined what none of them had considered: the ability of the heavens to generate a Black universe outside of this European construction of the Occidens and the Oriens. Europeans considered images, such as maps, to accurately represent a particular moment in time and its specific proportional distance to other objects on the surface of the globe. Aponte's *libro de pinturas* visually upended this Eurocentric vision of space and time by resisting strict proportionality and a specific moment in the historical telos.

Extra-illustration and other eighteenth-century intellectual and artistic practices chose to modify images to imbue them with a malleability.

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[16] Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London: Verso Books, 1993) 15.
[17] Gilroy, 191.
[18] Pavez Ojeda, 299.

Aponte's version participated in this intellectual current while simultaneously undermining Spanish commerce and sovereignty. Sovereignty did not derive from a Greco-Roman pantheon of gods or the Catholic church, but from a revolutionary collage of astrological, planetary, and heavenly bodies. No scholar before has analyzed the astrological and cosmic components of Aponte's *libro de pinturas*. If we include this layer of meaning in the *láminas*, it broadens the analytical horizon of collage in the *libro de pinturas* to visually intangible ideas such as sovereignty and commerce.

As such, Aponte's *libro de pinturas* is not only a visual, spoken, and written collage of Haiti and the unthinkable and the lettered secrets of Western Ethiopianism, but also a Black diasporic revolutionary cosmovision. By using the principles of multivalence and ekphrasis, Aponte combined them with his own diasporic practice to narrate the history of Black subjects in the New World while imagining a world where the violence of slavery was not unimaginable, but inconceivable in the principle of sovereignty. Aponte selectively read the books meant to degrade and subjugate him and other Afro-diasporic subjects, deeply understood them, and excised and collaged their mechanics to construct an Afro-diasporic universalism that saw a past, present, and future based in Black sovereignty and subjecthood.

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Author's Note

My name is Rachel Heil, and I am a senior majoring in history and minoring in English with a pre-law emphasis. While much of my undergraduate career has been dictated by my goal to eventually pursue law school, nothing could have prepared me for the enrapturing, transformative, and intellectually-challenging study of history that I discovered during my freshman year. As an unassuming yet curious nineteen-year-old, I had only ever thought of history in the context of AP exams and Princeton Review books, rigid metal desks, and faded whiteboards, all permanently affixed to the high school classroom. But I soon discovered through the myriad history courses I took at USC that history very much transcends these literal and figurative limits, helping me cultivate a keen sense of critical analysis and self-awareness that has served me well beyond the Social Sciences Building.

In particular, I realized how history could not only challenge my preconceptions about the world, but those that I held about myself, my identity, and my family. It dawned on me that I knew virtually nothing about my Chinese ancestry—thus, beginning with Professor Harkness's course on family genealogy, I immersed myself in the world of twentieth-century China that my parents and grandparents had known all too well, a volatile landscape of political and social upheaval. My family's stories grounded me within my ancestry in a microcosmic sense, but it was through the research I conducted for my honors thesis that I gained a contextual understanding of where I came from. While the story of my family differs vastly from that of my thesis's subject, Soong May-Ling,

exploring Soong's role as a transnational Chinese-American woman whose image was dictated by the racial and gender stereotypes of the United States helped me gain a clearer understanding of my own identity as a second-generation Chinese-American female. For aiding me in this process, I have Professors Kurashige and Ethington, my HIST 492 cohort, and the USC History Department to thank, as I would not be the person I am today without this research that will forever be near and dear to my heart.

China Doll Fantasies: Imaginings of China and Asian Women in Representations of Soong May-Ling, 1930-2003

Obituaries and Legacies of Soong May-Ling

"Over her dead body, cultural norms are reconfigured or secured, whether because sacrifice of the virtuous, innocent woman serves [as] a social critique and transformation or because a sacrifice of the dangerous woman reestablishes an order that was momentarily suspended due to her presence."

—Elisabeth Bronfen

Soong May-Ling was born in Shanghai on March 5, 1898 on the brink of a twentieth century that would bring sweeping changes to the nation of China. Educated in the United States before marrying Chinese Nationalist politician and future president of the Republic of China Chiang Kai-Shek (1887-1975), Soong assumed the unofficial role as the face of modernizing China at the onset of her political career in the 1930s. From that point onward, Soong occupied a liminal position along the physical and figurative borders of China and the US, thrusting her into a position of unparalleled visibility amongst the American public. Thus was born the "Madame Chiang Kai-Shek" image, a depiction that manifested in myriad ways within American print news media during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

From the bed of her quiet Manhattan apartment, Soong May-Ling took her final breath on October 23, 2003 at the age of 105. Remarking on her lengthy career and life that had spanned three centuries, political leaders, magazines, and newspapers from across the United States offered

their condolences to the Soong family. President George W. Bush proclaimed that generations of Americans would "always remember and respect her intelligence and strength of character."[1] *Time* magazine identified her as "a flower made of steel."[2] *The Washington Post* described her as "one of the world's most powerful, best-known and controversial women."[3]

While Soong May-Ling's death ended her physical presence on the world political stage, the pages of obituaries and public commemorations remained crucial sites in which the American public determined her posthumous legacy. It is important to note that within these obituaries, Soong *was* favorably remembered for her lasting impact on international politics and US-China relations: it would be misleading to represent these remembrances as uniformly derogatory or acrimonious. Untangling the multifaceted portrayals of Soong instead highlights the protean nature of her posthumous public image, one that could assume the coexistence of a woman who embodied "all that was good in China" and also had "little or no regard for human life."[4] In other words, by ending Soong May-Ling's legacy on a note of voicelessness, the American public created a *tabula rasa:* within this "Eastern space," Americans could continue negotiating and rationalizing understandings of US hegemony and influence in China and East Asia long after the height of her relevance in global affairs.

In keeping with past precedent, popular print news media continued to align Soong May-Ling with the stereotype of the Dragon Lady—and

[1] George W. Bush, "President's Statement on the Death of Madame Chiang Kai-Shek," *The White House,* October 24, 2003. Accessed November 21, 2021. https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/10/20031024-11.html.
[2] Pico Iyer, "A Flower Made of Steel," *Time*, November 3, 2003, 47.
[3] Bart Barnes, "Madame Chiang Kai-Shek Dies; Chinese Chief's Powerful Widow," in *The Washington Post*, October 25, 2003, B6.
[4] Ibid.

more specifically, the Corrupt First Lady. Journalist Bart Barnes wrote in *The Washington Post,* "There was a well-known saying and widely repeated saying about the Soong sisters that 'one loved money, one loved power and one loved China.' Soong Mei-ling was said to have been the one who loved power."[5] *Christianity Today* remembered Soong as "a complex figure… [known for] her ruthless political savvy."[6] Furthermore, obituaries emphasized the spellbinding and illicit nature of Soong's political prowess, as characteristic of the Dragon Lady. Describing her aura as a "mystique," *Time* magazine went so far as to write, "She wooed, wowed and chastised her spellbound listeners with a blend of compliments, barbs and pungent assertions."[7]

But while a Dragon Lady and Corrupt First Lady in her own image, myriad obituaries also only mentioned Soong May-Ling in linkage with her husband. After a mere four-sentence biographical outline of Soong's life, *The Abilene Reporter-News* remarked, "Madame and President Chiang Kai-Shek were once one of the world's most famous couples—a dashing general married to a beautiful, urbane woman in a tight Chinese silk dress." The article continued discussing the couple in tandem for the remainder of the obituary, outlining the rise and fall of the Kuomintang and Soong's political role *in serving her husband's regime*.[8] *The Indiana Gazette* employed the same structure, devoting the first third of its column to describing Soong autonomously from her husband before discussing her inextricable linkage to her husband's government.[9] Likewise, *Newsweek* specifically mentioned the corruptive context in

[5] Ibid.
[6] "North American News Wrap," in *Christianity Today,* December 2003, 23.
[7] Iyer, "Flower," 47.
[8] William Foreman, "Taiwan's 'eternal first lady' Madame Chiang Kai-Shek dies at age 105," in *Abilene Reporter-News,* October 25, 2003, 7A.
[9] "Madame Chiang Kai-Shek," in *Indiana Gazette*, October 24, 2003, 4.

which both husband and wife existed, concluding its obituary with, "The couple squandered millions before being exiled to Taiwan in 1949."[10]

Of course, Soong May-Ling *did* play a pivotal role in the rise, fall, and survival of her husband's political regime: the vast majority of her global advocacy efforts were rooted in garnering support for the preservation and reinstallment of the ROC in mainland China. Even following her husband's death in 1975, Soong continued to champion anti-communist causes and encouraged the political survival of the Kuomintang as a pillar of democracy amidst an increasingly-red East Asia. However, of greater importance is the fact that the aforementioned news articles framed her activities as serving her *husband*. Portraying Soong May-Ling as "her husband's diplomat" and "a propagandist for her husband's corrupt, incompetent government" not only perpetuated connotations of deceit endemic to the Corrupt First Lady, but also echoed Renee Tajima's discussion of Asian women in popular culture as serving the male patriarchal interests around them.[11] Thus, Soong May-Ling became an expendable object whose actions were not her own, denying her agency as an Asian woman.

The personhood stripped from Soong May-Ling builds upon the hypersexualization and ornamentalism associated with her image within print media sources—a trend that manifested in numerous obituaries. For example, Pico Iyer of *Time* magazine remembered Soong as "slim and graceful, clad in a black cheongsam."[12] The emphasis on Soong's figure and dress hearkens to both the corporeal sensuality and artificial materialism

[10] "Final Bows," in *Newsweek* 143, no. 1 (December 29, 2003), 124.
[11] Foreman, "Taiwan's 'eternal first lady,' " 7A, "Madame Chiang Kai-Shek," *Indiana Gazette*, 4, and Renee E. Tajima, "Lotus Blossoms Don't Bleed: Images of Asian Women," in *Making Waves: An Anthology of Writings By and About Asian American Women* (Beacon Press, 1989), 309.
[12] Iyer, "Flower," 47.

that defined her image in the 1960s and 1970s. The *National Review* echoed this sentiment, stating, "[Madame Chiang Kai-Shek] far outlived her fame… Older Americans remember her as an attractive and eloquent spokeswoman for her nation."[13] Specifically remembering Soong as an "attractive" spokeswoman realizes the inextricable sexualization of her posthumous image and legacy, as well as the intimate connection between sexual politics and global affairs. Mari Yoshihara affirms this link in arguing that, "While these different manifestations of gender and sexuality in U.S.-Asian relations are shaped by their specific historical, political, and economic contexts, they all point to the close connections between sexual politics and international relations."[14]

Given this connection between sexual politics and world affairs, race, gender, and class in representations of Soong May-Ling and Asian women were reconfigured in myriad ways according to the "historical, political, and economic contexts" of the time. Recollections of Asian women and a feminized China were therefore utilitarian and expendable, capable of rationalizing fluctuations in the strength of US hegemony in East Asia. In some cases, such as images of Soong prior to 1949, undertones of US paternalism and exceptionalism reverberated profoundly in order to aggrandize the imperialist influence of Western democratic values in nascent modern China. In other instances, such as representations of Soong amidst the backdrop of newly-communist China post-1949, the American public needed the Madame Chiang image to reaffirm the strength of US hegemony by painting the United States as the victim of increasingly-threatening Dragon Ladies like Soong. And with the onset

[13] "Madame Chiang Kai-shek died October 23 at the astonishing age of 105, having far outlived her fame," in *National Review* 55, no. 22 (November 24, 2003), 14.
[14] Mari Yoshihara, *Embracing the East: White Women and American Orientalism* (Oxford University Press, 2002), 192.

and eventual loss of the Vietnam War, the American public saw an opportunity to reassert the inferiority of communist East Asia by denying agency, voice, and personhood to Asian female representatives like Soong.

Utilitarian and expendable, representations of Soong May-Ling from 1930 through her death in 2003 were transmogrified in order to rationalize US diplomatic needs. On a larger scale, race, gender, and class within depictions of Asian women (proxies of a feminized China and East) aided in negotiating broader understandings of US hegemonic influence over time. And even after Soong May-Ling's death, these themes continued to dominate American imaginings of China and the East, even extending beyond the realm of print news media. In May 2015, the Metropolitan Museum of Art premiered the highly-anticipated exhibit "China: Through The Looking Glass." A fusion of Western dress and Chinese aesthetic undergirded by Edward Said's Orientalism, the exhibit housed everything from costumes, paintings, porcelain, film, and more in a magnificent culmination of chinoiserie, or what the Museum described as "enchanting reflections of Chinese imagery."[15] Visitors could tour winding labyrinths of Mao-inspired *Zhongshan* suits, calligraphy-adorned Chanel dresses, and ornate perfume bottles "fueled by the romance of China," all while listening to carefully-curated soundtracks from Hollywood China films that romanticized the friendship between China and the West.[16] Even attempting to engage with the historical and racial discourse surrounding the West's fetishization of Asia, the Met adopted Orientalism as its own internal dialogue and

[15] "Exhibition Overview," The Met, https://www.metmuseum.org/exhibitions/listings/2015/china-through-the-looking-glass.
[16] "Galleries 211 & 212," The Met, https://www.metmuseum.org/exhibitions/listings/2015/china-through-the-looking-glass/exhibition-galleries.

critique.[17] Their website asserted, "Through careful juxtapositions of Western fashions and Chinese costumes and decorative arts, [the exhibit] presents a rethinking of Orientalism as an appreciative cultural response by the West to its encounters with the East."[18]

[17] The Met's exhibit did not debut without scathing reviews from prominent Asian American cultural organizations and larger media outlets, which Anne Anlin Cheng synthesizes in "Ornamentalism: A Feminist Theory for the Yellow Woman." The *New York Times* reflected, "Old stereotypes unfold; art is reduced to being a prop in a fashion shoot," while Robert Lee of the Asian American Arts Centre "[charged] the museum with the continued exotification of Asia and Asians for profit." For the full text, see Holland Cotter, "In 'China: Through the Looking Glass,' Eastern Culture Meets Western Fashion," *New York Times,* https://www.nytimes.com/2015/05/08/arts/design/review-in-china-through-the-looking-glass-eastern-culture-meets western-fashion.html, and Robert Lee, "China: Through the Looking Glass—An Open Letter,"Asian American Arts Centre, artspiral.blogspot.com/2015/07/china-through-looking-glass-open-letter_20.html.

[18] The "Exhibition Galleries" page also reads: "In Lewis Carroll's *Through the Looking-Glass*, and *What Alice Found There* (1871), the heroine enters an imaginary, alternative universe by climbing through a mirror in her house. In this world, a reflected version of her home, everything is topsy-turvy and back-to-front. Like Alice's make-believe world, the China mirrored in the fashions in this exhibition is wrapped in invention and imagination. Stylistically, they belong to the practice of Orientalism, which since the publication of Edward Said's seminal treatise on the subject in 1978 has taken on negative connotations of Western supremacy and segregation. At its core, Said interprets Orientalism as a Eurocentric worldview that essentializes Eastern peoples and cultures as a monolithic other. While neither discounting nor discrediting the issue of the representation of 'subordinated otherness' outlined by Said, this exhibition attempts to propose a less politicized and more positivistic examination of Orientalism as a site of infinite and unbridled creativity… The ensuing dialogues are not only mutually enlivening and enlightening, but they also encourage new aesthetic interpretations and broader cultural understandings." For the full text, see "Exhibit Galleries," The Met, https://www.metmuseum.org/exhibitions/listings/2015/china-through-the-looking-glass/exhibition-galleries.

Figure 1.1 Photograph of Gallery 980 "Manchu Robe" from The Met's 2015 exhibit "China: Through the Looking Glass" (Hiroko Masuike/*The New York Times*)

Yet what *was* featured in the exhibit's mélange of Western images of China was not nearly as notable as what it *lacked*: any mention of Soong May-Ling. The closest mention came in reference to Western appropriation of modern *qipaos*, or *cheongsams*—a style of dress that American fashion columns once called "the side-slit dresses most closely identified with Madame Chiang Kai-Shek," yet forty years later, was simply described by the Met as "a form of romantic Orientalism that emphasizes the role of dress as a performative act."[19] Thus, just 12 years after Soong's death in her nearby Manhattan apartment, the Met failed to

[19] Marylou Luther, "Wrap Dress Latest in Orientalism," in *The Index-Journal* (Greenwood, South Carolina), December 17, 1971, 10, and "Gallery 980," The Met, https://www.metmuseum.org/exhibitions/listings/2015/china-through-the-looking-glass/exhibition-galleries.

make any mention of her impact on the West's imaginings and inventions of China.

The absence of Soong May-Ling in the Met's 2015 exhibit exemplifies just how protean and expendable images of Soong, Asian women, and feminized China truly were and still are. Tailored to fit the needs of the US public (who had begun to witness further transformations of China and US-China affairs under President Xi Jinping), representations of Soong—or rather, the lack thereof—in 2015 demonstrate just how debased her image had truly become in the eyes of the American public. Though China was once heralded as an exemplar of the potential for Western modernization, the gradual reddening of the state throughout the twentieth century forced the American public to rationalize the loss of its dominant influence. But with the onset of the twenty-first century and Xi Jinping's reign in 2013, the US instead began a cultural project of romanticizing China and its historic relationship with the US in order to defend its dominant—or at the very least, equal—positioning with the PRC. As demonstrated in the Met's exhibit, images of China devolved into an all-out fantasy: appropriative, idealized, and unrepresentative of the actual historical trajectory of US-China relations.

And what better way to solidify this fantasy than to remove Soong May-Ling from the narrative? Her personhood and influence now entirely erased, Soong was once the golden girl of US-China relations. But under the setting sun of US-China amity, the US began constructing its own storyline about the relationship between the West and the East to reassert its equal footing in US-China and US-East Asian relations. Providing the foundation for this fantasy were images of Asian women like Soong, who

lacked control over their public images in the eyes of the US public. To the United States, these women were not people but expendable tropes that could be written in and out of the US diplomatic narrative accordingly. Only with a conscious shift in perceptions of Asian women like Soong May-Ling from those rooted in fantasy to those rooted in reality can their agency and personhood be truly honored.

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Author's Note

Hey there, my name is Yunkyoung Jeong (though I go by Yuna!) and I'm a history major with minors in cultural anthropology and screenwriting. This past fall, I wrote a thesis on intersectionality in the 1970s women's liberation movement because I wanted to contribute to the recent movement in feminist scholarship that works to counter the widespread idea that second-wave feminism was solely white, straight, and middle class. This paper, taken from chapter two of my thesis, examines the Women's Press Collective, a collective of multiracial and working-class lesbian activists who wrote and published feminist poetry and literature from their headquarters in Oakland. They labeled themselves lesbian feminists, derived mainly from the radical feminist movement where patriarchy was considered the source of all oppression, adding an analysis of heterosexism. However, the WPC did not see homosexual oppression as unrelated to racism and classism. Their struggle to determine which economic stance to further the feminist cause was especially central to their group, and that's what I try to capture in this paper as I trace their shift from Maoist collective to hierarchical business. I'm so happy I was able to complete this thesis as part of my experience here at USC, and would like to thank everyone who made it possible, from my professors to my thesis buddies to the History department itself!

Lifestyle of Politics?: The Question of Capitalism and Sexuality in the Women's Liberation Movement

The Women's Press Collective Pursues Economic Liberation

Under the cover of an inky black October night in 1977, shadowy figures broke into the office of Diana Press, a lesbian-feminist printing press in Oakland. Bypassing the alarm system, they poured solvent, paint, ink, and chemicals onto 5,000 copies of Rita Mae Brown's upcoming book, meant to be Diana Press's bestseller, along with 4,500 copies of an unfinished work.[1] They continued their assault, moving onto the five printing presses that sustained the office and filling the wells with Comet cleanser, paint, and ink, cleverly choosing a method of attack that would not fully destroy the machine (and thus be replaceable with insurance), but would seep into the inner machinery and render anything printed unsaleable for years.[2] Because of this calculated strategy, the insurance company would go on to pay only about 10% of the $100,000 worth of actual damages. Finally, they blacked out the Rolodex files of relevant phone numbers with ink, decimated expensive photographic film layout pages necessary for printing, and, very deliberately, tore a framed sign with the initials "FEN" from the door and trampled it upon the floor.[3] These three little initials, which stood for Feminist Economic Network, were most likely the cause of the vandalism attack.

One of the smaller offices within the press that had been targeted

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[1] Grahn, *A Simple Revolution*, 248.
[2] Sandra Trimble, "'Pressure on Diana Press,'" *Gaysweek*, January 30, 1978.
[3] Grahn, *A Simple Revolution*, 249.

belonged to Judy Grahn, co-founder of the Women's Press Collective (WPC) alongside her partner, Wendy Cadden. By 1977, the Women's Press Collective had merged with Diana Press, another lesbian-feminist press that had moved from Baltimore to the Bay Area that March.[4] This merger had itself caused some disruption amongst the lesbian-feminist movement for the same reason the Feminist Economic Network was so controversial: it reeked, to its opponents, of bourgeois
capitalism. But why were lesbian feminists, who were supposedly derived from the white, middle-class women's liberation movement that claimed patriarchy was the primary source of all oppression, so concerned about capitalism?

This is part of a larger question that looks at what lesbian-feminist revolution looked like at all— was it solely a sexual revolution, or were there other elements involved? In this chapter, I examine the lesbian-feminist Women's Press Collective, their involvement in the Feminist Economic Network, and the resulting backlash in order to argue that lesbian feminist activism in the 1970s was not devoid of an economic dimension— in fact, it was a main point of discussion.

The Birth of the Women's Press Collective

The Women's Press Collective was formed in 1970 as a diverse group that recognized how race and class, not just gender, could oppress women—it was a "truly intersectional collaboration."[5] It was not wholly unusual as a lesbian-feminist group for its multiracial membership and

[4] Trimble, "Pressure on Diana Press."
[5] Del Rio, "That Women Could Matter," 104.

consciousness of race and class. It was, however, largely influential and one of the first collectives of its kind as the first lesbian-feminist organization in the Bay Area to form independently of the homophile movement.[6] Its founders, Judy Grahn and Wendy Cadden, were white, but diverged from the common perception of white feminists as bourgeois college students. Grahn had grown up working-class, joined the military where she was placed under barracks arrest for being openly lesbian, and attended Howard University as one of its few white students. Cadden, her lover, had been actively involved in the Civil Rights and anti-war movement, "leading [Grahn] into the various struggles in the Bay Area."[7] Other members included self-described "black activist dyke" Linda Wilson and Louise Merill, a working-class socialist-feminist from South America, along with "White, Native, Hispanic, and African American" writer and artist Red Jordan Arobateau, who identifies today as a trans man.[8] The WPC was created with the intention of providing women access to movement literature. Publishing their own work was part of how the women in the collective envisioned liberation— they believed that "women should have control over what is representative of our own movement."[9] Rejecting male control of knowledge production, they took it into their own hands and solidified their separatist stance. The collective, following the lead of the women's movement, rejected hierarchical leadership and for a short period of time even adopted the Maoist practice of marking their work as anonymous. This emphasis on communalism allowed for more women to

[6] Hobson, *Lavender and Red*, 44
[7] Grahn, *A Simple Revolution*, 108.
[8] Del Rio, "That Women Could Matter," 103.
[9] Del Rio, "That Women Could Matter," 141.

participate and recognized the value of "women's work" like cooking, shopping, cleaning, and the emotional aspect of community building in contributing to leadership.[10] The WPC made the West Coast a strong pillar of early lesbian feminism, connecting groups all over the nation to an intellectual network through trainings on printing and attending conferences. Nevertheless, the WPC's commitment to radical, collectivist solidarity began to change, as the group began to consider a surprising alternate pathway to working-class liberation: capitalism.

The Rise and Fall of the Feminist Economic Network

By 1976, the WPC had spent a year "mired in useless meetings," and it was becoming "apparent to everybody that the Women's Press Collective was going to die."[11] Burnout seeped in as the collective, driven mainly by volunteer work done on the side of other jobs, found it harder and harder to sustain its initial energy. But that year, Grahn visited a publishing enterprise on the other side of the country called Diana Press, run by radical lesbians Coletta Reid and Katherine (Casey) Czarnik. One year later, the two publishing groups would merge into one in an effort to keep each other alive. However, in 1976, Grahn found the members of Baltimore's Diana Press "a clutch of depressed radicals huddled in a dark house," for their ten months of work in the Feminist Economic Network had just collapsed.[12]

The Feminist Economic Network began in May 1975 as a meeting

[10] Ibid.
[11] Grahn, *A Simple Revolution*, 242; Trimble, "Pressure on Diana Press."
[12] Grahn, *A Simple Revolution*, 242.

between radical lesbians from all over the country. Their vision was for the FEN to "accept financial leadership for the feminist movement" and "lead an economic revolution that would benefit women, who continued to have trouble acquiring credit, by giving them access to small business loans."[13] By 1976, the FEN held $1 million in assets (valued at over $4.2 million in 2016) and included 3,500 account holders. It was time to expand.

The women of the FEN pooled together the money to buy an abandoned six-story building in downtown Detroit to serve as not only national headquarters but also a place in which feminist businesses could lease spaces and hold conferences. It became known as the Feminist Women's City Club (FWCC). The FWCC opened its doors officially on April 9, 1976 with a weekend-long gala celebration, Gloria Steinem giving the keynote talk in which she declared that "the eyes of the women of the world are on Detroit tonight."[14] Initial press in Detroit praised the club for bringing life back into the area. But it didn't take long for its reputation to sour— on the second day of celebrations, feminists from Ann Arbor stormed the building, injuring several women in the process. Some members of the FEN group themselves attributed this to the influence of FBI agents, but historian Joshua Clark Davis states that the FEN had actually hired these women from its Ann Arbor branch to assist with the renovation of the club before its opening.[15] The women had considered striking due to intolerable working conditions, claiming the FEN leaders "worked us like

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[13] Davis, "The Feminist Economic Revolution," 158; "Diana Press: An Overview," Subject Files: Publishers, Diana Press, box 11, folder 24, Duke University Library, Durham, NC, 6.
[14] Davis, "The Feminist Economic Revolution," 160.
[15] Grahn, *A Simple Revolution*, 241.

mules" and were more oppressive than "any male chauvinist pig" employer.[16] They decided to wait, however, until after the club opened.

Despite the initial celebrations, the FEN found itself facing the Ann Arbor women's criticisms alongside colossal operational costs and a smaller-than-expected membership base. The $100 yearly dues kept working-class women away, especially considering the recession, while the location downtown made the club less appealing to the suburban women who could afford to go. The Ann Arbor women continued their critiques of the FEN, publicizing their opposition through regional and national feminist publications. They claimed that the club was "too expensive to join, too enthusiastic about profits, and simply too capitalistic to serve the women's movement."[17] They called out the FEN for exploiting their labor, claiming the network "recruited them to work in a feminist utopia only to find that it honored few of its commitments."[18] The club fees were elitist, the leaders were hypocrites, and the FWCC represented a petty bourgeois distraction from authentic movement politics.

Of all the press that spread the Ann Arbor feminists' objections throughout the women's liberation movement, Martha Shelley's 22-page self-published essay "What is FEN?" was perhaps the most influential and damning. Martha Shelley was a member of the Women's Press Collective, and she stringently decried the FEN in her paper as a "fascist variety of lesbian feminism," ran by capitalist sellouts who had hypnotized women

[16] Davis, "The Feminist Economic Revolution," 160.
[17] Ibid., 161.
[18] Del Rio, "That Women Could Matter," 270.

like Grahn and Cadden into joining them.[19] Indeed, Grahn and the WPC had agreed to be part of the FEN, a choice that Shelley would explain in a 2003 interview:

> Judy and Wendy, I think, had the idea that these people knew how to make money. Well, the truth is, if you were in the abortion business [referring to the Oakland Feminist Women's Health Center], you could make money. And they bought the whole downwardly mobile dyke thing and all of that because they were just tired of being poor and this was – you know, it's like holding out a lottery ticket to somebody and saying, this is your key to riches.[20]

Shelley's paper, reflecting such an opinion about "the downwardly mobile dyke thing," was even sold on the counter of ICI: A Woman's Place, the bookstore where the presses for the Women's Press Collective were housed. Grahn felt that this made clear even the women around her, who knew her, "shared the analysis that FEN was evil, and that any approaches using capital, banking, and non-collective organizing principles were anti-movement."[21] This analysis was part of a larger idea gaining popularity amongst women's liberationists at the time: resistance to "cultural feminists." The term was rarely used in self-identification and more often applied disparagingly by some feminists to refer to those who believed an alternate women's culture was the path to liberation. Brooke Williams, once a member of the same lesbian-separatist group as Shelley, popularized the

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[19] Davis, "The Feminist Economic Revolution," 161; Grahn, *A Simple Revolution*, 250.
[20] Martha Shelley, interview by Kelly Anderson, transcript of video recording, October 12, 2003, Voices of Feminism Oral History Project, Sophia Smith Collection, pp. 53-54.
[21] Grahn, *A Simple Revolution*, 251.

term, accusing feminist businesses of being a part of cultural feminism and trying to "transform feminism from a political movement to a lifestyle movement."[22]

However, this was not how the FEN members viewed themselves. The radical lesbian activists that had spearheaded the network were fully aware of the politics of feminism and the emphasis on collective leadership passed down from the New Left. Coletta Reid, co-founder of Diana Press, analyzed the effect that "What is FEN?" had had on the feminist movement:

> I think that a lot of people all over the United States read that article and it sort of encouraged their ideas that we're [Diana Press] some sort of a huge giant who eats up other businesses, and all we were trying to do was to help out so it [the Women's Press Collective] didn't go under. I think that the women's movement hasn't taken seriously the fact that the structures that have been formed up to this time are not adequate to our task. **They're so caught up in the rhetoric of collectivity, of anti-capitalism, of money is not important, money is dirty, being anti-business, that they lose sight of the fact that if you don't succeed on those levels you won't exist**.[23][emphasis mine]

The FEN had made the debate over whether a feminist economy was the proper political direction into one of the main issues of the year, and the battle raged on in the press throughout 1976. Del Rio claims that "little else

[22] Davis, "The Feminist Economic Revolution," 162.
[23] Trimble, "Pressure on Diana Press," 17.

provoked as much vitriol in the lesbian feminist community," as "many well-known lesbians were at the heart of [the FEN] effort and California lesbian feminism was deeply entangled in the course of events."[24] By the end of the year, FEN member Nancy Stockwell described the situation as "the second great battle of the Women's Civil War."[25]

However, the FEN itself lost its place in the fight six months after the opening of the FWCC. Unable to surmount the financial and political challenges that had accompanied their venture with the Detroit building, the FEN closed the club and dissolved as an organization. It was here when Judy Grahn, on a visit to the East Coast for a poetry reading, stopped by Diana Press to check in on the women and figure out the truth behind the rumors flying around about the FEN. Though she found them "disappointed that they had not pressed the movement forward," they were not quite ready to give up yet.[26] Grahn knew that the WPC had lost steam, and the group was in debt from the loans for books that they were supposed to have sold. The women at Diana Press agreed to move over to Oakland and merge with the Women's Press
Collective, keeping the former group's name. The decision was made mostly by Grahn and Cadden, who believed the remaining few members trusted them, as the people who had worked the most on the press, to make the right choice. Martha Shelley, coincidentally (or not?[27]), was

[24] Del Rio, "That Women Could Matter," 253.
[25] Del Rio, "That Women Could Matter," 252.
[26] Grahn, *A Simple Revolution*, 242.
[27] Grahn notes that when she signed the deal to merge with Diana Press, she was not aware that Shelley's cross-country trip had been for the purpose of making enough money to keep the WPC up and running. She admits that "no doubt she [Shelley] would have objected." Ibid., 243.

away, handing out WPC books and procuring donations all over the country, amassing $9,000. But when she returned, it was too late to stop the merger— in early 1977, the WPC became one with Diana Press.

Caption reads: Coletta Reid and Casey Czarnik for Diana Press and Wendy Cadden and Judy Grahn for the Women's Press Collective at the official "signing and sealing" of the Diana Press and Women's Press collective merger. Photo by Barbara Fisher.

The Break-In

The troubles for Diana Press, however, were far from over. Martha Shelley's "What is FEN?" had helped create an atmosphere of distrust in the Bay Area towards the Diana Press and any group that attempted to achieve what were perceived as anti-political, capitalist goals. Immediately, the group realized their financial situation was more difficult than they had ever encountered in Baltimore. Nevertheless, in September 1977, the women of Diana Press decided to take a bold and drastic measure and

geared up for a huge production push of eleven books in one go— only for the break-in on October 25, 1977, to stop them in their tracks. Most likely, from Grahn's perspective, the attack was from within the movement. The FEN sign as well as the desks of FEN members had been targeted alongside the books associated with the old Diana Press, but the books written by Grahn and Pat Parker were untouched.[28] Considering how significant the backlash against FEN had been in the Bay, the motive was clear: to nip the beginnings of a perceived capitalist feminism in the bud. Coletta Reid expressed a reluctance to admit this possibility but conceded that "people have been extremely critical of our structure in the past because we do call ourselves a business and we do have a hierarchy, we're not structured as a cooperative," realizing that it would be short-sighted to ignore this very real criticism of Diana Press.[29] Who exactly this group might have been led to even more speculation as the press members recalled arguments with certain collectives and encountered, after the break-in, times when women would run away from them at feminist conferences. Grahn believed it would have made sense for the vandals to have been "a Marxian group who didn't want to be associated with the bad rep of FEN, or who had stopped their radical politics altogether but owed hundreds of dollars to the press," but never actually discovered the true culprits.[30]

In her January 1978 interview with *Gaysweek*, Reid remained steadfast in her opinion that feminist businesses were a step forward for the

[28] Grahn, *A Simple Revolution*, 250.
[29] Trimble, "Pressure on Diana Press," 17.
[30] Grahn, *A Simple Revolution*, 251.

movement. She scoffed at the fact that "a lot of times people think that being a non-profit organization makes you more politically pure. So noble! *(Laughter)* And less 'capitalist' as if there was such a possibility."[31] Quite a few women in the movement agreed with her and support, in the form of money and letters, flooded in, encouraging Diana Press to go on.[32] Nevertheless, the press soon crumbled, unable to bear the financial and emotional burdens that the vandalism had dramatically exacerbated. The setback sapped the enthusiasm from most of the members, and for an entire year the leadership was entangled in disagreements on how the press should proceed. Emotional burnout coupled with mounting financial difficulties led to the eventual collapse of Diana Press in 1979.

Other presses stepped in to continue their work and fulfill the desire for women-centered work that the WPC and Diana Press had helped shape into a material one. But as Grahn reflected in her autobiography:

> Other presses would step into the gap left by our collapse; demand for women-centered work had created a healthy women's press movement and what was now called a "market," but none of the rising presses were as avidly ambitious as Diana Press or as rooted in the grassroots, working-class radical politics of the 1960s. None knit together the cultural workers with the socialist-politicos, the women's history with the emergent spirituality, as we had done and would have continued to do.[33]

Grahn, like the other women in the FEN and Diana Press, saw their venture

[31] Trimble, "Pressure on Diana Press," 17.
[32] Ibid., 18.
[33] Ibid., 252.

into business as the direct result of origins in grassroots, working-class politics, not as the sellout that some feminists considered it to be. Nor did their lesbian separatist politics truly isolate them from other movements—in fact, Grahn regarded their integration of socialist and cultural feminists one of their most vital achievements. Both economics and culture were essential to the revolution of gender and sexuality norms that the WPC and Diana Press sought. Perhaps many of the core members of both collectives being from working-class backgrounds was instrumental in alerting them to the fact that money was indeed a necessity of keeping a person, a group, a movement alive.

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Author's Note

In the fall of my junior year, I took a class on genocide and mass violence with Professor Wolf Gruner (who would eventually become my thesis advisor) where I wrote a research paper about American media presence during the Vietnam War. Through this paper, I was able to explore more deeply a topic that had always interested me: how American presence in the war impacted Vietnam. However, through all my sources, I noticed a significant lack of any Vietnamese voices and, most especially, the voices of Vietnamese women. From this, I decided to write my honors thesis specifically *about* this lack of women's voices - exploring the stories and experiences that the U.S. brushes under the rug in recollections of the war. Through the research for this project, I had the opportunity to learn about a completely different perspective on the war, and to read memoirs and accounts from the women who experienced it. Through these women, I uncovered not only a history of victimization but also strength and reclaiming of agency in the face of violence and exploitation. I hope my thesis does justice to those women brave enough to share their stories.

More than Merchandise: Women's Experiences of Sexual Violence and REbellion During the Vietnam War

"Pretty in wartime meant danger – although for some girls it also meant money."[1] *– Le Ly Hayslip*

Introduction

Today, the Vietnam War is remembered as "the most convulsive and traumatic of America's three wars in Asia in the 50 years since Pearl Harbor."[2] Tallying 50,000 American soldiers killed, it is famed for its brutality and guerrilla tactics.[3] However, the sexual aspects of the violence are often forgotten in American memory, which is mainly constructed with U.S. veteran testimonies. With U.S. troops flooding into South Vietnam, bringing with them economic and political upheaval, Vietnamese women were expected to navigate traditional, patriarchal gender hierarchies while victim to American sexual violence and the destruction of their agricultural economy. From small villages to American bases to bustling cities like Saigon, the stories of Vietnam's women paint a vivid picture of not just the forgotten sexual world of the war, but of the foreign relations that characterized the Vietnam War.

Through research into American and Vietnamese oral histories, memoirs, and government documents, my thesis expands this important conversation by questioning why understanding the role of sex is meaningful to understanding the Vietnam War overall. It interrogates

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[1] Hayslip, Le Ly. *When Heaven and Earth Changed Places*. New York: Penguin Books, 1989, 112-113.
[2] Herring, George C. "America and Vietnam: The Unending War." *Foreign Af airs* 70, no. 5 (Winter 1991): 104-19.
[3] Schulzinger, Robert D. "The Legacy of the Vietnam War." In *The Columbia History of the Vietnam War*, edited by David L. Anderson, 383-408. N.p.: Columbia University Press, n.d.

both how sex and sexual violence characterized and represented the Vietnam War, as well as how and why the U.S. military used sex and sexual violence as a form of domination and weapon of war.[4] It also explores the sex industry enhanced by U.S. occupation, including its accompanying sexual abuses, as it seeks to understand the role of sex and sexual violence, U.S.-Vietnamese foreign relations, women's roles in the war, and the oft-forgotten or intentionally covered-up sexual crimes that played a hugely influential part in the violence.

With a military system that turned a blind eye to war crimes and promoted a culture of hyper-masculinity, rape[5] and sexual crimes were rampant among U.S. soldiers during the war. "Many women were raped," quotes one Vietnamese witness in an interview following the war, "But they never talk about it."[6] While massacres like My Lai and the Incident on Hill 192 are well-known examples of sexual violence during the war, veteran testimonies and military documents found during my research attest to a truly shocking amount of sexual violence and torture, which the U.S. weaponized to assert dominance and power. "It was like I was a god," quoted one U.S. soldier on the psychology of rape. "I could take a life, I could screw a woman."[7] In the years following the war, increased veteran confessionals and Vietnamese accounts, included in collections like Martha

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[4] For the purposes of this thesis, sexual violence will be defined as any form of violence associated with sex or genitalia. As such, sexual violence as a blanket term includes such acts as rape, and torture or violence involving sexual organs. Sexual violence as a term will also include violence committed directly before, after, or during a sexual act, or as a result of this act.

[5] This thesis will use the definition of rape cited by the U.S. Department of Justice that defines rape as penetration without consent of the victim. Other instances of sexual coercion without consent will be described as "sexual violence" or "sexual assault" depending on the physical violence of the situation.

[6] Hess, Martha. *Then the Americans Came: Voices from Vietnam*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1994, 108

[7] Stur, Heather Marie. *Beyond Combat: Women and Gender in the Vietnam War Era*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011, 162.

Hess's *Then the Americans Came* as well as through autobiographies like Le Ly Hayslip's *When Heaven and Earth Changed Places,* attest to an unprecedented amount of sexual violence.[8]

However, U.S. treatment of Vietnamese women expanded beyond physical violence into forms of economic exploitation. "The Americans need girls; we need dollars," cited one Saigon official during the war, explaining the explosion of the sex industry. "Why should we refrain from the exchange?"[9] Forced out of their agricultural lifestyles by U.S. bombings and chemical warfare, peasant women turned to other sources of revenue. Sex became not only a weapon but something to be bought and sold, and prostitution skyrocketed to the extent that, at the peak of the war, Saigon housed 400,000 prostitutes - one for every American GI.[10]

For a woman living in Vietnam at the height of the war, sex was often her greatest liability as well as her only form of leverage. Because of this, from rape to prostitution, sex played a key role in U.S.-Vietnamese relations during the war. Even today, the repercussions of the sexual violence of the war echo in the thousands of women killed by American soldiers following sexual assault and torture, as well as in programs like the 1989 American Homecoming Act, which allowed Vietnamese mothers to immigrate to the U.S. with their children born of U.S. soldier fathers.[11] Sexual violence is crucial to understanding the Vietnam War, both for its role as a weapon of war and industry, and for its importance in

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[8] Hess, *Then the Americans Came;* Hayslip, Le Ly. *When Heaven and Earth Changed Places*. New York: Penguin Books, 1989.
[9] Eisen Bergman, Arlene. *Women of Viet Nam*. San Francisco: Peoples Press, 1974, 82.
[10] Bergman, *Women of Viet Nam,* 80.
[11] Lee, Sabine. "Bui Doi: The Children of the Vietnam War." In *Children Born of War in the Twentieth Century*, 112-50. N.p.: Manchester University Press, 2017. 135.

characterizing foreign relations between the U.S. and Vietnam through Orientalism and power hierarchies. This thesis looks at Vietnamese women's experiences in conjunction with American soldiers' to examine how these relationships reflected the overall war, and to view Vietnamese women and U.S. soldiers not solely as victim and perpetrator, but rather as a complex interweaving of foreign relations, violence, and resistance.

Through four chapters, as well as a history and conclusion, I argue that the role of sex as a method of American domination was crucial in shaping U.S.-Vietnamese relations, and that sex as it was utilized during the war serves as an overall representation for how and why America commenced and withdrew from the Vietnam War. The first chapter addresses rape, sexual violence, and sexual torture. Symbolically, sexual assault is a perfect representation of U.S. intervention in Vietnam, wherein an occupying force enters a foreign nation against the wishes of its citizens. The Vietnam War was highly opposed by the Vietnamese, with eighty percent of the population supporting communist Northern president Ho Chi Minh over U.S.-allied Southern president Ngo Dinh Diem.[12] Rape and sexual torture also reflect general U.S. policies in Vietnam, which featured unprecedented brutality. By using sexual violence as a form of domination, a weapon of war, and a dehumanization tactic, Chapter One shows how U.S. soldiers weaponized Vietnamese women's sex against them, seeing them as "not human."[13] It further discusses the sexual violence against Southern women compared to Northern women, sexual torture of political prisoners, and the U.S. military complex as a major cause of the violence.

[12] Bergman, *Women of Viet Nam,* 55.
[13] Ibid., 67.

In contrast, Chapter Two elaborates on sexual violence and coercion by analyzing the sex industry and how American destruction of the Vietnamese economy forced the explosion of prostitution. It examines American Orientalism and fetishization of Vietnamese women, and argues that these perceptions serve as a reflection of the overall American view of the Vietnam War as sexualized, foreign, and "exotic."[14] Additionally, Chapter Two studies the obliteration of agricultural villages and the influx of peasant women into cities and brothels as a last economic resort. It argues that the coercion of peasant women into prostitution served as a form of rape and proved the complete economic domination of the U.S. military, which had the power to both destroy and create industries, as well as touching on the bar girl industry, interracial relationships, and U.S. military sanctioning of prostitution. The sexual relationships between the U.S. and Vietnam clearly show the power dynamics of the war and U.S. perceptions of the Vietnamese as both exotically sensual and submissive, as well as the need to dominate them, whether forcefully or economically.

Chapter Three focuses on military and government reception of the sex industry, from both American and Vietnamese outlets. It examines U.S. responses to reported rape and sexual assault cases, primarily those during the My Lai massacre. It analyzes released government documents to conclude that the U.S. government condoned a culture of violence and femicide among its soldiers, contributing to the landscape of sexual crimes. The chapter then discusses Vietnamese government reaction to the sex industry, contrasted with American reaction. While the Vietnamese promoted a culture of chastity and marriage, the U.S. government adopted

[14] Boczar, "Uneasy Allies," 191.

a policy of condoning sex work serving the American military. America's superior economic and political power forced South Vietnam to succumb to U.S. policies and wishes, allowing sex work to grow within legal channels. Through this dialogue, Chapter 3 uses government reaction towards sex work to prove the complete U.S. political domination over Vietnam.

Finally, Chapter 4 focuses on female rebellion and how Vietnamese women's use of their own sex reflects the overall war and American withdrawal. Through female resistance to sexual exploitation, as well as leveraging their very femininity and sexuality, it examines Vietnamese women's secret rebellion. It first discusses Vietnamese women serving in the war effort, before examining prostitution as a way for women to lift themselves and their families out of poverty and gain a modicum of independence. The bar girl industry, for example, gave young women a chance to break away from the strict patriarchal culture of Vietnam and find freedom in big cities. Additionally, this chapter discusses American fear of Vietnamese women as proof of the emotional power these women held. It examines prostitutes subtly fighting back against American occupation, smuggling bombs into U.S. bases and information out of them.[15] The ways in which Vietnamese women found power and defiance, despite having every disadvantage, reflects the tenacity of Vietnamese resistance that contributed to America's withdrawal and the eventual communist victory.

As it moves from sexual violence to sexual liberation, this thesis addresses several research questions. How did sex and sexual violence influence the war, and how did they reflect the overall war and foreign

[15] Bergman, *Women of Viet Nam,* 86.

relations? How common was sexual violence, who experienced it, and who perpetuated it? Why do we forget about it in memories of the Vietnam War? Was there any way women managed to find agency during the war – not despite their bodies and their sex, but because of it? And, finally, why is understanding the role of sex important?

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Author's Note

This thesis was both the worst and best experience of my life. I endeavored on an intellectual journey to record and pay my respects to the Vietnamese diaspora in Germany. I learned about not only the stories of Vietnamese refugees, contract workers, and asylum seekers, I learned about myself and my role in the world.

Not Your Model Migrant: The Impact of the Vietnamese Miracle Stereotype on the Vietnamese Diaspora in Germany

The Rise of the Cigarette Mafia Stereotype

As the layoffs and stagnation of economic opportunity during German reunification continued, Vietnamese contract workers were left with little opportunity for employment due to inadequate preparation from the GDR government. Mai-Phuong Kollath, a former contract worker, described her actual experience being trained for her work in the GDR to be drastically different from her expectations. Kollath stated her labor contract, which was translated to her and stated the purpose of the five year term to be mutual solidarity and a training that would allow her to develop the Vietnamese economy.[1] This expectation was soon surprised by the realization that Kollath was being prepared for familiar tasks:

> The German classes began. I thought, that's strange, nothing but 'plate,' 'pot,' and 'knife.'After two months of German classes, they said: we're putting you in the kitchen. In 1981, cooking was not a profession in Vietnam. We women always have to cook anyway, what's the point of this training?[2]

Kollath and other Vietnamese contract workers were surprised that underneath the facade of mutual support and solidarity between the GDR and Vietnam, was the use of contract workers for unskilled, tedious, and dangerous tasks in the factories. Dao Quang Vinh worked with a six person

[1] Mai-Phuong Kollath, Oral Interview, Bunerland - Migrants in the GDR, 2020.
[2] Ibid.

team on an iron pressing machine in a clothing factory.[3] Another Vietnamese contract worker, Nguyen Do Thinh, began work in a shipping loading station in the port of Rostock, until the work became too arduous and dangerous for him and resulted in him being placed as a laborer on a crane workshop.[4] In all of these positions, there was no training program or integration course, the workers learned as they carried out the task continually each day. When they were all laid off from their jobs, some workers like Nguyen Do Thinh would remain in Germany and begin participating in speculative trading, buying goods wholesale, and selling supplies to vendors or acting as vendors themselves:

> An Audi 100, big tank of a car, drive to Berlin, Hamburg, Kruezberg, get goods and deliver them to Vietnamese traders, who sold them on the streets: giftware, tea sets, video cassettes, all the things that were sold on the streets soon after reunification. I managed to earn pretty good money that way.[5]

The loss of employment and the wave of Western capitalist goods into the GDR opened an opportunity for the remaining workers to apply the skills and experiences learned in their side market practices on selling goods openly in trading markets. As Vietnamese workers began to more openly buy and sell various goods and commodities, the resentment and xenophobia towards foreigners and the Vietnamese by the German public

[3] Dao Quang Vinh, Oral Interview, Archive of Refuge, 2021
[4] Nguyen Do Thinh, Oral Interview, Bunerland - Migrants in the GDR, 2020.
[5] Ibid.

began to become more open as well. In the GDR, racism and xenophobia were denied by the government, which claimed only solidarity, not hostility existed between the East Germans and foreigners like the Vietnamese.[6] Incidents and reports of violence and racism in the GDR contradicted these claims, but the government continued to suppress any open discrimination and racism, and there was stronger underly racist hostility against other contract workers like the Mozambicans due to their skin color and identity. [7] The removal of the GDR government apparatus meant underlying hostilities against the Vietnamese contract workers began to emerge more openly. Mai-Phuong Kollath captured the vulnerable state of the Vietnamese in her oral interview, stating, "Suddenly, you're no longer welcome. You're somehow dirty and a blight in the eyes of the citizens."[8] Fired Vietnamese contract workers now had to navigate uncertain political statuses and make a living in the midst of this heightened racism and xenophobia. The banner of solidarity dropped as the question of the role Vietnamese workers played in a unified Germany remained. As the German and Vietnamese governments along with the Vietnamese attempted to answer this question, the introduction of illicit cigarette selling on the streets of Germany entered public discourse and embed a harmful stereotype that would dismantle the model minority stereotype of the Vietnamese in East Germany and instead create a dangerous and racist projection of Vietnamese identity used for political leverage on Vietnamese

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[6] Mike Dennis (2007) *Working under Hammer and Sickle: Vietnamese Workers in the German Democratic Republic, 1980–89, German Politics*, 16:3, 353.
[7] Ibid, 351.
[8] Mai-Phuong Kollath, Oral Interview, Bunerland - Migrants in the GDR, 2020.

deportation.

The illegal market trade of cigarettes first began with Polish citizens, now able to travel to and from West Berlin after 1989. As more Poles entered West Berlin, smokers could choose between heavily taxed cigarettes in tobacco shops or cheap illegal cigarettes from Poland sold by street dealers. The trade grew to such a scale that even the Berlin based newspaper, '*die tageszeitung'* published a language advice piece on how to order cigarettes in Polish.[9] The West Berlin government, however, cracked down on Polish cigarette sellers just as the trade began to grow, pressured by the public's desire to maintain law and order.[10] While the Polish vendor trade was hampered by police enforcement in West Berlin, the Vietnamese cigarette trade was beginning to grow, attracting former contract workers experienced in purchasing and selling goods in GDR.

Vietnamese contract workers were used to finding alternative forms of earning income from experience working in the GDR. Dao Quang Vinh, when speaking of his speculative sales of random goods, claimed that "all of us expected to earn more in our side jobs."[11] Selling goods like Polish cassettes and CDs was just an extension of this practice. Vinh, in the early 1990s, had no employment, income, or support and his rent increased to 300 Marks a month.[12] This rent increase was a common practice by renters

[9] Salska, E., and A Böhm, Guten tAG - Dzien Dobry - Dschiin dobri, die Tageszeitung, 8 April 1991
[10] Von Lampe, Klaus. (2002). *The Trafficking in Untaxed Cigarettes in Germany: A Case Study of the Social Embeddedness of Illegal Markets*. The contraband drug market is reported to have totaled 4 to 7 percent of the overall cigarette market in Germany, or almost 14 billion cigarettes out of the legal cigarette market.
[11] Dao Quang Vinh, Oral Interview, Archive of Refuge, 2021
[12] Ibid.

to take advantage of the Vietnamese and encourage evictions.[13] It was during this difficult time that Vinh decided to sell cigarettes. Vinh described the experience to be simply a way to earn money, and that many including himself were ignorant of the illegalities of the trade.[14]

The introduction of serious criminal issues came from the extortion of vulnerable Vietnamese vendors by Vietnamese gangs. The visibility, illegality, and profitability of Vietnamese cigarette vendors made them a susceptible target to Vietnamese extortionists that offered "protection payments" to prevent interference on vendors.[15] Along with this influx of criminal groups came naturally violent disputes over spheres of influence, leading to bloody and visible shootouts between gangs.[16] The majority of the tens of thousands of former Vietnamese contract workers and other Vietnamese asylum seekers from other Eastern European countries did not participate in the violence. They were more likely to be victims of this gang violence or victims of racism and assault by East Germans angry about their presence.

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[13] Kolinsky, Eva. 2004. "Former Contract Workers from Vietnam in Germany between State Socialism and Democracy, 1989-1993." German as a Foreign Language 3, 92
[14] Dao Quang Vinh, Oral Interview, Archive of Refuge, 2021
[15] Von Lampe, Klaus. (2002). *The Trafficking in Untaxed Cigarettes in Germany: A Case Study of the Social Embeddedness of Illegal Markets, 154.*
[16] Ibid, 154.

Figure 2.8 Police arresting a vendor in the crackdown against the illegal cigarette trade. These visible arrests of Vietnamese cigarette vendors also contributed to a harmful image and stereotype of Vietnamese sellers and workers. Photo: Ann-Christine Jansson.[17]

This narrative of Vietnamese vendors being victims and pawns of extortion contradicted the narrative formulated by both the German press and government, which viewed the cigarette trade from the perspective of organized crime, violence, and corruption. This narrative favors the German government's dispute in repatriating the 20,000 remaining Vietnamese contract workers that remained till their contract term was finished. A *New York Times* article covering the violence on the Vietnamese in Germany reported six men killed in a Vietnamese housing unit, with "fifteen more have been killed in other cities in eastern Germany, some

[17] Berger, Almuth. "Verhandlungen Unter Schwierigen Bedingungen." Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung, 11 June 2020.

beheaded with samurai-style swords."[18] The article described the weapons used in an unknown number of killings as "samurai-style swords." Whether or not the weapon is an actual medieval samurai sword, the impact of such a description invokes a more violent, barbaric killing than with a regular weapon. It seems that the description is more of an eye-catcher to sensationalize the deaths and consequently depict a more gruesome image of Vietnamese violence.

Later on in the article, the German government argued that the reluctance of the Vietnamese government to admit these deported workers was due to the fear that some returning as the "brutal gangsters" or even that "high-ranking Vietnamese Government officials or military officers may be behind the gangs operating here."[19] The surge of reporting on Vietnamese violence within the cigarette industry paralleled the ongoing disputes with the German and Vietnamese governments in the context of the repatriation of the remaining Vietnamese contract workers and asylum seekers.[20] "Cigarette Mafia" became an embedded and harmful term that brought the conservative rhetoric against Vietnamese migrants into German discourse. Dao Quang Vinh recalled hearing the term multiple times in the media, but was confused about its origin since the cigarette trading he participated in was decentralized and small.[21]

The average Vietnamese cigarette vendor did not represent the

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[18] Kinzer, Stephen. "Berlin Journal;in Germany, Vietnamese Terrorize Vietnamese." The New York Times, The New York Times, 23 May 1996.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Bui, Pipo. 2003. *Envisioning Vietnamese Migrants in Germany: Ethnic Stigma, Immigrant Origin Narratives, and Partial Masking*. Münster: Lit Verlag, 71.
[21] Dao Quang Vinh, Oral Interview, Archive of Refuge, 2021

violent and corrupt nature of organized crime in extortion of vendors. Not all former contract workers sold cigarettes as well. This was a myth perpetuated by the representation and primary coverage of national media in Germany.[22] Smaller, local newspapers were careful to make the differentiation, but the shorter reports in national tabloids failed to do so and imprinted a general stereotype of the Vietnamese model worker turned shady cigarette dealer into public discourse. The German government utilized the oversaturated and sensationalized coverage of Vietnamese cigarette violence as another pressure factor toward the Vietnamese government to accept more Vietnamese asylum seekers in Germany.

The end of the contract labor agreements in socialist nations after the fall of the Berlin Wall did not end the drive for Vietnamese migrants to make a living. The introduction of goods from West and East Europe along with a lack of employment opportunities encouraged an environment for former Vietnamese contract workers to begin vendor roles in trade markets. These roles were much more public and visible than the underground sales and trades during employment in the GDR. It opened up a window of visibility and interaction with positive moments of interaction and trade, but mostly constructed a scapegoat for the economic and social crises during German reunification. The employment scarcity and economic recession fueled the rise of right wing groups that were suppressed under the GDR, but grew up to visible prominence in attacks

[22] Bui, Pipo. 2003. Envisioning Vietnamese Migrants in Germany: Ethnic Stigma, Immigrant Origin Narratives, and Partial Masking. Münster: Lit Verlag, 71

against foreigners including the Vietnamese. The Rostock and Lichtenhagen riots beginning August 22nd, 1992 was a clear example of the explosiveness and violence of right wing groups aiming to attack foreigners like Vietnamese contract workers and asylum seekers. At the height of the riots, German right wing extremists threw petrol bombs into the housing units containing former Vietnamese contract workers while over 3,000 of the German public cheered on.[23] German police were overwhelmed and acted passively to stop the riots. No one was killed, but the televised events shocked the German nation. Anh Dang recalled watching the news unfold on television, horrified that the German country that treated him so well could harbor extremist and dangerous sentiment against the Vietnamese.[24]

The introduction of contraband cigarettes to a heavy-smoking East German population provided East Germans cheaper cigarettes, but left vulnerable, predominantly Vietnamese vendors exposed to extortion and gang violence. The sensational coverage of the gang related attacks around cigarette vendors and the German government desire to deport the remaining Vietnamese contract workers and other Vietnamese that migrated to Germany from other Eastern European countries created a negative stereotype of the Vietnamese. This Vietnamese population, uncertain in citizenship status and unable to obtain a traditional job, did their best to survive in Germany amidst this heightened racism and government pressure. Moving to the West, the Vietnamese, well-integrated and stable in West Germany, confronted their own issues

[23] "Past Present Future." Past Present Future | Six Memorial Pieces for theww.rostock-lichtenhage Pogrom of Rostock Lichtenhagen 1992.
[24] Anh Dang, Oral Interview, December 30, 2021

due to this stereotype. The response was a reflection and construction of the origins of their arrival into a model minority stereotype: the lost in sea boat refugee, rescued and successful due to West German support.

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Germany: A Case Study of the Social Embeddedness of Illegal Markets.

Author's Note

Throughout my academic career, I have had an interest in pairing language acquisition with my historical studies. Since I was eight, my dream was to become an archaeologist and a scholar of the past. Alongside my archaeological dreams, I learned the French language from kindergarten to college, majoring in the language. And this year, I finally got to coalesce my passions: studying the past and the French language and culture together.

In my last year at USC, I was able to combine my interests by writing my history honors thesis on ecological thought in New France where I argue that seventeenth-century French depictions of nature facilitated the European commodification of Canada. Like other Europeans who crossed the Atlantic, Jesuits judged the worth of flora and fauna by estimating their ability to provide economic benefits for the French in the region stretching from the St. Lawrence Valley through the Great Lakes. Close connections between ecosystems and economy in colonial North America were often inseparable, with colonial economies relying on Indigenous knowledge and use of the environment for trade and market expansion.

Next year at graduate school, I seek to expand my project by consulting more sources from the past and present, such as texts written by Jesuits translating Indigenous languages. I plan to continue studying cultural exchanges in New France by expanding the category of information in which I do historical analysis to find Indigenous agency in visual and textual constructions of nature and space in New France.

A Visual Conquest: Cartography, Codices, and Commodification in New France, 1534-1673

Introduction

> *« Quel moyen de réduire en petit tant de si vastes terres et de parler en peu de mots de*
> *tant de différents objets, desquels si je voulais discourir à fond je n'aurais jamais fait ? »*
>
> *"How can I reduce into a small space so many vast lands, and speak in few words of so*
> *many different objects about which, if I tried to speak thoroughly, I would never finish?"*[1]
>
> -Louis Nicolas, *Histoire Naturelle des Indes Occidentales (c. 1664)*

The Colonial World of New France

In June 1611, Samuel de Champlain explored the area north of present-day Montreal. He studied the land to provide a guide to its geographical features. He also had more material goals: he hoped to find an ideal location for trading posts in the rich St. Lawrence Valley. That same month, Breton explorer François Gravé Du Pont, also looking to create new trade opportunities, arrived at the St. Lawrence.[2] He had crossed the Atlantic, followed by other ambitious French fur traders, anchoring below

[1] François-Marc Gagnon, Nancy Senior, and Réal Ouellet, *The Codex Canadensis and the Writings of Louis Nicolas*.
(Tulsa, OK: Gilcrease Museum, and Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011), 265.
[2] David Hackett Fischer, *Champlain's Dream*. (United Kingdom: Simon & Schuster, 2008), 306-308.

the rapids of the St. Lawrence with thirteen *barques* and *pataches*.[3] The next day, two hundred local Hurons warriors, led by three chiefs who had earlier befriended Champlain, arrived at the St. Lawrence where Du Pont and Champlain had just met.[4] As Champlain reported, he approached the Hurons in a canoe, and, in a demonstration of cultural exchange, brought forward Savignon, a Huron who Champlain had brought to France in 1610 to learn French, act as an interpreter, and help secure an alliance.[5] The Hurons then ushered in the voyageur Étienne Brûlé, who was wearing Huron dress and had learned to speak the Huron language from the winter he had spent with his hosts.[6] The following day, the Hurons invited Champlain and Brûlé to meet with them about a desire to form an alliance. But Champlain observed that the Hurons were unsettled by the number of French boats anchored in the river. The Natives, he believed, "saw clearly, that it was only love of gain and avarice which brought
these people thither…and that when the Indians should need their help they would give none."[7]

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[3] *Barque*: vessel; *Patache* : vessel with two masts intended for surveillance and inspection of the coasts and ports.

[4] Ibid.

[5] For Savignon: A Huron individual who Champlain brought to France in 1610: renamed Savignon in France.: Elsie McLeod Jury, "SAVIGNON," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography,* vol. 1, (University of Toronto). "Returning from the Iroquois country in June 1610, Champlain met a party of Hurons under Outchetaguin…at the mouth of the River of the Iroquois (Richelieu). At their request he agreed to take *Savignon*, a young Huron, to France in return for a young French boy [possibly Étienne Brûlé] whom he had persuaded Iroquet and his people to take to winter in their country to learn the language, observe the geography and the minerals, and to acquaint himself with the various tribes. Savignon, in return, was to report to his people on his observations in France. In this way Champlain hoped to build up a body of interpreters who would act as agents for the French in Indian territory."

[6] Henry Percival Biggar, ed. *The Works of Samuel De Champlain,* Vol. 2. (Toronto, ON: Champlain Society, 1936).: Brûlé was the first European explorer to journey beyond the St. Lawrence River: He spent much of his early adult life among the Hurons, learned their language, and became an interpreter and guide for Champlain.

[7]"Two Hundred Savages Bring Back the Frenchman Who Had Been given to Them…" Indian Who Had Returned from France. Several Speeches on Both Sides: Chapter III." In *The Works of Samuel De Champlain,* Vol. 2, edited by Henry Percival Biggar, 426-54. (Toronto, ON: Champlain Society, 1936), 425-427.

Champlain would assure the Hurons that he and the traders "all served the same king."[8]After much discussion, the Hurons gave Champlain a hundred beaver pelts to secure an alliance (representing the highly-coveted value of beaver as a fine gift). Champlain wrote that they then discussed the source of the St. Lawrence, and "many things of the rivers, falls, lakes and lands, and Nations living there."[9] Four Hurons said that they had seen a sea far from their own country, but there were many enemies in between, rendering the land "difficult" due to the rugged terrain and inter-group conflicts.[10] This exchange also implies the consequences of the arrival of ambitious French traders interested in economic gain as they attempted to expand their markets in the "difficult country" that the Hurons warned of. Thus, the interaction between Champlain, the Hurons, and the new population of traders swelling into the St. Lawrence Valley emblemized the expansion of the fur trade and the interconnecting tensions between colonists, Indigenous peoples, and a reliance on American nature for economic expansion.

As the French learned more about the economic potential of Canada, they interjected exploitative market practices with local economics and trade. In the 1600s, European economic models and markets became significant drivers of the trade and production of goods in North America, including in New France. In particular, the French associated monetary value with Canadian minerals, flora, and fauna as they gained more knowledge of the natural resources and the opportunities they offered, in part from trading with Indigenous peoples. This association reflected how

[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.: "They spoke to me of these things in great detail, showing me by drawings all the places they had visited, taking pleasure in telling me about them. And as for myself, I was not weary of listening to them."

many Europeans understood, and hoped to profit from, American natural resources.[11] Thus, economic trends and nature were closely intertwined with the construction of colonies in North America, particularly those reliant on the trade of natural resources and goods with Indigenous peoples for the expansion of European empire. Close connections between ecosystems and economy in colonial North America were often inseparable, with colonial economies relying on Indigenous knowledge and use of the environment as well as nature for trade and market expansion.[12]

Review of Literature

The long process of French colonialism and settlement in Canada began with the transatlantic journey of Jacques Cartier in 1534, an expedition that brought him into contact with a land densely populated by St. Lawrence Iroquoians. When French colonists returned sixty years later, they observed much sparser populated lands.[13] The cause of this population decline is unknown, referred to by historians as "a great mystery of early Canadian history."[14] This silence in Iroquoian history demonstrates the "empire effect," a ripple of collateral consequences that led to the spread of death and disruption across the Indigenous northeast from epidemics, uneven introduction of European market practices, disruptions of power balances, forced migration, and thus, increasingly deadly cycles of war.[15]

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[11] Timothy Silver, *A New Face on the Countryside: Indians, Colonists, and Slaves in South Atlantic Forests, 1500–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 4.
[12] William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England.* (United States: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011), 14, 166-170.: For New France in particular, the economy was based on the exchange and usage of available nature such as abundant beaver, fish, and local plants.
[13] Allan Greer, *Property and Dispossession: Natives, Empires and Land in Early Modern North America.* (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 146-47.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.; Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization.* (United States: University of North Carolina Press, 2011).

Another ripple caused by the empire effect was the geopolitical turmoil triggered by French and English encroachment on Indigenous land and cultures. Richard White, in *The Middle Ground* (1991) and Michael Witgen in *An Infinity of Nations* (2013) describe crises and cultural shifts resulting from local warfare and the later seventeenth-century interjection of French and British culture in New France and the Northeast.[16] In addition to pre-existing conflicts between Algonquian- and Iroquoian-speaking peoples, the intrusion of the French intensified and complicated regional politics. Tensions rose in Canada and the Great Lakes as the French attempted to expand their influence through trade and conversion. This tension was evident in Champlain's attempt at cultivating friendship with Huron and Algonquian peoples, thus solidifying hostility between the French and the Iroquois.[17] The forging of alliances and enmities between French and Indigenous peoples would interfere with regional dynamics throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In addition, exchanges between French and Indigenous peoples in Canada and the upper region of the Great Lakes, called by the French the *pays d'en haut,* included more than material goods. Compared to the English along the Atlantic coast, relatively few French migrants traveled to New France. Many of them were celibate missionaries. Would-be colonists were focused on trade and hunting rather than growing permanent settlements. In this context, the newcomers could only sustain their

[16] Michael Witgen. *An Infinity of Nations : How the Native New World Shaped Early North America,* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013). ; White, *The Middle Ground.*

[17] Reuben Gold Thwaites, "The Jesuit relations and allied documents; travels and explorations of the Jesuit missionaries in New France, 1610-1791..." (Cleveland : Burrows Bros. Co., 1896).; See also: Greer, *Property and Dispossession.*: "Never very numerous, the French had no choice but to forge alliances in order to survive, and through their alliances, they inevitably acquired enemies (notably the Iroquois) as well as friends. The upheavals that surrounded them may have been ultimately attributable to their presence (and to that of other colonizers), but that does not mean that the French planned or controlled, or even understood, the processes at work."

communities if they negotiated with Indigenous peoples. These connections created a regional culture that Richard White called "neither French nor Indian, but a combination of both."[18] White and Brett Rushforth in his book, *Bonds of Alliance* (2012), analyzed complex interactions between Indigenous peoples and French colonists that facilitated the creation of neither a "French nor Indian new world". Cultural connections were especially apparent in relationships and knowledge that the French gained from experience with the land. Consequently, the French viewed American nature as something that could provide economic means to satisfy particular colonial endeavors, like forging alliances and expanding cultural influence.

Material exchanges between French and Indigenous peoples reveal complicated dynamics in New France, where Christianity played a central role in expanding markets and establishing venues where cultural mixing was possible.[19] Furthermore, cultural mixing in the form of alliances, joint economic activities, and French settlement in Indigenous communities created a space where knowledge exchanges and practices transferred between populations. New France historians Richard White, Brett Rushforth, and Denys Delâge focused their analyses primarily on economic and cultural exchanges between Algonquian- and Iroquoian-speaking peoples and the French.[20] In this piece, I will extend an analysis of alliance and exchange through art historical and archaeological methodological

[18] Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*.; White, *The Middle Ground*.; women did not want to come to New France as the terrain was unfavorable, also factoring into the colony's small size.
[19] Carolyn Podruchny and Laura Peers, *Aboriginal and Fur Trade Histories: Gathering Places*. (UBC Press; Vancouver-Toronto, Canada, 2010), 25.
[20] Denys Delâge, B*itter Feast : Amerindians and Europeans in Northeastern North America, 1600-64,* (UBC Press, 1993).

approaches to explore French judgement of Indigenous peoples and North American flora and fauna in the form of maps and codices.

In *A Not-So-New World* (2018) Christopher Parsons explores botanical and ecological exchanges between France and North America.[21] Parsons primarily looked at how French colonists began learning about Native environments and spread their own European roots by cultivating vegetation similar to methods in France. I plan to expand on what Parsons contributed by analyzing the French use of nature for economic benefits and colonial expansion efforts through visual sources conveying the essentialization of Indigenous knowledge, judgement of productivity, and proliferation of French hierarchical visions of the nature of the New World. I will employ visual representations of French observations of flora, fauna, nature, space, and exchanges with Indigenous peoples to guide my analysis of the relationship between French perceptions of nature and plans for imperial expansion.

For the sake of length and scope, I narrow my argument to visual and textual depictions of space and nature that advanced economic motivations. To analyze the connections between productivity, economic motivations, and nature, I will build upon existing scholarship on Jesuit constructions of Aristotelian hierarchies by characterizing Jesuit missions as a venue for cycles of French colonialism and economic expansion. This novel lens reveals that French idealization of French-Native relations and alliances was often filtered through hierarchical visual representation. French hierarchical imaginings of North American nature and peoples
demonstrate that their attempts at colonial expansion were rooted in desires for economic gain.

[21] Christopher M Parsons, *A Not-So-New World: Empire and Environment in French Colonial North America*. (United States: University of Pennsylvania Press, Incorporated, 2018).

Maps and codices are critical to grasping how Europeans first understood America. Thus, I will analyze specific visual sources, all of them revealing aspects of French attention to Canadian nature and its economic potential: the map of Canada in the 1547 *Vallard Atlas*, Dutch artist Stradanus's prolific print of Amerigo Vespucci called *Allegory of America* (1589), Samuel de Champlain's 1612 map of New France, Jesuit Louis Nicolas's *Codex canadensis* (c.1700), and the Dablon-Jolliet-Marquette voyageur-Jesuit map from 1673. Focusing on an ecological and social history of New France, including extensive visual analysis of maps, constructions of space, and color analyses, allows me to examine how the French used Indigenous knowledge and their own assessments of the North American environment for colonial missions and economic expansion. I will analyze images as a novel frame that takes us beyond what texts alone can say through visual depictions of people, space, nature, interactions, trade, color, and conquest.

Visual sources show complexities in French colonial expansion where agriculture, the use of nature, and trade played a significant role in growing French familiarity with how to best use the land.[22] Maps portray conquest and familiarization with potential resources and economic opportunities, as well as the presence of communities and settlements. Jesuit texts, codices, and maps provide additional ethnographic insight into French observations of Indigenous practices, such as fishing, hunting, and trading, and the value that Europeans placed on productivity and monetary value of the environment.

[22] Delâge, *Bitter Feast*.: "The colonies of seventeenth-century North America were born as a result of the workings of merchant capital and the rivalry among imperial powers for a share of the world market…North American colonial history cannot be explained in concrete terms without taking into account European economic conjuncture…

Visual Analysis and Comparative Studies

One of the main sources I refer to develop a relationship between textual and visual evidence is Jesuit Louis Nicolas's *Codex canadensis,* an understudied, handwritten, and hand-drawn document compiled around 1700 including illustrations of Nicolas's observations of the peoples, practices, animals, and plants of New France from his missionizing journeys in the 1660s.[23] Though no color analysis or analysis of the economic details in the *Codex* exists, Canadian art historian, François-Marc Gagnon wrote extensively on the authorship of the *Codex* and edited a thorough modern-French translation of the *Codex* and the corresponding text, the *Histoire Naturelles des Indes Occidentales*. Gagnon's books, *Codex Canadensis and the Writings of Louis Nicolas* (2011) and *Louis Nicolas Life & Work* (2017)*,* address the ties between natural observation, trade, and religion in the *Codex*. Further, Germaine Warkentin has also studied Nicolas's contributions, analyzing the *Codex* both as a linear "treatise of images" and a reflection of Nicolas's experience and shortcomings as a Jesuit.[24] The works of Gagnon and Warkentin provide foundational support for my argument of how Nicolas's illustrations and texts reflected the Jesuit Aristotelian episteme of hierarchically organizing the productivity of people and nature based on their economic value.

In the book *Measuring The New World* (2008)*,* Neil Safier explores the role of visual sources in extending the Atlantic world's archive beyond

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[23] Gagnon, Ouellet, Réal, 2011.; Louis Nicolas, Codex Canadensis. 4726.7. late 1600s - early 1700s. Tulsa: Gilcrease Museum, https://collections.gilcrease.org/object/47267 (01/27/2017).

[24] Germaine Warkentin, "Aristotle in New France: Louis Nicolas and the Making of the Codex canadensis." (French Colonial History 11 2010), 71-107.: "It applies a cross-disciplinary approach, using manuscript studies, the religious history of New France, cartography, patronage, and recent research in seventeenth-century natural history to provide a fuller interpretation of the Codex—and of Nicolas himself—than has so far been possible."

what texts alone reveal.[25] Safier analyzes the process, production, and intentions of the creation of maps, illustrations, and engravings by French travelers in the Americas. By incorporating visual representations of the New World in the colonial archive, Safier discovers knowledge exchanges and epistemological trends transported through many hands, minds, and eyes in Europe and the Americas. Particularly during the seventeenth century, French voyageurs and Jesuits recorded their observations in the forms of ideas, maps, stories, and imagery disseminated to literate Europeans who had never been to the Americas.[26]

I will refer to Daniela Bleichmar's comparative study of a visual history of Spanish colonial expansion in Latin America to assist in developing methodological approaches. In Bleichmar's book, *Visual Voyages* (2017), she elucidates that images of Latin America from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries represented the mélange of knowledge and culture between Europeans and Indigenous peoples, particularly when looking at natural specimens transported back to Europe.[27] The maps, manuscripts, still lifes, and landscape paintings in *Visual Voyages* demonstrate how Latin America was critical for subsequent scientific and artistic exploration. Bleichmar's book supports the idea that transformations in America influenced how scientific and botanical knowledge developed in the empire and in Europe. I examine New France in a similar fashion as Bleichmar studied Latin America, focusing on the broader influences resulting from French and Indigenous peoples' views of

[25] Neil Safier, *Measuring the New World: Enlightenment Science and South America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).
[26] Daniela Bleichmar, "The Enlightenment Comes to the Amazon," *American Scientist* (Sigma Xi, The Scientific Research Honor Society, n.d.).
[27] Daniela Bleichmar, Visual Voyages: Images of Latin American Nature from Columbus to Darwin. (San Marino: Yale University Press, 2017).

the natural world. I argue that visual sources such as Jesuit maps and codices reflect developing ecological information and economic exchanges, and a projection of French hierarchical imagination onto Indigenous peoples, nature, and land.

When analyzing illustrations of Indigenous peoples and the terminology often associated with them, I look to another comparative study of New England: Michael Gaudio's *Engraving the Savage* (2008). This extensive visual analysis of the widely reproduced engravings from the 1580s of Carolina Algonquian peoples by English painter and explorer John White demonstrates what illustrations and language reveal about European critical and essentializing visions of people, nature, and productivity. Gaudio explained how popular engravings of Indigenous individuals represented European productions of the "savage other."[28] Gaudio also examined John White's drawings as visual representations of European perceptions of Indigenous peoples beyond intellectual and ideological constructs. I will apply a similar visual analysis to the ethnographic depictions of Indigenous peoples on Champlain's 1612 map and Nicolas's *Codex canadensis* focusing on tools, tattooing, and pigmentation representing body paint. I will pay additional attention to the essentialization of diverse communities in the *Codex* to further emphasize economic and trading contributions.

The use of visual sources and the development of an environmental history analyzing colonial exchanges and interactions deepens an understanding of French perceptions and constructions of space. Visual sources and analyses of journals and natural histories also illuminate

[28] Michael Gaudio, *Engraving the Savage: The New World and Techniques of Civilization*. (United Kingdom: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

economic stakes and the values associated with nature, a relationship evident in seventeenth-century trade and visual depictions of nature and North America. In this thesis, I argue that literature analyzed alongside prints, maps, and codices reveals a developing knowledge of how to best exploit nature and the productivity of people for the goal of French colonial expansion in Canada and the Great Lakes. French visual interpretations of American nature evolved from primarily biblical allusions as a way of understanding an unknown land to search for the economic potential of the New World. As more French people explored Canada, their observations shifted towards more methodical judgement and less ambiguous depictions of nature in attempts to exploit Native practices and natural resources to serve the growing appetite of French trade and expansion. I will incorporate Indigenous peoples' knowledge about nature when appropriate, highlighting the ripples of environmental and political consequences resulting from the developing French commodification of nature in Canada and the Great Lakes.

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Author's Note

My thesis analyzes spolia, or reuse of materials from earlier structures to construct new buildings, of ancient ruins in the Ottoman Aegean and how this physical recontextualization of classical civilization expressed imperial and national identities in a contested Aegean Sea during the long 19th century. The subfield of Ottoman spolia studies is extremely recent. This made my thesis research process more exciting yet more challenging. It was more exciting in that there was a massive amount of space for me to define the young field's developing historiography. It was more challenging in that I have had to draw from secondary scholarship of many different fields and subfields in order to chart these relatively unexplored waters. However, the rewards are rich. By focusing on spolia, in addition to the written sources, one gains a perspective beyond the long-existent historiography and periodization of the Ottoman long 19th century to achieve a more continuous and interconnected picture of the era.

This section comes from the third chapter. It focuses on two late 19th century Ottoman fountains which spoliate classical designs. The fountains formed unifying symbols which placed the empire as the heir to Mediterranean civilization, cultivated by multiple levels of Ottoman society but ultimately overseen by the metropole. The spoliating fountains also actively competed with the Kingdom of Greece and colonial Europe to claim the mantle of the ancient past and claim former imperial territory in Greece and Egypt. They display a technological and archaeological modernity that radiated the power of the state and an aesthetic modernity in a blend of Parisian, Ottoman, and classical styles. The use of spolia to project identity and authority through the fountains was multi-sided; when the Kingdom of

Greece captured Thessaloniki and Chios in 1912, it de-Ottomanized and appropriated these spoliating fountains to support their own heritage narrative. The classical spolia of the Salonica and Chios fountains thus functioned as a mirror for identity, through which multiple states defined themselves and forged overlapping and often competing heritage narratives. The following selection is from an early part of this chapter in which I visually analyze the fountains and their public presentation. I chose it primarily to exemplify the kind of visual source work I do throughout my thesis.

A Battlefield of Imperial Identity: Classical Spoliation in a Contested Aegean During the Long 19th Century

Figure 1. *Hamidiye fountain in Salonica. Ωριγένης, Creative Commons* BY-SA 2.5 *License.*

Figure 2 (Left). Monument of Lysicrates, Athens. *George E. Koronaios, Creative Commons* BY-SA 4.0 *License*.
Figure 3 (Right). Abdülhamid Çeşmesi, Chios. *Balkanique, Creative Commons* A-SA 4.0 *License*.

Hamidian Fountains' Spolia as State Answers to the Legitimacy Crisis

The Chios and Salonica fountains combine Ottoman and ancient architecture by placing classical spolia within an Ottoman architectural frame to establish a continuity of Mediterranean civilization. The spoliation of the choragic monument is relatively faithful to the design of the original, except for a few important alterations that Ottomanize the spolia. The fountain does not have the choragic inscription and mythological friezes of the original, and instead (before its later removal) bore an inscription lauding Sultan Abdülhamid II that was lost in the Greek state's restoration of the monument.[1] Instead of the name of a local notable like on the spolia of Tepedelenli Ali Paşa or Gazi Hasan Paşa, this spolia bore the name of the Sultan, the representative of the state.

The base of the monument is far more ornate than the simple rectangular pedestal of the original monument of Lysicrates, with many curvilinear elements. The Ottoman neoclassical architectural style is evident in the mini-arches above the four waterspouts, the circular stone foundation, the ceramic-vessel-esque water basins, and the finely-carved rounded marble caps on each one of the projecting cuboids, whose four-corner arrangement suggests the original rectangular base of the Lysicrates monument while introducing more dynamic shapes and angles. Through its use of expensive red and white marble, the spoliating fountain

[1] De Cou, Herbert F. "The Frieze of the Choragic Monument of Lysikrates at Athens." *The American Journal of Archaeology and of the History of the Fine Arts* 8, no. 1 (1893): 42-55. doi:10.2307/495920 ; Email correspondence with Anna Missailidis of the Chios Ephorate of Antiquities, 9 November 2021.

also brings more color interplay than the remains of the original.[2] The red in particular was a color of the Ottoman flag and signified the imperial house and Ottoman state, and the richness of the material indicated its resources.[3] Finally, instead of the tripod on top of the Lysicrates monument, the fountain had an onion dome with a stylized rendition of the sun on top of it (fig. 9) which frames the classical spolia between an Ottoman-style dome and an Ottoman-style base.[4] Its spolia suggest that the Ottomans are the inheritors of classical civilization, while the Ottomanizing modifications around the spolia suggest that Ottoman civilization is just as innovative and capable of building upon its classical inheritance to create something even grander. The fountain acts as a visualization of the Ottomans' continuative relationship to the classical past. This late 19th century Ottomanization is different from the previous two case studies because it draws on classical heritage that is from Athens, not a local site, and because it supports the authority of the state directly, not a provincial notable.

The choice for the location of this legitimizing fountain in Kılıç square indicates its function as a unifying symbol. Kılıç square was a historically contested space where the Ottoman state faced a particularly large legitimacy crisis. Less than a century before the Chios fountain was built, there was an uprising on Chios during the Greek War of Independence. The Ottomans crushed the rebellion with the 1822 "Chios Massacre," which

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[2] Naturally, the monument of Lysicrates would originally have been painted, but the then-recent discovery of the usage of paint on classical sculptures and buildings had not been broadly accepted by this time. From the point of view of the Ottoman architects they were adding more color to their version of the Lysicrates monument, which was thought to be monochrome. The monument of Lysicrates' location was once a "street of tripods," but this victory monument is the only one that survived. See Karidis, Dimitris N. *Athens from 1456 to 1920: the Town Under Ottoman Rule and the 19th-Century Capital City*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2014, p. 73.

[3] Stephanov, Darin N. *Ruler Visibility and Popular Belonging in the Ottoman Empire, 1808–1908*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018.

[4] De Cou, "The Frieze of the Choragic Monument of Lysikrates at Athens," p. 42.

included hangings in the square that received major backlash in western Europe.[5] It is telling that the Ottomans chose this square as the site of one of the Hamidian anniversary fountains in 1900. The Chios fountain's placement in Kılıç square integrates the monument into the civic architecture of the city and places it in the heart of urban life. Kılıç square had government administration buildings, a monumental mosque, coffeehouses, and a telegraph house.[6] A water source in such a central location would have received a large number of visitors. The guard posted at the fountain further supports that it gathered crowds.[7] The fountain's location at a point of public gathering indicates its role as one of the 'unifying symbols' the Ottoman state produced to combat the legitimacy crisis in Kılıç square; it attracted a crowd and gathered them together around a symbol of Ottoman state authority.

The fountain in Salonica also stood in a central part of its city at the intersection of two new wide boulevards. The obelisk's base bore the official calligraphic signature of the Sultan, the *tughra*, which was an important symbol of the Sultan's power since long before Abdülhamid II's reign (fig. 7). Like on Chios, it was the Sultan rather than a local notable whose name appeared on the spolia. As the state increasingly permeated Ottoman society and faced a legitimacy crisis, the appearance of the *tughra* in the middle of the city both underscored the presence of the state in public space and functioned as an important legitimizing symbol.[8] The base of the

[5] A modern monument was built to commemorate those killed in the Chios Massacre, which draws upon the classical Greek past just like the *Abdülhamid Çeşmesi*; it features a sphinx depicted in the style of ancient Greek pottery. Argenti, Philip P. *The Massacres of Chios*. London: John Lane, 1932.
[6] Konuk, *Midilli, Rodos, Sakız ve İstanköy'de Osmanlı Mimarisi*, pp. 200-201 ; Metïn, Nurcan Yazıcı. "Osmanli Coğrafyasinda Sultan II. Abdülhamïd'ïn Anitlari: Hamïdïye Çeşmeleri." *Eurasian Art & Humanities Journal* 13 (2020): 47 - 69, p. 60.
[7] Stephanov, *Ruler Visibility and Popular Belonging in the Ottoman Empire, 1808–1908*, p. 194. Darin Stephanov posits that like with other fountains this was to prevent defacing of the monument, a possible reason to post a guard in addition to the fact that the fountain gathered crowds of people.
[8] Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains*, p. 21.

obelisk features a neoclassical design with classically-inspired pedestals, festoons, dentils, corbels, and acanthus decorations. These elements paralleled the neoclassical architecture of the adjacent residential buildings and İdadiye public school. This neighborhood, named Hamidiye after the boulevard, was a new "model settlement" east of the old city and a symbol of the nouveau riche in Salonica.[9] The fountain thus stood at the heart of the city's new urban life both physically and symbolically. The *tughra* is stamped onto the neoclassical architecture of the fountain that parallels the neighborhood, asserting the Sultan's authority in this new urban space while the obelisk establishes the empire's legitimizing ancient roots. Like in Chios, the classical spolia of the Salonica fountain was a new form of Ottomanization designed to project the legitimacy of the Ottoman state onto a changing urban space.

A State-Managed Heritage Narrative in Print Culture

Heritage creation, an active process, requires creators.[10] These spolia fountains were expressions of Ottoman imperial identity coordinated between the metropole and local officials, although it was the central state that managed these projects. For example, the governor of Chios informed the Sublime Porte in advance that he would build the Chios fountain, and the Porte exchanged correspondence asking for details of the construction.[11] The Salonica fountain took its design cues from the local neighborhood it celebrates, had an opening ceremony organized and attended by local officials, and it was a gift directly from the Sultan that placed him and the

[9] Fuhrmann, Malte. *Port Cities of the Eastern Mediterranean: Urban Culture in the Late Ottoman Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020. doi:10.1017/9781108769716, p. 86 ; Akyalçın Kaya, Dilek. "Formation of a 'Salonican Lineage': Ahmed Hamdi and His Family in the Nineteenth Century." In *Η Θεσσαλονικη Στισ Παραμονεσ Του 1912*: 37-56. Thessaloniki: Jewish Museum of Thessaloniki, 2015, p. 45.
[10] Smith, Laurajane. *Uses of Heritage*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2006.
[11] Metïn, Nurcan Yazıcı. "Osmanli Coğrafyasinda Sultan II. Abdülhamïd'ïn Anitlari: Hamïdïye Çeşmeleri." *Eurasian Art & Humanities Journal* 13 (2020): 47 - 69, p. 61.

state at the center.[12] Twenty years after its construction, the city government requested and received funds from the Porte to repair the fountain.[13] Through these spoliating fountains, one uncovers a province-metropole dynamic in which both levels of the state had influence and invested resources to create and upkeep the spolia fountains, with the metropole having the final word.

Another level of heritage creation was the fountains' appearance in print culture. In contrast to chapter two's analysis of European representation of Ottoman spolia, this section will examine Ottoman representation of their spoliation. The Salonica and Chios fountains made frequent appearances in contemporary postcards and journals (figs. 8-15).[14] Journals featured a large amount of reader participation, and became a space which portrayed the "Ottoman urban crowd to itself," a space that was saturated with images of historic sites and monuments like the fountains in a mix of "popular and official forms of historical imagination."[15] At the time there was a massive increase in the footprint of illustrated weeklies like *Servet-i Fünun* (fig. 8-11) (Wealth of Knowledge), half of whose subscribers lived in the empire's provinces.[16] The representation of the fountains in journals thus sheds light on how the broader literate urban population engaged with the spolia and heritage on display in the fountains. These spolia fountains were an important part of Ottoman identity, so much so that in the issue of *Servet-i Fünun* published on the Sultan's 25th anniversary, among pictures of new infrastructure, the

[12] Anastassiadou, Meropi. *Salonique, 1830-1912*. New York: Brill, 1997, p. 156.
[13] Metin, "Osmanli Coğrafyasinda Sultan II. Abdülhamid'in Anitlari: Hamidiye Çeşmeleri," p. 58.
[14] Only a small selection of these are in this chapter's figures; many more similar examples exist.
[15] Ersoy, Ahmet A. "Ottomans and the Kodak Galaxy: Archiving Everyday Life and Historical Space in Ottoman Illustrated Journals." *History of Photography* 40, no. 3 (2016): 330–357, pp. 330, 341, 347.
[16] Ersoy, "Ottomans and the Kodak Galaxy," p. 337.

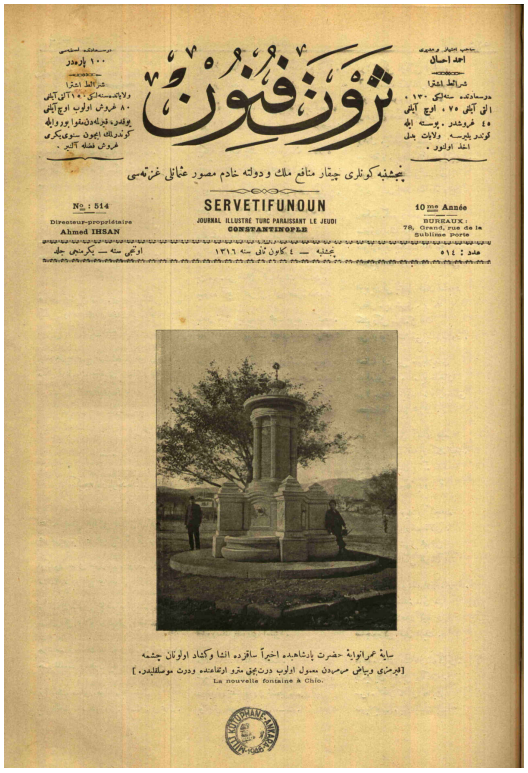
military, and the Imperial Museum, there is a nearly full-page image of the Salonica fountain (fig. 11).

Here too there was a relationship with the metropole, as the Sublime Porte provided financial support for independent journals while also monitoring and censoring them.[17] An example of this interaction is when a doctor named Besim Ömer Paşa wrote an article for *Servet-i Fünun* about new public fountains in Istanbul. The picture the journal added to accompany the article was censored. Publisher of the journal Ahmed İhsan writes in his memoir:

> We added the coloured photograph of an old man drinking at one of the public fountains and holding up his hands in thankful prayer. This was excised by the head censor Ebülmukbil Kemal Bey and therefore I wrote to him. His reply was that 'people with malafide intentions looking at the *Servet-i Funun* will conclude that the publication of the photograph indicates that our situation is so desperate and hopeless that only prayers can help us.'[18]

In this anecdote there is an overlapping group of journal editors, contributors, and bureaucrats in the Sublime Porte who together crafted the heritage narrative that surrounded monumental fountains in the press, a relationship in which the Porte had the ultimate authority. This heavy metropole involvement contrasts with earlier spoliation such as Gazi Hasan Paşa's complex, where the Porte played no role in its creation.

[17] Ersoy, "Ottomans and the Kodak Galaxy," pp. 339.
[18] Translation from Wasti, Syed Tanvir. "Ahmed Ihsan and the 'Wealth of the Sciences.'" *Middle Eastern Studies* 52, no. 2 (2016): 359–374, p. 364.


ثروت فنون

SERVETIFUNOUN

JOURNAL ILLUSTRÉ TURC PARAISSANT LE JEUDI

CONSTANTINOPLE

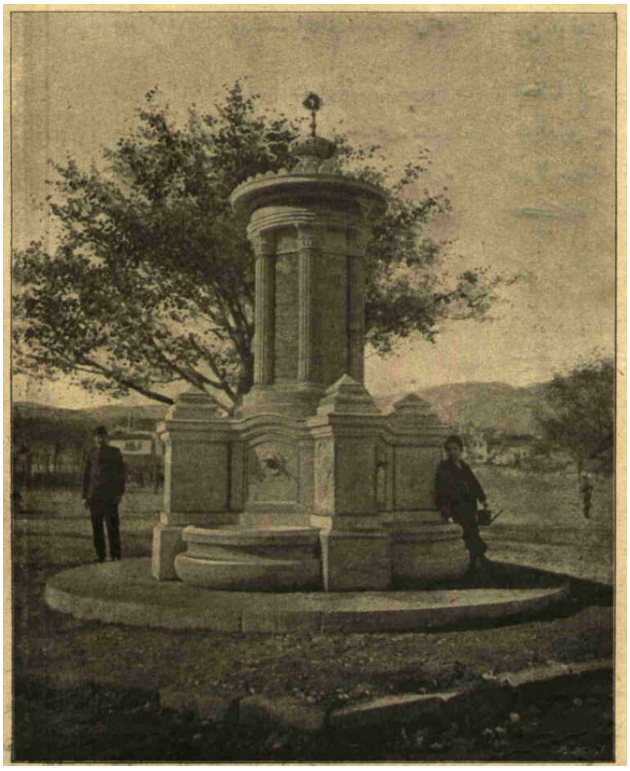
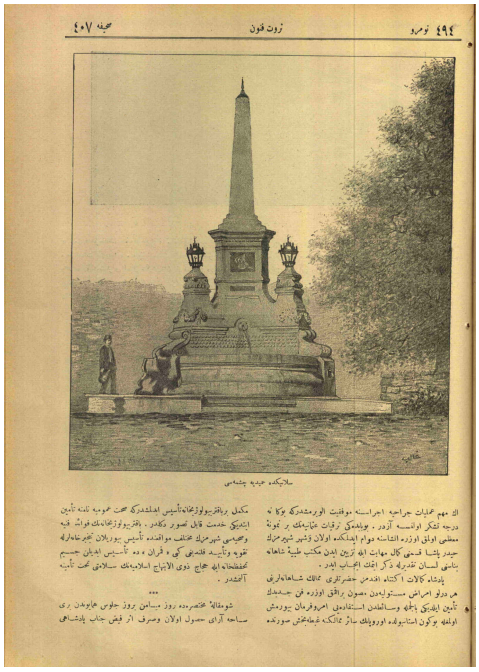


Figure 8 (Left). Title page featuring the Chios fountain from *Servet-i Fünun*, January 17th 1901. *Public Domain*.

Figure 9 (Right). Detail of the photograph from the title page in figure 4.


ثروت فنون

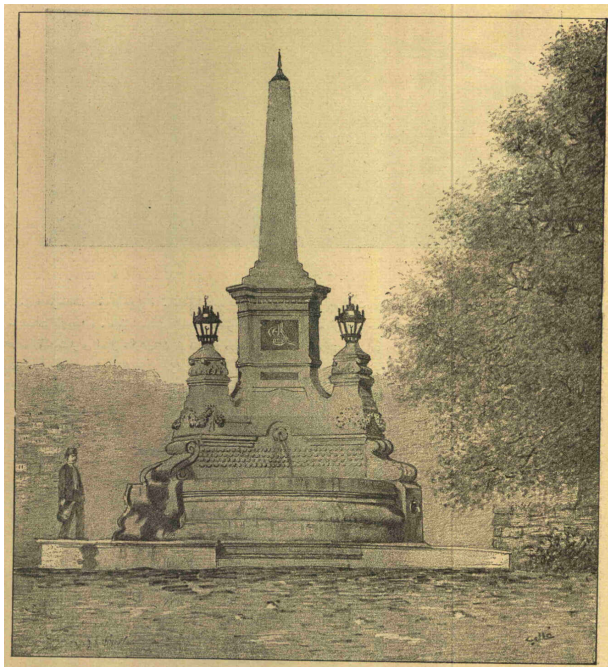
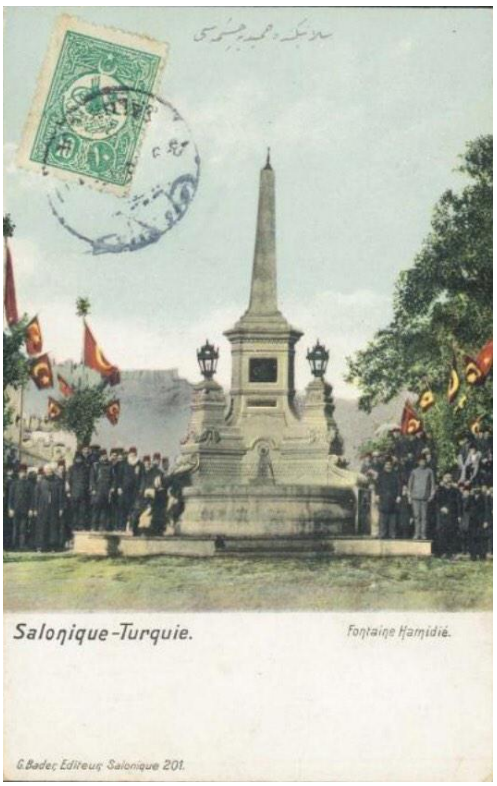


Figure 10 (Left). Article featuring the Salonica fountain from *Servet-i Fünun*, September 1st, 1900. *Public Domain*.

Figure 11 (Right). Detail of the photograph from the article in figure 6.



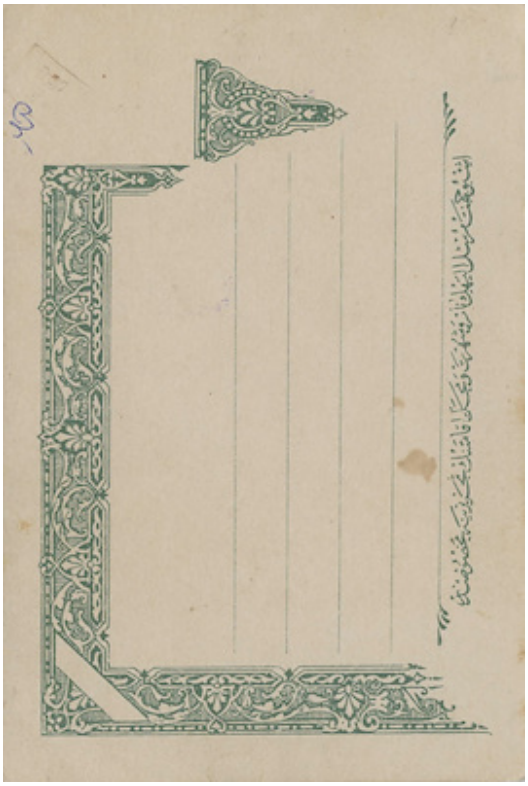


Figure 12 (Left). Postcard; the Ottoman Turkish text translates to "Salonica Hamidian fountain," by G. Bader. It was printed during the Ottoman Period as the postcard refers to "Salonique" as a city in "Turquie."
Figure 13 (Right). The back of the postcard in figure 8.

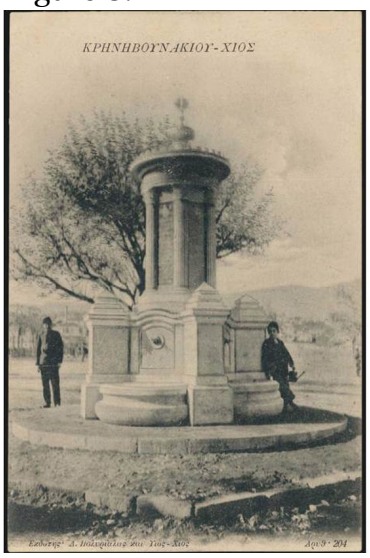


Figure 14 (Left). "Le Boulevard Hamidié" a Souvenir de Salonique postcard printed by Matarasso - Saragoussi - Rousso. This postcard is from the Ottoman period when the road was still named the Hamidian Boulevard.
Figure 15 (Right). Postcard with the Chios fountain; the title translates to "Vounaki fountain - Chios," by D. Polyrialas and son. It uses the same photograph as the *Servet-i Fünun* cover from figure 4.

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